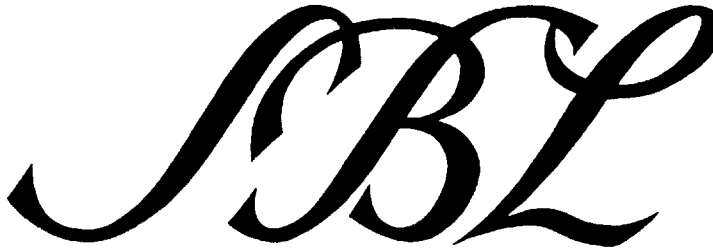


Journal of Biblical Literature

VOLUME 123, No. 4 Winter 2004

US ISSN 0021–9231

JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

(Constituent Member of the American Council of Learned Societies)

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

The JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE (ISSN 0021–9231) is published quarterly by the Society of Biblical Literature, 825 Houston Mill Road, Suite 350, Atlanta, GA 30329. Periodical postage paid at Atlanta, Georgia, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Society of Biblical Literature, P.O. Box 2243, Williston, VT 05495-2243.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

JBL 123/4 (2004) 601–636

FROM LISTS TO HISTORY: CHRONOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE CHRONICLER'S GENEALOGIES

YIGAL LEVIN
leviny1@mail.biu.ac.il
Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan 52900 Israel

The past couple of decades have seen the book of Chronicles go from being "the Bible's best-kept secret"[1] to being one of the most studied and researched of all biblical books. One reason for this is a renewed interest in the Persian period and an acknowledgment of its importance in the formation of the biblical corpus as we know it today.[2] Most recent commentators on Chronicles assume that the Chronicler lived in late Persian-period Yehud and have come to realize the importance of his book for our understanding of the ideology, theology, and historiography of this period.[3]

One particular aspect of Chronicles research that has returned to the forefront is that of the Chronicler's genealogies. These nine chapters serve as an "introduction" to the entire book, one in which the Chronicler lays out the historical, geographic, and demographic background for his entire composition.[4]

This article is an expanded version of a paper given at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Toronto in November 2002. I wish to express my gratitude to the Chair of Excellence in Judaic Studies of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga for its support of this research.

[1] Leslie C. Allen, "The First and Second Books of Chronicles," *NIB* 3:299.

[2] To quote Kent H. Richards, "[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" ("Introduction: The Persian Period: Coming of Age," in *Second Temple Studies,* vol. 2, *Temple Community in the Persian Period* [ed. T. C. Eskenazi and K. H. Richards; JSOTSup 175; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994], 13).

[3] For a summary of recent literature on the date and authorship of Chronicles, see Yigal Levin, "Who Was the Chronicler's Audience? A Hint from His Genealogies," *JBL* 122 (2003): 229–30, 243–45 and esp. nn. 3 and 4. For a summary on the dates of Ezra and Nehemiah, see Aaron Demsky, "Who Came First, Ezra or Nehemiah? The Synchronistic Approach," *HUCA* 65 (1994): 1–19.

[4] However, some scholars in the past have claimed that the genealogies are a late addition to the Chronicler's work. For summaries of the arguments, see Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of*

To quote one commentator, the genealogies "are like lions guarding the gates, driving away the fainthearted from the treasures inside."[5]

In a recently published article, I attempted to utilize these genealogies in order to elucidate the social setting in which the author of Chronicles operated and the audience for which he wrote.[6] I concluded that the Chronicler's use of the genealogical genre, especially that of segmented lists of clans and their relationships, as well as the fact that the genealogies of the "central" tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim, Manasseh, and (southern) Asher seem to reflect the reality of the Chronicler's own day, indicates that he was writing for an audience that was largely agrarian and clan-based and so would be able to relate to the genealogical genre as stemming from its own life experience. A second conclusion was that, although the author of Ezra-Nehemiah held an exclusive view of contemporary Israelite/Judean identity,[7] the Chronicler's view was inclusive, regarding the descendants both of unexiled Judahite phratries and of the remnant "Samarian"[8] clans as legitimately Israelite and drawing upon their surviving traditions as a source for his own composition.[9]

The purpose of the present article is to take this investigation one step fur-

---

the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Genealogies of Jesus (SNTSMS 8; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 44–55; H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCB; Grand Rapids/London: Eerdmans, 1982), 12–15; Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 3–7; Yigal Levin, "The Historical Geography of the Chronicler" (in Hebrew with English abstract) (Ph.D. diss., Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 1999), 52–53.

[5] Allen, "First and Second Books of Chronicles," 299.

[6] Levin, "Who Was the Chronicler's Audience?" 229–45.

[7] Or, as Jonathan E. Dyck called it, a "vertical ethnic ideology," to the exclusion of others such as the descendants of unexiled Judahites and Samarians (*The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler* [Biblical Interpretation Series 33; Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 1998], 109–17). See also Peter 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* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 19–34; Daniel L. Smith, *The Religion of the Landless: The Social Context of the Babylonian Exile* (Bloomington, IN: Meyer Stone, 1989), 92–120; Peter Ross Bedford, *Temple Restoration in Early Achaemenid Judah* (JSJSup 65; Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 2001), 41–83.

[8] I use the term "Samarian" here to indicate the Israelite-descended inhabitants of the region of Samaria, rather than the separate ethno-religious group that we call the Samaritans, which in all probability had not yet developed by the Chronicler's time.

[9] The Chronicler's "inclusive" attitude toward the north has been pointed out, for example, by Thomas 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,* vol. 2, *Temple Community in the Persian Period,* ed. Eskenazi and Richards, 158–60) and Gary N. Knoppers ("Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah," *JBL* 120 [2001]: 15–30; idem, "'Great among His Brothers,' but Who Is He? Heterogeneity in the Composition of Judah?" *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 3/4 [2001], www.jhsonline.org).

ther: to examine the ways in which the Chronicler, in constructing his genealogies, utilized and combined the various genealogical forms that he had at his disposal in order to create his story. In doing so, we shall focus especially on the linear portions of the genealogies, those that serve to supply movement in time, or chronological progression.

I. The Structure of Late Iron Age and Persian Period Israelite Society and Oral Genealogies

Israelite society in the monarchic period was mainly agrarian. The basic unit of this society was the patriarchal family unit (בית אב), which was part of a clan or phratry (משפחה), which was in turn part of a "tribe" (שבט);[10] each unit had specific functions in the ownership and the operation of flocks, vineyards, orchards, and fields. The typical "town" (עיר—fortified or not) was the habitat of one or more of such family units.[11] Both the census and the military and labor drafts were based on family and clan units.[12] Thus, Israelite society continued to be "tribal," based on family and clan units, throughout the monarchic period and later.[13]

Many scholars of past generations assumed that the society of postexilic Yehud was fundamentally different from its preexilic predecessor. The society that produced such books as Ezra-Nehemiah has been described as an imperially instated "dominant elite of proven loyalty . . . a semi-autonomous temple-community controlled by the dominant stratum of Babylonian immigrants."[14]

[10] See Josh 6:16–18; the term "tribe" is used loosely here, since the similarity of the Israelite "tribe," its structure and organization, to that of present-day "tribal" societies is unclear. See, e.g., Aloo Osotsi Mojola, "The 'Tribes' of Israel? A Bible Translator's Dilemma," *JSOT* 81 (1998): 15–29.

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

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

[13] Ibid., 216–28; Aaron Demsky, "The Genealogy of Gibeon (I Chronicles 9:35-44): Biblical and Epigraphic Considerations," *BASOR* 202 (1971): 18, 23. For a similar assessment of the Transjordanian kingdoms of the Iron Age, see Øystein Sakala LaBianca, "Salient Features of Iron Age Tribal Kingdoms," in *Ancient Ammon* (ed. B. MacDonald and R. W. Younker; Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 42; Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 1999), 19–23.

[14] Joseph 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),

These "elite" were almost totally cut off from the local inhabitants, importing their own, Diaspora-developed way of life, which was less land-based and basically not a direct extension of preexilic society.[15]

However, more recently many scholars have argued that Persian-period Yehud was much more diverse and that the temple theocracy of Ezra-Nehemiah represents only one facet of this society, perhaps even a minority one at that.[16] The returnees from Babylon came to a land that was inhabited, albeit sparsely, by those whom the Babylonians had left behind.[17] These "remnants" continued to lead their lives in the traditional manner, probably thinking of themselves as the "true" remnant of Judah.[18]

The arrival of the exiles to "reclaim" the land must have caused all sorts of tensions,[19] but in time the two groups became drawn together.[20] The Chronicler certainly makes no distinction between them, and no such distinction exists

---

50–51; Joel Weinberg, *The Citizen-Temple Community* (trans. D. L. Smith-Christopher; JSOTSup 151; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992) is the English translation of the older works referred to by Blenkinsopp.

[15] For a summary and references, see Levin, "Who Was the Chronicler's Audience?" 237–40; Lizbeth S. Fried, "The Political Struggle of Fifth Century Judah," *Transeu* 24 (2002): 9–21; Robert D. Miller II, "Popular, Ideological and Textual Dimensions of Postexilic Judean Culture," *EstBib* 60 (2002): 337–50.

[16] See Richard A. Horsley, "Empire, Temple, and Community—but no Bourgeoisie! A Response to Blenkinsopp and Petersen," in *Second Temple Studies 1: Persian Period,* ed. Davies, 163–74. David Janzen has even drawn an opposing model, according to which the returnees were an "economic elite class," not an imperially backed ruling class, and "were discontinuous politically with the province of Yehud" ("Politics, Settlement, and Community in Persian-Period Yehud," *CBQ* 64 [2002]: 492–97).

[17] See Oded Lipschits, "Judah, Jerusalem, and the Temple 586–539 B.C.," *Transeu* 22 (2001): 129–42; idem, "Nebuchadrezzar's Policy in 'Hattu-Land' and the Fate of the Kingdom of Judah," *UF* 30 (1998): 473–76; idem, "The History of the Benjamin Region under Babylonian Rule," *TA* 26 (1999): 155–90. The relatively small numbers of those exiled was already noted by Morton Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics That Shaped the Old Testament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971; 2nd, corrected ed.; London: SCM, 1987), 83–85. The fact that the rural sector, too, suffered greatly during the Babylonian conquest has recently been restated by Avraham Faust, "Jerusalem's Countryside during the Iron Age II-Persian period Transition" (in Hebrew with English abstract), in *New Studies on Jerusalem: Proceedings of the Seventh Conference* (ed. A. Faust and E. Baruch; Ramat-Gan: Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies, 2001), 83–89.

[18] This was already realized by Adam C. Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism* (Baird Lecture for 1934; Edinburgh/London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1935), 65–66.

[19] Morton Smith defines the differences as mainly religious—the descendants of the remnants representing "the syncretistic cult of Yahweh" and the exiles standing for "Yahweh alone"—though he does admit sociological factors as well (*Palestinian Parties and Politics*, 107–15). In his view, these two groups later went on to become "Assimilationists" and "Separatists" respectively (pp. 154–55).

[20] See Daniel L. Smith, "The Politics of Ezra: Sociological Indicators of Postexilic Judaean Society," in *Second Temple Studies 1: Persian Period,* ed. Davies, 96.

in later Hellenistic Judaism. The Chronicler also makes no genetic differentiation between 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 the northern tribes—as opposed to his plain description of the demise of the Transjordanians (1 Chr 5:25–26). To the Chronicler, the north was populated by "Israelites," at least in part, even after the Assyrian conquest (see 1 Chr 9:3; 2 Chr 30:1–11; 34:6). Even in Judah, "[t]he destruction of the Temple did not really entail a break in continuity; the majority of the people remained in the land."[21] Judean society of the Chronicler's day was, to a large extent, still a clan-based, rural society, very much a direct continuation of those unexiled "remnant" populations. One characteristic of such "tribal" societies is their use of genealogies in their daily lives.

Since several articles have appeared in recent years summarizing modern trends in the research on biblical genealogies in general and those in the book of Chronicles in particular, a short summary of the main points and conclusions will suffice to introduce the topic.[22]

Modern research on the biblical genealogies has followed two paths: while some scholars have attempted to understand the literary and theological purposes of the genealogies as they stand in the text, others have concentrated on the social, political, and historiographic 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.[23] The underlying assumption of such studies has been that there are sufficient similarities between ancient Israelite society and more recent "tribal" cultures to make such comparisons valid.[24]

[21] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 206; eadem, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (trans. A. Barber in 1989 from the original 1977 Hebrew edition; BEATAJ 9; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 369.

[22] See any recent commentary on Chronicles and also Magnar Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten der Landtheologie in I Chronik 1–9* (ConBOT 28; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1989); Roddy 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, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 93–105; Benjamin E. Scolnic, *Chronology and Papponymy: A List of the Judean High Priests of the Persian Period* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism, 206; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 39–119; Yigal Levin, "Understanding Biblical Genealogies," *CurBS* 9 (2001): 11–46; idem, "Who Was the Chronicler's Audience?" 229–37.

[23] A good example of the first approach is Johnson's now classic *Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*. The "classic" study in the second methodology is Robert R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1977).

[24] An assumption that not all scholars have accepted. For a discussion, see Wilson, *Geneaolgy and History*, 13–18; Bernhard Lang, "Anthropology as a Model for Biblical Studies (introduction),"

Anthropological studies of recent "tribal" societies have shown that members of such societies will learn and recite their personal and clan genealogies for several purposes. A linear genealogy might be recited to legitimize a person's position or hereditary rank or his claim to property,[25] while a segmented lineage shows the kinship ties that link a person to other members of his community and determine his status, rights, and obligations within that community. In such genealogies, segmentation expresses the subject's kinship ties with other members of the tribe; depth illustrates one's historic ties to the founders of one's society (the clan's eponymous ancestors) and to illustrious personages in its past; and fluidity represents the inherent ability of the genealogical record to adapt itself in accordance with the changing relationships between the members of the society that it depicts. In such a tribal society, the unwritten genealogical records can alter according to the narrator's memory or in accordance with his 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 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 whom no one alive actually remembers, or who in the narrator's opinion have no specific function, will occasionally be "erased" from the list, and several people bearing the same name may be combined into a single figure. These phenomena are known as telescoping. This fluidity, however, does not mean that the record is changed capriciously. Its very function in the society that creates it depends on its being accepted as an accurate statement of that society's social structure. As such it may contain a great deal of historically accurate information.[26]

We can now understand that the Chronicler was indeed using a literary device that could be appreciated by his readers: the genealogical framework

---

in *Anthropological Approaches to the Old Testament* (ed. B. Lang; Philadelphia: Fortress; London: SPCK, 1985), 3–8; Thomas W. Overholt, *Cultural Anthropology and the Old Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 1–23.

[25] An additional function of linear genealogies in many "tribal" societies is in the realm of ancestor worship (Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 44–45). For a comparative study of ancient Egyptian priestly genealogies, see Scolnic, *Chronology and Papponymy*, 50–78. There is, however, scant evidence for such a cult in pre- or postexilic Israel or Judah.

[26] A good example of the workings of such genealogies can be found in Laura Bohannan's study of the Tiv of Nigeria ("A Genealogical Charter," *Africa* 22 [1952]: 301–15). The Tiv consider themselves all to be descended from an eponymous ancestor by the name of Tiv, his offspring being 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. For several other studies of African lineages, see John Middleton and David Tait, *Tribes Without Rulers: Studies in African Segmentary Systems* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958).

was a part of their day-to-day lives, and its transferal from the sphere of village life to that of national reality could only be considered natural. Just as an individual's status is determined by his place in his 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. The discrepancies between 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) were expected as just the sort of fluidity that was essential to this genre. 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 picture of Israel past and present.[27]

II. General Observations on the Chronicler's Genealogies

The genealogies in the first nine chapters of the book of Chronicles are quite different from those found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. The genealogies in Genesis are inserted into the narrative and are generally schematic, employing typological numbers (7, 10, 12, 70, etc.). Their literary purpose is mostly chronistic and historiographical; for this reason they are more akin to Mesopotamian king lists than to the "living" genealogies studied by the anthropologists.[28] Most of the genealogical material in Chronicles is different in character; 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 contradict each other. Many of the lists 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 oral genealogies seems unmistakable.[29]

However, it is crucial for us to emphasize that even though the Chroni-

[27] Levin, "Who Was the Chronicler's Audience?" 242–45.

[28] Frank 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; Jack M. Sasson, "A Genealogical 'Convention' in Biblical Chronography," *ZAW* 90 (1978): 171–85; Abraham Malamat, "King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies," *JAOS* 88 (1968): 163–73; Richard S. Hess, "The Genealogies of Genesis 1–11 and Comparative Literature," *Bib* 70 (1989): 241–54.

[29] See also Braun, "1 Chronicles 1–9 and the Reconstruction of the History of Israel," 98–101.

cler's genealogies may resemble oral genealogies, they are not oral genealogies. The first nine chapters of the 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.

As we have already seen, the form that a genealogy takes must always follow its intended function. Segmented genealogies are especially useful when describing the relationships between the subunits that make up a "tribal" society. But the Chronicler's genealogies are "two-dimensional," including both segmented and linear portions. Assuming that the segmented portions are intended to represent the relationships between the clans and phratries within the various tribes, what do the linear portions represent?

The primary formal characteristic of any linear genealogy is depth. In both their oral and especially in their written form, linear genealogies have two primary functions: placing specific characters in the context of their pedigree and providing a chronological frame of reference for those characters. A linear genealogy defines its members both "genetically" and chronologically. In a "two-dimensional" genealogy, the linear sections provide a chronological and "genetic" bridge, or "connector," between the segmented sections. It is to these portions that I now wish to turn.

III. 1 Chronicles 1—Setting the Stage

The first chapter of 1 Chronicles serves as a genealogical introduction to the genealogical introduction. In this chapter, the Chronicler, mostly utilizing material taken from the book of Genesis, "sets the stage" for the appearance of Israel. He defines Israel's place within the family of humankind and the territory belonging to Israel.[30] This is done, in accordance with the conventions of the genealogical genre, by "placing" Israel within the lineage of humanity.

This is clear from the beginning. As many have recognized, the Chronicler reorganized the Genesis material in the way best suited to his literary, historiographic, and theological needs. The first four verses, while technically a name list and not a genealogy at all, seem to presuppose the reader's familiarity with the Genesis narrative and in effect give the lineage of Noah and sons, "placing" them as the direct descendants of Adam (that is, "Man"). Chronologically, these verses "cover" ten generations plus one, and they end with the names "Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth," which we, the readers, know are really a segmented genealogy: "Noah[']s sons were] Shem, Ham, and Japheth."

The next section, vv. 5–23, is a segmented genealogy, taken from Gen 10.

[30] Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten*, 110–17; Levin, "Historical Geography of the Chronicler," 65.

Its function is to describe the relationship of the different "families" of humankind to each other and, by implication, to the line of Shem and to Abraham. Then comes another name list/linear genealogy of ten-generation-plus-one, reaching from Shem to Abram and his sons (vv. 24–28). In v. 29, אלה תלדותם is clearly the heading of a new section, a two-part segmented genealogy of the descendants of Abraham, beginning with Ishmael and Keturah and going back to Isaac. The same structure is followed in v. 34, "And Abraham begat Isaac, the sons of Isaac: Esau and Israel," then going on to deal with the descendants of Esau and leaving Israel for last.

Beyond the structure and content of the individual sections, we can see that the Chronicler has used these linear genealogies to carry us over from one period to the next: from creation to Noah and sons, from Noah to Abraham to Jacob. However, in doing this he presupposes that the readers are familiar with the stories of creation, Cain and Abel (he goes from Adam directly to Seth), the deluge and the "separation" of the nations (see the etymology of Peleg in v. 19), without actually mentioning any of these events themselves. This, as we shall see, is typical of the way the Chronicler uses his sources in building up his story.

IV. Structural Aspects of the Chronicler's Tribal Genealogies

One of the most conspicuous features of the Chronicler's genealogies is the disparity, in length, in form, and in detail, between the different tribal lists. The Judahite list, the first in the series, is precisely one hundred verses long and 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 mention of a census. Transjordanian Manasseh is represented by a territorial description, but with no real genealogical data. Levi, eighty-one verses long, 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. The northern inheritance of Dan may be hinted at by the name "Hushim son of Aher (or "another")."[31] Zebulun, perhaps owing to

[31] August Klostermann, in *Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (ed. Albert Hauck; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1898), 4:94; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT; Tubingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1955), 68; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 174, *contra* H. G. M. Williamson, "A Note on 1 Chronicles VII 12," *VT* 23 (1973): 375–79; Allen, "First and Second Books of Chronicles," 352.

scribal error, is not represented at all in the genealogies.[32] 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.[33] The genealogy of Asher starts with the "core" from Gen 46:24 and goes on to a segmented and complex list of clans. Here also there is mention of a military census. A second (and third) genealogy of Benjamin, along with a list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, makes up the final two chapters and eighty-four verses.

Yet despite all of this disparity, there is a basic structure that underlies the entire composition.[34] Gary N. Knoppers has described it as chiastic, framed by the "important" (in the Chronicler's day) tribes of Judah, Levi, and Benjamin. Manfred Oeming has argued that it is arranged in concentric "spheres" of World-Israel-Jerusalem-Temple. Simon J. De Vries has posited a rather complex "building up" of the text by the Chronicler himself. William Johnstone has proposed two multitiered pyramids, one for Judah with the Davidic line in its center, and one for Israel, built around the Levites.[35] To others the arrangement seems geographical, the tribes being arrayed in a counterclockwise circle.[36] According to Jonathan E. Dyck, the structure is based on "status . . . the priority of Judah and the centrality of Levi," with geography as "a complementary ordering principle."[37] What is clear is that the structure is unique, unlike any other in the Hebrew Bible.

[32] Assuming that we reject the theory proposed by Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* [ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1910], 145–49) and followed by A.-M. Brunet ("Le Chroniste et Ses Sources," *RB* 60 [1953]: 485) that the Benjaminite list in 1 Chr 7:6–12 was originally a Zebulunite one.

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

[34] See Willi, "Late Persian Judaism," 152–53.

[35] Knoppers, "'Great among His Brothers,' but Who Is He?" 1.1; Manfred Oeming, *Das wahre Israel: Die "genealogische Vorhalle" 1 Chronik 1–9* (BWANT 128; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990); Simon J. De Vries, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (FOTL 11; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 21–26; William Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, vol. 1, *1 Chronicles 1–2 Chronicles 9: Israel's Place among the Nations* (JSOTSup 253; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 37–39.

[36] Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 46–47; Aaron Demsky, "The Family of Saul and the el-Jib Handles" (in Hebrew), in *Samaria and Benjamin: Researches in Historical Geography I* (ed. Z. Ehrlich; Ophrah: Matteh Binyamin Regional Council, 1987), 22 (an updated Hebrew version of Demsky's "The Genealogy of Gibeon," which did not include this suggestion); idem, "The Genealogy of Asher (1 Chron. 7:30–40)" (in Hebrew with English abstract), *ErIsr* 24 (1993): 68; Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten*, 166–67. There actually seem to be several discrepancies in this arrangement; see Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 352–55; Levin, "Historical Geography of the Chronicler," 69–71 and references there.

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

Another thing that is clear is that the entire structure also has a "chronological direction," beginning with "these are the sons of Israel" (2:1) and ending at the exile (9:1) and beyond.

V. Chronological Aspects of the Tribal Genealogies

We now move to the individual tribal lists. Our task is made somewhat easier by the fact that the Chronicler does not supply us with linear or chronological material for all of the tribes, presumably because he did not have such material available. The Chronicler does not list a genealogy for Zebulun, and his genealogy of Naphtali (7:13) lists no more than the first generation, copied over from Gen 46:24. If "Hushim son of Aher" in 7:12b really is a "hidden" Danite list, it too has no chronological component.

1. Simeon

For the sake of simplicity, let us begin with the genealogy of Simeon in 1 Chr 4:24–43. Although "only" twenty verses long, this section has all of the components that are typical of the Chronicler's genealogies: segmented and linear genealogies, a town list, narrative pericopes about war and expansion, and mention of a census. It also includes three chronological definitions: "until the reign of David" (v. 31), "in the days of King Hezekiah" (v. 41), and "to this day" (vv. 41 and 43).

The list begins with the five sons of Simeon, similar to Gen 46:10, Exod 6:15, and Num 26:12–13, with some minor variations. The Chronicler then continues with what seems to be a three-generation linear genealogy, "Shallum his son, Mibsam his son, Mishma his son," without specifying whose son Shallum is.[38] A similar problem appears in v. 26: the similarly formed list "Hammuel his son, Zaccur his son, Shimei his son" is preceded by the title "The sons of Mishma" in the plural, making it seem as if these three are all sons of Mishma. Conversely, use of the plural "sons" before listing only one is not unheard of (cf. 1 Chr 7:12: "Hushim sons of Aher," and Gen 46:23: "The sons of Dan: Hushim"). So we really have at least four different ways of understanding this list, giving us a total of four (Simeon, his sons, Shaul's sons, and Mishma's sons), six (Simeon, his sons, Shallum, Mibsam, Mishma, and then Mishma's sons; alternatively: Simeon, his sons and Shaul's sons, followed by Hammuel, Zaccur, and Shimei), or eight generations (Simeon, his sons, Shallum, Mibsam, Mishma, followed by Hammuel, Zaccur, and Shimei), depending on one's read-

[38] De Vries (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 49) and Japhet (*I & II Chronicles*, 121) assume that he is the son of Shaul, but this is not spelled out in the text.

ing. According to v. 27, while Shimei, the last of the line, was prolific, his "brothers" were not, leading to the whole tribe's being overshadowed by the children of Judah.

The Simeonite town list in 4:28–32 and its relationship to the parallel lists of Josh 15:20–32; 19:2–7; and Neh 11:25–29 has been dealt with extensively, and a historical-geographic investigation is not our purpose here.[39] The Chronicler's immediate model seems to have been Josh 19 (the only one of the other three that is also identified as a Simeonite list), including its division into two unequal parts: the thirteen towns of the Negeb (Josh 19:2–6//1 Chr 4:28–31) and the four towns in the Shephelah (Josh 19:7//1 Chr 4:32). The Chronicler, however, used the division for a chronological note: the first group were "their towns until the reign of David," while the remaining five (an unknown Etam appears here only and the total is adjusted) are labeled וחצריהם.[40] In Josh 19 this is the last word of the previous grouping, "thirteen towns and their villages"; here it has been placed after "until the reign of David," serving as a title for the second group, "and their villages were . . . ," the object of "their" changing from "the towns" in Joshua to "the Simeonites" here and the gender being adjusted accordingly (וחצריהן for the fem. ערים in Joshua becoming וחצריהם here).[41] In v. 33 as well, the Chronicler renders Josh 19:8, "together with all *the* villages (וכל־החצרים) all around these towns as far as Baalath-beer, Ramah of the Negeb" as "along with all *their* villages (וכל־חצריהם) that were around these towns as far as Baal." Whether or not the Chronicler meant that the last five "villages" became a part of the Simeonite territory only during the days of

[39] See Nadav Na'aman, "The Inheritance of the Sons of Simeon," *ZDPV* 96 (1980): 136–52; Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten*, 125–35; Matthias Augustin, "The Role of Simeon in the Book of Chronicles and in Jewish Writings of the Hellenistic-Roman Period," in *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Division A: The Bible and Its World* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1990), 137–38 and the extensive bibliography there in n. 5; and most recently Zecharia Kallai, "Simeon's Town List: Scribal Rules and Geographical Patterns," *VT* 53 (2003): 81–96.

[40] Usually translated "their villages," based on Lev 25:31, though probably referring to the town's outlying agricultural installations; see Bendor, *Social Structure of Ancient Israel*, 136. Abraham Malamat suggested that חצרים and חצרות are derived from two separate proto-Semitic roots, the first meaning "unwalled settlements" and the second "animal enclosures" (*Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* [1984 Schweich Lecture; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989], 47–48). Following Malamat, I would point out that several of the toponyms mentioned in the Simeonite list include the element "-חצר": Hazar-shual and Hazar-susim/susah in the versions in 1 Chr 4 and Josh 19, an additional Hazar-gaddah, Hazor and (Kerioth-) Hezron in Josh 15.

[41] This does raise an additional difficulty: while in all of the Joshua town lists, ערים וחצריהן seem to be inseparable, the Chronicler seems to have a different conception of what a town's חצרים are. For an attempt to understand the various terms used, see Yuval Portugali, "'Arim, Banot, Migrashim and Haserim: The Spatial Organization of Eretz-Israel in the 12th–10th Centuries B.C.E. according to the Bible" (in Hebrew with English abstract), *ErIsr* 17 (1984): 282–90.

David, he certainly did consider the Simeonites to have been in place by that time.[42]

The final comment of v. 33 is והתיחשם להם, a postexilic term typical of the Chronicler that is usually translated "and they kept a genealogical record" (NRSV and others). While it is possible to understand this to refer to the Chronicler's source being some sort of census (perhaps that conducted by Joab; see 1 Chr 27:24), several scholars have proposed connecting this clause with the following verse to serve as a title for the list of names beginning in v. 34.[43]

The names of the clan leaders listed in vv. 34–37, some with their lineage of two to five generations, seem to have no connection to the previous tribal list, although Sara Japhet does suggest identifying Shemaiah, the forebear of Ziza, the last of the leaders mentioned, with Shimei, the last of the line in v. 27, thus forming a connection between these leaders and their tribal ancestors.[44]

The following verses tell of several seemingly independent Simeonite military activities, each with its own chronological indicator, although the precise internal divisions are difficult to define. In v. 39, "they," presumably those enumerated in the previous section, went to "the entrance of Gedor" and displaced its Hamitic inhabitants.[45] This might indicate that v. 41, which tells of the expedition against the Meunim in the days of Hezekiah, refers to the same event. Yohanan Aharoni's assertion that the first incident occurred during the settlement period seems unlikely,[46] since that would be out of context at this point in the text; the Chronicler has already taken us beyond the tribe's origins, beyond the days of David, and is now moving forward. Moreover, the results of this campaign are said to have lasted "to this day."

The same time frame is given for the final episode, concerning five hun-

[42] Contra Johnstone (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 68), who suggests that the Chronicler's intention is that the Simeonites were pushed out of their thirteen towns in the days of David and forced to expand into new territory as nomads.

[43] Cf. NEB, NJPS; Japhet mentions the suggestion but does not adopt it (*I & II Chronicles,* 118); De Vries translates "and they were placed on the muster roll," adding, "in addition to authenticating the [town-] list, however, it prepares for the muster roll to follow" (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 49).

[44] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 124. Johnstone imaginatively proposes that the coincidence of there being thirteen of these leaders suggests that they had been the chiefs of the thirteen towns in the previous section, now driven to conquer new territory (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 68).

[45] Precisely where this is has been debated, with most scholars preferring to read "Gerar" with the LXX, indicating an expansion into the western Negeb, where they would have met either Canaanites, Philistines, or Egyptians, all "sons of Ham" to the Chronicler (see 1 Chr 1:8–12). See Jacob M. Myers, *I Chronicles: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 12; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 31; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 124—but cf. 2 Chr 14:12, where the MT reads "Gerar" and the LXX "Gedor."

[46] Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (trans. A. F. Rainey; 2nd ed.; London: Burns & Oates, 1979), 218.

dred Simeonites, led by the sons of Ishi, who went to Mount Seir, destroyed "the remnant of the Amalekites," and lived there "to this day." In a study of this term published four decades ago, Brevard Childs concluded that in most cases, the formula עד היום הזה indicates an etiology, in this case an "ethnic and geographic etiology" meant to explain the geographic location of tribes.[47] In his opinion the primary function of the formula is to show "the historian's personal witness." Childs clarified, however, that "the historian" does not necessarily refer to the final composer of the biblical book, but rather "reflects the age of many different redactors."[48] In a more recent study, Jeffrey C. Geoghegan showed that in the many places in which the Deuteronomistic History uses this phrase, it can be attributed to the DH's preexilic Josianic redactor, referring to things as they were in the redactor's own day.[49] Japhet, while entertaining the notion that the comment here is the Chronicler's and is meant to reflect his own day, finds it unlikely that the Chronicler would indicate that there were Simeonites in Mount Seir in his own day and prefers to assume that it was taken from the Chronicler's source.[50] In this case, it would mean that "to this day" refers to the preexilic origin of the source.

However, as Japhet also rightly pointed out, this formula is extremely rare in Chronicles, appearing just once more in the Chronicler's "nonsynoptic" material. This appearance is in 1 Chr 5:26, also at the end of a tribal genealogy, in this case that of the Transjordanians. There the reference is certainly to the Chronicler's own day, explaining why there are no longer Israelite tribes in Transjordan. Similarly here, it would be safe to assume that by "to this day" the Chronicler does, indeed, intend to indicate a Simeonite/Israelite/Judahite presence in, or at least a claim to, the territory of Mount Seir.[51]

Another indication of the Chronicler's intentions may be in the similarity of four of the five names in v. 42 to some of the names appended to the end of the Davidic lineage in 1 Chr 3:20–24, which is thought to come down to the Chronicler's own day.[52] Ran Zadok saw this as evidence of the artificial nature

[47] Brevard S. Childs, "A Study of the Formula, 'Until This Day,'" *JBL* 82 (1963): 286.

[48] Ibid., 292.

[49] Jeffrey C. Geoghegan, "'Until This Day' and the Preexilic Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History," *JBL* 122 (2003): 201–27.

[50] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 126.

[51] See also Obad 19, "Those of the Negeb shall possess Mount Esau." Whether or not this can be taken to indicate that there were indeed Israelites/Judahites present in "Mount Seir" in the Persian period, or even just what the Chronicler meant by this term, must be left for further study. However, note the many Yahwistic names found in Persian-period ostraca in such places as Arad and other Negeb sites (see Joseph Naveh, "The Aramaic Ostraca from Tel Arad," in *Arad Inscriptions* [ed. Y. Aharoni; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981], 176; Israel Eph'al and Joseph Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* [Jerusalem: Magnes; Israel Exploration Society, 1996], 15–16).

[52] See Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 16; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 27; Kenneth E.

of the Simeonite list.[53] I would see it at least as evidence of the postexilic provenance of those names, if not of the Simeonite traditions themselves.[54] The Chronicler's intention certainly seems to have been to take the Simeonite list down to his own day. To repeat an observation already uttered by quite a few: this genealogy does not include references to such events as the settlement, the monarchy, and the exile. To the Chronicler, these Simeonites continued to live on their land just as they always had.

2. Gad, Reuben, and Half-Manasseh

We turn now to the two and a half Transjordanian tribes, depicted in 1 Chr 5:1–26. That these tribes make up a clearly defined unit in themselves is made obvious by several means. They are introduced by an explanation of Reuben's position in 5:1–2,[55] followed by a historical conclusion in vv. 25–26. The geographical definitions of the tribes' territories are internally complementary and are unlike any other account of the Transjordanian allotments.[56] The military exploits recounted in vv. 18–22 are those of all of the Transjordanian tribes together. Peter J. Williams has pointed out also the passage's linguistic unity.[57] Finally, such a listing of the Transjordanians as a single unit exists elsewhere in Chronicles (e.g., 1 Chr 12:38; 26:32).

The chronological boundaries of this unit are clear enough. They begin with the patriarchal age and with the tribal patriarchs Reuben and Gad, adding "the sons of the half-tribe of Manasseh,"[58] and end with their exile "to this day" —the Chronicler's own. Within each of the two tribal units, a linear list of tribal chiefs serves to connect the ancestral patriarchs to the end of the line. In neither list is there a clear connection between the ancestral patriarch and the first-listed tribal leader; and in both cases, the date of the end of the line is

---

Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (SBLEJL 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 83–88; Dyck, *Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, 32.

[53] Ran Zadok, "On the Reliability of the Genealogical and Prosopographical Lists of the Israelites in the Old Testament," *TA* 25 (1998): 247.

[54] See also Augustin, "Role of Simeon in the Book of Chronicles".

[55] About which see Piet B. Dirksen, "1 Chronicles 5:1–2," *JNSL* 25 (1999): 17–23 and references therein.

[56] See Levin, "Historical Geography of the Chronicler," 103–8.

[57] Peter J. Williams, "Israel Outside the Land: The Transjordanian Tribes in 1 Chronicles 5," in *Windows into Old Testament History: Evidence, Argument, and the Crisis of "Biblical Israel"* (ed. V. Philips Long et al.; Grand Rapids/ Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002), 150–53.

[58] Perhaps reflecting Num 32:33, in which the half-tribe of Manasseh joins the Reubenites' and Gadites' request to remain in Transjordan only after the completion of the latter's negotiations with Moses. If so, the Chronicler is once more making implicit reference to a historical event without actually mentioning the event itself.

established by reference to a known ruler, the Assyrian "Tilgath-pilneser" in the case of Reuben; Kings Jotham and Jeroboam for Gad.[59] Like the Simeonite list, this unit, too, invokes the Chronicler's knowledge that this is how things remain "to this day."

3. Issachar

The first Galilean tribe to be listed is Issachar (7:1–5), with what seems to be a combined segmented genealogy and military census record. Many scholars have assumed that this and other such lists are based on actual records to which the Chronicler had access in some form;[60] it does show signs of the Chronicler's editing, for example, by use of the term התיחשם.[61] This list begins with the same four sons who are listed in Gen 46:13 and Num 26:23–24 with only minor textual differences. It then goes on to record the six sons of Tola, the eldest, adding, "heads of their fathers' houses, namely of Tola, mighty warriors of their generations, their number in the days of David being twenty-two thousand six hundred." The only linear component in this whole genealogy is in v. 3, where Tola's eldest, Izrahiah, is followed by his sons Michael, Obadiah, Joel, and Ishiah, giving a three-generation lineage.[62] These are numbered at thirty-six thousand, while "their kindred belonging to all the families of Issachar were in all eighty-seven thousand mighty warriors," obviously implying that the tribe's population had increased over those three generations. Chronologically speaking, we have a record of the tribe's development from its patriarchal beginnings, through the days of David and for one or two additional generations, ending there with התיחשם לכל, "all enrolled by genealogy."

4. Benjamin

The first Benjaminite genealogy, enumerated in 7:6–12, exhibits quite a few formal similarities to the preceding Issachar list. It, too, begins with the tribal patriarch and his sons (though in this case, there are much more significant differences between this list and those in Gen 46:21, Num 26:38–40, and 1 Chr 8:1–2). It, too, contains a four-generation segmented genealogy with no linear section, except where v. 10, just like v. 3 in the Issachar list, "skips" a single generation; and it, too, contains military-like census information defined by

[59] For a historical analysis of these lists, see Bustenay Oded, "The Settlement of the Tribe of Reuben in Transjordania" (in Hebrew with English abstract), in *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel I* (ed. A. Gilboa et al.; Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1970), 11–36.

[60] E.g., Johnson, *Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 67.

[61] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 168–69.

[62] The text here is problematic, and various emendations have been suggested; see Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 64; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 76; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 171.

the term התיחשם. There are also differences. First, in this list, a separate "unit" is given for each of the patriarch's sons. Second, there is no chronological "progression" through two or more "generations" of censuses—all three "units" are pictured as having been "listed and counted" at the same time. Third, no date is given for this census; and, fourth, the list contains "typical" Benjaminite names, such as the toponyms Anathoth and Alemeth, the name of the hero Ehud, and a Benjamin, son of Jediael.

There are many different opinions as to why the Chronicler included two Benjaminite lists in his genealogies and why one of them seems to be situated among the northern tribes.[63] Benjamin Mazar, followed by Demsky, suggested that Sheba son of Bichri's flight to Abel-Beth-Maacah (2 Sam 20:14) is evidence of members of the Benjaminite clan of Becher living in the area.[64] Malamat even suggested amending the MT וכל הברים to וכל הבכרי (based on the LXX and the Latin; cf. NRSV, NJPS note).[65] One thing is clear: this particular Benjaminite genealogy is like no other, and it is very close in genre and form, if not in its actual source, to the Issachar list that precedes it.

5. Asher

Another list that is often connected to these two is that of Asher in 7:30–40. It, too, begins with the tribal patriarch and his sons, identical in this case to Gen 46:17 (even to the inclusion of the rare mention of a daughter and of the third generation) and very similar to Num 26:44–46. Like the others, this list also continues as a segmented genealogy and concludes with military clan rolls, including the term התיחשם. But here the similarities end. Unlike the rather simple and schematic genealogies of Benjamin and Issachar, the Asherite list is quite complex, with the relationships between the individual names often unclear, with seemingly multiple spellings of some names, with mention of daughters, and with many of the names being similar or identical to known geographical names, employing the formula "PN who is the father of GN."[66] In all of these features, the Asherite list is similar to both the Judahite genealogies of chs. 2–4 and the second Benjminite genealogy of ch. 8. It seems that only v. 40 is from a source related to that of the Issachar and Benjamin census lists and that the main body of the genealogy (vv. 30–39) should be treated separately.[67]

[63] Richard J. Coggins (*The First and Second Books of the Chronicles* [CBC; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976], 50) and Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 77) assume that this list and the preceding Issachar segment were taken from the same documentary source.

[64] Demsky, "Family of Saul and the el-Jib Handles," 22.

[65] Abraham Malamat, "*Ummatum* in Old Babylonian Texts and Its Ugaritic and Biblical Counterparts," *UF* 11 (1979): 536.

[66] See Levin, "Understanding Biblical Genealogies," 28.

[67] De Vries identifies only vv. 34–40 as a "muster roll" (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 82).

As many of the scholars who have dealt with the Asherite genealogy have realized, the Chronicler pictures the tribe of Asher as settled not in its "classic" territory in the western Galilee but in the central hill country, on the border between Ephraim, Benjamin, and Judah. Many of the names in the list, such as Birzaith, Japhlet, Shelesh, Shual, Shilshah, Ithran, and Jether are elsewhere known as names of places in this general area, and Beriah is also mentioned as a "son" of Ephraim and of Benjamin.[68]

Whatever the actual source of the Asherite genealogy, there is no doubt that it is multitiered. The genealogy begins with the tribal patriarch and his sons (and daughter) and then traces the descendants of one of these, Heber. Heber's segmented genealogy includes three sons and a daughter, the first two of whom are then traced for one more generation. Tracing the lineage beyond that generation becomes more difficult, since it depends on determining which elements are variant spellings of the same names: Shomer/Shemer, Bimhal/Ben-helem, Shelesh/Shalishah, Ithran/Jether, and so on. In any case, there seem to be up to eight generations in this list.

In her work on the Asherite list, Diana Edelman proposed a three-stage development of these "southern" Asherites, based on her reading of their genealogy. Her chronological starting point was the similarity of several of the names in the list, such as Shelesh, Shual and Zuph, to the "lands" traversed by Saul on his journey in 1 Sam 9:4–5. Then, assuming that the entire list must have been composed at a time when this part of Mount Ephraim was controlled by the kingdom of Judah, she dated the end of the list to the time of Josiah, in the late seventh century B.C.E.[69]

My analysis is different. I recognize the connection of these phratries of Beriah, Shemer, and Jether with their Ephraimite, Benjaminite, and Judahite namesakes and "match" them with these clans' genealogies, which in my opinion reflect a time close to the Chronicler's own.[70] In my opinion, the Chroni-

[68] See F.-M. Abel, "Un Mention Biblique de Birzeit," *RB* 46 (1937): 217–24; Zecharia Kallai, "The Settlement Traditions of Ephraim: A Historiographical Study," *ZDPV* 102 (1986): 68–74; Demsky, "Genealogy of Asher"; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 185–87; Yigal Levin, "Joseph, Judah, and the 'Benjamin Conundrum,'" *ZAW* 116 (2004): 227–28 and references there; contra Nadav Na'aman ("Sources and Redaction in the Chronicler's Genealogies of Asher and Ephraim," *JSOT* 49 [1991]: 99–111), who contends that this "list of the sons of Heber" was originally an Ephraimite list that the Chronicler mistakenly connected to the Asherite Heber of Gen 46:17; and Johnstone (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 110), who simply assumes that these Asherites were settled "on the sea-coast in the far north-west" and makes no reference to any other opinion.

[69] Diana 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.

[70] Yigal Levin and Avraham Faust, "The Ties Between the Tribes Asher and Benjamin" (in Hebrew with English abstract), in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting 1997* (ed. Y. Eshel; Kedumim/Ariel: College of Judea and Samaria Research Insti-

cler's source of information for such segmented genealogies, which exhibit the fluidity of oral lineages (including the telescoping of hundreds of years into eight generations that can be remembered), was precisely those "living traditions" of the Asherite clans still inhabiting southern Mount Ephraim in his own day.

What the Chronicler actually did here, then, was to take his ancient sources, the Asherite genealogies in Genesis and in Numbers and that old military census (whether actually from the time of David or not), and use them to "frame" a written version of the oral traditions preserved by the Asherite clans of his own day. Those oral traditions, as usual for this genre, reflected the members' memories of their own origins and their relationships with each other and with their neighbors, with a "telescoped" sense of depth reaching from their present all the way back to their eponymous founder, again without references to such events as the settlement, the monarchy, and the exile. These Asherites, too, were "born" on their land, had always lived on it, and, as far as the Chronicler was concerned, were living on it still.

6. The Sons of Joseph

That the Chronicler considered the genealogies of Manasseh (7:14–19) and Ephraim (7:20–27) to be two parts of a single unit, not unlike his "Transjordanian" unit in ch. 5, is made clear (1) by the fact that the Manassite boundary (v. 29a) is listed together with that of Ephraim (v. 28) and (2) by the ending (v. 29b), "In these lived the sons of Joseph son of Israel." Nonetheless, the two tribal genealogies and their territorial descriptions differ from each other in form and content, probably indicating that they were taken from two different sources.

The Manassite genealogy in vv. 14–19 is disjointed and difficult to follow. For this reason, scholars have proposed several different ways to understand it.[71] However it is understood, its similarity to the Asherite genealogy of vv. 31b–39 is clear: the segmented form, the mention of daughters, and the formula "PN father of GN." In my previous treatment of this list, I showed that several of the names mentioned can be identified as Persian-period settle-

---

tute, 1998), 225–31; Levin, "Historical Geography of the Chronicler," 139–44; idem, "Understanding Biblical Genealogies," 242–43.

[71] Myers understood it as a mostly Transjordanian list (*I Chronicles*, 54); Demsky saw it as dealing with both sides of the river ("The Genealogies of Manasseh and the Location of the Territory of Milkah the Daughter of Zelophehad" (in Hebrew with English abstract), *ErIsr* 16 [1982]: 70–71); and Edelman considered it a totally Cisjordanian list ("The Manassite Genealogy in 1 Chronicles 7:14–19: Form and Source," *CBQ* 53 [1991]: 179–201). See also Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 174–79.

ments.[72] As in the Asherite genealogy, the Chronicler employed the oral traditions and the literary conventions inherent in the genre of segmented genealogies, in order to reconstruct the tribe's history from its origins down to the reality of his own day. And as in the previously examined Simeonite and Asherite lists, there is no mention of the settlement, monarchy, exile, and return.

The list of "the sons of Ephraim" (7:20–28) is totally different in structure and, presumably, in its sources and its purpose. It begins with what would seem to be an eight- or nine-generation linear genealogy, stretching from Ephraim himself to the second Shuthelah and either his sons or his brothers, although Japhet alternatively suggests reading all of the last eight names as sons of the first Shuthelah.[73] The genealogical scheme is then interrupted by the narrative of "their" demise at the hands of the native-born men of Gath and Ephraim's mourning and the birth of Beriah (vv. 21b–23); the genealogy is resumed with mention of "his" (either Ephraim's or Beriah's) daughter Sheerah the town-builder[74] and an additional nine names, beginning with Rephah and concluding with Joshua.[75]

There have been various attempts to understand the historical background of the Ephraimites' struggle with the men of Gath and the advent of Beriah, most citing the role of Beriah in the genealogies of (southern) Asher (7:30–31) and of Benjamin (8:13—there as the one who "drove away the inhabitants of Gath"). What is important to us is the chronological aspect. Assuming that the first section is, indeed, a linear genealogy, its purpose here would be to create a distance (of nine or ten generations) between Ephraim himself and the Gath incident. At some point in the tribe's history, some of its clans were "wiped out" and "replaced" by Beriah.

The second section of the list, from Rephah to Joshua, is even more difficult, for several reasons. First, it is not at all obvious whose son Rephah is supposed to be—Beriah's, Shuthelah's, or even Ephraim's. Second, the relationship between Resheph and Telah is not defined in the MT. Most translations simply assume that word בנו, "his son," is missing;[76] others, following the

[72] Levin, "Territories of Ephraim and Manasseh according to Chronicles."

[73] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 180.

[74] Antje Labahn and Ehud Ben Zvi, "Observations on Women in the Genealogies of I Chronicles 1–9," *Bib* 84 (2003): 457–78.

[75] Elishama son of Ammihud, presented here as Joshua's grandfather, is a "prince" of the tribe of Ephraim in Numbers (1:9; 2:18; 7:48; 7:53; 10:22), making him a (perhaps senior) contemporary of Joshua.

[76] E.g., NRSV; NJPS; see also Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 167.

LXX, assume that Rephah and Resheph are actually brothers, Telah then being the son of Resheph.[77]

The third problem with this list is that Tahan, presented here as the son of Telah, is apparently the son of Ephraim himself in Num 26:35, while Ladan, here the son of Tahan, is there the son of Shuthelah.[78] The fourth problem is the intended relationship and distance between Ephraim and Joshua. Taken at face value, the list seems to say that the Gath incident occurred many generations after the life of Ephraim himself, but even more generations before Joshua's conquest. This seems to contradict the genealogical and chronological scheme of the Pentateuch, according to which only a few generations passed between the tribal patriarchs and the exodus, all of which lived in Egypt. Japhet, followed by Benjamin Scolnic, saw this as evidence of the Chronicler's denial of the whole Egypt-conquest tradition, emphasizing instead that the Ephraimites, like the rest of their "brothers," the children of Israel, were born and lived in Canaan.[79] Gershon Galil, by contrast, claims that the entire point here is to distance the Gath war from Ephraim himself, even to the extent of claiming that the Ephraim of v. 22 is *not* Ephraim the son of Joseph, in order to avoid contradicting the statement of Gen 50:23 that Ephraim's grandchildren were born while Joseph was still alive and that therefore they, too, had been born and died in Egypt. Raphah, who heads the next section, would then be another son of Ephraim son of Joseph and the ancestor of the illustrious Joshua.[80]

Alternatively, Gary A. Rendsburg, by identifying Tahan of v. 25 with Tahan "son" of Ephraim in Numbers 26:35, basically "cuts" Raphah, Resheph, and Telah out of the line, "closing" the distance from Ephraim to Joshua to a "mere" seven generations.[81] I would submit that all of these suggestions have gone too far. To claim, as Japhet and Scolnic do, that the Chronicler wished to deny the entire Egypt-conquest tradition, hardly makes sense when we know how heavily he has drawn on the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic History. In this case, why bother to record (or to compose) a special genealogy of Joshua son of Nun, who would be important *only* in connection with the conquest? Galil,

[77] KJV; cf. Myers, *I Chronicles*, 51; also Gary A. Rendsburg, "The Internal Consistency and Historical Reliability of the Biblical Genealogies," *VT* 40 (1990): 194 n. 17.

[78] Assuming לעדן here to be a variant reading of לערן, the prepositional *lamed* taken by the copyist as part of the actual name; see Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 183. It is possible to read Telah (תלח) as an abbreviated form of Shuthelah (שותלח), but the discrepancy is still there.

[79] Sara Japhet, "Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles," *JBL* 98 (1979): 205–18; see also Scolnic, *Chronology and Papponymy*, 157.

[80] Gershon Galil, "The Chronicler's Genealogies of Ephraim," *BN* 56 (1991): 11–14.

[81] Rendsburg, "Internal Consistency and Historical Reliability of the Biblical Genealogies," 194.

meanwhile, has gone too far in the other direction. True, the Chronicler did not intend to contradict Gen 50. But there is no reason to think that Ephraim is not Ephraim. Rendsburg's suggestion, while seeming to solve *his* problem of Joshua's being "too far" removed from his tribal patriarch (see below), is based on circular reasoning and a hypothetical textual reconstruction, and Rendsburg himself admits that "certainly a methodologically sounder approach should be used."

The solution here, once again, is in the genre. The Chronicler was fully aware that, once he moved beyond the tribal eponym, the figures mentioned would represent not individuals but clans, phratries, families, and the relationships between them, and he expected his audience to recognize this as well. Fluidity is a working part of this genre. As we have seen in previous cases, the Chronicler mentions such key personages as Adam, Noah, Peleg, the patriarchs, and now Joshua precisely as a means to "tie in" his genealogies with important and well-known (to his readers) events from Israel's past. Just as we are able to read this genealogy as the story of an Asherite clan that was "adopted" first into the tribe of Ephraim and then into Benjamin (see below), so could they.

7. Benjamin (Again)

Chapter 8, under the title "Benjamin," actually includes several different types of lists, taken from different sources. The first two verses list the five sons of the tribal patriarch, once again, differently from Gen 46:21, Num 26:38–40, and 1 Chr 7:6 (details can be found in any commentary). In any case, the following verses record only the descendants of Bela, who is the eldest in all of the accounts, for two or three generations, including several mentions of the name Gera and what would seem to be several variants of the name Ehud. This immediately evokes the heroic figure of Ehud, son of Gera, from Judg 3, who may well have become the eponym of a Benjaminite clan. Verses 6 (or perhaps only 6b)–12 include several disjointed lists of names that seem to be connected to several episodes in the tribe's past, including the exile of the clans of Geba to Manahath, some connection with "the field of Moab," mention of some sort of clan leadership (ראשי אבות), ending with Elpaal's sons, who built Ono and Lod. The next segment (vv. 13–28) begins with Beriah (presumably the same clan as the Beriah of Ephraim and of Asher) and Shema, who chased away the inhabitants of Gath, continuing with long lists of their sons and those of each of their brothers (assuming that ואחיו in v. 14 is read as "and his brother[s]" with the LXX rather than as a proper name "Ahio").

Of all of these, it is possible to establish a chronological connection for only two. However the different variations are read, the multiple references to the "judge" Ehud, son of Gera, in 8:3–7 are unmistakable. This would "date"

this third "generation" of the tribe to the premonarchic era, making all the subsequent episodes contemporaneous or later. An obvious connection for the "exile" of the Geba clans would be the Gibeah incident of Judg 19–20, although the details are difficult to match.[82] I would hesitantly add that the particular expression שדה מואב, "the field of Moab," appears elsewhere only in the Edomite king list in Gen 36:35, reproduced in 1 Chr 1:46, and in the book of Ruth (1:1, 2, 6 etc., there usually spelled שדי־מואב). Whichever of these (if any) the Chronicler had in mind, both are set in the premonarchic era.

The name Hushim (v. 11), apparently a wife of Shaharaim (v. 8), is identical to the son of Dan in Gen 46:23 and to the "son of another" in 1 Chr 7:12b and may represent an "adoption" of the Danite clan by the neighboring tribe of Benjamin. Shmuel Yeivin suggested that this Benjaminite westward expansion took place during the reign of Saul.[83]

The next generation, the sons of Elpaal, includes Eber, Misham, and Shemed, who built Ono and Lod, and Beriah and Shema of Aijalon, who "chased away" the men of Gath. Shemed would then be the "grandson" of the Asherite Beriah, here elevated to the level of "brother."[84] Since Aijalon was Danite territory during the early monarchy (Josh 19:42; 21:24)[85] but later became part of Ephraim (including in the Chronicler's version of the list of Levitical cities—1 Chr 6:54 [Eng. 6:69]), its inclusion in Benjamin would reflect an even later westward expansion of that tribe. A "fitting" time for such expansion would be either under such a monarch as Josiah or in the postexilic period. The towns of Lod and Ono are known in the Bible only in postexilic sources (e.g., Neh 11:35), though both are known in extrabiblical sources from as far back as the fifteenth century B.C.E.[86]

That is the whole purpose of the list: to take the reader from the tribe's origins, through some of the more important events in its history, to the reader's

[82] The names Geba, Gibeah, and Gibeon are often interchanged in biblical texts. See Aaron Demsky, "Geba, Gibeah, and Gibeon: An Historical-Geographical Riddle," *BASOR* 212 (1973): 26–31; Yigal Levin, "'From Goshen to Gibeon' (Joshua 10:41): The Southern Frontier of the Early Monarchy," *Maarav* 10 (2003): 201–4.

[83] Shmuel Yeivin, "The Benjaminite Settlement in the Western Part of their Territory," *IEJ* 21 (1971): 149–52.

[84] Some manuscripts read שמר instead of שמד; see Aaron Demsky, "The Boundary of the Tribe of Dan (Joshua 19:41-46)," in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism* (ed. Chaim Cohen, Avi Hurvitz, and Shalom M. Paul; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 276–77.

[85] Assuming that both of these reflect that period; see Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 298–304; Zecharia Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible: The Tribal Territories of Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden: Brill, 1986), 362–63, 458 and references there.

[86] See Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 161. A postexilic date is suggested also by Oded Lipschits, "The Origin of the Jewish Population of Modi'in and Its Vicinity" (in Hebrew with English abstract), *Cathedra* 85 (1997): 7–32.

own day. The section traces the "descendants" of the Benjaminites of Geba, later of Aijalon, all the way to Jerusalem of the reader's day—that of the early Second Temple period.[87]

Verses 29–38 list another "branch" of the Benjaminites: those whose origin was traced to Gibeon, including the most illustrious of all the tribe's families—that of Saul. A second version of this list appears in the next chapter (1 Chr 9:35–44), where it doubles as an introduction to the death of Saul in ch. 10.[88] As shown by the Gibeon stamp impressions, the Saulide family remained in the area for many generations and into the postexilic period.[89]

This Gibeonite genealogy in itself is similar in form to those of Manasseh, Asher, and Benjamin-Geba. It begins by listing the progenitor Jeiel (only in 9:35, missing from 8:29), otherwise unknown unless he can be identified with Jediael, the likewise unknown son of Benjamin in 1 Chr 7:6.[90] His wife, Maachah, has a distinctly Aramean name. The genealogy then goes on to list his ten sons (according to 9:36, where Ner is added between Baal and Nadab) and the son of Mikloth, the last in the list. The subject of 9:38b (//8:32b), "Now these also lived opposite their kindred in Jerusalem, with their kindred," is unclear, but one is reminded of the episode in 2 Sam 9, in which Mephibosheth, son of Jonathan, is brought by David to reside in Jerusalem.

The Saulide line, then, is traced from its origins in Gibeon, through the characters known to us from the book of Samuel (with some changes), down to Jehoadah, great-grandson of Merib-baal (as Mephibosheth is called here). The list then goes on, but the following "generations" are comprised mostly of toponyms such as Alemeth, Azmaveth, Moza, Eleasah, and Azel, all well-attested in the postexilic period. Once again, the Chronicler uses a linear genealogy to link known historical figures to those clans living in the Benjaminite hill county and its environs in his own time. In all, this version of the Ben-

[87] So Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 77; Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 83, contra De Vries (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 87), who writes of Benjaminite "garrisons" in the late monarchy; and Japhet (*I & II Chronicles*, 195), who also prefers this period.

[88] The second version would also seem to be the better preserved; see Demsky, "Genealogy of Gibeon," 71.

[89] See Demsky, "Genealogy of Gibeon"; also Levin and Faust ("Ties Between the Tribes Asher and Benjamin"), who traced their connections to the Asherite clans in the area; Diana Edelman, "Did Saulite-Davidic Rivalry Resurface in Early Persian Yehud?" in *The Land That I Will Show You: Essays on the History and Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honour of J. Maxwell Miller* (ed. J. A. Dearman and M. P. Graham; JSOTSup 343; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 69–91; Levin, "Joseph, Judah, and the 'Benjamin Conundrum.'" Contra Stanley D. Walters ("Saul of Gibeon," *SJOT* 52 [1991]: 61–76) and Johnstone (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 116), there is no reason to think that the Chronicler is accusing Saul of having non-Israelite Gibeonite origins—Saul was known as a persecutor of the Gibeonites (2 Sam 21:1–2).

[90] Shmuel Yeivin, *The Israelite Conquest of Canaan* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1971), 101.

jaminite genealogy begins, once again, with the tribal patriarch and his "sons," the eponyms of the ancient clans that made up the tribe. The history of the Geba branch of the tribe is then traced through the premonarchic period (Gera, Ehud), to their later settlement of Ono, Lod, and Aijalon, connecting us to the episode of Beriah and the men of Gath already mentioned in the Ephraim and Asher pericopes. These clans are then traced to their postexilic descendants. Then comes the Gibeon branch, through the phratry that produced the Saulide line, once again to their postexilic descendants. Both "branches" were obviously represented in the Persian-period community.

The last two verses of ch. 8, listing the sons of Eshek "his brother," with mention of archers and a military census, seem out of place here and may belong to the same source that was quoted in the Benjaminite list of ch. 7.

8. Judah

We now turn to the longest two records, those of Judah and Levi, beginning with the former. The genealogy of Judah is the longest, most complex genealogical unit in the entire Bible and has been dealt with extensively.[91] Its composite nature and its chiastic structure have been long recognized. We will attempt to limit our comments to chronological issues.

1 Chronicles 3, which stands at the center of the whole structure, is the simplest. It begins with the children of David and their mothers, distinguishing between those born at Hebron and those born in Jerusalem. The whole passage is taken from 2 Sam 3:2–5 and 14–16, with some textual variations that do not affect the general scheme. Verses 10–14 trace the royal linear descent from Solomon to Josiah, with nothing that could not have been taken from 1–2 Kings (and from the Chronicler's own narrative in 2 Chronicles). Whether the Chronicler actually did so or had a different source is debated.[92] In any case, the chronological purpose of this linear genealogy is, as before, to serve as a "connector" between the time of David and that of the exile, "skimming through" the history of Judah on the way.[93] Verses 15–19 then revert to a multitiered seg-

[91] In addition to all the commentaries, see H. G. M. Williamson, "Sources and Redaction in the Chronicler's Genealogy of Judah," *JBL* 98 (1979): 351–59; Gershon Galil, "The Genealogies of the Tribe of Judah" (in Hebrew) (Ph.D. diss., Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1983); Aaron Demsky, "The Clans of Ephrath: Their Territory and History," *TA* 13–14 (1986): 46–59; Willi, "Late Persian Judaism"; Levin, "Historical Geography of the Chronicler," 72–92; Knoppers, "Intermarriage, Social Complexity, and Ethnic Diversity in the Genealogy of Judah"; idem, "'Great among His Brothers,' but Who Is He?" and the many references therein.

[92] See De Vries, who thinks that he used an ancient "royal register" (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 43); Japhet is undecided (*I & II Chronicles*, 93).

[93] For the ideological aspects of the Chronicler's treatment of the Davidic line, see the commentaries, as well as Pomykala, *Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism*, 69–77, 88–111; Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 445–59; and Gary N. Knoppers, "The Davidic Geneal-

mented genealogy, listing all the sons (and one daughter), but still following the lineage through only one son of each generation: Josiah and his sons, Jehoiakim and his sons, Jeconiah and his sons, Pedaiah and his sons, Zerubbabel and his sons, concluding with their sister Shelomith.[94] In this case, both the form and the details, which differ from what he could have gathered from 2 Kings, Jeremiah, Ezra, and other biblical sources, make it certain that here the Chronicler did use an independent source. The connection of the next section (vv. 20–24) to v. 19 is not at all clear. Naming the daughter at the end of v. 19 would indicate that she was the last of this line (cf. 3:9; 7:24, 30). The number at the end of v. 20 corresponds to the actual number in the verse, and the mention of numbers in vv. 22, 23, and 24 indicates that v. 20 is the beginning of a new section, taken from a new source.

And so in ch. 3 the Chronicler takes us from the days of David, through the monarchy, up to anywhere from four to twelve generations after Josiah, depending on one's reading. In doing so, he uses several different sources and several different genealogical forms. As we would expect by now, the segmented forms are used to relate status and relationships within the family, such as between David's sons or between the exilic and postexilic Davidids, both living in periods in which there might not be a clear line of succession. During the monarchy, such problems would not exist (at least in retrospect), and a linear king list would be more appropriate.[95] Through it all, the only reference to historical events is in the word אסר, which is assumed to be a label for "Jeconiah the captive" rather than the actual name of Jeconiah's oldest son.[96]

The genealogy of Judah begins, as expected, with the tribal patriarch and his five sons (1 Chr 2:3–4), including some of the details found in Gen 38. Verses 5–9 then continue the segmented form in order to clarify the status of the Ramite clan: since Er and Onan had died and the Zerah-Carmi line had produced "Achar the troubler of Israel," it was clearly up to the line of Perez, Hezron, and sons to carry on the family legacy. Having established that, the list then becomes linear, going from Ram to Jesse in seven generations by way of the famous Nahshon, "prince of the sons of Judah." Once again, special mention of this man and his title can be seen as a reference to his role in the exodus

---

ogy: Some Contextual Considerations from the Ancient Mediterranean World," *Transeu* 22 (2001): 35–50.

[94] In all probability a well-known personage in her own right: see Eric M. Meyers, "The Shelomith Seal and the Judean Restoration: Some Additional Considerations," *ErIsr* 18 (1985): 33*–38*.

[95] For an attempt to harmonize the sometimes inconsistent data on the Davidic monarchs' reigns, see W. Boyd Barrick, "Genealogical Notes on the 'House of David' and the 'House of Zadok,'" *JSOT* 96 (2001): 30–44.

[96] Cf. NRSV; NJPS; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 99–100; contra the Vulgate, KJV, and the like.

(Exod 6:23; Num 1:7; 2:3; etc.). At this point the list once again expands to include all of Jesse's sons, from whom David was chosen (cf. 1 Sam 17), and their sisters, whose sons would later be famous people.

In a way, the next section, 1 Chr 2:18–55, seems to break the pattern. "And the sons of David were . . ." (3:1) would have been a natural continuation of 2:17. Instead, the Chronicler takes us back to Caleb, Hezron, Jerahmeel, and their related clans.[97] These lists have all been dealt with extensively. We should note, however, the chronological progression even within this section: up to v. 33, "these were the sons of Jerahmeel," the setting of the various movements, marriages, and births of clans seems to fit the pre- and early monarchic era. This includes the mention of Geshur, Jair the Gileadite, Jerahmeelites, and the appearance of some of the names on the Shishak list.[98] Verse 34 then focuses on one Jerahmeelite, Sheshan, after his brothers had died childless and he, too, had only a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to an Egyptian slave. Their descendants are then traced linearly for thirteen generations—a sure sign that we are moving from one time period to another. Presumably, the descendants of this Egyptian slave were still around in the Chronicler's time, as there is no other explanation that would serve both as a source for this material and as a motive for including it.[99]

The same happens with the Calebites, beginning with 1 Chr 2:42. Here too we see a progression from the premonarchic days of Caleb, father of Achsah, through several generations of changing relationships between the clans. Demsky thinks that the final section (vv. 54–55) reflects the late monarchy; I think it reflects the postexilic period.[100]

Much the same is true for 1 Chr 4. As Japhet has pointed out, though v. 1 begins "The sons of Judah," it is actually a linear genealogy in which the terms indicating relationships have been deleted (taking "Carmi" as a corruption of

[97] This discontinuity has been noticed by many; see Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 73; Knoppers, "Davidic Genealogy", 41.

[98] Levin, "'From Goshen to Gibeon,'" 204–11 and references there.

[99] Though Sara Japhet prefers to assume that these thirteen generations would have reached the late monarchic era ("The Israelite Legal and Social Reality as Reflected in Chronicles: A Case Study," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* [ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992], 83). Japhet reads this pericope of an Egyptian slave marrying his master's daughter and perpetuating his lineage as an affirmation that the slavery laws of Exod 21:2–6 and Lev 25:39–54 were known to, and considered valid by, the Chronicler.

[100] Aaron Demsky, "Tir'ataim, Shim'ataim, Sukkotaim" (in Hebrew), *Encyclopedia Biblica* (Jerusalem, 1982), 8:934–35; idem, "Clans of Ephrath: Their Territory and History"; Yigal Levin, "The Burial Place of Joab son of Zeruiah, Chief of David's Hosts" (in Hebrew with English abstract), 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.

"Chelubai") and serves as a link to the end of ch. 2.[101] The mention of Jabez in 2:55 (as a toponym or clan name) and again in 4:9–10 (as a person about whom an anecdote is told) would seem to serve the same purpose.[102] An alternative reading of 4:1 would see the five names simply as five Judahite phratries that were known to this specific source. Any "contradictions" with other lists are just the kind of fluidity that we have come to expect from this genre. The rest of the chapter is basically a record of the descent traditions of these phratries, mostly settled in towns well known in the postexilic period. The same is probably true for the sons of Shelah listed in vv. 21–23. Though the list claims to trace their ancestry back to the tribal patriarch, in fact the situation described reflects a much later period, either late monarchic or postexilic.[103]

We can now see the overall chronological structure of the entire, long Judahite genealogy. Like those of Simeon, Asher, Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin, the genealogy begins with the tribal patriarch and his immediate offspring (2:3–4); it uses a segmented lineage to show the relationships between those ancient clans (2:5–9) and linear lists to take us from the patriarchal period to the monarchy, mentioning such figures as Nahshon and Boaz along the way (2:10–12); and it finally arrives at Jesse and the extended family of David (2:13–17). The Chronicler then picks up on the ancient clans again, combining the segmented and linear forms, to trace their development through the monarchy up until his own time. Chapter 3 covers the same time frame, beginning with David's sons, using the linear king list to connect the reader to the exile and then expanding on the lineage of the Davidic family in more recent times. Chapter 4 then describes the tribe of Judah, its clans and phratries and their villages in the writer's day, employing once more the genre of segmented genealogy in order to define the relationships between those tribal components.

9. Levi

We now turn to the Levitical lists—1 Chr 5:27–6:66 in the Hebrew, or all of ch. 6 in the English. Like most of the lists we have already discussed, the Levitical section is actually a collection of different materials, only some of which are strictly genealogical. Since these lists have also been dealt with extensively, we will make only a few comments.[104]

[101] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 106.

[102] For a historical understanding of the position of Jabez, see Demsky, "Tir'ataim, Shim'ataim, Sukkotaim." For a literary-historical investigation of "Jabez's Prayer," see R. Christopher Heard, "Echoes of Genesis in 1 Chronicles 4:9–10: An Intertextual and Contextual Reading of Jabez's Prayer," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 4/2 (2002), www.jhsonline.org.

[103] Demsky dated the pericope to the late monarchy ("The Houses of Achzib: A Critical Note on Micah 1:14b," *IEJ* 16 [1966]: 214), while I ("Historical Geography of the Chronicler," 89–92) prefer a postexilic date.

[104] See Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 68–76; Kartveit, *Motive und Schichten*, 69–87;

The whole section begins, of course, with the tribal patriarch and his three sons, going on to list the four sons of Kohath, the three children of Amram, and finally the four sons of Aaron. As has been recognized, the Chronicler drew on existing pentateuchal material but arranged it in a new way, creating a segmented genealogy tracing the lineage of the Aaronide family.[105] The following segment then traces the line of twenty-two preexilic high priests from Eleazar through Jehozadak, some known from other sources and some not.[106] The chronological markers that are supplied along the way mention Solomon's temple and the exile of Judah and Jerusalem.

The next section (6:1–4 in the Hebrew, 6:16–19 in the English) returns to the founders, "completing" the second generation of Gershom and Merari and concluding, "these are the clans of the Levites according to their ancestry." Once again, there is nothing here that could not have been taken from the Pentateuch (Exod 6:19 and Num 3:17–20). What follows is another set of linear genealogies, seven generations each for Gershom and Merari, with an additional Kohathite lineage between them. In the MT, this list seems to run for ten generations down to a Shaul, but the text is problematic, including two Assirs and a problematic Elkanah. Japhet, following the second Kohathite list, simply cuts out v. 8 (Eng. 23), shortening this list to seven as well.[107] Verses 10–13 (Eng. 25–28) then supply an additional, seemingly unconnected list of seven to nine names and including two or three more Elkanahs (depending on how one understands the relationships), ending with Samuel and his two sons.

All of these lists, however, must be read together with the next section, which traces the lineage of the three Levitical musicians that David appointed to sing before the ark, "until Solomon built the Lord's house in Jerusalem," each to a different son of Levi. As before, the Kohathite list, ascending from Heman to Kohath, is a disproportionate twenty-one names long, including Samuel's family and several Elkanahs. Conversely, the lines of the Gershonite Asaph and the Merarite Ethan are only fourteen and thirteen names long, respectively.[108] What many have noted is that all of these lists reach the time of

---

Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 143–65; Antti Laato, "The Levitical Genealogies in 1 Chronicles 5–6 and the Formation of Levitical Ideology in Post-Exilic Judah," *JSOT* 62 (1994): 77–99; Scolnic, *Chronology and Papponymy*, 158–68.

[105] See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 148.

[106] For an extensive treatment of this section, see, in addition to the commentaries, Scolnic, *Chronology and Papponymy*, 163–84; Barrick, "Genealogical Notes on the 'House of David' and the 'House of Zadok,'" 44–58; and Steven James Schweitzer, "The High Priest in Chronicles: An Anomaly in a Detailed Description of the Temple Cult," *Bib* 89 (2003): 388–402, who correctly notes that none of these lists are actually called "high priestly lists."

[107] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 153.

[108] For various attempts to understand these lists, see Myers, *I Chronicles*, 44–47. De Vries

David, and this includes the shortened recounting of the priestly list that follows (ending with Ahimaaz, who is known from 2 Sam 15:36, 17:17ff., and 18:19ff.). This, then, forms an appropriate setting for the following list of the Levitical cities, which the Chronicler seems to date also to David (cf. 1 Chr 23–26 and esp. 26:29), a date that many modern scholars view as essentially correct.[109]

In the Chronicler's depiction of the tribe of Levi there are several different lists of the tribe's ancestors, all based on pentateuchal sources; a list of high priests reaching from Aaron to the exile; and different lists of Levites, priests, and their towns, all focused on the reign of David. This is not all the Chronicler has to say about the Levites, however. More Levites and priests are listed among the inhabitants of Jerusalem in 1 Chr 9:34, and chs. 23–26 are all about the Levites, the singers, and the gatekeepers, often mentioning the same figures as those mentioned here and set once more in the days of David.[110] Levites are again prominent in the Chronicler's accounts of Rehoboam's reign (2 Chr 12:13–14), Jehoiada's coup d'état (2 Chr 23:2, 6, 18), and Hezekiah's Passover (30:15–27). But the Chronicler seems to have had very little "up-to-date" information about them. Unlike the Chronicler's genealogies of Judah, Simeon, Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher, and Benjamin, the nonpriestly Levitical lists do not extend to the postexilic period.

It is considered almost axiomatic that the Chronicler had a special concern for the nonpriestly Levites. This was first stated by Wilhelm de Wette and was accepted by many later scholars.[111] To quote Jacob Myers, "The priests were not actually demoted by the Chronicler. . . . But there can be no doubt that they are treated with much less enthusiasm than their brothers, the Levites."[112] Paul D. Hanson, in his treatment of 1 Chr 15–16, sees the Chronicler as desiring to "secure the Levitical pedigree" of the temple personnel of his own time.[113] So

---

comments that "scholars prone to smooth things out have applied their scalpel here" (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 68–72). See also Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 145–58 and the ample bibliography there.

[109] See Chris Hauer, Jr., "David and the Levites," *JSOT* 23 (1982): 33–54 for a summary of the arguments put forward by S. Klein, W. F. Albright, Y. Aharoni, B. Mazar, and others; and Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible*, 447–59. For one of the many critiques of this position, see Nadav Na'aman, *Borders and Districts in Biblical Historiography: Seven Studies in Biblical Geographical Lists* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1986), 203–36 and references there.

[110] For more on these sections and especially ch. 23, see Gary N. Knoppers, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors? The Levites in Chronicles and the History of the Israelite Priesthood," *JBL* 118 (1999): 49–72.

[111] Wilhelm M. L. de Wette, *A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament* (trans. Theodore Parker; Boston: C. C. Little and J. Brown, 1843), 277–82.

[112] Myers, *I Chronicles*, lxx.

[113] Paul D. Hanson, "1 Chronicles 15–16 and the Chronicler's Views on the Levites," in *Sha'arei Talmon,* ed. Fishbane and Tov, 71.

also Japhet: "Of the Temple personnel, special attention is paid to the non-priestly classes: Levites, singers and gatekeepers, conceived of as constituting sub-orders of 'the Levites.'"[114] But in the same breath Japhet also admits uncertainty about whether this is "a reflection of the Chronicler's actual circumstances, or an expression of his own stand on controversial issues regarding the functions and status of the various cultic orders."[115] I would side with the latter possibility. Throughout the Second Temple period, the Levites are marginalized and in reality have little or no function in the temple cult. Cana Werman even goes so far as to describe the Second Temple period as "a period without Levites."[116] The scene described in Ezra 8:15–20, in which Ezra, finding that no Levites had joined his group, finally manages to convince a total of 38 Levites and 220 Nethinim to join him on his journey, comes to mind. A later tradition reflected in *b. Yebam.* 86b claims that the Levites were punished for their failure to join Ezra by losing their right to the tithes. I would suggest that the Chronicler, although wishing to express the centrality of the Levites as the cultic tribe of Israel, found precious few real live Levites from whom to collect material and had no choice but to use a collection of old lists of towns and singers (whether actually from the time of David or not). The only "contemporary" material that he had to work with was the high priestly list, which he duly worked into his genealogy.

10. Jerusalem

The final section of the Chronicler's introduction, 9:3–34, is the list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. 1 Chronicles 9:1, "So all Israel was enrolled by genealogies [once again: חתיחשו]; and these are written in the Book of the Kings of Israel. And Judah was taken into exile in Babylon because of their unfaithfulness," is undoubtedly meant to summarize all of chs. 2–8. Whether v. 2, "The first inhabitants in their possessions in their towns were Israelites, priests, Levites, and temple servants," continues this summary or is meant to introduce

[114] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 45; see also eadem, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 91–92.

[115] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 45. To be sure, there have also been scholars who have considered Chronicles to be pro-priestly, though many of these have assumed that "the Chronicler" also wrote Ezra-Nehemiah. For a survey of the various opinions on the Chronicler's stance on the Levites, see Dyck, *Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, 48–51; Knoppers, "Hierodules, Priests, or Janitors," 50–54.

[116] Cana Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," *DSD* 4 (1997): 213. Werman goes on to follow James Kugel ("Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 [1993]: 1–64) in tracing the literary "promotion" of Levi, the tribal eponym, to priestly status in a Second Temple Judaism bereft of actual Levites. On the Levites in Second Temple Judaism, see also Hanson, "1 Chronicles 15–16 and the Chronicler's Views on the Levites," 74–77; Bernard Gosse, "L'alliance avec Lévi et l'opposition royale et Sacerdotale à l'époque Perse." *Transeu* 10 (1995): 29–33.

the following list, is debated and depends on one's understanding of the list itself.[117]

Technically, vv. 3–34 can be divided into two parts; vv. 3–17 (together with v. 2), are an abbreviated adaptation of Neh 11:3–19; but where Neh 11 goes on to enumerate the towns of Benjamin and Judah, the Chronicler (vv. 17–33) adds a list of temple personnel, keeping his description in Jerusalem.[118]

There is no doubt about the centrality of Jerusalem in the Chronicler's thought.[119] His geographical arrangement of the genealogies, beginning in Judah and ending in Jerusalem, emphasizes this point. Our question here is only where this description fits in his chronology. Is his intention here to present a picture of Jerusalem in the time of David, or perhaps closer to his own time, after the restoration? Japhet argues for the former. In her opinion, the Chronicler's replacing "the heads of the province" in Neh 11:3 with "the first [which she takes to mean 'of old'] inhabitants," as well as the addition of "of the sons of Ephraim and Manasseh" in v. 3 and the specific mention of David in v. 22, was meant to give just that impression—that this is a list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem in the time of David.[120] Others, however, have argued just the opposite, that this list is intended to reflect the restored community. Wilhelm Rudolph even suggested amending היושבים הראשנים ("the first inhabitants") to השבים הראשנים ("the first returnees").[121] Yehudah Keel emphasized the Chronicler's wish to give hope after the mention of the exile in v. 1.[122]

To these arguments I would add three of my own. The first is in the

[117] See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 206, contra Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 118–19.

[118] This is an oversimplification of the relationship between the two lists. For an overview, see Gary N. Knoppers, "Sources, Revisions, and Editions: The List of Jerusalem's Residents in MT and LXX Nehemiah 11 and 1 Chronicles 9," *Text* 20 (2000): 141–68. In Knoppers's opinion both lists are independently based on an original source that each writer edited to serve his own needs. To this I would add the possibility that different parts of the two versions (the Levitical lists in 1 Chr 9:17–34 and the town list in Neh 11:20–36, which also emphasizes the Levites) are taken from different sources.

[119] See Panc Beentjes, "Jerusalem in the Book of Chronicles," in *The Centrality of Jerusalem: Historical Perspectives* (ed. M. Poorthuis and Ch. Safrai; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 15–28; Yigal Levin, "Earthly Jerusalem in the Book of Chronicles: Contemporary or Historical?" in *New Studies on Jerusalem: Proceedings of the Second Conference* (ed. A. Faust; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University [The Ingeborg Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies], 1996), 24*–44*; Martin J. Selman, "Jerusalem in Chronicles," in *Zion, City of Our God* (ed. R. S. Hess and G. J. Wenham; Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1999), 43–56; Gary N. Knoppers, "Jerusalem at War in Chronicles," in ibid., 57–76; Isaac Kalimi, "The View of Jerusalem in the Ethnographical Introduction of Chronicles (1 Chr 1–9)," *Bib* 83 (2002): 556–62.

[120] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 207–8; see also Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, 168; Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 119.

[121] Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 84.

[122] Yehudah Keel, *The Book of Chronicles* I (in Hebrew) (Da'at Miqra; Jerusalem: Rabbi Kook Institute, 1986), 230; see also Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 87–88.

source. As already stated, the Chronicler drew here from Neh 11 or from a source very close to it.[123] While the precise provenance of Neh 11 is also debated, there is no doubt that it is either exilic or postexilic.[124] It is doubtful to me that the Chronicler could have taken such a clearly late source, from near his own time, that would have been familiar to his readers as a postexilic document, and attempted to "pass it off" as coming from the time of David.

My second argument has to do with the chronological scheme. Chapter 9 serves as a transition from the genealogies to the narrative part of the book, which begins not with David but with Saul. That is why the end of the chapter repeats the Gibeon-Saul genealogy. Since the Chronicler knows that Jerusalem was not inhabited by Israelites in the days of Saul (or before), the chronological break must come at the end of v. 34, "these lived in Jerusalem." The mention of David in v. 22 does not refer to David as conqueror of Jerusalem, since Samuel, who died before Saul did and certainly never lived in Jerusalem, is mentioned in the same verse. This verse, like several others, is simply meant to show how the functions of the Levites, in this case the gatekeepers, were "founded" by David on Samuel's prophetic authority.

My third argument concerns the tribal framework. We have already seen the Chronicler's inclusive concept of "Israel," and that inclusiveness was not only about the past but about the present as well. The Chronicler included the remnants of Ephraim and Manasseh in the Israel of his own time; their mention is in no way intended to indicate the days of David. The same is true for the Chronicler's replacing the term המדינה, "the province," which never appears in Chronicles, with היושבים הראשנים. Just as his genealogies include the tribes of Israel (including Judahite phratries) who live outside the boundaries of Persian-period Yehud, so is his picture of Jerusalem divorced from the city's status as a Persian provincial capital. Jerusalem, the Jerusalem of the Chronicler's time, belongs to the entire nation of Israel.

VI. Do Generations "Count"?

At first reading, it would seem strange that in an article dealing with chronology, we have paid no attention at all to either relative or absolute dates. The book of Chronicles is full of dates, mainly in the "ascension formulae" of the "synoptic" sections, but in other places as well. The genealogies, however,

[123] See Knoppers, "Sources, Revisions, and Editions," 141–45; Kalimi, "View of Jerusalem," 559.

[124] See Aharoni, who believed that the town list reflected the situation of Judah under Babylonian rule (*Land of the Bible*, 410–11); and Janzen, who sees it as reflecting the Persian-period Judean community, as distinct from the political unit that was the province of Yehud ("Politics, Settlement, and Community in Persian-Period Yehud," 496–510 and references there).

while they do mention the reigns of kings (Saul, David, Hezekiah, Jotham, and Jeroboam), other historical figures (Joshua, Ehud, Jair, Samuel, etc.), and events (a long list of wars, including the exile of the Transjordanians and of Jerusalem), do not give actual time frames or dates for any of them. The notable exception to this is in the list of David's sons in 1 Chr 3:1–9, in which v. 4 recounts, "six were born to him in Hebron, where he reigned for seven years and six months. And he reigned thirty-three years in Jerusalem," but this is simply a reworking of 2 Sam 5:4 and not a structural part of the Davidic genealogy.

Within a genealogy, especially a linear one, the functional equivalent of dates is the passing of generations. But should we then expect each "generation" to amount to a certain number of years? In his treatment of the lists of tribal chiefs that make up the linear component of the Reubenite and Gadite genealogies in 1 Chr 5, Bustenay Oded assumed that each generation in these lists represented a time span of twenty-five years, and he showed how both lists then reached from the division of the kingdom all the way to the Assyrian conquest of 733 B.C.E.[125] Scolnic, in his work on the priestly genealogies, compared them to the chronological uses of genealogy in ancient Greek and medieval Indian records.[126] Moreover, the use of the figure of "forty years" to convey the passing of a generation is well known, not only from the Bible but also from the Mesha Inscription (line 8).

In his work on biblical genealogies, Rendsburg went to great pains to demonstrate that most of the Israelite genealogies that recounted the premonarchic period were internally consistent, which to him also signified that they were historically reliable. By "internally consistent," Rendsburg meant that the number of generations counted between contemporary figures in one story (e.g., Jacob's sons) and their contemporaneous descendants in other stories (such as those of the desert wanderings) are roughly the same (taking into account the possibility of generations "overlapping"). Thus, all of the characters in the exodus story are three (Moses and Aaron, Korah, and others) to six (Bezalel and others) generations removed from Jacob's sons.[127] Rendsburg points out that the main exceptions to this consistency are the genealogies of Joshua, Samuel, and Zadok in 1 Chr 6 and 7, which are all much longer than those of their contemporaries. We have already mentioned Rendsburg's explanation of Joshua's pedigree. As for Samuel and Zadok, Rendsburg states that the ideological necessity of picturing Samuel as a Levite and Zadok as an Aaronide caused the Chronicler to "invent" these overly long lists for them.

[125] Oded, "Settlement of the Tribe of Reuben in Transjordania," 11–36.

[126] Scolnic, *Chronology and Papponymy*, 100–118.

[127] Rendsburg, "Internal Consistency and Historical Reliability of the Biblical Genealogies."

All this may well be true, and it also serves to elucidate the point that we are making. To the Chronicler, it does not matter that Samuel was removed nineteen generations from Levi and Zadok thirteen, whereas David was only ten generations removed from Judah; the Reubenite list covers the tribal history in eight generations, while the Gadite list seems to take about twelve to cover the same period. We must remember that the Chronicler was using the conventions of an oral literary genre to compose a written opus that is much more complex than any oral genealogy could ever have been.

One of the clear formal conventions of oral genealogies, as pointed out by Robert R. Wilson, is telescoping. What this means is that members of a lineage will list their immediate ancestors of three or four generations and anyone else still recalled by living memory. Beyond that, the genealogy will usually include only key figures in the tribe's history: ancestral heroes who were involved in wars, conquest, and so on; founders and eponyms of clans, phratries, and other subgroups; figures who represent the tribe's "relationships" with its neighbors; and finally the tribe's eponymous founder.[128] The Chronicler, in committing these traditions to writing, had more material to work with: old census lists, "official" and "nonofficial" lists of kings, priests, and others, and the whole of the "biblical" narrative in whatever form he knew it. He also made use of various literary practices such as chiasmus and "special numbers."[129] However, he still employed the conventions of the oral form, including that of telescoping. And so the Chronicler was able to trace the history of each individual tribe from its founder to its latest known members in accordance with the material he had at his disposal, with no need to "fill in the gaps" that would have appeared had he insisted on a standard chronological value for each generation. The Chronicler seems to have been interested in "the big picture" rather than in the minute details.

VII. Conclusions

The basic chronological scheme of 1 Chr 1–9 can be summarized as follows. In ch. 1, the Chronicler used the materials at his disposal to set the stage, both geographically and chronologically, for the advent of Israel in the arena of human history. He then went on to give the details of that Israel, as a community of tribes, starting in each case with the tribal patriarchs and then bringing his information as far as he was able. For the Transjordanian tribes, this meant

[128] Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 32–36.

[129] Such as the listing of twelve priests from the exodus to Solomon and the same number from Solomon to the exile. See Johnson, *Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 78.

down to their exile by the Assyrians—they are gone "to this day."[130] For the Galilean tribes, the paucity of material meant limiting his account to some military censuses from the past, although he does not mention their exile and does not consider them to be gone forever. For the central tribes of Simeon, Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher, and Benjamin, however, he did have "up-to-date" material—that supplied by the living remnants of those tribes in his own day, giving segmented genealogies and other material, for which he supplied linear "connectors" to the tribal origins. In the case of Judah, he had all of that and more, since he also had the records of the Davidic family, so central to his ideology. For the Levites, also central to his thought, he actually had less information, since the Levites of his day were but a remnant of what he thought of as a once prolific tribe. In ch. 9, having brought each individual tribe as far as he could, the Chronicler then comes full circle, mentioning the exile and showing that in the restored community, all parts of the nation would once again have a share.

In my previous article in *JBL,* I showed that the Chronicler employed a literary genre that would have been familiar to his audience in their daily lives—that of segmented tribal genealogies. However, he transferred this usually oral form into a written literary opus on a grand scale, picturing all of humanity—with the entire nation of Israel in its center—as one big "tribe," using the lineages to depict the relationships between the "tribe's" components.[131] In this article, I have discussed the chronological aspects of the Chronicler's work, the literary devices that the author used to tell a story that moves the reader through time—from the very first humans, through the events that shaped humanity and formulated Israel, through the individual story of each and every tribe, down to the Chronicler's own time.

[130] Is the Chronicler saying that the Transjordanians, as opposed to the Galileans, are gone "forever," permanently irredeemable? I think not, in view of how central the "wholeness" of Israel is to his thought. See Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 267–308.

[131] See n. 3 above.

JBL 123/4 (2004) 637–648

PSALM 22:17: CIRCLING AROUND THE PROBLEM AGAIN

KRISTIN M. SWENSON
kswenson@mail1.vcu.edu
Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, VA 23284-2021

The problem of how to read Ps 22:17, especially the second part of the verse, has troubled scholars for centuries and has received renewed attention in several recent articles.[1] One word in particular is in dispute, appearing as כארי in the MT. The entire verse is as follows:

כי סבבוני כלבים עדת מרעים הקיפוני כארי ידי ורגלי

Interpretations generally fall into one of two categories, treating the problematic word either as a noun or as a verb. If כארי is treated as a noun, most translations yield "like a lion." If treated as a verb, there are several possibilities. Initial comparison with the ancient versions suggests that the best solution is to read a verb here, since all of the ancient versions except the Targum do so. However, that the ancient versions (and subsequent scholars) do not agree which verb should be read and that the Targum reads both a verb and a noun undermine confidence in such a conclusion. Ancient scholars seem to have been as puzzled as we are about how best to read this text, and recent studies, none of which claims to have determined an entirely satisfactory solution, confirm its difficulty.

An important criterion for any interpretation is that it make sense, a point that David Ḳimḥi stressed in the twelfth century and that Brent Strawn echoed in the twenty-first. I propose another solution to the problem of Ps 22:17, a reading that accepts the consonantal text of the MT but simply divides the verse differently. The result is a sensible text that fits with the structure of its

[1] Gary A. Rendsburg, "Philological Notes," *HS* 43 (2002): 21–30; Brent A. Strawn, "Psalm 22:17b: More Guessing," *JBL* 119 (2000): 439–51; John Kaltner, "Psalm 22:17b: Second Guessing 'The Old Guess,'" *JBL* 117 (1998): 503–6; Gregory Vall, "Psalm 22:17B: 'The Old Guess,'" *JBL* 116 (1997): 45–56.

greater context, is in agreement with the dominant imagery (portrayed in metaphor and simile), and sustains the prevalent tone of this first part of Ps 22. Following a brief review first of earlier proposals that were complicated by the association of Ps 22 with Jesus' crucifixion, and then of the several recent attempts to solve the problem of Ps 22:17, I proffer my interpretation. I explain both why my reading seems to be a good one and how it addresses the problems of similar interpretations.

I. Earlier Interpretations

The role of Ps 22 in interpretations of Jesus' crucifixion influenced attempts to make sense of the problematic text even in the ancient versions. This complicates our use of such ancient witnesses because, although they prove crucial to the text-critical task, we must acknowledge that these versions may have undergone intentional emendations. From an ancient Greek translation preserved in the LXX as ὤρυξαν χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας, "they have dug my hands and feet," early Christian interpreters understood "they have pierced my hands and feet." The LXX may already have been trying to make sense of a corrupt text by reading from כארו ידי ורגלי. Not finding a root כאר, they corrected it with the Hebrew root כרה, thereby giving the sense "to dig."[2] This makes little sense, however, and nowhere (else) in the Hebrew Bible does the verb כרה mean "to pierce." Furthermore, there is a quite common verb דקר that does mean "to pierce," which one would expect the psalmist to have used if such a sense were intended.

Probably in an attempt to avoid the association with Jesus, Greek-speaking Jews eschewed the LXX in favor of Aquila's and Symmachus's readings of the verse.[3] However, not only did these readings disagree, but Aquila himself produced two different readings. The first edition rendered the problematic word ᾔσχυναν, "they have disfigured," but in the second, he changed it to ἐπέδησαν, "they have bound" (similar to Symmachus's ὡς ζητοῦντες δῆσαι, "like those who seek to bind"). Apparently this second-century scholar, who earned a reputation for so conscientiously trying to render a translation as close as possible to

[2] See also Vall, "Psalm 22:17B," 45. Further supporting (though not conclusively) this possibility of an early emendation of the LXX is the fact that it translates "many dogs" in the preceding clause.

[3] Vall, "Psalm 22:17B," 46. Aquila's version dates to the first quarter of the second century C.E.; Symmachus's is later, though scholars disagree about how much later it is. That Origen uses Symmachus's work in his *Hexapla* means that Symmachus's version cannot be later than the mid-third century C.E.

the literal meaning of the original that the resulting Greek seemed poor and stilted, was uncertain about the Hebrew from which he worked.[4] The word כארי, "like a lion," which was eventually accepted by the Masoretes as the best text, may have gained popularity from a Jewish reaction to the Christian reading.[5]

Some translations were proposed more to support doctrinal positions than on the basis of philology or textual sense. Theodore of Mopsuestia was unique among the early Christian writers in giving priority to reading the text in the light of Absalom's revolt against David rather than Jesus' crucifixion, and he paid a price for it, eliciting a formal condemnation at the Second Council of Constantinople in 553.[6] Concern for doctrinal position and religious implications continued to influence interpretations in the modern critical period. When the famous editor/publisher Daniel Bomberg was preparing a rabbinic Bible for publication, he noted that the word in question appeared with a ו rather than a י. It was changed to י because otherwise, Bomberg complained, "no Jew would buy copies of his Hebrew Bible."[7] Christians who were invested in the text's applicability to Jesus' passion sometimes took alternative readings as occasions to lob anti-Semitic insults. For example, John Calvin writes of "strong grounds for conjecturing that this passage has been fraudulently corrupted by the Jews . . . Jews who in controversy are in the highest degree obstinate and opinionative . . . how wickedly they endeavour to perplex Christians . . . in their gross ignorance of history."[8]

This brief review demonstrates differences among the earliest versions, suggesting that unless or until an autograph is discovered, differences among readings will continue to exist. However, two issues that have perverted attempts to determine the best reading—religious prejudices (both Christian and Jewish) and literalism (blindness to or ignorance of the use of metaphor, especially in poetic texts)—are less problematic today and so allow the possibility of new proposals and/or fresh assessment of earlier interpretations.

[4] By Vall's admission, Aquila's *Vorlage* may well have been very close to the MT; the instances in which it differed commonly involved "the confusion of similarly shaped letters" such as ו and י (Vall, "Psalm 22:17B," 56). This supports retaining the MT and undermines Vall's argument for an emendation that involves not only changing a consonant but also metathesis. I do agree with Vall, though, that "the text could easily have been corrupted long before any of the ancient versions were made" (ibid.).

[5] Vall, "Psalm 22:17B," 47; see also n. 12, in which Vall notes that this reading, or כארו, might have been well known in the middle of the second century C.E.

[6] Ibid., 46.

[7] Ibid., 48, from D. P. Drach et al., *Sainte Bible de Vence* (27 vols.; Paris: Cosson, 1827–33), 9:464.

[8] John Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (trans. James Anderson; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845–49), 1:373–75.

II. Recently Revisited

Gregory Vall initiated the most recent attention to the problem of Ps 22:17 by proposing that Heinrich Graetz's solution, based on the consonants אסרו be reconsidered as the best reading.[9] Vall notes that, among the earliest interpretations, one possibility was neglected until H. E. G. Paulus's analysis of the passage in 1815. This treatment rendered the problematic word "bound," although the verbal root remained a question. Vall argues that the translation "'they have bound my hands and feet' would fit the context of Psalm 22 beautifully" but that attempts to find such a sense in כארו are misguided. Instead, he proposes that the common root אסר be read here, the corruption of an original אסרו being explained by metathesis (of א and ס to yield סארו) and subsequent correction of the nonsensical סארו to כארו. John Kaltner wrote a forceful repudiation of Vall's thesis based not on Vall's proposed reading but on what Kaltner considers to be infelicitous use of Arabic references. Kaltner writes, "In fact, Vall's analysis appears to be faulty since a careful examination of the Arabic evidence indicates that it can support the reading he proposes without having to resort to the double error of metathesis and letter exchange."[10] Kaltner maintains that the Arabic cognate verb *KWR* actually does mean "to bind" and corresponds to the Hebrew of the MT. Therefore, he claims, the only emendation necessary would be to read the final letter as a ו instead of the י that appears in the MT. Kaltner fails to note, however, that א does not behave as י and ו do in the second position of a triliteral root; nor does he offer an explanation for the loss of א. Others who read כרו have explained the absence of א by arguing that the verb they read derives from כרה and that כארו is simply an alternative spelling.[11]

Many scholars have recognized how easily י and ו might be misread and/or mistranscribed. Indeed, כארו may be the reading of a fragment from the Dead Sea Scrolls that corresponds to Ps 22:17. The editors of *BHS* note that a few (three to ten) Hebrew manuscripts read כאורו, and this reading may be the basis of other of the ancient versions.[12] Leslie C. Allen, who briefly addressed the

[9] Heinrich Graetz, *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen* (2 vols.; Breslau: S. Schottlaender, 1882–83); Vall, "Psalm 22:17B."

[10] Kaltner, "Psalm 22:17b," 503.

[11] See, e.g., Franz Delitzsch, *A Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (ed. W. Robertson Nicoll; trans. David Eaton and James E. Duguid; 3 vols.; 4th ed.; Foreign Biblical Library; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1883); Robert W. Landis, "Import of 'They Pierced My Hands and Feet,'" *BSac* 8 (1851): 802–22.

[12] The only text from the Dead Sea Scrolls that corresponds to Ps 22:17 is XḤev/Se 4 frag. 11 line 4, dating from sometime in the second half of the first century to the second century C.E.). Peter Flint records it as כאורו (*The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* [STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997], 83, 87). However, the facsimile (PAM 42.190) reveals a badly faded text that is nearly impos-

crux of Ps 22:17 in the context of several texts that he suggests began as glosses, concludes that we should read כארו here. However, although he argues that it should probably be understood as a verb, he concludes that its root was "otherwise lost in Hebrew."[13] J. J. M. Roberts also favors reading the problematic word as a verb, but he proposes that we ought to understand a root כרה, related to the Akkadian *karû*, meaning "to be short, shrunken, shriveled."[14] In support of his hypothesis, Roberts adds that this is also a Syriac root, but Vall corrects him by noting that it is actually a conflation of two Syriac roots.[15] Although Roberts attempts to explain the absence of א, he does not proffer a satisfactory translation. The idea of "shriveled up" hands and feet does not make much sense on its own, and less in the greater context of this verse, dominated as it is by animal imagery.

Brent Strawn responded to Vall's proposal by reminding text critics of the value, and so the importance, of considering iconographic evidence alongside textual evidence. Strawn culls images from ancient Near Eastern artifacts that seem relevant to the problem of Ps 22:17 and concludes that iconographic evidence supports each of the dominant (variant) readings in part, yet he is unable to determine conclusively from such evidence how Ps 22:17 ought to be read. Imagery contemporary with biblical texts and sharing in the thought world of the biblical writers makes important contributions to our understanding of the texts, but it is not always determinative.

The most recent treatment of the problematic verse comprises several pages of Gary Rendsburg's "Philological Notes," in which he cites Strawn's work.[16] He develops Strawn's admission that the iconographic evidence allows the possibility that the MT is sensible and should be reconsidered. Rendsburg disagrees, however, that it necessitates adding a verb to the clause; he notes instead that sometimes the sense of a text is communicated by unorthodox use of grammar and syntax. "The lack of a verb is an example of form following content," in which the absence of a verb allows us to read with the speed of a lion attacking its prey.[17]

---

sible to read (see Robert H. Eisenman and James M. Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [2 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991]). Furthermore, Strawn notes that other instances in the fragment indicate little difference between י and ו ("Psalm 22:17b," 448 n. 41).

[13] Leslie C. Allen, "Cuckoos in the Textual Nest: At 2 Kings xx. 13; Isa. xlii. 10; xlix. 24; Ps. xxii. 17; 2 Chron. v. 9," *JTS* 22 (1971): 143–50.

[14] J. J. M. Roberts, "A New Root for an Old Crux, Ps. XXII 17c," *VT* 23 (1973): 247–52.

[15] Vall, "Psalm 22:17B," 51–52.

[16] Rendsburg, "Philological Notes," 25–26.

[17] Ibid., 26.

III. A New Proposal

The recent work of Strawn and Rendsburg draws attention to methods of interpretation that allow underappreciated characteristics of the texts to inform our analysis of them. Rendsburg's sensitivity to the art of textual composition and Strawn's attention to the iconographic evidence make such contributions. Both help correct an earlier blindness to or ignorance of the use of metaphor in biblical texts.[18] Furthermore, recognition among Christian interpreters that the Hebrew Bible is sensible on its own, with a rich history of interpretation and meaning before (and after) Jesus and the NT, enables us to consider the problematic texts without some of the biases that earlier complicated its interpretation. My proposal takes into account both valuable lessons from early interpretive attempts and recent developments in interpretive methods. The flowering of biblical critical methods not only has opened up new ways of dealing with difficult texts but also has contributed to lessening tensions between Christians and Jews concerning the interpretation of biblical texts, tensions that earlier tightened the problematic knot of Ps 22:17.

It is evident from their translations that many scholars have assumed that there are three phrases at issue, yet others divide the verse into two parts, *a* and *b*, and locate the source of the problem in part *b*.[19] A seemingly small matter, this inconsistency underscores the problem and, I propose, hints at its solution. While I think that the verse sustains a two-part division and so should be read as a bicolon, the Masoretes' placement of the *athnach* contributes to the confusion.[20] Imagining a mid-break with מרעים rather than in its present placement at הקיפוני allows the translation:

> Dogs surround me, a pack of wicked ones.[21]
> Like a lion, they circumscribe my hands and feet.

[18] William P. Brown's recent book, *Seeing the Psalms*, champions a method of reading that accounts for the richness of metaphor and simile in igniting the imagination and so successfully communicating the breadth and width of human experience as it is articulated in the Psalms (William P. Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002]). My thanks to Dr. Brown for reading and commenting on an early draft of this article.

[19] See Roberts, "New Root," 247–52.

[20] See Samuel Terrien, who admits difficulty with the verse (*The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003], 224–33). He supposes that the verse is a tricolon, based on a reading that adds another word to the MT and translating, "they bind with cords my hands and feet." Although Terrien determines that the psalm is dominated by bicola, he explains that the unusual tricolon emphasizes Ps 22:17, which he calls "the third exordium." Terrien otherwise identifies the three exordia as vv. 2–3, 13–14, and 22–23.

[21] Other scholars, also attempting to represent both the antagonism and offense of the psalmist's enemies with the imagery of dogs, choose to translate עדת as "pack," e.g., Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms 1–50: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 16; Garden City, NY: Doubleday,

This translation addresses many of the problems that earlier scholars cited as reasons to emend the MT. The most compelling is the presence of a verb in the second line, which makes it unnecessary (1) to imagine that one dropped out in early recensions, (2) to emend כארי to a verb, or (3) to propose that the tone and idea of the text facilitate a speed of reading that renders articulation of (understood) words unnecessary. The verb, נקף, is already in the MT. Furthermore, this verb, which most often appears in the *hiphil,* as it does here, yields a translation "to circumscribe," which fits well not only with the preceding parallel line but also with the sense of the greater context. Although it appears in several other texts of the Hebrew Bible meaning simply "to go around," in a manner synonymous with סבב,[22] the verb נקף also appears with the sense "to set limits, bound; constrict the range and activity of."[23] The word guides readers to imagine both the encircling of dogs and lions before they attack and the condition of a psalmist paralyzed with fear and unable either to defend herself/himself or to run away. It describes both spatial circling and figurative cutting off of options. The psalmist's enemies, likened to a pack of dogs and to a lion, figuratively circle around her/him. The terror of their threat has effectively cut off both the psalmist's strength (ידי, "my hands/power") and ability to flee (רגלי, "my feet").

This description is in keeping with the verses that precede it. The sense of "poured out like water, disjointed limbs, and a heart melted like wax in the bowels" (v. 15) express the sinking paralysis of terror; and lack of strength, dry mouth, and proximity to death (v. 16) certainly describe the sense of dread and despair that confrontation with an indomitable foe elicits. Although "hands" and "feet" may indeed connote the corporal damage of a lion's tearing assault, in this verse they tell figuratively of the psalmist's (in)ability to fight back or run away, just as the dogs and lion figuratively describe the psalmist's human enemies. The psalmist's terror and helplessness thus are portrayed graphically in this description of enemies who have cut off the psalmist's ability to fight back or to run away.

The structure of the relevant verses underscores this sense of circling animals who circumscribe the psalmist's ability for either escape or defense and lends yet more credence to translating v. 17b, "like a lion they circumscribe my hands and feet." Indeed, imagery and structure work together in vv. 13–22 to evoke in readers a sense of the psalmist's terrible condition. The unit is framed

---

1965), 140 n. 17; and Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* (WBC 19; Waco: Word Books, 1983), 196 n. 17a.

[22] See, e.g., Isa 15:8; 1 Kgs 7:24; 2 Chr 4:3. It appears with such a sense and parallels סבב in Ps 48:13.

[23] See, e.g., Josh 6:3, 11; Lam 3:5. In yet further association with Ps 22:17, Lam 3:5, a personal complaint, goes on to liken the perpetrator to threatening animals, including a lion (v. 10).

by descriptions of threatening animals. In vv. 13–14 they are bulls and a lion; in vv. 21–22 they are a dog and a lion.[24] In a case of "form following content,"[25] the first and last verses of the unit tell of threatening animals, thus surrounding the unit's central verse, v. 17. This circling of the verses around a description of inability either to fight or flee calls attention to the figurative disabling that the enemies do "like a lion," making both self-defense (with hands) and flight (with feet) impossible. Furthermore, this central verse tells of dogs and lions explicitly surrounding the psalmist. The beginning and end of the unit (vv. 13–14, 21–22) describe terrifying animals. These verses surround v. 17, which telescopes the crisis by telling that threatening animals surround the psalmist and circumscribe his/her ability to escape. Although this greater textual unit tells of bovine animals and dogs more than once, only the lion is present at the beginning, middle, and end. The presence of the lion in particular, then, draws attention to this poetically artistic rendering of the text's idea by its structure.[26]

A bulls surround (v. 13)
  B lion's mouth (v. 14)
    C description of physical effects of pain and terror (vv. 15–16)
      D "You have set me in the dust of death" (v. 16c)
        E dogs surround and a lion circumscribes (v. 17)
      D' "I can count all of my bones" (v. 18a)
    C' description of actions of others and cry for help (vv. 18b–20)
  B' power of the dog, lion's mouth (vv. 21–22a)
A' oxen's horns (v. 22b)

Some earlier scholars have come close to this interpretation of v. 17, but have foundered on the shoals either of attempts to find a corrupt/absent verb or of fear of compromising the importance of Ps 22 to Christian accounts of Jesus' passion and crucifixion. Ibn Ezra (1092–1167), reading "the congregation of the malignant surround for me, as a lion my hands and my feet," proposed an interpretation close to mine, but he did not associate the verb נקף with כארי.[27] Following Ibn Ezra, David Ḳimḥi translated, "The assembly of evil-doers have

[24] The parallelism of v. 22 suggests that "the horns of the wild ox" are threatening; however, comparison with other texts suggests that the wild ox may be the source of the psalmist's help from God (cf. Num 23:22; 24:8; Deut 33:17). Determining how it should be read here is the worthy subject of another study.

[25] This is Rendsburg's term ("Philological Notes").

[26] Strawn also diagrams the structure of imagery in vv. 13–22 ("Psalm 22:17b," 447). Cf. Roy Steven Bishop, "Energeia: A Study of Psalm 22 in Biblical Hebrew and in Sir Philip Sidney's Translation" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 2002).

[27] Landis notes the problem of adding the preposition "for" in Ibn Ezra's reading and adds that the placement of the *athnach* ought not be changed (Landis, "Import of 'They Pierced My Hands and Feet,'" 814).

encircled me like a lion—my hands and feet," likewise failing to read כארי as describing the subject of נקף. He did understand a figurative reference to prohibiting a fight or flight response, but only after explaining in a more literal reading that a lion preparing to attack makes a circle with its tail around its prey, which reacts by tucking its hands and feet in close to its body.[28] Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg similarly noted possible allusion to disabling fight or flight in the text's reference to hands and feet. Yet he finally translated, "For dogs compass me, the band of the wicked besets me, like lions on my hands and feet," in a manner that makes little sense and seems to ignore his earlier appreciation of the metaphorical disabling.[29] Joseph A. Alexander, admitting his dependence on Hengstenberg, translated, "For dogs have surrounded me, a crowd of evildoers have beset me, piercing my hands and feet."[30] Like Hengstenberg, he argued for a translation closer to mine than to the one that he chose. However, Alexander suggested that it is also possible to read, "They surround my hands and feet, as they would a lion" or, "as a lion would." While the first of these alternatives is quite different from mine, the second is very close, especially because he added that we should understand hands and feet as referring to the ability to fight and flee.[31] Despite this sensible metaphorical reading, he described the association of hands and feet with a lion as "not altogether natural."[32] Although Alexander's translation finally agrees with the (Christian) translation "piercing," his discussion raised the considerable ire of Robert W. Landis, who forcefully (but unconvincingly) argued, "the word has always, until

[28] R. David Ḳimḥi, *The Longer Commentary of R. David Ḳimḥi on the First Book of Psalms* (trans. R. G. Finch.; intro. by G. H. Box.; Translations of Early Documents Series 3, Rabbinic Texts; New York: Macmillan, 1919), 102–3.

[29] Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, *Commentary on the Psalms* (4th ed.; Clark's Foreign Theological Library; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1860), esp. 386–87.

[30] Joseph A. Alexander, *The Psalms* (6th ed.; New York: Charles Scribner, 1871).

[31] Others who similarly translated "like a lion my hands and feet" and sometimes explained that the psalmist was denied options to defend himself against or to run away from his attackers include Solomon B. Freehof, *The Book of Psalms: A Commentary* (Jewish Publication Society; Cincinatti: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1938); Abraham Cohen, *The Psalms* (Soncino Books of the Bible; Hindhead, Surrey: Soncino Press, 1945); Rendsburg, "Philological Notes." Delitzsch admits the possibility, but does not finally accept it (*Psalms*, 388). However, these interpretations were described as weak or nonsensical because the translations lacked a necessary verb. I do not disagree with Rendsburg's observation that sometimes the idea of a text is strengthened by departing from conventional semantics, but I do not think that that is the case in this verse.

[32] Alexander, *Psalms*, 185. Delitzsch also translates, "For dogs have compassed me, A crew of miscreants close me round, Like a lion, my hands and feet." Although he notes that the lion "in 17c" could mean either the circling before an attack or cutting off the ability to defend and flee, he claims that the clause translated "my hands and feet" is "grammatically harsh and dragging" (*Psalms*, 390). Consequently, he favors the translation "dug," explaining that the action is done in a circular manner, either to create a round hole or "to cut out in a circular form" and this digging/cutting out creates a condition that makes it impossible for him to use his hands or feet (*Psalms*, 392).

modern times, been read as a verb" and added, "In this same Psalm, everything else which our adorable Redeemer suffered while enduring the death of the cross, is mentioned, and why then should not the piercing of his hands and feet be referred to?"[33]

A misunderstanding of simile and metaphor weakens other possible criticisms of my translation.[34] For example, Cheyne explains that a reading presuming an attack so powerful that it renders hands and feet unable "interrupts the lifelike description of the 'dogs,' and seems at any rate to assume that the lion specially attacks the hands and feet." He sarcastically dismisses this by exclaiming, How could a person possibly defend himself against a lion with his bare hands?! And he goes on to champion an understanding of the dogs as referring to actual dogs "which prowl about in packs in Eastern cities . . . [and] might rush at a man's hands or feet, and wound them."[35] If one reads with the psalm's greater sense of human enemies likened to threatening animals, as vv. 13–22

[33] Landis, "Import of 'They Pierced My Hands and Feet,'" 809, 821. Landis fails to appreciate that, although the Gospel accounts of Jesus' crucifixion clearly found poetic precedent in Ps 22, they do not actually mention piercing of both Jesus' hands and feet. Consequently, it may be that the text with which the authors were familiar did not read a verb where the MT reads כארי. This, however, is an argument from silence and so cannot be determinative. In the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus' attackers mock him (Matt 27:27–31; Mark 15:17–20; Luke 22:63; cf. Ps 22:7); they divide his clothes among themselves by casting lots (Matt 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; cf. Ps 22:18); they shake their heads (Matt 27:39; Mark 15:29–30; cf. Ps 22:7); and they taunt him in a manner related to his righteousness and declare that if he could save himself, they would believe in him (Matt 27:39–43; Mark 15:29–32; Luke 23:35–39; cf. Ps 22:8). Luke, the only one of the Synoptics that might arguably refer to piercing Jesus' feet, does so in only two verses, one of which (24:40) does not appear in many ancient versions. Luke writes that after the resurrection, Jesus declares his reality to a dumbfounded group of disciples, first telling them "look at my hands and feet" (24:39), and then he "showed them his hands his feet" (24:40). Neither of these verses explicitly tells of pierced hands and feet. In the Gospel of John, which makes many explicit references to the Hebrew Bible as "scripture," Jesus' passion includes reference to Ps 22 (e.g., John 19:23–25; cf. Ps 22:19). However, there is no mention of the kind of piercing that some Christian interpreters propose is indicated in Ps 22:17 (cf. Zech 12:10, which uses the verb דקר [which appears in LXX as κατωρχήσαντο], but Zech 12:10 does not refer to hands and feet and neither does John 19:37, which refers to Zech 12:10). When Jesus reappears after the resurrection, as John recounts it, he shows the disciples "his hands and side" (John 20:20). There is no mention of feet. Similarly, although Thomas's exclamation presumes that Jesus' hands were nailed (John 20:25, 27), there is no mention of feet.

[34] In his discussion of the role of imagery such as is communicated through metaphor and simile in the psalms, Brown challenges the idea that simile is a less effective method. By way of example, he cites Song 4:1, wherein "the presence or absence of the term of comparison seems to make no appreciable difference" (Brown, *Seeing the Psalms*, 7). This text shares with Ps 22:17 parallelism in which the first part/image is described with metaphor and the second with a simile. Brown observes that they "are poetically equivalent," a judgment that applies as well to Ps 22:17.

[35] T. K. Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms, or The Praises of Israel: A New Translation and Commentary* (New York: T. Whittaker, 1888), 64.

clearly demonstrate, this criticism is moot at best. One could also argue that it actually strengthens my reading, illustrating the power of the psalmist's imagery to convey a terrifying threat that effectively renders the victim impotent against it. Landis's argument similarly fails to take into account the rich imagery of metaphor and that the range of possibilities for נקף includes the figurative sense of circumscribing in addition to simply spatially surrounding. He exclaims, "that a sufferer . . . should specify his *hands* and *feet* as being *surrounded* by his persecutors, is as incredible as it is impossible that his hands and feet (while forming a part of his body) could be surrounded, without himself having been surrounded at the same time."[36]

This demonstrates blindness to the evocative language of metaphor and simile, which prevents accurate translation; but it also raises another seeming problem with my reading. The verb that I have translated "they circumscribe" has a first common singular pronominal suffix, lending the translation "they circumscribe me." The first common singular pronominal suffix on "they circumscribe" is not directly attested in my translation; however, it is attested indirectly, by reference to hands and feet. "My hands and feet" elaborate on the personal pronoun that is understood, if not articulated, in a translation reflecting their figurative sense as the speaker's (dis)ability to fight or flee. This is similar to the case of an independent pronoun included in a clause whose verb already identifies the person. P. Joüon and T. Muraoka write that the pronoun in such a case need not be translated, but should be understood as intending some particular nuance, like photographic "close-ups." "The person or persons may be perceived by the speaker or writer as prominent *per se* or in relation to some other person or persons."[37] Joüon and Muraoka note that the appearance of a pronoun when the noun is also specifically articulated is "not uncommon" and explain that it functions to anticipate the noun.[38]

Another possible criticism of my proposal is that the subject's number in the verb (plural) translated "they circumscribe" disagrees with the (singular) subject articulated by the noun "a lion." However, appealing to the metaphoric nature of the text, readers should understand both the dogs and the lion to be evocative images of threatening human enemies. Consequently, likening them (plural) to a lion (singular) is simply to draw on the rich fields of meaning that a lion evokes to communicate the terrifying threat of the psalmist's (human) attackers. Sensitive to the simile, Hengstenberg writes that the term, although singular in this text, "must be viewed as referring not to the number, but to the

[36] Landis, "Import of 'They Pierced My Hands and Feet,'" 812.

[37] Joüon, 2:538, §146a.

[38] Ibid., 2:542, §146e. Although the noun usually is preceded by the sign of the direct object (e.g., Exod 2:6; 35:5; 1 Kgs 21:13; Prov 5:22) or a comparable preposition (e.g., ל in 1 Chr 5:26), it need not be (e.g., Ezek 3:21). These are among the examples that Joüon and Muraoka cite.

disposition and nature."[39] In the preceding clause, the word translated "pack" is singular in form yet collective in meaning, described by the plural "wicked ones." "They" are "a pack." In the context of the whole verse, the psalmist's enemies are likened to dogs (plural), a pack (collective), and a lion (singular). That the verse depends on metaphor and simile renders moot slavish agreement of number. "They" are "like a lion."

Some commentators have argued that the word translated lion, אֲרִי, never appears with this spelling in Psalms and so should be emended or translated differently here.[40] However, its regular occurrence in other texts of the Hebrew Bible weakens this argument, as does the fact that the difference in spelling is minor from the more common אַרְיֵה, which appears in vv. 14 and 22 of Ps 22. Furthermore, the two spellings alternate in Judg 14, the more frequent spelling being אַרְיֵה.[41] Likewise, Gen 49:9b and Num 24:9a are identical except for their spelling of the word translated "lion" (אַרְיֵה in Gen 49:9b and אֲרִי in Num 24:9a). אֲרִי appears also in 4QpNah 3–4 i, 1 (Nah 2:12b) as an alternate spelling of אַרְיֵה, in striking contrast to the MT and the scroll of the minor prophets.[42] These examples strongly support reading such alternation also in Ps 22.

Occasionally, the best choice is right in front of us. Yet only after circling around it and examining the variety of other choices can we appreciate its superiority. In the case of the crux of Ps 22:17, the best choice is the consonantal text proffered by the Masoretes. Recognizing that reading the consonantal text of the MT does not render Ps 22 nonsensical or moot vis-à-vis the Christian story, yet guarding against doctrinal bias, allows us to appreciate the inherent sense of Ps 22:17 as it is represented in the MT consonantal text. Simply dividing the text differently than the Masoretes do reveals a finely crafted poem whose evocative imagery is enhanced by its structure, thereby creating the vivid expression of a seemingly impossible condition.

[39] Hengstenberg, *Psalms*, 386.

[40] Allen was troubled by the spelling אֲרִי, even though he allows that this may have been a gloss on v. 14. He finally concludes that we should probably read a verb here, but he does not tell what verb he thinks is best ("Cuckoos in the Textual Nest," 143–50).

[41] Strawn adds also that they have the same (poetic) metrical value ("Psalm 22:17b," 444–45 n. 30). See also *HALOT* 1:87–88; and *DCH* 1:137, 378.

[42] I am grateful to the anonymous reader of an early version of this manuscript for pointing out this important detail.

JBL 123/4 (2004) 649–669

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, PARSIN: WRITING AND RESISTANCE IN DANIEL 5 AND 6

DONALD C. POLASKI
dpolaski@ctsi.net
The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA 23187

It is not surprising that the book of Daniel, whose leading character is a Jewish scribe serving in various imperial courts, should feature writing in a recurring role. The story begins with Daniel learning Chaldean literature (1:4) and ends with him in possession of a secret book (12:4). But in the book of Daniel writing is used not merely to give a degree of verisimilitude to the court tales; it marks the exercise of political power, by emperors and the deity alike.[1] The fate of Daniel's people (12:1) as well as that of the emperor (5:24–28) is determined by writing. The book of Daniel discloses an ideology of writing held by its authors. Investigating this ideology will provide insight into the way the text comprehends power and into the ways modern readers might understand the book's original social location.

The stance of the book of Daniel vis-à-vis imperial power is bound up with the question of the social location of the book's authors. Scholars have tended to read the fictive setting of Daniel's court tales, especially, as directly representing that location. Hence the authors would have been a part of a court apparatus and would have written the stories to address the concerns of a Jew seeking to serve the empire. They would have had a comfortable, if not uniformly secure, relationship to state power.[2]

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (New Historicism and the Hebrew Bible Group) in November 2003 in Atlanta, Georgia. My thanks to Sandra Hack Polaski for reading earlier drafts of this paper and providing insightful and helpful comments.

[1] Philip R. Davies, "Reading Daniel Sociologically," in *The Book of Daniel in Light of New Findings* (ed. A. S. van der Woude; BETL 106; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 353–54.

[2] See, e.g., John Collins's treatment of the setting and purposes of the tales in *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ed. Frank Moore Cross; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 47–52, as well as his "Daniel in His Social World," *Int* 39 (1985): 131–43. The classic interpretation

But the setting of Daniel at court may not necessarily demonstrate the authors' positive stance toward the empire and its power structure. Perhaps the court serves as an indication that the authors have ambitions for a greater political role, ambitions that may be frustrated at present.[3] Or Daniel's service as scribe may instead point toward the incompatibility of divine and imperial power; Daniel's fictive experience demonstrates their inherent conflict.[4] The book of Daniel may thus represent a strategy of survival, an act of resistance against imperial power, as Daniel Smith-Christopher has recently claimed.[5] Evaluating the role of writing in Daniel should provide new data for the investigation of whether the book of Daniel and its authors resisted the empire or were co-opted by it.

A complete examination of writing in Daniel is beyond the scope of the present article. Rather, I have chosen Daniel 5 and 6 as an entry point, reading these texts as narratives, using literary techniques to uncover the claims the stories make concerning writing and power. These stories are an especially promising place to begin, since writing is essential to their plots. They also, as will be seen in this reading, frequently pick up and reconfigure material from the previous tales.[6] For example, the story of Belshazzar's feast, with its confounding inscription, relates well to the similarly confounding dream of Nebuchadnezzar (ch. 2). And the failed execution of Daniel for defying a royal edict has a clear parallel in the story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (ch. 3). In addition, Daniel 5 and 6 introduce the second section of the book (chs. 7–12), the series of apocalyptic visions. The reader encounters Daniel as an apocalyptic seer (and writer) only after, and directly after, seeing him as the reader of a mysterious inscription and as the would-be victim of supposedly permanent royal legislation.

---

of the stories as demonstrating a way of life (though not providing sociological analysis) is W. Lee Humphreys, "A Life-Style for Diaspora: A Study of the Tales of Esther and Daniel," *JBL* 92 (1973): 211–23.

[3] Davies, "Reading," 355–56.

[4] Matthias Henze, "The Narrative Frame of Daniel: A Literary Assessment," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 24.

[5] Daniel Smith-Christopher, "Prayers and Dreams: Power and Diaspora Identities in the Social Setting of the Daniel Tales," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; 2 vols.; VTSup 83; Formation and Interpretation of the OT 2; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1:266–90. Also see his treatment of Daniel as a "wise warrior" in his *A Biblical Theology of Exile* (OBT; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 182–88.

[6] One OG manuscript, Papyrus 967, orders the tales and visions differently, inserting the present visions of chs. 7 and 8 between the story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness (ch. 4) and that of Belshazzar's feast (ch. 5). Collins believes this manuscript represents the original OG reading (*Daniel*, 242).

I. Daniel 5: Writing at the End of an Empire

A written text inscribed on the wall of a banquet hall dominates the story of Belshazzar's feast. This writing unnerves the king, frustrates his bureaucracy, and provides the occasion for Daniel's reemergence at court. The inscription immediately becomes an "actor" in imperial politics, exposing the unreality of the power of Belshazzar and his court, while implying the overarching power of the text's mysterious author.

The Royal Banquet: A Feast of Words

The story begins with the abrupt introduction of King Belshazzar, who has succeeded Nebuchadnezzar, the only king the readers of Daniel have known. Perhaps this feast celebrates Belshazzar's coronation. Perhaps it is an attempt to secure the loyalty of the court with the provision of lavish entertainments. Or perhaps parties like this "just happen"—they are simply an expected part of court life. In any case, this feast serves as an occasion for the exercise of imperial power. Belshazzar appears as a fully empowered monarch. He has lords, wives, and concubines (5:3). He has assumed authority to lead the empire's religious life, directing the worship of "the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood, and stone" (5:4).[7] And he has the power to use the vessels from the temple in Jerusalem as he sees fit.

It is hardly coincidental that these vessels appear at this point. Using (or abusing) them defines Belshazzar's own power over against that of Nebuchadnezzar, who seized them from the temple with power derived from God (1:2).[8] While the appearance of the sacred vessels might lead the reader to expect the vessels' true owner to express his own authority, for the moment they serve as a clear description of royal authority: kings use whatever is at their disposal, be it cultic equipment, women, or the bureaucracy.

There is one exception to this picture: Belshazzar's use of wine. Belshazzar, "under the influence of the wine" (בטעם חמרא, 5:2), orders the temple vessels brought to him. טעם ("influence") frequently appears in Biblical Aramaic in relation to official exercise of power. It can indicate a command given by the king (3:10, 29; 4:6[3]; 6:26[27]), a report made to the king (6:2[3]; Ezra 5:5), or even the proper discretion needed at the king's court (2:14; 3:12; 6:13[14]).[9]

[7] Unless otherwise noted, translations of the Hebrew Bible are taken from the NRSV. The verse numbers are those used in English translations, with verse numbers from *BHS* in square brackets where they differ from the English.

[8] Danna Nolan Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty: Plotting Politics in the Book of Daniel* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1991), 83–86.

[9] The term טעם may also be derived from a Semitic root *ṭ'm* (KBL) meaning "taste," giving a translation of "while he tasted the wine" or the like (KJV, NASB, NIV).

The use of the term in construct with חמרא ("the wine") invites the reader to understand wine as powerful. Belshazzar, it turns out, will never issue a command or receive a report (טעם). Instead, Belshazzar follows the command (טעם) of wine, subtly raising the issue of Belshazzar's ability not just to hold his liquor but to hold political authority.

Belshazzar's actions provoke a reaction from God that is written on the wall of the banquet hall:

> Immediately the fingers of a human hand appeared and began writing on the plaster of the wall of the royal palace, next to the lampstand. The king was watching the hand as it wrote. Then the king's face turned pale, and his thoughts terrified him. His limbs gave way, and his knees knocked together. (5:5–6)

Although Belshazzar's reaction is extreme, it is not significantly more severe than other instances of the receipt of divine revelation in Daniel, which are attended by psychic distress (2:1), terror (4:5[2], 19[16]), pallor (7:28, 10:8), speechlessness (10:15), and collapse (8:17, 10:9).

Belshazzar's reaction is unique in Daniel not in the manner of its expression but in its cause, as a comparison between this story and the tale of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (ch. 2) will show. Nebuchadnezzar's revelation is a dream, not a written text, but Nebuchadnezzar finds it disturbing and seeks the advice of his bureaucracy:

> When they came in and stood before the king, he said to them, "I have had such a dream that my spirit is troubled by the desire to understand it." The Chaldeans said to the king (in Aramaic), "O king, live forever! Tell your servants the dream, and we will reveal the interpretation." The king answered the Chaldeans, "This is a public decree: if you do not tell me both the dream and its interpretation, you shall be torn limb from limb, and your houses shall be laid in ruins." (2:2b–5)

Something of the content of Nebuchadnezzar's dream seems to be known to him. While he may not fully understand the revelation's meaning, he at least can use his knowledge of his dream to test his courtiers. If Nebuchadnezzar were wholly ignorant of his dream's content, he could not tell a true from a false answer. And the Chaldeans, despite the threat of death, will continue to assume that a dreamer can relate a dream's salient points (2:7, 10–11).[10] The content of the supposed revelation, dimly perceived though it may be, grounds Nebuchadnezzar's distress.

Unlike Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar cannot base his fear on even partial knowledge of the revelation. Nebuchadnezzar is terrified not by his dreaming

[10] This view is confirmed by Nebuchadnezzar's own later narration of a different dream (4:10–17[7–14]) and Daniel's lucid report of the visions that terrify him (7:2–14; 8:2–14).

but by the content of the dream, leading him to seek its meaning. Belshazzar is terrified by the act of inscription, but he has no knowledge of either the inscription's content or its meaning—he must ask for both. There is no evidence that Belshazzar is feigning ignorance, as Nebuchadnezzar did regarding his dream; Belshazzar is caught in a terror of unknowing.

One might assume that the appearance of the severed hand inspires Belshazzar's intense emotional and physical reactions. But if the hand were designed as pure spectacle, one would expect an account of the mortified crowd. Instead, the narrator leaves it unclear whether any other people saw the hand, focusing the reader's attention on the king, who is watching the hand: "The king watched the palm of the hand which wrote" (5:5; my translation). The concluding relative clause (די כתבה) is unnecessary: What other hand would Belshazzar be watching intently?[11] The clause serves to emphasize the hand's activity, not its numinous status. The hand is significant, at least in part, because it writes. When the narrator reintroduces the crowd (5:9), they are confounded not by the memory of the hand but by the writing, which resists reading. Belshazzar experiences terror because of the spectacle of the hand, but Belshazzar and his court continue to be disquieted because of what the hand has left behind: a written text.

The Bureaucracy: Silenced by Writing

Belshazzar now has an inscription, ironically not from his own propaganda machine but from some other force. Rather than erase it, Belshazzar demands that it be read. In so doing, Belshazzar exposes a salient shortcoming:

> The king cried aloud [קרא מלכא בחיל] to bring in the enchanters, the Chaldeans, and the diviners; and the king said to the wise men of Babylon, "Whoever can read this writing [כל־אנש די־יקרה כתבה דנה] and tell me its interpretation shall be clothed in purple, have a chain of gold around his neck, and rank third in the kingdom." (5:7)

Belshazzar's calling for his advisors need not be a cry of panic. It may simply be a reasoned (yet loud) response to a potential problem.[12] But even though Belshazzar's demand may show him as at least a competent administrator, that pic-

[11] The relative clause (די + the fem. sing. participle of כתב) may also be translated in a less restrictive sense, thus "watched as it wrote" (e.g., NRSV). Even if this translation is favored, the reader's attention is still drawn to the hand's action. Another possible (though less probable) translation, taking די as a conjunction beginning a causal clause, would be, "The king watched the palm of the hand because (it was) writing." On this sense of די, see KBL.

[12] The phrase קרא בחיל also describes the action of Nebuchadnezzar's herald calling the people to worship (3:4) and that of the holy watcher calling for the destruction of the tree in Nebuchadnezzar's vision (3:31). Both of these speakers are hardly panicked. Rather, they are effectively exercising power.

ture is undermined by Belshazzar's admission that he needs someone else to read (קרא) the text. Belshazzar has only mastered one way to קרא. The way that holds his fate, the way that really expresses power, is beyond him.

In the "real world" of imperial administration, this inability to read is not remarkable.[13] Literacy, at least at some level, was required of court bureaucrats but not monarchs.[14] The next development in Belshazzar's story contradicts "real" expectations of literacy while demonstrating literacy's ideological importance to this story:

> Then all the king's wise men came in, but they could not read the writing or tell the king the interpretation. Then King Belshazzar became greatly terrified and his face turned pale, and his lords were perplexed. (5:8–9)

Once again, the story of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in ch. 2 provides a contrast that will shed light on the construal of power in Belshazzar's story. In ch. 2, the court bureaucracy is unable to produce Nebuchadnezzar's dream and its interpretation. In that story, the reader is not told the content of the vision, learning only the king's internal disposition: distress. The magicians, enchanters, sorcerers, and Chaldeans then arrive and are quickly informed of the king's mental state. Reader and Chaldean now have the same information. Neither reader nor Chaldean is in a position to fulfill the king's request that he be told his dream, nor could the reader expect to be able to fulfill the king's request, unless the divine realm becomes involved (2:11). Thus, Nebuchadnezzar's demand, backed by the threat of dismemberment, brings reader and Chaldean together.[15]

While uniting reader and Chaldean, Nebuchadnezzar's demand also helps characterize Nebuchadnezzar, though there is little agreement on what this act tells us about him. Modern readers have made numerous suggestions: the king had forgotten the dream; the king suspects his sages and wishes to test them; the king is a sadist.[16] Regardless of the explanation proffered—and whether that explanation would have occurred to an ancient reader—one cannot deny

[13] There is little positive evidence that kings in the ancient Near East could read and write. Note the claim by Muhammed A. Dandamaev and Vladimir G. Lukonin regarding Darius I: "He, like the majority of ancient oriental kings, was obviously illiterate, as can be seen from his own statement that, after the [Behistun] inscription was completed, it was read to him" (*The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran* [trans. P. Kohl; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989], 282).

[14] On the role of scribes and their literacy, see Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools*: *The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Library of Ancient Israel; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998], 15–30).

[15] Fewell, *Circle*, 26.

[16] Collins, *Daniel*, 156–57; Fewell, *Circle*, 25–26.

that the picture here is of a strong monarch. Nebuchadnezzar doubtless controls life and death, and he will act, whether or not the Chaldeans (or readers) find his request rational. The sages' inability is thus expected and is contrasted to the king's ability to ask whatever he wishes.

In Belshazzar's case, neither the reader nor the "wise of Babylon" (5:7) know what is written on the wall. In sharp contrast to ch. 2, here the scribes are not threatened with death, nor is the request of the king unreasonable. Thus, while the scribes fail in both ch. 2 and ch. 5, the reader is invited to interpret the failures differently. Given that Daniel's earliest readers were probably scribes skilled at reading and interpreting what was considered God's own writing, there is little chance for sympathy to develop between ancient reader and Chaldean here.[17] The reader, if a member of the scribal class, could easily expect to be able to read the inscription.[18] Reading texts, including those in other languages, was a common duty for court officials.[19] Whereas in ch. 2 the sages' incompetence may be easily (and charitably) understood, here their failure divides them from the scribal (and modern) reader, foregrounding the sages' inability.

Readers have attempted to avoid the conclusion that Belshazzar's court was populated by incompetents.[20] Albrecht Alt, for example, asserts that the inscription was really a set of Aramaic abbreviations, which Babylonian scribes presumably would not have known.[21] The rabbis suggest any number of alternatives: the words were written from left to right, or vertically from top to bottom, or with letters rearranged (*b. Sanh.* 22a).[22] But the reason the sages cannot read is not nearly as important as the fact that they cannot read. This signal inability does not lead to death (as Nebuchadnezzar might have insisted had he been there) but does show that the bureaucracy's power is essentially unreal, as is Belshazzar's. Thus, the scribal failure leads to a repeated public performance of his anxiety and his having words (מלי) with his lords (5:10).

[17] Contra John Collins's claim that "there is no change in the portrayal of the wise man" between ch. 2 and ch. 5 (*The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* [HSM 16; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977], 49).

[18] For the community of origin of the book of Daniel as a scribal group, see Philip R. Davies, "The Scribal School of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception,* ed. Collins and Flint, 1:247–65. The question of Daniel's audience is bound up with the identity of the *maśkîlîm* and their role in the disturbances before and during the Macabbean revolt.

[19] Dandamaev and Lukonin document the importance of translation in Achaemenid administration, both within the empire and in relations with other nations (*Culture*, 114–15).

[20] The OG eliminates the scribes' inability to read, admitting only that they were unable to interpret the writing (see Collins, *Daniel*, 248; James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* [ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1927], 264).

[21] Albrecht Alt, "Zur Menetekel Inschrift," *VT* 4 (1954): 304–5.

[22] It is interesting to note that scribal incompetence did not occur to the rabbis.

Daniel's Powerful Reading

Daniel steps (back) into the affairs of the court at this point, with the scribes' incapacity opening the door. Daniel first "appears" in a speech by the queen mother, who praises Daniel's abilities, in contrast to the court's inabilities. Daniel is "endowed with a spirit of the holy gods" and possesses "enlightenment, understanding, and wisdom like the wisdom of the gods" as well as "an excellent spirit, knowledge, and understanding to interpret dreams, explain riddles, and solve problems" (5:11–12). Belshazzar himself repeats some of this praise once Daniel arrives, clearly contrasting Daniel's supposed strengths with his courtiers' own weaknesses:

> I have heard of you that a spirit of the gods is in you, and that enlightenment, understanding, and excellent wisdom are found in you. Now the wise men, the enchanters, have been brought in before me to read this writing and tell me its interpretation, but they were not able to give the interpretation of the matter. But I have heard that you can give interpretations and solve problems. Now if you are able to read the writing and tell me its interpretation, you shall be clothed in purple, have a chain of gold around your neck, and rank third in the kingdom. (5:14–16)

Daniel responds not with a recitation of the inscription but with a brief homily on the practice of royal power, with Nebuchadnezzar as the key example. Nebuchadnezzar, empowered by God, controlled "all peoples, nations, and languages" (5:19). The mention of "languages" here is part of a stereotypical description of the extent of royal authority (3:4, 7, 29, 31[4:1]; 6:25[26]; 7:14). But there is an irony in this common phrase, given the court's present lack of control over language. How can this court project its power (master the nations) if it cannot master the languages in which it must write? Nebuchadnezzar, with God's backing, had such power, and thus "he killed those he wanted to kill, kept alive those he wanted to keep alive, honored those he wanted to honor, and degraded those he wanted to degrade" (5:19).

Only after Daniel delivers this withering critique of Belshazzar's ignorance of divine authority does he turn his attention to the inscription—a mere four words. Before addressing the words themselves, Daniel emphasizes that the text in question is an inscription, rehearsing the act of writing twice: "So from his presence the hand was sent and this writing was inscribed (כתבא דנה רשים). And this is the writing that was inscribed (דנה כתבא די רשים)" (5:24b–25a). This writing is on a wall, close enough to a large candelabrum to be clearly visible to a large number of people. The writing was thus intended to be seen, yet this does not mean that the text was intended to be legible for a large number. Only one person was, in fact, able to read it.

But many ancient inscriptions did not depend on legibility in order to accomplish their ideological project, usually the support and extension of state

power. For example, the Behistun inscription was carefully inscribed on a cliff in such a way that it could be seen but not read from the base.[23] Rosalind Thomas notes "a certain monumental quality" in ancient Greek inscriptions, a quality that helps explain their seeming lack of concern for legibility.[24] Thomas also claims that inscriptions serve to guarantee the decision they record; they do not merely record it. So, instead of writing "surrender Belshazzar" on the wall, God writes an inscription that foregrounds its own mysterious power via its illegibility. This writing also symbolically re-presents and guarantees the judgment it renders, a judgment not understood until the text is read. In other words, both its encoding and its deciphering are acts implicated in power relations.[25] In Daniel, the deity is doing more than communicating a message; he is expressing his power.

When Daniel reads the inscription, the king and his court are treated to a list of weights that also function as coinage values: *mene* (minah), *tekel* (shekel), *parsin* (half minah).[26] This is, at first glance, a rather bland text to have aroused such distress. As Sibley Towner wryly asks, "What would weights of coinage have had to do with anything significant to an oriental despot?"[27] It is only Daniel's clever (mis)reading of the list that makes it "significant" for Belshazzar, the despot in question. Other readers suggest that the coins are significant only because they stand for the relative power of various kings; they are not significant in and of themselves: "If Nebuchadnezzar is a minah, Belshazzar is only a shekel (a ratio of 60 to 1) and while the Medes and Persians (half-minahs) may be less valuable then Nebuchadnezzar, they are a good deal better than Belshazzar."[28]

Such interpretations miss the key point that a list of coins is itself an example of royal power. If the text's status as an inscription foregrounds its "monumental and symbolic role," the text's content leads us to the treasury, to the province of ancient accountants and record keepers.[29] Ancient treasury records, as well as private archives, focused on economic questions that

[23] Donald C. Polaski, "'What Mean These Stones?' Inscriptions, Textuality, and Authority in Persia and Yehud," in *Approaching Yehud: New Directions in Persian Period Studies* (ed. Jon L. Berquist; SemeiaSt; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, forthcoming).

[24] Rosalind Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 87-88. The NIV replicates (unwittingly?) this monumental quality when it sets off the inscription in small capital letters.

[25] Thomas, *Literacy*, 78-88.

[26] This view was first asserted by Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau ("Mane, Thecel, et Phares et le festin de Balthasar" *JA* 1, ser. 8 [1886]: 36–67).

[27] W. Sibley Towner, *Daniel* (IBC; Atlanta: John Knox, 1984), 75.

[28] Fewell, *Circle*, 100. Other scholars choose to identify the coins with different kings. For a survey of views, see Collins, *Daniel*, 251–52.

[29] Thomas, *Literacy*, 86.

involved weights of precious metals and, increasingly in the last half of the first millennium B.C.E., coinage.[30] On occasion, such archival detail was itself inscribed in public space.[31] The hand sent by God may be recording the seemingly banal—preparing an inventory, perhaps—but it is also performing an act essential to the organization of imperial economic power.[32]

When the inscription turns out to be a boring list of coins, the court's incompetence is once again emphasized. The scribes of the king cannot read weights; they cannot understand coinage. Even a semiliterate king should know the difference between a shekel and a minah![33] The empire is confounded by a simple example of imperial discourse. On this reading, Daniel's interpretation is obvious if not superfluous. An empire that neither comprehends inscriptions nor attends to careful accounting is no empire at all.

God and Empire: The Proper Use of Writing

The powerlessness of Belshazzar and the court of Babylon, thematized as a lack of control of writing, is balanced by the power of God and the heavenly court, who use writing to great effect. Before reading the text, Daniel solves the mystery of its authorship: "From his presence the hand was sent and this writing was inscribed" (5:24). The hand and God are not identical. Rather, the hand was "sent" (שליח) from God's presence (מן־קדמוהי). The phrase מן־קדם ("from before") is common in Aramaic Daniel, always with either God or a king as its object.[34] The use of the phrase in the description of the hand highlights God's imperial role, explicitly asserted in Daniel's preceding speech (5:21).

[30] For a brief survey of the public and private archives in the Achaemenid and Seleucid empires, see Ernst Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 118–35.

[31] "[T]he famous fifth-century 'Athenian tribute lists' recorded in minute detail, not the total tribute collected from the Athenian empire, but the one sixtieth dedicated to the goddess Athena. In other words, the lists were for the goddess and were inscribed for some kind of sacred reason. Similarly with the immensely detailed building accounts, or the equally intricate inventories of temple treasures which could well go up on stone every year and are not quite inventories in our sense" (Thomas, *Literacy*, 86–87). The entries for מנה and תקל in *DNWSI* indicate that those weights appear in a variety of Aramaic inscriptions.

[32] This blandness in support of an essential purpose is on display in the Treasury Tablets and the Foundation Tablets found at Perseopolis. The former (from 492 to 458 B.C.E.) describe the payment of workers in silver and in food, while the latter (from 509 to 494 B.C.E.) record the transportation of food and the distribution of material to workers. For more information, see R. T. Hallock, "The Evidence of the Perseopolis Tablets," in *The Cambridge History of Iran* [ed. I. Gershevitch; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 2:588–609.

[33] Darius I, soon after coming to power, established a uniform system of weights for the Achaemenid empire, an act that helped unify the empire and guarded against fraud (A. D. H. Bivar, "Achaemenid Coins, Weights and Measures," in *Cambridge History of Iran,* ed. Gershevitch, 2:621).

[34] In 7:7, 8, and 20, it refers to a beast that symbolizes the power of particular empires.

The hand's being "sent" (שליח) also hints at imperial politics. In later Judaism, the Aramaic term שליח (Hebrew שלוח) came to refer to one sent in an official ambassadorial role, reflected in the claim in the Mishnah that "the one sent by a person is like that person" (*m. Ber.* 5:5: שלוחו של אדם כמותו). Whether the precise function described in the Mishnah and later texts can be found in Second Temple Judaism is not clear.[35] For the purposes of reading this text, it is enough to note that the identical term describes the scribe Ezra in the letter given him by Artaxerxes as he is assigned to begin his mission to Yehud:

> I [Artaxerxes] issue a command that whoever is willing in my kingdom from the people of Israel and its priests and its Levites to go to Jerusalem with you [Ezra] may go, since from before the king [מן־קדם] and his seven counselors you are one sent [שליח] to examine Yehud and Jerusalem with the law of your god which is in your hand. (Ezra 7:13–14; my translation)

While this letter is probably not an accurate reflection of historical circumstances, it shows the way the authority of the one who was sent (שליח) was envisioned.[36] In the text from Daniel, then, we see another instance of "one sent," the hand that wrote. The parallel with Ezra suggests that the hand functions as God's own scribe, an ambassador going out from before him, rendering his commands in written form at the court of another monarch, Belshazzar.[37]

All that remains is for one of that king's staff to read and interpret the message. Daniel, the only capable scribe, does so. This explains Daniel's lack of appeal to God for assistance. Although God's help is needed in reading Nebuchadnezzar's visions (2:17–19), in the present case God has already communicated all the essentials. To go to God now would violate the imperial mode of communication God has selected. Daniel simply does his (former) job as a royal official; he needs no help in reading a text. God, via scribal mediation, addresses a recalcitrant king and his bureaucracy, again showing the extent to which notions of power are "textualized" in the thought world of the book of Daniel.

[35] The question has received much attention owing to the term's supposed importance for the development of the Christian notion of "apostle." See Francis H. Agnew, "The Origin of the NT Apostle Concept: A Review of Research," *JBL* 105 (1986): 79–85. Agnew concludes that a שליח "convention" developed in the Second Temple period (p. 84).

[36] The authenticity of the rescript of Artaxerxes in Ezra 7 is debated. See Richard C. Steiner, "The *mbqr* at Qumran, the *episkopos* in the Athenian Empire, and the Meaning of *lbqr'* in Ezra 7:14: On the Relation of Ezra's Mission to the Persian Legal Project," *JBL* 120 (2001): 623–46 and David Janzen, "The 'Mission' of Ezra and the Persian-Period Temple Community," *JBL* 119 (2000): 619–43.

[37] The term יד often expresses power or authority, as in Daniel's speech to Belshazzar (5:23). The multiple senses incorporated here display an intriguing web of power relations: God's hand is God's power is God's ambassador/scribe.

Belshazzar is always on the "wrong side" of writing in this chapter, from the "decree" of wine (5:2) to the writing on the wall, while Daniel and his God are in league with writing and use writing effectively. Belshazzar's bureaucracy finds itself unable to use writing and turns out to be no better than the king. At his death, Belshazzar is given by the narrator his most extensive title: "King of the Chaldeans" (5:30 REB, NIV).[38] Belshazzar thus both rules over and draws his identity from those who cannot understand writing and thus cannot comprehend power. Belshazzar is so emptied of power that there is no need to indicate his killer. He simply "was killed" (קטיל, 5:30), receiving action rather than taking action right to the very end.[39]

II. Daniel 6: The End(s) of Writing

Belshazzar's rule has been undone by his lack of attention to writing. His successor, Darius the Mede, will avoid this difficulty by instituting a different system of government:

> It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom one hundred twenty satraps, stationed throughout the whole kingdom, and over them three presidents, including Daniel; to these the satraps gave account [טעמא], so that the king might suffer no loss [נזק]. (6:1–2[2–3])

Darius understands the importance of a loyal and competent bureaucracy: the whole kingdom is organized into a hierarchy, concentrating information at the center. The end result is that, unlike Belshazzar, Darius will "suffer no loss" or "suffer no harm."[40] Good information from the provinces—especially a written report (טעם)—prevents sedition and corruption.[41]

But a system that relies on texts, especially texts that will be claimed to be immutable, has its own set of problems. If writing is linked so strongly with the exercise of power, those who control writing may use their gifts to advance their own careers and, violating the purpose of Darius's reform, may cause the king

[38] Belshazzar is simply called "king" throughout the chapter. It is also possible to read Belshazzar's title here as "the Chaldean king" (NRSV, NJPS), which would equate Belshazzar with his failed underlings.

[39] There is here one final contrast with Nebuchadnezzar, who Daniel recently noted "killed who he wanted to kill [קטל]" (5:19).

[40] KBL suggests that the *peʿal* ptc. of נזק be translated as "to be bothered"; cf. Norman Porteous, *Daniel* (OTL; Philadelphia, Westminster, 1965), 89: "not be overburdened"; NJPS "not be troubled." נזק appears in the *haphʿel* in the context of imperial information gathering in Ezra (4:13, 15, 22), where damage to the king and his treasury are clearly the main concern, not the king's level of activity (cf. BDB). The NRSV and the NIV use "loss"; André Lacocque favors "harm" (*The Book of Daniel* [trans. D. Pellauer; Atlanta: John Knox, 1979], 109).

[41] This view of imperial correspondence is assumed in the letters in Ezra 4–5.

harm. Moreover, the use of writing by Darius complicates the power relation between the empire and God. Under Belshazzar, God wrote and the king did not. Now Darius will create a law that stands over against God's writing. The story of this new administration and its writing will provide a more complex picture of the power dynamics among bureaucracy, king, God, and texts.

Writing a Plot: Erasing Daniel

Darius's new system will require a large, powerful scribal class (and a postal system) to keep the reports flowing in and the edicts flowing out. That class will not remain hidden, as professional jealousies immediately arise. Daniel, because of his "excellent spirit," noted several times earlier, was destined to be the sole ruler under the king (6:3[4])—Daniel would receive all reports. Because of this, those who oppose Daniel first look to his exercise of power (מלכותא, 6:4[5]). But regarding power, Daniel is without fault.

These scribes then think to look to writing as a solution: "We shall not find any ground for complaint against this Daniel unless we find it in connection with the law of his god (בדת אלהה)" (6:5[6]). Daniel's devotion to another law indicates a surplus of writing; there are multiple laws at court. This situation may be turned to the advantage of a skillful legislator, one who can place laws over against each other. The conflict over court position will be drawn as a conflict between laws: the law of Daniel's god and the law of the Medes and Persians.[42]

There is also an ethnic dimension to the contest. Daniel's opponents wish to play on Daniel's religious/ethnic loyalties to cast suspicion on his political loyalties.[43] The conspirators will later make explicit mention of Daniel's ethnic background when they denounce him to Darius (6:13[14]). But ethnicity here is not the sole focus or primary motivating factor. Ethnic difference is drawn here as a matter of writing. Daniel's opponents define him as an "Other" based on the "law of his god." The battle between Daniel and the conspirators is not an ethnic battle so much as a "power experiment" seeking to determine whose writing counts.[44]

Writing is the focus of attention as the conspirators launch their plot. The

[42] Readers obscure this conflict when they translate דת אלהה as "his religious practice" or "religion" (e.g., Collins, *Daniel*, 265). The phrase echoes both the supposedly immutable law of the Medes and Persians (דת־מדי ופרס) and the Torah, called דת אלה multiple times in Ezra 7. Many readers prefer to see a well-developed conflict here, e.g., Sibley Towner: "The unalterable law of the Medes and Persians comes into direct and fatal conflict with the eternal law of the God of Israel" (*Daniel*, 82). See also John E. Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 130; Fewell, *Circle*, 118; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 111.

[43] Fewell, *Circle*, 108.

[44] The experimental nature of the conspirators' proposal is seen in its thirty-day duration, reminiscent of the time-limited experiment regarding food in ch. 1.

powerful bureaucrats go to the king and urge him to write, treating the reader to a flood of official "power talk":

> The king should enact a statute and enforce a binding law that whoever makes a petition to any divine or human being for the next thirty days, except to you, O king, will be thrown into a pit of lions. Now, O king, enact the binding law [תקים אסרא] and write the document [ותרשם כתבא] so that it will be unalterable—as the law of the Medes and Persians [כדת־מדי ופרס] which cannot be revoked. (6:7b–8[8b–9]; my translation)[45]

The request that the king sign the document (ותרשם כתבא) echoes God's action in the previous story (ודנה כתבא די רשים, "and this is the writing which was written" [5:25]). That the result of the king's writing (or at least his signature) is the law's immutability is perfectly reasonable, given that God's immutable sentence was likewise inscribed. While God and king once again are seen holding power in similar ways, the mention of the irrevocable status of the law of the Medes and Persians provides an explicit contrast to the previously mentioned law of God (6:5[6]). So writing must count—all good emperors use it, including God.[46] But writing is not free from possible contradictions: once the king signs the document, one law or the other must give way.

Daniel's response is instructive, especially in what it fails to reveal. Daniel "knew that the document had been signed" (6:10[11]). Daniel knows the power and significance of this writing, but will not choose to violate the law of his God. It is hard to determine Daniel's motivation here. Does he intentionally deny the authority of the edict?[47] Does he feel himself bound by a "higher law?" The text provides no clear evidence for Daniel's casuistry at this point.

While Daniel is silent, the conspirators interpret Daniel's actions. After catching Daniel in the act of praying, they approach the king. Although one would expect an immediate accusation, they do not speak about Daniel. Rather, they refer to the "binding law":[48]

[45] See Shalom M. Paul, "Dan 6,8: An Aramaic Reflex of Assyrian Legal Terminology," *Bib* 65 (1984): 106–10.

[46] Darius, at the very least, had the document written and signed it. He will later issue a decree in writing, and in that case he will write (כתב, 6:25[26]) without the mention of scribal assistance. Nebuchadnezzar writes (or has written) a letter describing his dream (4:1[3:31]). Belshazzar, the exemplary failure, does not have any documents written.

[47] For a full discussion of this issue, see Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, "The Book of Daniel," *NIB* 7:91–92. Smith-Christopher claims that "Daniel was openly declaring his disobedience by keeping open, or even throwing open, his windows" (p. 92). But Smith-Christopher later claims that "Daniel was innocent" and "was convicted by a kangaroo court" (p. 94). Was the king's edict wrong and deserving of violation? Or was it applied to Daniel in error? Daniel's own testimony makes answering these questions difficult, if not impossible.

[48] The phrase "regarding the binding law" is lacking in the OG and Syriac. Even without this phrase, the conspirators first mention the law, not the violation. Note a similar move by the Chaldeans in 3:9–11, although that story lacks the dialogue seen here regarding the edict.

> Then they came before the king and spoke regarding the binding law, "O king! Did you not inscribe a binding law [הלא אסר רשמת], that whoever makes a petition to any divine or human being for the next thirty days except to you, O king, will be thrown into a pit of lions?" The king answered, saying, "The matter is certain as a law of the Medes and Persians which cannot be revoked." (6:12[13]; my translation)

This interchange concerns the status of the text. The king freely admits its immutability, as it is a "law of the Medes and Persians."

Once everyone is absolutely clear on the status of the text, the conspirators spring their trap:

> Then they responded and spoke before the king, "Daniel, one of the exiles from Yehud, has no regard [לא־שם טעם] for you, O king, or for the binding law which you have inscribed [על־אסרא די רשמת], but three times a day he makes his petition." (6:13[14]; my translation)

They first carefully note Daniel's place as an exile, not only as an ethnic matter but also to hint at the king's proper power. Exiles are persons a king has seen fit to move; their status is a result of a king's exercise of authority. In a sense, Daniel, as exile, is constituted by royal edict. For Daniel to contradict a king's order thus draws his own identity, even existence, into question. In addition, to act against a royal edict contradicts Daniel's own role at court: Daniel, who was supposed to bring a report (טעם, 6:2[3]) to the king of anything that might cause him loss, has instead not shown proper deference (טעם, 6:13[14]).

In making this accusation, the plotters equate the king with his written order. To ignore the king's writing is to ignore the king; both objects are governed by the same verb. One cannot separate the authority of the king from that of his writing. Taking advantage of Daniel's silence, the plotters have constructed Daniel as an outsider who does not take royal power (i.e., royal writing) seriously.

The scribes also succeed in constructing the king as a willing servant of his own writing. Darius has himself admitted to his edict's immutability and thus cannot object to Daniel's execution. Although Darius considers the matter evil (באש עלוהי, 6:14[15]) or, to continue a theme of the chapter, injurious to his administration, he cannot avoid loss.[49] Darius is reduced to helpless fumbling about for a solution. Obviously some alternatives exist or else he would not struggle, but the conspirators put an end to this with one more citation of the law's status—and a brusque one at that: "Know, O king, that it is a law of the Medes and Persians that any binding law or ordinance that the king ordains (די־כל־אסר וקים די־מלכא יהקים) will not be changed" (6:15[16]; my translation).

[49] BDB, 1084a. A later verbal form of באש is attested meaning "to injure" (Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* [2nd ed.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002], 836.

The king cannot act. Although in the "real world" it seems that a loophole is always available, this story constructs a reality that equates writing with power. Erasing writing would cause devastating, irreparable harm to the king as an authority figure, while erasing Daniel would not. Darius, lacking a strategy, commends Daniel to his god. But whatever Daniel's god does, it will be behind a sealed door marked with the king's immutable signet "so that nothing might be changed concerning Daniel" (6:17[18]).[50] The scribes have written well: Daniel will be killed and the king has learned where power lies.

Daniel Finally Speaks

The question of God's ability to intervene is soon answered. Daniel survives a night with the lions. God trumps Darius's edict by eliminating the punishment. Thus we might assume that the experiment has been concluded and that God's writing counts, while Darius's does not. God is powerful; Darius (and his scheming scribes) is not. Yet that result would be much too tidy, given Daniel's own summation of the matter:

> Then Daniel said to the king, "O king, live forever! My God sent his angel and shut the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me [חבולוני] because before him I have been found innocent and also before you, O king, I have done no harm [חבולה]." (6:21–22[22–23]; my translation)

Daniel speaks of God and Darius in similar fashion. Just as Darius closed (and officially sealed!) the mouth (פם, 6:17[18]) of the den, so God closed the mouth (פם, 6:22[23]) of the lions. And Daniel first addresses the king with the request he live forever (מלכא לאלמין חיי, 6:21[22]), echoing the king's claim that Daniel's God is the Living God (אלהא חיא, 6:20[21]).[51] Daniel semantically links his survival in the lions' den ("they did not harm me," חבולוני, 6:22[23]) to his attitude toward the king ("I have done no harm," חבולה, 6:22[23]). Daniel then explicitly equates God and Darius: Daniel is saved because he is blameless before both God and king.

At this point, the story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (ch. 3) is particularly instructive. Like Daniel in the present story, the three young men have been trapped by a royal edict that demands the unacceptable. The conflict is between their king, Nebuchadnezzar, who demands that they worship his statue, and their God, who demands their sole allegiance. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego refuse to follow Nebuchadnezzar's decree (טעם, 3:10) to worship the golden statue, a clear (though not explicitly mentioned) violation of Torah

[50] The root שנא, "change," appears here in the *peʿal*, while it is used in the *haphʿel* in 6:8[9] and 6:15[16] to describe the law of the Medes and Persians. The repetition of the root allows the king's determination of Daniel's fate to echo the immutable law at the heart of the controversy.

[51] Fewell, *Circle*, 115.

commands. This is interpreted as a "slight" (טעם, 3:12) against the king. So far the stories are comparable, with the protagonists' actions understood in identical terms. Just as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego are said to slight the king (3:12), so is Daniel (6:13[14]).

The stories diverge, however, with the reply of the three young men:

> O Nebuchadnezzar, we have no need to present a defense to you in this matter. If our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the furnace of blazing fire and out of your hand, O king, let him deliver us. But if not, be it known to you, O king, that we will not serve your gods and we will not worship the golden statue that you have set up. (3:16b–18)

Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego explicitly claim that the king's power is at issue and they are willing (to the point of death) to contradict that power, to cause harm to the king's *majestas*. And they are clear about their reasons: they simply cannot be blameless before God and king and so choose the former. After they are saved, Nebuchadnezzar joyfully admits that his own authority has been contradicted:

> Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who has sent his angel and delivered his servants who trusted in him. They disobeyed the king's command and yielded up their bodies rather than serve and worship any god except their own God. (3:28)

In ch. 6, Daniel makes no stirring speech elaborating his reasons for violating a royal order. Daniel instead delivers an understanding of divine rescue different from that of Nebuchadnezzar, failing to acknowledge any tension between imperial and divine power. Nebuchadnezzar realizes that his power has been bested, but Daniel claims that he has done no harm to the king. Daniel refuses to read his deliverance as compromising the king's authority. In Daniel's view, both he and the king's immutable law emerge unscathed. God's law may actually count—trusting God is the best course, even according to Darius (6:26[27])—but the king's writing still somehow counts as well.

Darius Learns to Write

Darius's reaction to the miracle is to project his own power, eliminating the bureaucratic dispute by eliminating the bureaucrats and their families.[52] There will be no more scribal plots that place him on the wrong side of his own writing. Darius's violent response and its graphic description show his power, providing a lesson for the next group of scribes that will inevitably be needed

[52] Fewell sees Darius here ridding himself "of any reminder of his own stupidity" (*Circle*, 116).

for the government to function. And, as a further demonstration of his authority, Darius himself writes, treating, as the plotters had previously, the subject of proper worship:

> Then King Darius wrote to all peoples and nations and languages throughout the whole world: "Abundant prosperity to you! I make a decree, that in all my royal dominion [שלטן] people should tremble and fear before the god of Daniel: For he is the living God and is established forever [די־הוא אלהא חיא וקים לעלמין]. His kingdom shall never suffer harm [תחצבל], and his dominion [ושלטנה] has no end. He delivers and rescues, he works signs and wonders in heaven and on earth; for he has saved Daniel from the power of the lions." (6:25–27[26–28]; my translation)

Darius, recently confounded by his own court's writing, projects his own power by writing yet again. And this writing represents an extreme (even hyperbolic) projection of power. The decree is universal, declaring that all people should worship Daniel's god. The theological justification for this is God's own enduring status as well as that of his dominion.

But this does not mean that Darius cedes authority in the face of a stronger competitor. Darius places himself in league with Daniel's god, as is indicated by a host of semantic links. Both Darius and God possess "dominions" (שלטן, 6:26[27]). While Darius establishes immutable edicts (לקימה קים, 6:7[8]; תקים, 6:8[9]; וקים די־מלכא יהקים, 6:15[16]), Daniel's god is himself established forever (וקים לעלמים, 6:26[27]).[53] Most telling, while Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego are saved from the power of Nebuchadnezzar (מן־ידי, 3:15; ומן־ידך, 3:17), Daniel is saved from the power of the lions (מן־יד אריותא, 6:27[28]), not from Darius. Darius refuses to implicate himself or his writing in Daniel's punishment, implying that it was only the lions from which Daniel needed rescue. The narrator does not correct Darius here, instead emphasizing Daniel's status at court. Darius and his writing still count.

Daniel's deliverance has shown Darius a way forward. Daniel brings a report to the king—more good information from the scribe. Daniel reports that his god is powerful enough to frustrate enforcement of the king's edict, but that will in no way harm the king. The king need not worry that Daniel's evasion of his edict means a loss of power. Darius understands this immediately, exercis-

[53] The term used to describe Daniel's god here (קַיָּם) is an adjectival form related to the verbal root קום (6:1[2], 3[4], 7[8], 8[9], 15[16], 19[20]) and its nominal form קְיָם (6:7[8], 15[16]), which are so prevalent in this chapter. Fewell sums the situation up well: "God is reduced to an ordinance and this is indeed how the language of Darius' decree plays: The word he uses to declare that the god of Daniel is *established* forever—namely, *qayyam*—is reminiscent of the language used earlier. . . to speak of establishing (*leqayyamah*) an ordinance—namely, *qeyam*. But for the slight change of a vowel one might read that the god of Daniel is an ordinance forever!" (*Circle*, 118).

ing his undiminished authority over the den of lions (releasing Daniel from it, hurling the conspirators and their families into it) and writing a new edict. Deliverance enables writing: there is now a reason to write more immutable law. Darius's new edict does not so much cancel the prior edict as overwhelm it. Thus, writing's actual (and well-known) impermanence is no drawback. The content of law may indeed change, but it can change only through the stroke of a pen.

Those who abuse writing's power are destroyed. The good scribe prospers (6:28[29]). King, God, and writing are now on the same side, or are at least tied together with binding laws. Darius writes a rule for his own dominion which claims that God's dominion is endless (6:26[27]). One can see here perhaps a bit of humility on Darius's part: he has learned whose kingdom will endure, and it is not his.[54] But Darius, like Nebuchadnezzar before him, sees fit to proclaim this knowledge as an exercise of his own authority. And Darius, unlike Nebuchadnezzar, does so explicitly in written form. In Darius's now authoritative and immutable law, written by his hand, God's enduring dominion looks ever so much like the law of the Medes and Persians. Darius has learned from Daniel's salvation that kingdoms can live forever, that writing (and power) are never finished.

III. Conclusion

The story of the handwriting on the wall and the story of Daniel in the lions' den both feature writing in an essential role. In the former, the ability to read and write is the key to the proper exercise of imperial authority. The God who writes and the scribe who reads triumph over the ineffective Babylonian king and his court. The power of writing is celebrated. In the latter, unlike in the first story, a particular act of writing is not the final word; Darius's first edict comes to no effect. Yet divine intervention here does not subvert the power of writing as a whole. By the end of the story, the difficulties inherent in the assumption of immutable, powerful writing have been sublimated. While one may escape lions, one cannot escape writing and, by implication, the power of those who write.

There is undoubtedly something subversive in these stories. Emperors lose: Belshazzar is killed, the law of Daniel's god prevails over Darius's edict. There is thus some justification for Matthias Henze's claim that the stories "revolve around two forms of authority that in principle are incompatible with

[54] Nebuchadnezzar seems to have learned a similar lesson in ch. 4. If Belshazzar ever learns this, it is only after his fate has been sealed.

each other."[55] This constant conflict is resolved in doxologies such as 6:26–27[27–28], where the king admits that human authority is ephemeral and God's power alone will stand. Thus, for Henze, the stories conjure up a world in which foreign kings themselves voice the coming end of all Israel's enemies.[56] Daniel Smith-Christopher is right to speak of Daniel as a "clever" hero—a warrior who defeats his foes through wisdom, not might. Daniel subverts imperial power, a hero for the practice of anti-imperial nonviolent resistance:

> "Wisdom" in this case was a tactic of resistance. In virtually all the stories [in Daniel], cleverness and "wisdom" are contrasted with the brute power of the empire, or the worthlessness of its proud information (e.g., from the rival advisers). In short, Daniel defeats his enemies by means of wisdom—he is the quintessential wisdom warrior (as noted by Gandhi in South Africa, who occasionally cited the biblical Daniel as a historical example of satyagraha—the movement of social resistance that Gandhi himself pioneered).[57]

But the subversion here is both more subtle and more circumscribed than these scholars admit. Power—both as practiced in the "real world" and as imagined by the scribal authors of these stories—is complex and unstable. I suggest that subversion of imperial power in the name of divine power, far from demonstrating their incompatibility, in fact helps secure the continued vitality of imperial power. Darius may be made to give voice to the subversive notion that his power is evanescent, but he does so only in the context of a robust exercise of his own power.

Daniel, the scribes' hero, is even more clever (and less revolutionary) than Smith-Christopher asserts. He resists the empire but is fully at home in its ways of power: he knows the value of an inscription, performs the duty of an ideal bureaucrat, and is quick to assure Darius that all is well, giving him information on which to base one more edict. If Daniel is a subversive, then he is a subversive whose actions in fact buttress the authority of the empire. These stories generate subversion and contain it, while celebrating imperial power seen in writing.[58] The imagining of such a contradictory power relation fits well with the contradictory social space inhabited by Judean scribes in the Hellenistic period.

[55] Henze, "Narrative Frame," 20.

[56] Ibid., 24. Henze does not address what purpose such imagining could serve. One would think it could serve to comfort an oppressed people or could just as easily encourage them actively to resist the doomed empire.

[57] Smith-Christopher, *Exile*, 186.

[58] Stephen Greenblatt claims that a similar relation between subversion and the dominant discourse existed in Elizabethan drama ("Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and its Subversion," *Glyph* 8 [1981]: 40–60).

The scribes, who themselves manufactured Daniel, imagine his victory over the forces of the empire but simultaneously evince an unwillingness to envision a world without some empire.[59] The scribes write a subversion necessary for imperial power—and scribal identity—to maintain their existence. To make God and writing close allies is to create the potential for destructive divine edicts. But this alliance so involves God in imperial power as to set a limit on God's ability to destroy the empire. The writers of the book of Daniel inhabit this contradictory space; its audience watches emperors be confounded through writing while the imperial mode of writing is celebrated. Perhaps the court tale is the form of literature most appropriate to this conflicted space, inevitably ending with an emperor still on the throne and the loyal scribe, a Jewish scribe, by his side.[60]

[59] This ideological stance connects well with the apocalyptic visions that directly follow. The visions are suffused with powerful writing (7:1, 10; 9:2; 10:21; 12:1, 4) and proclaim God to be a monarch who brooks no resistance (7:14, 27; 8:25; 11:45; 12:1–3).

[60] Greenblatt notes: "It is precisely because of the English form of absolutist theatricality that Shakespeare's drama, written for a theater subject to state censorship, can be so relentlessly subversive: the form itself, as a primary expression of Renaissance power, contains the radical doubts it continually produces" ("Invisible Bullets," 57).

JBL 123/4 (2004) 671–702

A REMEDY FOR HAVING BEEN BORN OF WOMAN: JESUS, GENTILES, AND GENEALOGY IN ROMANS

PAMELA EISENBAUM
peisenbaum@iliff.edu
Iliff School of Theology, Denver, CO 80210

In recent years it has become commonplace among Pauline scholars, particularly "new perspective" scholars, to argue that Paul was deeply concerned about alleviating the distinctions that divide people, especially the boundary between Jew and Gentile.[1] Those who argue for Paul's preoccupation with Jew–Gentile harmony usually begin with the assumption that Paul was led to this preoccupation by his experience of the risen Jesus and the christology he developed as a result of that experience. This christology is the hallmark of Paul's gospel: that Jesus died and rose again. To be sure, there is a relationship between Paul's christology and his concern to alleviate the barriers between

I want to thank the Reading Romans through History and Cultures Seminar of the SBL for providing me with the opportunity to pursue this topic. An early version of this paper was presented at the 2001 annual meeting in Denver, Colorado, where the focus was on feminist readings of Romans. In addition to the organizers of the Seminar, Cristina Grenholm and Daniel Patte, I would like to thank the other members of the 2001 panel, especially Elizabeth Castelli, who offered most helpful comments in her response to the paper.

[1] E. P. Sanders's work is often seen as a crucial turning point in Pauline studies that led to the new perspective (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977]), though James D. G. Dunn must be credited with coining the phrase "new perspective" and associating it with Sanders's work ("The New Perspective on Paul," in *Jesus, Paul, and the Law: Studies in Mark and Galatians* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1990], 183–214). In addition to Sanders and Dunn, significant contributions of several others have helped to create the perception of a school of thought represented by this label: John Gager, Lloyd Gaston, Krister Stendahl, N. T. Wright, to name a few. For those seeking an introduction to the new perspective, see Dunn, "The New Perspective on Paul: Paul and the Law," in *Romans 1–8* (WBC 38a; Waco: Word, 1988), lxiv–lxxii; and "The Paul Page" (online at http://www.thepaulpage.com), a thoughtful Web site "dedicated to the New Perspective on Paul," maintained by Mark M. Mattison (accessed 9/4/04). "The Paul Page" provides concise but helpful summaries of key concepts associated with the new perspective, as well as book reviews, online essays, and links to related resources. For a critical introduction to the new perspective, see John Gager, *Reinventing Paul* (New York: Oxford, 2000), 43–75.

Jews and Gentiles, but, whereas virtually all Pauline scholars seem to assume there is an obvious or natural connection between Jesus' death and resurrection and amelioration of the Jew–Gentile relationship, I think such an assumption points to a scholarly blind spot, an inability to pose one fundamental question: *Why* did Paul associate the death and resurrection of Jesus with transcending distinctions between people, particularly the Jew–Gentile distinction? What exactly is the logic that allows Paul to think that the latter follows from the former? Since I am bothered by a question that is largely ignored by others, I will first define the problem more fully before attempting an answer.[2]

New perspective scholars hardly present a unified view of all matters Pauline, but one typical characteristic of the new perspective is to see as Paul's main concern the breaking down of barriers between Jews and Gentiles, so as to demonstrate that God is the God of all people, not just Israel alone, and that God's salvation is available to all human beings.[3] Paul's fullest articulation of this conviction occurs in Romans. In distinction to the traditional interpretation—sometimes known as the Augustinian-Lutheran interpretation, which still has many scholarly advocates, whom I will call neotraditionalists—the new

[2] There are a few notable exceptions. See Paula Fredriksen, "Ultimate Reality in Ancient Christianity: Christ and Redemption," in *Ultimate Realities: A Volume in the Comparative Religious Ideas Project* (ed. Robert C. Neville; Albany: SUNY Press, 2001), 61–73; and Terence L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 3–27. I stumbled on Fredriksen's article near the end of my research on this project. Significantly, we both make many similar observations independently of each other. Donaldson's book gives consideration to a wide range of views concerning Paul's motivations in reaching out to Gentiles. Ultimately Donaldson concludes that Paul had an interest in Gentiles both as a Pharisee and as a follower of Jesus. Donaldson's approach to the problem, as well as his conclusions, differs significantly from the argument presented here.

[3] For the purposes of my argument here, it is not necessary to distinguish between, on the one hand, those scholars who adhere to what is sometimes called the "two-ways" salvation, meaning that there is one route to salvation for the Jews, namely, through Jewish law (Torah), and another route for the Gentiles, namely, through Christ, and, on the other hand, those who believe that the impact of Christ's coming is exactly the same for Jews and Gentiles. In the former camp are Lloyd Gaston (*Paul and the Torah* [Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987]), John Gager (*The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1985], 193–264; *Reinventing Paul*), Krister Stendahl (*Paul among Jews and Gentiles* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976], though he hedges in *The Final Account: Paul's Letter to the Romans* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995], 7), as well as Mark Nanos (*The Mystery of Romans* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1996]) and Stanley Stowers (*A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994]). In the latter camp are Dunn, N. T. Wright, Sanders, and most others. Both Dunn and Wright have an extensive number of publications on the subject, though each has produced a comprehensive work on Paul's theology of salvation: see Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993). For Sanders, in addition to *Paul and Palestinian Judaism,* see *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983).

perspective argues that the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith is not Paul's ultimate point in Romans (or in any other letter for that matter).[4] Rather, the doctrine of justification by faith is significant for Paul because it levels the salvific playing field between Gentiles and Jews.[5] In general, I agree with this observation. But, again, *why* are the death and resurrection of Jesus the means by which Paul thinks the playing field can be leveled? There is certainly no obvious logical relationship between the death and resurrection of Jesus and the interpenetration of the Jew–Gentile boundary; there is no reason for the latter to be logically inferred from the former, even though the association seems to have come naturally for Paul,[6] for many who produced literature in Paul's name (e.g., Eph 2:11–16), and for most readers of Paul today.[7]

[4] I regard as neotraditionalist anyone who defends the traditional reading of Paul in light of the new perspective critique. Since the new perspective only emerged in the 1970s, I would regard anyone writing before that time as traditionalist. Many neotraditionalists have acknowledged and even incorporated some of the insights of the new perspective into their reading of Paul; some have taken a strong negative stance against it. The most thoroughgoing example of the latter to appear recently is Seyoon Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective: Second Thoughts on the Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002). Significantly, Kim's motivation to write his critique of the new perspective derives from his belief that the new perspective has become very influential among scholars. He says in the introduction, "Since the Reformation, I think no school of thought, not even the Bultmannian School, has exerted a greater influence upon Pauline scholarship than the school of the New Perspective" (p. xiv). Less polemical, more balanced exemplars of neotraditionalism include Stephen Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); Simon Gathercole, *Where Is Boasting? Early Jewish Soteriology and Paul's Response in Romans 1–5* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002); Andrew Das, *Paul, the Law, and the Covenant* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001); and idem, *Paul and the Jews* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003).

[5] I necessarily generalize in making this statement, but many of the most prominent new perspective scholars have characterized justification by faith in this way. See especially Stendahl, *Final Account*, 9–14; and idem, *Paul among Jews and Gentiles*, 1–7. At the beginning of the twentieth century, William Wrede anticipated this understanding of justification by faith (*Paul* [London: Green, 1907], 122–28, 167–68), and new perspective scholars sometimes perceive themselves as building on Wrede's work; see Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, 199; and Dunn, *Theology of Paul,* 334–89. New perspective scholars evaluate the significance of justification by faith in various ways. What distinguishes new perspective scholars, however, from neotraditionalists is that the former believe that the relationship of Jews and Gentiles is of profound significance for understanding Paul's argument and agenda about justification by faith, while the latter view justification by faith as a doctrine that addresses the relationship between human beings and God generically. As Dunn says, "'Justification by faith' was Paul's answer to the question: How is it that Gentiles can be equally acceptable to God as Jews?" (Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 340).

[6] Two places where one can see, in a condensed form, how intuitively Paul makes the connection between Christ and the removal of the Jew–Gentile barrier are Gal 3:26–28 and Rom 1:1–5.

[7] Repeatedly I encounter scholarly readers of Paul who proclaim the centrality of Christ in Paul's thinking, and how the emergence of Christ on the stage of history resulted in the outreach to Gentiles. While no reader of Paul's letters could possibly deny the centrality of Christ in them, nor that Paul understood his role as apostle to the Gentiles, most scholars merely reiterate the associa-

A few scholars raise the question only to dismiss it. For E. P. Sanders, consistently named as one of the "fathers" of the new perspective, there is no question "why," because Christ is Paul's starting point; Paul's experience of Christ is the given from which readers can subsequently understand Paul's logic. Sanders does not think there is any "natural" or "logical" connection between Paul's christology and the equalization of Jews and Gentiles. On the contrary, Sanders's famous phrase "from solution to plight" captures in summary his belief that all of Paul's "arguments" work backwards, because they are made from the perspective of one who has undergone a profound conversion. As Sanders says,

> It appears that the conclusion that all the world—both Jew and Greek—equally stands in need of a saviour *springs from* the prior conviction that God had provided such a saviour. If he did so, it follows that such a saviour *must* have been needed, and then only consequently that all other possible ways of salvation are wrong. The point is made explicitly in Gal 2:21: if righteousness could come through the law, Christ died in vain. The reasoning apparently is that Christ did not die in vain. . . . If his death was necessary for man's salvation, it follows that salvation cannot come in any other way and consequently that all were prior to the death and resurrection, in need of a saviour. There is no reason to think that Paul felt the need of a universal saviour prior to his conviction that Jesus was such.[8]

In essence, Sanders locates the starting point of Paul's reasoning in the apostle's mystical experience of the risen Christ. As a result, the question why can never really be answered. Since modern readers do not have access to Paul's personal religious experience, they must simply recognize that that is the point at which Paul's central theological convictions mysteriously shift.

Terence Donaldson has rightly argued that the traditional reading of Paul never raised the question of Gentiles. Under the old paradigm of Pauline inter-

---

tion between these two things as if they were obvious. Perhaps Paul Achtemeier can serve as the paradigmatic example in the following quotation: "Finally, the divine plan that underlies Paul's theology in general, and Romans in particular, clearly centers on Christ. While God's plan for the eventual inclusion of gentiles into the people of God was known to the Jews prior to the Christ, the realization of that plan did not get underway until the advent of Christ, when that purpose became central: universal inclusion of all peoples within God's gracious plan" ("Unsearchable Judgments and Inscrutable Ways: Reflections on Romans," in *Pauline Theology*, vol. 4, *Looking Back, Pressing On* [ed. E. Elizabeth Johnson and David M. Hay; SBLSymS; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997], 11). In other words, the advent of Christ inevitably led to Gentile inclusion. But Achtemeier is hardly alone in assuming that the coming of Christ causes a sudden realization of the need to reach out to Gentiles. See the comments of Wright, who calls Gentile inclusion "miraculous" and says "Gentiles simply come in, from nowhere; Jews have their membership [in the covenant] renewed, brought back to life, by sharing the death and resurrection of their Messiah" (*Climax of the Covenant*, 154-55).

[8] Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 443.

pretation, and that which is held by neotraditionalists today, Paul's "interest as a Jew in the salvation of Gentiles does not arouse the slightest curiosity."[9] The working assumption in the old paradigm is that Paul, in the process of his conversion, left the parochial vision of Judaism, which was associated with works righteousness, or law-based righteousness, and turned toward the universal Christian vision of grace-based righteousness, or, to use the more familiar phrase, justification by faith. The cosmic significance of the lordship of Christ was simply assumed, and therefore the message obviously applied to everyone. Christ's death reconciles the whole human race to God by vicariously atoning for their sins; Christ's resurrection represents the new age that encompasses the whole of creation.

But the new perspective on Paul, argues Donaldson, constitutes a paradigm shift—in the Kuhnian sense—and this shift has created the problem of Gentiles for modern scholars of Paul. Because new perspective scholars work with a more historically plausible as well as historically complicated picture of Judaism than scholars of the past, they take seriously the possibility that Paul drew from Jewish tradition in the formulation of his theological ideas. The new paradigm for understanding Paul holds that categories such as "Jew" and "Gentile," for example, are still operative for Paul. No matter how universalistic Paul's vision of Jesus' lordship, new perspective scholars believe that Paul viewed the world through Jewish eyes. This being a consensus among new perspective scholars, how does one account for Paul's preoccupation with Gentiles?

Some new perspective scholars describe the link between Christ and Paul's turn toward Gentiles by appeal to the apocalyptic strains of first-century Judaism, especially the "eschatological pilgrimage tradition."[10] This tradition sometimes includes a vision of salvation for the nations (ἔθνη), often called the "in-gathering of the nations."[11] Thus, the resurrection of Christ signals to Paul

[9] Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles*, 7.

[10] See Paula Fredriksen, "Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles, and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2," *JTS* 42 (1991): 532–64. Most useful is her discussion of extracanonical Jewish sources (pp. 544–48). Others who have stressed the importance of traditions about the eschatological Zion include Johannes Munck, *Christ and Israel: An Interpretation of Romans 9–11* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967); Sanders, *Paul, the Law,* 18–19, 152–54. See also Terence L. Donaldson, "Proselytes or 'Righteous Gentiles'? The Status of Gentiles in the Eschatological Pilgrimage Patterns of Thought," *JSP* 7 (1990): 3–27; idem, *Paul and the Gentiles*, 74–78. Donaldson argues that the eschatological pilgrimage tradition did not play a significant role in Paul's understanding of his gentile mission, precisely because that tradition assumes a restored Israel and a glorified Zion prior to the ingathering of nations. The proclamation of a crucified messiah is not likely to have been perceived as a glorified Zion. In my view, Fredriksen anticipates this critique and more than adequately responds to it ("Judaism, Circumcision, Apocalyptic Hope," 558–62).

[11] See, e.g., Isa 2:2–4; 24:21–23; Joel 2:30–3:21; Mic 4:1–4 (= Isa 2:2–4); Zech 8:1–23; Tobit 13; Bar 4:36–5:9; *1 Enoch* 10:21.

that it is time to incorporate the Gentiles into this eschatological scheme of salvation. But, even if one accepts—as I do—that the tradition of the eschatological pilgrimage was a major influence on Paul's thought and mission, it explains only the connection between Jesus' resurrection and the outreach to Gentiles; it does not account for the significance of his death.

I echo the sentiment of W. D. Davies that Paul never explicitly explains how Jesus' crucifixion makes possible for Gentiles their inclusion in God's promises.[12] Why is it necessary that Jesus' death be a sacrificial one in order to accomplish this task? Because followers of Jesus of the Pauline school, which won the day on the question of Gentile inclusion, acted on an assumed connection between the death and resurrection and the extending of promises to Gentiles, and because of the de facto subsequent history of Christianity, it seems as if there is an inherent connection, but, in reality, it is only a habituated association. That Paul made so powerful an association between these two ideas in the first place remains to be explained.

I intend to argue that the "logical" connection between Jesus and the inclusion of Gentiles into the people of Israel lies with understanding that the death of Jesus has the power to be genealogically efficacious in a cultural context where patrilineage and sacrifice are integrally related.[13] Specifically, Paul's conception of Jesus' death as sacrificial is a mechanism that allows for the creation of kinship ties between people who do not "by nature" share such ties, namely, Jews and Gentiles. The assumptions embedded in the social constructs of patrilineage make up the essential components of Paul's christology in Romans. Moreover, Paul's language about grace can be explained in a way entirely different from the usual theological understanding by revealing the underlying assumptions Paul has about the relationship between patrilineal status and sacrifice.

My argument will proceed as follows: I will first discuss the connection between sacrifice and patrilineal social structures that is observed in cross-cultural analyses and is prominent in ancient Judaism and Greco-Roman religion. I will then describe key texts in Romans—central to my discussion will be the figure of Abraham—that illustrate how patrilineal assumptions underlie Paul's claims about christology and Jew–Gentile relations in light of the Christ-event. I intend to demonstrate that the sacrificial death of Jesus facilitates the incorporation of Gentiles into the patrilineage of Abraham because it reflects

[12] W. D. Davies, *Jewish and Pauline Studies* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 127. Davies made this comment while discussing not Romans but Gal 3, but I take him to mean the point generally.

[13] By using the term "logical" I do not mean to imply that any kind of universal logic is at work; I am only attempting to assess the logic of a particular cultural system, one in which Paul was immersed.

the kind of sacrificial mechanism, found in many cultures, that transcends the fleshly constraints of biology and allows for the restructuring of kinship relations, in this case the relation between Jews and Gentiles.

I. Gender, Genealogy, and Sacrifice

In her book *Throughout Your Generations Forever,* Nancy Jay begins with the claim that social constructs are required for the establishment of paternity in a way they are not for maternity because of the blunt reality of childbirth.[14] From this observation, Jay argues that these social constructs almost always take the form of sacrifice, which in turn allows for paternal bloodlines to dominate. Jay's thesis is that sacrifice is "a remedy for having been born of woman."[15]

Jay has revealed the key role that gender plays in the logic of many, if not most, sacrificial systems. One way to observe the role of gender in sacrificial rites is to note the symbolic opposition between sacrifice and childbirth in diverse religious traditions. Most apropos for the study of early Christianity, this opposition occurs in Israelite/Jewish, Greek, and Roman traditions, all of which require some sort of sacrifice to remove the pollution generated by childbirth or to demarcate the period of pollution from neutral time.[16]

[14] Nancy Jay, *Throughout Your Generations Forever: Sacrifice, Religion, and Paternity* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[15] Ibid., xxiii. In making use of Jay's work, I want to distance myself from her most far-reaching universalistic claims. Her book is an attempt to offer a general theory of sacrifice and to argue that blood sacrifice is inherently tainted by the motivation for male domination and control. Problems with these components of her analysis have been insightfully discussed in the context of other attempts to offer general theories of sacrifice; see Ivan Strenski, "Between Theory and Speciality: Sacrifice in the 90s," *RelSRev* 22 (1996): 10–20. What theoreticians have critiqued Jay for happens to be the strength of her work for my particular project. Strenski, who generally assesses her work positively and with enthusiasm, points out that Jay's theory is grounded in a notion of sacrifice that prevails in the western tradition, specifically among Israelites, Greeks, Romans, Christians, and Jews, and which, therefore, may not translate into other cultures. Since I am concerned here not with constructing a general theory of sacrifice but rather with illuminating the logic of sacrifice present in Paul's particular cultural context, this flaw with Jay's work need not interfere with my analysis. Moreover, I agree with Stanley Stowers, who rightly critiques Jay for underestimating the social construction involved in maternity as well as paternity ("Greeks Who Sacrifice and Those Who Do Not: Toward an Anthropology of Greek Religion," in *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks* [ed. L. Michael White and O. L. Yarbrough; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995], 293-333). Stowers, however, agrees with Jay's fundamental assertion that sacrifice functions to create a hierarchical opposition between maternity and paternity so as to ensure the dominance of the paternal line. Like that of Stowers, my analysis depends on this same fundamental assertion.

[16] The work of Mary Douglas, who has no doubt influenced Jay, must also be credited here; see *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge,

In Israelite tradition, the regulations for postpartum purity rituals are found in Lev 12:1–8, which describes the period of a woman's ritual impurity as a result of giving birth and prescribes the required sacrifices. Leviticus 12:2, 5 compares the mother's state of impurity to "the time of her menstruation" (12:1 reads כימי נדה דותה; 12:5 reads simply כנדתה). The similarity is that blood is discharged during childbirth as in menstruation and that such discharges cause impurity, but this is not an explanation of the reason for the impurity. Rather, the analogy conveys that the same kinds of rules of impurity apply after childbirth as after menstruation—that the impurity extends to whomever the woman touches, whatever she sits on, and so on (see Lev 15:19–24). The specific reason that childbirth causes impurity is not articulated, as is typical of biblical purity laws. That the description of the purity laws governing childbirth occurs in a separate section of Leviticus from the laws governing menstruation (the former in Lev 12; the latter in Lev 15, in which both male and female genital discharges are discussed), that there is a longer duration of impurity prescribed for a newborn girl than for a boy, and that the parturient's state of impurity is designated by the Hebrew word טמא and not נדה (as in the case of menstruation described in Lev 15:19–24) indicate that childbearing is its own unique species of impurity-causing event in ancient Judaism.[17] Although it is difficult to know how closely Levitical prescriptions were followed by the general population of first-century Jews, literary evidence closer to Paul's time indicates that purity rituals enacted after childbirth still obtained or were at least ideally still prescribed (see Luke 2:22–24; 11QTemple 48:16).

In ancient Greece, where there was scarcely ever a gathering of elite males without a sacrifice to legitimize it, sacrifices were enacted on both large and small scales to remove the pollution created by childbirth. It seems that the pollution created by childbirth was often considered as severe as that created by death. Literary and epigraphic evidence indicates that death and childbirth represent the most polluting forces in society.[18] A first-century C.E. Attic

---

1966). Douglas has developed more nuanced ways of understanding the social function of purity in more recent, detailed discussions of Israelite religion; see especially, "Atonement in Leviticus" *JSQ* 1 (1993/94): 109–30; and "Sacred Contagion," in *Reading Leviticus: A Conversation with Mary Douglas* (ed. J. F. Sawyer; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 86–106.

[17] A distinction not adequately observed by Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 743–46. For an overview of the problem of impurity, see Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3–42. A recent collection of essays sheds much light on the complex relationship between women and impurity while exposing numerous faulty assumptions pervasive in modern scholarship: *Wholly Woman, Holy Blood: A Feminist Critique of Purity and Impurity* (ed. Kristin De Troyer et al.; SAC; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 2003).

[18] See Robert Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 32–73, 352–53. Apparently, menses was not typically seen to be as threatening to temple purity as childbirth; see Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Menstruants and the Sacred in Judaism and

inscription that calls for a large-scale cleansing and restoration of temples and all sacred precincts demonstrates the profound concern people had that their temples be free of the pollution created by death and childbirth.[19] Using ancient medical sources and comparing them to sources typically used to access information about Greek religious practices, Stanley Stowers has shown that because Greek men understood pregnant women to be in possession of the male seed—the active agent of reproduction in Greek biology—until they gave birth, pregnancy and childbirth were a threat to a man's control not only over his lineage but over life itself.[20]

Furthermore, as far as historical evidence allows, the impurity of childbirth could be removed only by a man. Apparently women in Israelite, Greek, and Roman tradition were not permitted to perform any kind of animal sacrifices.[21] Israelite law required a male priest (as opposed to the father, for example) to perform the sacrificial rite. Although the new mother brought the offerings to the priest "at the entrance to the tent of meeting" (Lev 12:6), only the priest could make the sacrifices and remove the pollution (Lev 12:7).[22] In

---

Christianity," in *Women's History and Ancient History* (ed. Sarah B. Pomeroy; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1991), 273–99. But compare J. Schultz, "Doctors, Philosophers, and Christian Fathers on Menstrual Blood," in *Wholly Women, Holy Blood,* ed. De Troyer, 103–5.

[19] *IG* II^2:1035. A reconstruction of the inscription and discussion of the date appear in G. R. Culley, "The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica: *IG* II^2.1035," *Hesperia* 44 (1975): 207–23. The inscription is mentioned briefly by Parker, who cites line 10 as one of many cases where the pollution of death and childbirth seem to be equated (*Miasma,* 33). See also Parker's discussion of two inscriptions from Cos that prescribe the same purity regulations for miscarriage as for ordinary birth (*Miasma*, 52).

[20] Stowers, "Greeks Who Sacrifice," 301–4, 310–11. According to Aristotle, the male seed is an ungenerated element, similar to that of which the stars consist, while the mother's contribution consists in the material substance, analogous to wood; see, e.g., *Gen. An*. 1.730b5–25; 2.739b21–27. Although others diverged from Aristotle on certain details (such as whether the male seed contributes substance to the fetus), the Aristotelian view that the male is the active, creative agent while the female is the passive substance overwhelmingly predominates. See Page duBois, *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), esp. 110–66.

[21] Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price reiterate the majority scholarly view that Roman women were probably banned from performing animal sacrifices, "and so prohibited from any officiating role in *the* central defining ritual of civic religious activity," even if they were involved in certain other cultic rites (*Religions of Rome* [2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998], 1:297).

[22] See Judith Romney Wegner, "Leviticus," in the *Women's Bible Commentary* (ed. Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe; Expanded Edition; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 46–47. She points out that when men have seminal discharges, they still need a priest to make sacrifices to remove the pollution created by the discharge, but such men are instructed to "come before the LORD to the entrance of the tent of meeting" (Lev 15:14), whereas women come to the tent of meeting, but not "before the LORD" (Lev 12:6; 15:29). 11QTemple^a (39:7; cf. 47:16–17) and

the Greek rite known as the Amphidromia, the newborn was paraded around the hearth to begin the process of removing pollution created by a newborn's birth. Although it is unclear whether the father declared the child's legitimacy at that moment or whether there was a separate rite performed a few days later, in either case it is clear that the father made a sacrifice to purify the household hearth polluted by childbirth, and that if the father declared the child legitimate, that child properly belonged to the father and was patrilineally consecrated. In Plato's *Theaetetus*, Socrates makes clear the link between the ritual of the hearth and the father's responsibility to decide whether the child was appropriate to keep: "And now that it is born, we must truly perform the rite of running round (ἀμφιδρόμια) with it in a circle . . . and see, whether it may turn out not worthy of being reared, but a wind-egg or even an imposture" (Plato, *Theaetetus* 160e).[23] In Roman society, the paterfamilias bore responsibility for maintaining the rites of his household, which included the worship of the ancestral deities, the *lares* and *penates*.[24]

According to Jay, sacrifice generally makes possible the stripping away of the limits of biology and mortality (associated with women) so that one can enjoy membership in an eternal social order.[25] Consider the following excerpt from Ovid in his description of Herakles' transformation from mortal to immortal being:

> Meanwhile, whatever the flames could destroy, Mulciber had now consumed, and no shape of Hercules that could be recognized remained, nor was there anything left which his mother gave. He kept traces only of his father; . . . so when the Tirynthian put off his mortal frame, he gained new vigour in his better part, began to seem of more heroic size, and to become awful in his godlike dignity. Him the Almighty Father sped through the hallow clouds with his team of four, and set him amid the glittering stars. (Ovid, *Metam.* 9.262–72)[26]

Josephus (*J.W.* 5.198–204; *Ant.* 15.319) confirm that women must be kept at greater distance from the temple's altar than men.

[23] Trans. Fowler, LCL (modified). See also Isaeus, *On the Estate of Pyrrhus* 30. For more on the evidence of this rite, see Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Life from Conception to Old Age* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990); and Parker, *Miasma*, 51–52. A denial of membership meant exposure of the infant; see Sarah B. Pomeroy, "Infanticide in Hellenistic Greece," in *Images of Women in Antiquity* (ed. Averil Cameron and Amélie Kuhrt; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983), 207–22.

[24] For an inscription commemorating an impressive series of sacrifices dedicated to the *lares* (as well as other sorts of deities) by the Arval brothers, see *CIL* 6:2107; trans. in Beard et al., *Religions of Rome,* 2:151; see also the discussion in *Religions of Rome,* 1:49.

[25] Jay, *Throughout Your Generations*, 39.

[26] Trans. Miller, LCL. This text is mentioned briefly by Jay, *Throughout Your Generations,* 31.

To be sure, Herakles' father was divine and his mother mortal, but the language of the story nevertheless functions paradigmatically. It is not accidental that this particular metamorphosis comes at the moment when Herakles was offering sacrifices to Zeus. Nor is it surprising that women were generally excluded from the cult of Herakles, who occasionally bore the title "woman-hater."[27]

In spite of our modern conceptions about the nuclear family, which assume the centrality of biological relationships, biology is not the determinative factor of kinship structures. Although it has been fashionable to speak of "fictive kinship" to describe those societies who forged political ties by artificially creating ties of genealogical relatedness, many now recognize that all kinship is fictive. Social processes such as marriage and adoption and other nonbiological ways of creating relatedness always aid in the construction of family and genealogy. As Stowers says, "Physiology and biology do not create descent groups and patterns of kinship. People do. Thus, the organization of kinship is always political."[28] For example, beginning with Augustus and continuing through the early years of the empire, emperor worship was not merely about recognizing the divine status and authority of the emperor; it was also about establishing consolidated kinship under the imperial family with Caesar as father. Inscriptions on sacrificial altars often use the title *Pater Patriae*, "father of the fatherland," as an epithet for the emperor.[29]

As I have already indicated, in both Greece and Rome, birth did not automatically bestow membership in the family or clan or the citizenry; a child first needed to be ritually recognized by the father, who could also withhold such

[27] Parker, *Miasma*, 83-85.

[28] Stowers, "Greeks Who Sacrifice," 313. Stowers has an excellent summary of how modern conceptions of the nuclear family have influenced scholarship about kinship structures in antiquity. Better models for understanding the ways in which kinship is socially constructed and thus how it functioned in antiquity can be found in David M. Schneider, *A Critique of the Study of Kinship* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984); Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Christopher P. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World* (Revealing Antiquity 12; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); and the essays in *Gender, Kinship, Power: A Comparative and Interdisciplinary History* (ed. Mary Jo Maynes, A. Walter, B. Soland, U. Strasser; New York: Routledge, 1996).

[29] See, e.g., the inscription on the altar dedicated to Caeser Augustus at Narbo, a Roman *colonia,* part of which reads, "By these laws and within these boundaries . . . with respect to this altar for Imperator Caesar Augustus, father of the country, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power for the 35th year, and for his wife, children and clan (*gens*), and for the people and senate of Rome, and for the citizens and inhabitants of the colonia Julia Paterna Narbo Martius . . ." (*CIL* 12:4333; trans. in Beard et al., *Religions of Rome,* 2:241). In another inscription commemorating the *taurobolium*, a ritual associated with the cult of Magna Mater, Antonius Pius is called "father of the fatherland and of his children . . . ." The inscription goes on to name several *coloniae*, on behalf of which sacrifices were also made (*CIL* 13:1751; trans. in Beard et al., *Religions of Rome,* 2:162).

recognition.[30] Similarly, the rabbinic rite of circumcision constitutes the boy as a legitimate descendant of Abraham. The blessing pronounced at circumcision ("Blessed art thou, Lord our God, King of the Universe, who has sanctified us by his commandments, and commanded us to admit him [the child] to the covenant of Abraham our father"[31]) seemingly gives the father the ability to make his son a descendant of Abraham, rather than having to rely on a preexisting biological condition.[32] Although no precise verbal formula accompanying the ritual act of circumcision is preserved in biblical texts, it is clear from many stories, particularly the patriarchal narratives of Genesis, that fathers bestowed blessings on certain sons that made them heirs, while other sons were left out of the lineage.[33] In Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman society, not only did the father hold the prerogative of determining the child's membership in the family, but beyond the individual household, there were public sacrificial rituals in order to initiate the male child into the kin group—the γένος or φρατρία in Greek sources, the *gens*, *curia*, or various fraternal and religious colleges in Roman sources.[34] Although the destruction of the Second Temple meant the cessation

[30] See *Theaet.* 160e quoted above.

[31] The text quoted here is based on *b. Šabb.* 137b. It is generally considered Tannaitic, as virtually the same form of the blessing is found in *t. Ber.* 6:13 and *y. Ber.* 9:3. The translation I have cited here is from Lawrence A. Hoffman, *Covenant of Blood: Circumcision and Gender in Rabbinic Judaism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 78.

[32] See the arguments of Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, who explicitly connects circumcision and patrilineal descent in *The Savage in Judaism: An Anthropology of Israelite Religion and Ancient Judaism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 141–73; idem, *God's Phallus and Other Problems for Men and Monotheism* (Boston: Beacon, 1994), 141, 200–202; and Hoffman, *Covenant of Blood,* 38–48. Interestingly, in the full form of the Orthodox Jewish liturgy of the ברית מילה, "covenant of circumcision" (conveniently reconstructed by Hoffman in translation, pp. 69–72), the *mohel* (circumciser) recites the following blessing after performing the rite: "Blessed art thou, Lord our God, King of the universe, who sanctified the beloved one from the womb, and set a statute in his flesh and stamped his descendants with the sign of the holy covenant." This blessing obscures awareness that a genealogical relationship is being imposed by human action. Rather, it is as if the boy had been born circumcised! Although it differs somewhat from Hoffman's academic reconstruction, a "handbook" Hebrew-English version of the liturgy (which includes the blessing just cited) for the ברית מילה can be found in Eugene J. Cohen, *Guide to Ritual Circumcision and Redemption of the First-Born Son* (New York: Ktav, 1984), 51–55.

[33] See, e.g., the Jacob and Esau cycle of stories, esp. Gen 27:3–4, 25, where Isaac commands Esau to kill and prepare an animal for eating in order for Isaac to bestow the blessing upon him; 27:35–40, where Isaac claims that there is no blessing for Esau, because he has given it to Jacob, who will receive all his father's property, even though he deceived his father; and chap. 31, where Jacob finally pulls away from Laban with Leah and Rachel and other possessions in tow in order to return to the land of his father and claim his inheritance.

[34] Although this is not the place for a detailed discussion of the various levels of kinship among ancient Greeks and Romans, a complex system of kinship persisted throughout Greco-Roman antiquity. In ancient Greece and the Hellenistic world, there was the γένος, family or clan (to which belonged many οἶκοι, households); φρατρία, an extended clan (literally "brotherhood");

of the Jewish sacrificial cult, rabbinic sources indicate that the ritual of circumcision came to be seen as a blood sacrifice; it is frequently referred to as the "blood of the covenant" or the "blood of circumcision."[35]

Many societies, like the Greeks, Romans, and ancient Israelites, maintain generational continuity only through the male line. But patrilineage refers to more than that: patrilineage is a genealogical construct in which members of the descent group trace their ancestry back to a single male ancestor, designed to provide society with a coherent social identity.[36] Abraham functions as this kind of patriarchal ancestor in Judaism.[37] Herakles performed the same function in Greek and Roman kin groups.[38] A preoccupation with a particular patrilineage appears most frequently in those societies in which families are part of more extended and complex kin groups (e.g., clans, tribes) and where the transfer of property (i.e., concerns over inheritance) needs conscious attention. As Stowers says, "Sacrificial systems are ways of regulating kinship, descent, and the inheritance of property . . . ."[39] Determination of inheritance rights and

---

φυλή, tribe; δέμος, township; and πόλις, city) In the Roman world, there was the *gens*, equivalent to γένος; *curia*, equivalent to φρατρία; *tribus*, equivalent to φυλή; and *municipium* and *colonia*, roughly equivalent to δέμος or πόλις. There is no doubt that these kinship structures changed over time and differed from place to place; differences are especially marked between classical Greece and the Hellenistic age and between the Roman Republic and early empire and the later empire. Nevertheless, patrilineal interests consistently dominate. A survey of Greek and Roman kinship terms in the *OCD* makes clear that the γένος and *gens* were defined by descent from a common male ancestor. "Membership" beyond the γένος or *gens* was held exclusively by males and maintained by religious rituals performed by men; and these social structures often focused on the status and transgenerational governance of real property among men.

[35] For the numerous references as well as a helpful discussion of blood symbolism in the ritual of circumcision, see Hoffman, *Covenant of Blood*, 96–110, 232–34.

[36] See the classic essay by Meyer Fortes, "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953): 17–41. Unilineal descent does not necessarily imply patrilineal descent, but in the case of Greek, Romans, and Israelites it does.

[37] Many scholars have collected and analyzed the various portraits of Abraham in early Judaism. Collectively, these studies demonstrate not only that Abraham is consistently seen primarily as founding patriarch of the Jews, but that to impute qualities to Abraham is to characterize Jews generally. See Louis Feldman, "Abraham the Greek philosopher in Josephus," *TAPA* 99 (1968): 143–56; idem, "Hellenizations in Josephus' Jewish Antiquities: The Portrait of Abraham," in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity* (ed. Louis Feldman and Gatai Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987); G. Mayer, "Aspekte des Abrahambildes in der hellenische-jüdisches Literatur," *EvT* 32 (1972): 118–27; the essays collected in *Abraham dans la Bible et dans la tradition juive* (ed. P. M. Bogaert; Brussels: Institutum Iudaicum, 1977); Halvor Moxnes, *Theology in Conflict: Studies in Paul's Understanding of God in Romans* (NovTSup 53; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 117–69; and, most recently, Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Abraham as Chaldean Scientist and Father of the Jews: Josephus, *Ant*. 1.154–68, and the Greco-Roman Discourse about Astronomy/Astrology," in *JSJ* 35 (2004): 119–58.

[38] See Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy,* 6–26. Jones explains that Herakles was easily made into an ancestor linking peoples together because of his widespread travels.

[39] Stowers, "Greeks Who Sacrifice," 313.

familial status was made not by proving one's birth from certain parents, but by proving that one had participated in the requisite sacrificial rites.[40] The Roman *pontifices*, one of the most significant of the religious colleges of priests, and the one in which the distinction between legal and religious duties were completely intertwined, had oversight of family adoptions, wills, and inheritance.[41]

In the interest of maintaining genealogical continuity between fathers and sons, the importance of women and their role in childbearing must necessarily be diminished. As Jay says of exogamous patrilineal systems, "Women marry outside their own family and bear children for the continuity of a different family. Children are born not just of women, but of outsiders. For any boy, 'all that his mother gave him' pollutes the purity of the paternal line."[42] Because the women who provide the heirs for one family originate in a different family and have a different genealogy, their lineage cannot be recognized without threatening the boundaries and coherence of the patrilineage. Patrilineal lines of descent must, therefore, eschew any reliance on physical birth to determine genealogical legitimacy and instead provide some other marker for establishing such legitimacy. Sacrifice is that marker.

Sacrifice also makes possible the establishment of social relations or lines of succession in groups where typical family relations play no role.[43] Furthermore, participation in a lineage based on sacrifice enables participants to be part of a "ritually-defined social order, enduring continuously through time, that birth and death (continually changing the membership of the 'eternal' lineage) and all other threats of social chaos may be overcome."[44] Jay eloquently sums up the association between sacrifice, patrilineage, and immortality, and is worth quoting at length:

> The twofold movement of sacrifice, integration and differentiation, communion and expiation, is beautifully suited for identifying and maintaining patrilineal descent. Sacrifice can expiate, get rid of, the consequences of having been born of woman (along with countless other dangers) and at the same

[40] See ibid., 318–19.

[41] See, e.g., Cicero, *Leg.* 2.47–53; *Dom.* 1.1; and Beard et al., *Religions of Rome*, 1:24–25, 99–108.

[42] Jay, *Throughout Your Generations,* 31. Cf. Carol Delaney, *Abraham on Trial: The Social Legacy of Biblical Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 156–58.

[43] Jay offers the example of the Catholic priesthood, where the celebrants of the Mass comprise a lineage of males going back to Jesus (*Throughout Your Generations*, 112–27). See also the excellent study by Denise K. Buell, *Making Christians: Clement of Alexandria and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). Although her focus is Clement of Alexandria, Buell situates Clement's rhetoric of pedagogy in the *Stromateis* within the larger cultural context of the rhetoric of reproduction and kinship in Greco-Roman antiquity. She demonstrates how "orthodox" Christians like Clement marshaled this discourse so as to construct a well-defined Christian identity maintained by an authorized patriarchal lineage.

[44] Jay, *Throughout Your Generations*, 39.

> time integrate the pure and eternal patrilineage. Sacrificially constituted descent, incorporating women's mortal children into an "eternal" (enduring through generations) kin group, in which membership is recognized by participation in sacrificial ritual, not merely by birth, enables a patrilineal group to transcend mortality in the same process in which it transcends birth. In this sense, sacrifice is doubly a remedy for having been born of woman.[45]

Although Jay means by immortality the continuity of lineage, it is not hard to imagine a particular context in which participation in the patrilineage means the transcendence, quite literally, of one's mortal being, as appears to be the case in Paul.

II. Jews, Gentiles, and Jesus

Christ's death on the cross constitutes the sacrifice that integrates Gentiles into the lineage of Abraham—that is the essential "logic" that connects Paul's christology to his mission to incorporate Gentiles into Israel. The resurrection is important, too, but it represents the other side of the sacrifice, namely, the divine inheritance bestowed on the beneficiaries of the ritual participants, adoption as sons of God, and rebirth as immortal beings who transcend fleshly birth from a woman.

Although I will occasionally cite and discuss related passages from elsewhere in the Pauline corpus, I have chosen to concentrate on Romans because it is the place where Paul most obviously ties together his arguments about the shared genealogy of Jews and Gentiles with lengthy reflections on christology and it utilizes the cultic language of sacrifice explicitly.[46] I will first discuss ch. 4 with some appeal to ch. 9, then turn to some key texts in chs. 5–8. I have chosen to discuss these chapters in this order deliberately, so as to illustrate the synchronic logic between Paul's concern for Jew–Gentile relations, found mainly in chs. 1–4 and 9–11 and his christology, found mainly in chs. 5–8.[47]

[45] Ibid., 40.

[46] Romans 3:25, for example, is the only time Paul says of Jesus that God offered him as a ἱλαστήριον . . . ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι (NRSV: "sacrifice of atonement by his blood"). The word ἱλαστήριον appears in the NT only one other time, Heb 9:5. It is a common word in the LXX, where it is usually translated "mercy seat," referring to the central point in the tabernacle, the space above which the divine presence resides (see Exod 25:22). Other instances of Jewish sacrificial language appear in Rom 5:8; 12:1; and 15:16. Such language led Raymond E. Brown to call Romans the most "'liturgical' of the undisputed letters in the sense of employing the language of Jewish worship" (*An Introduction to the New Testament* [ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1996], 563).

[47] Although scholars have often seen a significant thematic and structural break between chs. 1–4 and 9–11, on the one hand, and chs. 5–8, on the other, recent commentators tend to see more integration. The older view is represented by Robin Scroggs, "Paul as Rhetorician: Two Homilies in

Abraham as the Key to Kinship between Jews and Gentiles

Under the influence of Reformation theology, interpreters have traditionally understood Abraham as the paradigmatic illustration of justification by faith.[48] In the traditional reading, the interpretive emphasis fell on the first part of ch. 4 (esp. vv. 1–8), where Paul interprets Gen 15:6 in light of Ps 32:1, and the language of justification appears frequently. Paul cites Gen 15:6 in Rom 4:3: "Abraham believed God, and it was credited to him as righteousness" (ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην).[49] Paul's most basic argument in 4:1–12 is that God deemed Abraham righteous (Gen 15:6) prior to the patriarch's circumcision (Gen 17). Paul calls Abraham's circumcision a "sign" (σημεῖον) and a "seal" (σφρηγίς) of the patriarch's previously acknowledged "righteousness of faith" (τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ), because his circumcision comes after God declares him righteous (Rom 4:11).[50]

Few scholars would take issue with the paraphrase of Rom 4:1–12 just given. The point of contention lies in judging the significance of Abraham

---

Romans 1–11," in *Jews, Greeks, and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honor of William David Davies* (SJLA 21; ed. Robert Hamerton-Kelly and Robin Scroggs; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 271–99. For the latter view, see Neil Elliott, who uses rhetorical criticism to argue for the integration of these two sections (*The Rhetoric of Romans: Argumentative Constraint and Strategy and Paul's Dialogue with Judaism* [JSNTSup 45; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990]).

[48] The majority of commentators on Romans link—lexically, rhetorically, and theologically—the discussion of Abraham in Rom 4 to Rom 3:21–31, which, together with Rom 1:16–17, is often taken to be the thesis statement of Romans. In both "thesis" statements Paul speaks of the "righteousness of God" being revealed and links it to the "justification" or "salvation" of "all who have faith." Moreover, the thesis is understood polemically. Namely, Paul's claim that all are justified by faith is a proclamation *against* (alleged) Jewish claims that one is justified by law (or works of law). In his renowned commentary, Ernst Käsemann, relentlessly drives home this point (*Commentary on Romans* [trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980], 101). Since the language of justification/righteousness (δικαιοσύνη and cognates), faith, works, and law are prominent in Rom 4, Abraham is taken to be a "proof" of the Pauline thesis of justification by faith. Joseph A. Fitzmyer's commentary is typical in many ways, for example, in its labeling of Rom 4: "*Theme Illustrated in the Law*: Abraham Was Justified by Faith, Not by Deeds of the Law" (*Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 33; New York: Doubleday, 1993], 369). Fitzmyer appears to follow Käsemann closely in how he structures ch. 4 (that is, in three parts: vv. 1–8, 9–12, 13–25) and in referring to Rom 4:1–8 with the shorthand subheading "Abraham Justified by Faith" and repeatedly calling Abraham an "illustration," "model," and "paradigm" (pp. 369–78; cf. Käseman, *Romans*, 105–13).

[49] All translations of Romans are mine, though I follow the wording of the NRSV closely wherever there is no significant interpretive issue at stake. I also indicate wherever I diverge significantly from the NRSV.

[50] Some think Paul's choice of "sign" and "seal" reflects deliberate avoidance of the term "covenant" in reference to circumcision; so Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 381.

within Paul's larger line of argumentation in Romans. Is Abraham merely an illustration of the main subject of Romans, which is presumed to be the soteriological doctrine of justification by faith? Or is Abraham the patriarch the subject under discussion at this point in Romans? The overwhelming tendency has been toward the former, and this tradition of reading has been reinforced by modern translations. Those influenced by the new perspective on Paul, however, no longer view Romans as a treatise on justification by faith and its implications for individuals; they see it as describing how communities of people relate to a single God. As Stowers says aptly,

> Romans does not wrestle with the problem of how God goes about saving the generic human being. Rather, it asks how families of people establish a kinship with God and with one another. Jews inherit a status as God's children (literally "sons") from generation to generation; other peoples do not. How do gentile peoples get into a family relation so that they can stand righteous before God rather than as enemies and aliens?[51]

Romans 4 is the key to this communitarian understanding of Romans. To be sure, Paul does not refer to Abraham as father in vv. 2–8, but he does so repeatedly in vv. 11b–18. For Paul, the sequence of events in Abraham's biblical biography (that is, receiving and trusting in the divine promise prior to his circumcision) serves to prove that Abraham is "the father of all the faithful ones" (πατέρα πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων), the uncircumcised and the circumcised (4:11b–12). The point of Rom 4 is to demonstrate that Abraham is the common progenitor of Jews and Gentiles, not that he is an example of how to be justified by faith.[52]

Richard Hays has convincingly argued for a different punctuation of Rom 4:1: Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; εὑρηκέναι Ἀβραὰμ τὸν προπάτορα ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα; He has also provided a translation that appropriately introduces the theme of the chapter: "What shall we say? Have we found Abraham to be our forefather according to the flesh?"[53] The NRSV translates this verse very differently: "What then are we to say was gained by Abraham, our ancestor according to the flesh?"[54] In my view, Hays's translation is the simplest and most straightforward

[51] Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 227.

[52] See Michael Cranford, "Abraham in Romans 4: The Father of All Who Believe," *NTS* 41 (1995): 73; see also Stowers, *Rereading of Romans,* 227–50.

[53] Richard Hays, "Have We Found Abraham to Be Our Forefather According to the Flesh? A Reconsideration of Rom 4:1," *NovT* 27 (1985): 76–98. Hays himself was motivated to sort out the enigma of this verse because he thought it would "make the continuity of the argument in Romans 3 and 4 more readily discernible" (p. 76). Ulrich Luz argues for a similar rendering of the Greek with the following translation: "Hat es unser Vorvater Abraham nach dem Fleische gefunden?" (*Das Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus* [BEvT 49; Munich: Kaiser, 1968], 174).

[54] Cf. the RSV: "What then shall we say about Abraham, our forefather according to the

rendering of the Greek, at least of the text as it now stands in NA[27].[55] The Greek is terse, and there are several translation possibilities (as always), but Hays is persuasive in arguing that dividing the verse into two questions is more consistent with Pauline style generally (see, e.g., Rom 6:1; 7:7). Most important for the argument being put forward here, Hays has shifted the emphasis from Abraham's actions to Abraham's status as ancestor, and this best anticipates what follows in the chapter.

While scholars ordinarily recognize that Paul uses the language of kinship to speak of the relationship between Abraham and Gentiles in Rom 4, they assume that this language is analogical, metaphorical, or merely rhetorical and designed to emphasize the way in which "Christian" believers should follow the example of Abraham; Paul is not literally claiming an ancestral connection between the two.[56] By contrast, I contend that an ancestral connection is exactly what Paul is claiming.[57] The quotation from Gen 15:6 that Paul cites in Rom 4:3, one that he cites also in Gal 3:6, is no doubt of central importance to Paul, but it is only the beginning of his argument, not its culmination. Indeed, in both Rom 4 and Gal 3—the two places Paul discusses Abraham at length—Paul begins his discussion with the quotation from Genesis and then proceeds

---

flesh?" In contrast to the NRSV, the RSV follows Vaticanus, which omits the εὑρηκέναι. The RSV reading has weaker text-critical support as well as weaker grammatical reasoning (see Hays's discussion in "Have We Found Abraham?" 77–79), but the real trouble with both the RSV and the NRSV has to do with coherence. Given Rom 3:27–31, as well as Paul's subsequent argument that Abraham is precisely not father κατὰ σάρκα, why would Paul label Abraham "our forefather according to the flesh" in 4:1? By contrast, Hays's rendering of Paul's question shows precisely what the central question of Rom 4 is: Is Abraham—was Abraham—ever construed as "our forefather according to the flesh?" Moreover the "our" of the verse anticipates Paul's conclusions, namely, that Abraham is the single common ancestor of both Jews and Gentiles. The NRSV translation, on the other hand, assumes that Abraham is, in actuality, the founding ancestor of the Jews, and that therefore Gentiles can*not* claim him as an ancestor, but only emulate him "by faith."

[55] The Greek is messy here, with good manuscripts providing an assortment of variants that I will not attempt to sort out here. See Hays, "Have We Found Abraham?" and the review of various translations and opinions of notable commentators by Fitzmyer (*Romans*, 371).

[56] In commenting on 4:11, Fitzmyer says "When Abraham put his faith in Yahweh and was reckoned justified, *he was as uncircumcised as any Gentile*. His spiritual paternity is thus established vis-à-vis all believers" (*Romans*, 381; emphasis added). Emphasizing the importance of Abraham's spiritual paternity, Fitzmyer goes on to say that Abraham can be claimed as "father," according to Paul, *only* by imitating the patriarch's faith. Faith has replaced circumcision as the mark of being one of God's children; hence the designation "spiritual paternity." What Fitzmyer fails to realize is that Abraham *is* an (uncircumcised) Gentile when he answers God's call; see the discussion below and esp. n. 58.

[57] See especially Cranford, "Abraham in Romans 4"; Hays, "Have We Found Abraham?"; Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 237–50; and my "Paul as the New Abraham," in *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation* (ed. R. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), 130–45.

to use the language of genealogical descent. Thus, both Rom 4 and Gal 3 indicate that Paul thinks of Abraham primarily as the founding father of a divinely ordained lineage, but, consistent with his cultural context, such a lineage is not constructed on the basis of physical descent.

As previously stated, the reason the quotation from Gen 15:6 is important to Paul in Romans is that scripture credits Abraham with righteousness before his circumcision. The likely assumption underlying Paul's interest in this verse is that Abraham represents both Jew and non-Jew, an assumption akin to the common Hellenistic Jewish tradition that Abraham was the first proselyte, a reasonable interpretive deduction from the patriarch's story.[58] In order for Abraham to have become, at some point in his life, the first Jew, he must have been something else first. In other words, Abraham literally embodies both Jew and non-Jew. Therefore, the descendents of Abraham cannot be exclusively Jewish—οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς or οἱ ἐκ νόμου as Paul would say—because God explicitly designates Abraham the ancestral patriarch of Jews and Gentiles when God says "I will make you father of *many nations*" (πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν).[59] Biblical tradition had already situated Abraham as the ancestral patriarch of Jews and non-Jews.

To be sure, the language of grace, justification, and faith also appears prominently in Rom 4. But this language need not necessarily subvert seeing the fatherhood of Abraham as the dominant theme of the chapter. Rather than the language of kinship serving as mere metaphor for an argument about justification by faith, the ostensibly theological language of grace and faith serves Paul's argument that Gentiles are the descendants of Abraham. Of course, the dichotomy between receiving rewards vicariously as a result of the faith of an archetypal ancestor and receiving rewards by imitating the faith of that ancestor is a dichotomy constructed by interpreters, not one held by Paul. In antiquity, demonstrable similarities are expected between those who are kin.[60]

The primary thrust of Paul's argument in Rom 4 comes in vv. 11b–18, where Paul returns to the theme of kinship through Abraham—originally evoked in 4:1—and begins to use explicit language of genealogical descent. Paul's use of this language, however, has often been obfuscated so as to subordi-

[58] See, e.g., Philo, *Virt*. 39.212–17; and Josephus, *Ant*. 1.7; 2.159–60; and James M. Scott, *Adoption as Sons of God: An Exegetical Investigation into the Background of ΥΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ in the Pauline Corpus* (WUNT 2nd ser. 48; Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), 88–95; Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 31; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 151, 334–35; and Eisenbaum, "Paul as Abraham," 133–36.

[59] The promises God makes to Abraham for land and progeny are variously reiterated in Genesis (12:2–4; 13:14–18; 15:5; 17:4–8; 22:17–18). Romans 4 seems to echo different versions of the promises at points, though Paul appeals specifically to Gen 17:5 in Rom 4:17.

[60] See Hays, "Have We Found Abraham?" 95; Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 229–30.

nate it to the theme of justification by faith. The NRSV, for example, makes "for he is the father of all of us, as it is written, 'I have made you the father of many nations'" in vv. 16b–17a a parenthetical remark, not central to Paul's point.[61] However, given that in v. 12 Paul has already used the expression "the father of us all" to describe Abraham, and given that Paul goes on in v. 18 to exegete God's promise to Abraham that he will be the "father of many nations," vv.16b–17a can hardly be a parenthetical comment. I follow the judgment of Hays that Paul's discussion of justification in 4:2–8 serves as a "preliminary step towards the major thesis of the chapter"—that Abraham is the father of all, Jews and Gentiles alike, who trust in the divine promise that originates with Abraham.[62]

Punctuation is not the only way in which Abraham as archetypal progenitor in Rom 4 has been diminished. English translations have typically rendered the ordinary Greek preposition ἐκ in peculiar ways in passages like this one where the theology of faith was at stake. The NRSV renders οἱ ἐκ νόμου in v. 14 and τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου in v. 16 as "adherents of the law." Similarly, τῷ ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ is rendered "those who share the faith of Abraham" (also v. 16).[63] Although prepositions can be notoriously vexing to translate, the traditional English rendering of ἐκ strains the limits of the word's semantic and syntactic range.[64] Paul repeatedly emphasizes the fatherhood of Abraham here, and he speaks of the promise being guaranteed to all Abraham's descendents (σπέρμα).

[61] Romans 4:16–17 in the NRSV reads as follows: "[16]For this reason it depends on faith, in order that the promise may rest on grace and be guaranteed to all his descendants, not only to the adherents of the law but also to those who share the faith of Abraham (for he is the father of all of us, [17]as it is written, "I have made you the father of many nations") in the presence of the God in whom he believed, who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist." The NRSV's deemphasizing of Abraham's patriarchal status in these verses is consistent with its rendering of 4:1 discussed above.

[62] Hays, "Have We Found Abraham?" 93. Cf. Moxnes, who also believes that the core of Paul's argument is contained in 4:16, but he puts the emphasis on κατὰ χάριν, a phrase that appears also in 4:4 (*Theology in Conflict*, 114).

[63] In rendering these phrases the NRSV follows the RSV exactly.

[64] BAGD (3rd ed.) lists the first meaning of ἐκ as "marker denoting separation, *from, out of, away from*"; the second meaning as "marker denoting the direction fr. which something comes, *from*"; and the third meaning as "marker denoting origin, cause, motive reason, *from, of*" (pp. 295–96). Under the third meaning appears the following category of usage: "to denote origin as to family, race, city, people, district, etc." BAGD then identifies the construction οἱ ἐκ as a specific subcategory, a way of speaking of "factious people" wherein the meaning of partisanship "completely overshadows that of origin" (p. 296). But virtually all the examples come from the Pauline literature, including Rom 4:16 and related texts under discussion at the moment. Two others are from Acts (6:9; 11:2); the former refers to "some people from the synagogue of the Freedmen," which seems to me not to connote a faction but simply indicates these peoples' synagogue of origin; the latter is a Pauline phrase (οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς), and may well be explained by attraction or imitation of Pauline language from Galatians and Romans.

Therefore, the most compelling translation of ἐκ in vv. 14, 16, and 17 is "descended from," or "born of" or something that connotes derivation along a particular genealogical line. In fact, ἐκ is a common way of denoting a person's origins, either in terms of place or genealogy, and it is used frequently this way in NT writings.[65] Consequently, I would translate 4:16 as follows: "For this reason, it [the promise] derives from [Abraham's act of] faith, in order that the promise will be guaranteed—according to grace—to all his descendants, not only to those who are descended from Torah, but also to those descended from the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all." Thus, when he uses the expressions τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου and τῷ ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ, Paul contrasts two types of descendents, "those descended from Torah" and "those descended from the faith of Abraham," not two groups of people defined by their theology.[66]

Moreover, for Paul, Abraham's status as the archetypal progenitor is grounded in Abraham's faith in the promise of Isaac. While traditional interpreters too often assume that Abraham's faith consisted in his personal belief in God or in the patriarch's unwavering loyalty to God—in either case, an interior disposition positively directed toward God—Abraham's trust in God's promise leads to the conception of Isaac.[67] Abraham's faith is represented by a specific act, namely, the act of starting a family in order to produce heirs, but not just any heirs—heirs through Isaac, for these heirs will be God's heirs. Romans 9:8 makes clear that children of Abraham through Isaac and children of God are the same group of people.[68] When Paul says in Rom 9:8, "it is not the children of the flesh who are children of God, but the children of promise who are counted as descendants," he means that biological descent and ordinary human reproduction do not, cannot, will not bestow genealogical status requisite to being a member of God's family.

Although not commonly emphasized, it was not unusual for Jewish inter-

[65] Two of the most obvious examples of this usage are Phil 3:5, where Paul calls himself a "Hebrew born of Hebrews" (Ἑβραῖς ἐξ Ἑβραίων), and Gal 4:4, "God sent forth his son, born of a woman" (γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός), but other examples include Rom 1:3; 9:6; Matt 1:3, 5; John 1:13; Luke 1:27; 2:4; 23:7; Acts 4:6.

[66] I would argue for the same translation of οἱ ἐκ πίστεως in Gal 3:7, 9. Although it is beyond the scope of this discussion, I would argue that ἐκ has been made to bear too much theological freight in Rom 3–4 and Gal 3–4. See Stowers for a similar (and more extensive) argument about the translation of ἐκ in Romans and Galatians (*Rereading of Romans*, 225–26, 237–41). See also Hays, who, in reference to Gal 3:7, 9, says "Paul is not here concerned with developing the parallelism between Abraham's faith and the faith of Christians. Instead he wants to argue that a particular group of people—for whom he invents the designation οἱ ἐκ πίστεως—are Abraham's 'sons' and therefore share in the blessing that Abraham received" (*The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1–4:11* [SBLDS 56; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983], 170–73, quotation from 172).

[67] See Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 230.

[68] See Eilberg-Schwartz (*God's Phallus*, 141), who says of the patriarchal narratives involving barren women and miraculous births, "the father God and son jointly participate in procreation."

preters to mention Abraham's being the father of multiple nations, precisely because of God's promise to the patriarch in Gen 17:5.[69] In some cases, Abraham was understood to be the ancestor of certain Gentile nations to whom Jews could then claim a kinship relation.[70] What is unusual, however, is that Paul explicitly connects the promise that Abraham will be the father of many nations to the conception of Isaac. Although this linkage is unprecedented (at least to my knowledge), it is exegetically justifiable, since God's promises to Abraham in Genesis—for multitudinous progeny, inheritance, and God's covenantal protection—are associated with the birth of Isaac, not Ishmael (Gen 17:15–21).[71] Conversely, the covenant of circumcision features Ishmael prominently (Gen 17:23) but does not involve Isaac since he is not yet born. Circumcision, while a mark of Jewish identity in Paul's day, is not a sufficient condition to warrant being an heir to divine patrimony—that is the thrust of Paul's argument. When Paul refers to "those descended from Torah" in v. 16, he likely refers to anyone who considers himself a descendent of Abraham by virtue of his circumcision, which Paul takes as a cipher for physical birth. But, since the promises were passed down only through Isaac, whose miraculous conception God promised apart from the covenant of circumcision, "those descended from the faith of Abraham" means that claim to divine patrimony through Abraham has always rested on God's promise—on grace, that is—and not on circumcision.

Contrary to popular belief, Paul does not think Jews are Abraham's biological descendants (κατὰ σάρκα, to use Paul's language), while Gentiles become descendants by "adoption" (υἱοθεσία). He uses the term υἱοθεσία explicitly of Jews in Rom 9:4: "They are Israelites, and to them belong the adoption . . . ."[72]

[69] Even Ben Sira, who fundamentally thinks of Abraham as the father of the Jewish nation, introduces the patriarch by calling him "the great father of a multitude of nations" (44:19).

[70] In 1 Macc 12:21 and Josephus, *Ant.* 12.226, Jews and Spartans are said to be kin because both are descended from Abraham (ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἄβραμον οἰκειότητος).

[71] Promises are made concerning Ishmael (Gen 12:20), but they are not *the* promises—the ones that matter in the subsequent history of Israel—at least as understood in the history of Jewish interpretation. To be sure, in the narration of Isaac's birth, it is made clear that Abraham circumcises Isaac on the eight day, "as God commanded him" (Gen 21:4), but not much is made of it. Rather, Isaac's story is consistently tied to the theme of the divine promise of progeny and inheritance and not to the covenant of circumcision.

[72] In its day, prior to concerns about inclusive language, the RSV use of "sonship" to translate the word υἱοθεσία worked reasonably well, because "sonship" connotes much of the same semantic range in English as υἱοθεσία does in Greek, while "adoption" can evoke other connotations in English that potentially obscure Paul's meaning. Neither term is ideal, but, unfortunately, I have not come up with a good alternative. "Adoption" not only has the virtue of being gender-inclusive (and I do think Paul intends men and women to be children of God), but it primarily refers to the incorporation of person(s) into a family with the intent of full integration into the family unit, thus having the same status as biological relatives, and this is what I think Paul means. Scott provides the most complete study of the term υἱοθεσία as well as the phenomenon of adoption generally in Greek, Roman, and Jewish antiquity (*Adoption as Sons*).

Paul does not use this term as a way of emphasizing the Gentiles' lack of biological connection to Abraham (cf. Gal 4:5). The term means to become a son, with all the rights and privileges thereof, to be an heir within the desired patrilineage—in this case, Abraham's patrilineage.[73] As demonstrated in the previous section, having the claim of inheritance to one's father's name and estate is of far greater significance in structuring kinship and rights of inheritance than mere biology. Physical birth is not what defines participation in a kinship group. Thus, Paul's argument about Abraham is not just pertinent to the inclusion of Gentiles. It is also an argument about what constitutes participation in the Abrahamic patrilineage *for a Jew*. Jews who claim descent from Abraham do not hold this privilege by virtue of physical descent, symbolized by circumcision; otherwise Abraham's children by Hagar would be counted as heirs along with Sarah's (which neither Paul nor any other Jews of his time believed to be the case).[74] Now, if a Jew's status before God does not depend on biological lineage, then surely such lineage is not required for Gentiles either.[75] Paul makes the same point explicitly in Rom 9:6b–8: "for not all those descended of Israel belong to Israel, and not all of Abraham's children are his descendants, but 'through Isaac your descendants shall be called.' This means it is not the children of the flesh who are children of God, but the children of the promise who are counted as descendants." Perhaps it is this comment that most clearly answers the question Paul posed in 4:1, "Have we found Abraham to be our forefather according to the flesh?" μὴ γένοιτο. By no means!

Traditional and not-so-traditional interpreters have thought that Paul places no value on genealogy or genealogical status.[76] In particular, any claims

[73] See Scott, *Adoption as Sons*, 45–57; and Carolyn Osiek, "Galatians," in *Women's Bible Commentary*, ed. Newsom and Ringe, 423–27.

[74] Although Paul does not mention Hagar in Romans, we know from Gal 4 that Paul thought of Hagar and Sarah and their respective sons almost as antitypes of one another. Sarah's son, Isaac, and his descendants are the children of promise. Hagar's son (who remains unnamed by Paul) is associated with slavery and the flesh.

[75] Hays makes a powerful statement against any reading of Rom 4 that sees Paul's portrayal of Abraham as a polemic against traditional models of Jewish faithfulness: "Only a narrowly ethnocentric form of Judaism would claim that God is the God of Jews only or that Abraham is the progenitor of God's people 'according to the flesh' i.e., by virtue of physical descent. For the purpose of his argument, Paul associates these (evidently false) claims with the (disputed) claim that Gentile-Christians must come under the Law. Paul, speaking from within Jewish tradition, contends that the Torah itself provides warrant for a more universally inclusive theology which affirms that the one God is God of Gentiles as well as Jews and that Abraham is the forefather of more than those who happen to be his physical descendants. This is the case to be made in chap. 4" ("Have We Found Abraham?" 88).

[76] Among "nontraditional" interpreters, Eilberg-Schwartz articulates this position at length (*God's Phallus*, 199–236). Cf. the recent argument by Christine Hayes that "the most important variable in Second Temple constructions of Jewish identity and, by extension, constructions of the boundary between Jew and Gentile was the genealogical component of Jewish identity. Ancient

to privilege because one is a "Jew by birth" are rendered meaningless. Many new perspective scholars argue that what motivates Paul's preoccupation with the question of Jewish law in Romans and Galatians is a critique of Jewish ethnocentrism, specifically those practices like circumcision and food laws that exclude Gentiles and act as boundary markers between Jew and Gentile.[77] Although Paul likely had different ways of gauging genealogical legitimacy, than, say, the author of *Jubilees*, the question of lineage, especially as it relates to the divine patrimony, remains essential to Paul. To be sure, Paul critiques what he deems too narrow an interpretation of Abraham's lineage and the basis on which membership in that lineage should be determined in light of Christ's coming, particularly in the first half of ch. 4. There is no doubt, according to Paul, that the act of circumcision does not make one a legitimate heir of Abraham. But the reason circumcision cannot serve this function is not that Paul thinks it is too specifically Jewish. It is because it is irrelevant for Gentiles who wish to attain participation in the blessed patrilineage of Abraham. Being a descendant of Abraham primarily means eschewal of idolatry and exclusive allegiance to the God of Israel—it is in this way that one best emulates the faith of Abraham[78]—but one cannot become a member of a patrilineage merely by one's own actions, however noble. Rather, membership is bestowed upon the aspirant by those who are already members.

Paul's argument rests on an implicit assumption underpinning a patrilineal system of kinship. Acquiring membership in a patrilineage is always an act of grace, because a child cannot initiate an adoption or accomplish it for him- or

---

Jews placed different emphases on the role of genealogy . . . in maintaining the distinction between Jews and Gentiles" (*Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2002], 9). Although her focus is Jewish sources, Hayes also discusses Paul and early patristic writers (pp. 92–103). See also the recent discussion by Denise Kimber Buell and Caroline Johnson Hodge, who write, "Paul's writings have been interpreted to depict Christianity as a de-ethnicised and therefore superior version of Judaism" ("The Politics of Interpretation: The Rhetoric of Race and Ethnicity in Paul," *JBL* 123 [2004]: 235–51, quotation from 240). Buell and Hodge document more fully than I can here the prevailing tendency among traditional and new perspective scholars to read Paul with "de-ethnicised" lenses.

[77] The most prolific proponent of this view is surely Dunn; see esp. "New Perspective," and "Works of the Law and the Curse of the Law (Gal 3:10–14)," in *Jesus, Paul, and the Law*, 183–200, 215–19. Daniel Boyarin develops Dunn's perspective in a way that stresses even more Paul's critique of ethnocentrism and promotion of human universalism: "what motivated Paul ultimately was a profound concern for the one-ness of humanity" (*A Radical Jew: Paul and Politics of Identity* [Berkeley: Univesity of California, 1994], 52.

[78] As Cohen notes, "Numerous legends recount how Abraham, the archetype of proselytes, destroyed his father's idols and was the first to recognize the one God. Practically all these legends discuss Abraham's monotheism, not his observance of Jewish rituals" (*Beginnings of Jewishness*, 151). Among the many sources that support this claim are *Jub.* 12; *Apoc. Ab.* 1–8; Philo, *Virt.* 39.218–19. See also Edward Addams, "Abraham's Faith and Gentile Disobedience: Textual Links between Romans 1 and 4," *JSNT* 65 (1997): 47–66.

herself. The adopted child is the beneficiary of an act or series of actions that must be performed by the father. Participation in the Abrahamic lineage was never understood as having been attained, achieved, or earned (justification by faith notwithstanding[79]). Because patrilineal genealogies work by the father bestowing his family's name, heritage, and property upon the son, a son cannot claim that inheritance for himself; it is the privilege of the father to give it. What Paul is extending to Gentiles in his mission is an inheritance, and inheritance cannot be earned like wages; it is a gift freely bestowed. Adoption into a patrilineage is attained when those who are already members allow the heir apparent to participate in their sacrificial rites.

Christ, the Sacrificial Rite That Joins Jews and Gentiles

Having demonstrated the importance of Abraham as the ancestral progenitor of Jews and Gentiles by appealing to Rom 4 and 9, I want to argue now that in chs. 5–8 Paul turns to a discussion of Christ because Christ is the sacrifice that removes the pollution of the Gentiles and allows for their genealogical integration into Abraham's patrilineage.

Virtually all commentators, regardless of the school of thought to which they belong, understand Paul to be speaking to and about all believers (i.e., Christians) in the mid-section of Romans. For Paul turns from a discussion of the past regarding Abraham to the present moment facing his Roman audience, and the collective first-person voice predominates: "Therefore, having been justified from faith, let us have peace with God" (5:1).[80] But I have been persuaded by a small but persuasive minority of scholars that Paul here speaks of only one particular portion of humanity, namely, Gentiles, and focuses his discussion on what I would label the "Gentile condition."[81] The majority of recent commentators believe that Romans is addressed to a predominantly Gentile audience, so claiming that chs. 5–8 addresses the particular circumstances of Gentiles should not be considered such a radical suggestion, and yet

[79] I follow the view of Sam K. Williams, Richard Hays, and others that πίστις Χριστοῦ should be taken as a subjective genitive, and thus one is justified not by one's own faith, but by Jesus' act of faith; see Williams, "Again Pistis Christou," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 431–47; Hays, *Faith of Jesus Christ* and "Pistis and Pauline Christianity: What is at Stake?" in *Pauline Theology*, vol. 4, ed. Bassler, 35–60. Dunn responds to Hays in the same volume and defends the traditional view of πίστις Χριστοῦ as an objective genitive ("Once More, ΠΙΣΤΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ," 61–81).

[80] I prefer the reading found in the better manuscripts, including ℵ, A, B, C, and D, where the subjunctive ἔχωμεν appears rather than the reading in NA[27], which has the indicative ἔχομεν.

[81] See esp. Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 248–60; but also Gaston, *Paul and Torah*, 29–33; Elliott, *Rhetoric of Romans*, 60–108, 247, 286–87; Gager, *Reinventing Paul*, 101–28; idem, *Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 221–23; Nanos, *Mystery of Romans*, 75–84. For one of the countless examples of the traditional view, see C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Epistle to the Romans* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1985), 1:255–95.

it is.[82] Most interpreters see this section (esp. 5:12–21; 7:7–25) as addressing the awful plight of the human condition generically speaking—the condition that separates all human beings from God, namely, sin or sinfulness. Moreover, because readers assume that Paul speaks of sin as a condition that afflicts everyone in the same way, they also assume that everyone requires the same means of salvation. Possessed of that generic lens, interpreters do not usually consider the possibility that Paul could be addressing the Gentile plight in particular. If, however, the categories of "Jew" and "Gentile" are still conceptually operative for Paul, as most scholars touched by the new perspective would willingly concede, then it is certainly plausible that the role played by Christ works out somewhat differently for each group, while at the same time the two groups are being integrated through Christ into a single "family" that has as its head a single paternal God.[83]

Much of Paul's language in chs. 5–6 is language that typically characterizes the Gentile condition according to Jewish stereotypes. Labels like "weak," "ungodly" (5:6), "sinners" (5:8), "slaves of sin" (6:17, 20), and "enemies" (5:10)

---

[82] On the one hand, there is broad agreement among contemporary scholars that the primary audience of Romans, generally speaking, is Gentile. At the same time, several historical assumptions prevalent among Pauline scholars about the situation at Rome tend to muddle questions of the letter's audience (Gager, *Reinventing Paul*, 106) and to cause interpreters to lose focus about the addressees at certain points in the letter, esp. chs. 5–8. Interpreters tend to presume some sort of Jewish constituency present in Rome, and that Paul addresses this group as well as the Gentile group. Moreover, it is usually assumed that Paul is confronting some sort of conflict in Rome between two (or more) factions, a Jewish (or Jewish-Christian) minority and a Gentile majority. Brendon Byrne, for example, believes that audience switches at certain points in the letter from one group to another; thus, 1:1–4:25 has an implied Jewish Christian audience, while 5:1–8:39 speaks to a Christian audience, irrespective of ethnicity, and finally chs. 9–11 imply a Gentile Christian audience (*Romans*, 26, 165). Dunn, one of the most thoughtful representatives of the dominant view about the audience, offers a more coherent proposal (*Romans*, 1:xlvi–lviii); he summarizes the issue as follows: "at the time Paul wrote the letter, the Gentile Christians in Rome were probably a large majority . . . and the Jewish Christians probably felt themselves doubly vulnerable as Jews, for they now had to identify themselves more fully with the largely gentile house churches in increasing distinction and separation from the synagogues." Dunn goes on to point out that these circumstances indicate that Paul is addressing a community that is "*developing its own distinct identity* over against the Jewish community from which it had emerged" (*Romans*, liii; italics mine). Dunn offers an explicit rationale for what is often only implicit in other scholars' commentaries: in spite of claims about a predominantly Gentile audience, the operative categories for readers of Romans are not Jew and *Gentile* but Jew and *Christian*—Paul's own consistent use of the Jew–Gentile distinction notwithstanding. Thus, overwhelmingly, interpreters assume that Paul speaks to and about Christians whenever he uses "we" language.

[83] See J. Christiaan Beker: "Paul . . . never loses sight of the fact that Jews and Gentiles are two distinct people who even in Christ cannot be fused into one category of *homo universalis*" ("The Faithfulness of God and the Priority of Israel in Paul's Letter to the Romans," in *The Romans Debate* [rev. and expanded ed.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991], 327–32). A similar point is made by N. T. Wright in a discussion of Gal 3:15–20 (*Climax of the Covenant*, 162–73).

are not designations Paul ordinarily uses for Jews as a group. Like other Jews of his day, Paul uses such terms to describe other (idolatrous) peoples.[84] The occurrences of the word "ungodly" (ἀσεβής) and cognates in Romans, for example, indicate its association with Gentiles.[85] Thus, when Paul says "Christ died for the ungodly" in 5:6, he almost certainly refers to Gentiles. Similarly, when Paul describes his audience in 6:19 as having once presented their members as "slaves of impurity" (ἀκαθαρσία) and "lawlessness" (ἀνομία), he is speaking of the Gentile way of life (from a parochially Jewish point of view) and the liberation from that life that being "in Christ" offers them (cf. 1 Thess 4:3–7). "Moreover," as John Gager says, "there is a strong thematic continuity between Chapters 1–4, which emphasize the disobedience, the sins and the redemption of Gentiles, and Chapters 5–8, which speak of their new life in Christ."[86]

That Paul uses the first person plural so often in these chapters is no deterrent to understanding the subject under discussion as applicable primarily to non-Jews, because Paul typically uses rhetorical means to express solidarity with his Gentile followers.[87] Besides, since the main thrust of Paul's argument in Rom 4 is that Gentiles can be part of the lineage of Abraham through Christ, Paul and his Gentile kin can be understood to share one collective identity. The language of reconciliation evident in 5:10 surely echoes the theme of common lineage from the previous chapter. Interpreters have typically assumed that the language of reconciliation refers to that between human beings and God.[88] But it is not difficult to imagine that Paul means both reconciliation between Jews and Gentiles and between human beings and God. Presumably God's promise

[84] In Gal 2:15, for example, Paul uses the term "sinner" (ἁμαρτωλός) of Gentiles in opposition to himself as a Jew "by nature" (φύσει). Cf. Isa 14:5; 1 Macc 1:34; Tob 13:8. For association of the word "weak" (ἀσθενής) with non-Jews, see 1 Cor 9:21–22; it is specifically used in connection with idolatry in 1 Cor 8:7–13.

[85] See Rom 1:18; 4:5; 11:26 (a quotation of Isa 59:20). See also Edward Addams, who argues that ἀσεβής in Rom 4:5 is used specifically to describe Abraham as a Gentile, that is, before God called him ("Abraham's Faith and Gentile Disobedience").

[86] Gager, *Reinventing Paul*, 128; see also Elliott, *Rhetoric of Romans*, 249.

[87] Cf. the change from "you" to "us" in 1 Thess 4:6–7 or the voice changes in Gal 4:3–10—in both cases Paul is obviously speaking to and about Gentiles. For more examples, see Gaston, *Paul and Torah*, 29, 198 n. 59; Gager, *Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 222–23. See also Elliott, who convincingly argues for the rhetorical cohesion of Rom 6–8 in spite of changes in voice (*Rhetoric of Romans*, 242–52). Notably, Paul switches to the second person in 6:11–23, precisely where he speaks vividly of those who were once "slaves of sin" and who yielded their members "to impurity and to greater and greater iniquity." Again, although Jews sin, it is mainly Gentiles of whom Paul speaks in such "ungodly" terms.

[88] This is reflected in the NRSV and most other English translations, in which τῷ θεῷ is consistently translated as the object of reconciliation: "we were reconciled to God . . . ," even though an instrumental translation of the dative is possible, that is, "we were reconciled by God . . . ."

to Abraham that he would be the father of many nations had to be fulfilled as part of (or at least prior to) the bestowal of the divine patrimony upon God's heirs. All the nations need to be integrated into the Abrahamic patrilineage (to which Jews already belong) in order to reach eschatological fulfillment. The way to facilitate patrilineal integration and divine redemption is by a sacrificial rite of blood purification. As Paula Fredriksen wryly observes, "We have to stop thinking theologically and instead think sacrificially. Purity, holiness, separation, blood, flesh, eating: these orient us in the first-century understanding of the new reality wrought in Christ."[89]

Jay has compellingly argued that sacrificial rites more often combine expiatory functions with communion functions rather than utilize discrete rites to serve these different functions.[90] I suggest that Paul understands the sacrificial death of Christ as both expiation for sin, particularly Gentile sin, and a reconciling sacrifice that enables Gentiles to be received into Abraham's lineage. One of the key texts that supports this reading appears in 5:9, where Paul says "we have been justified by his blood."[91] Blood sacrifice removes the impurities of the participants, so that the integrity and unity of the sacrificing kin group remains intact. In some ways, distinguishing the impurities of all participants (Jews and Gentiles) from the impurities of new members (Gentiles only) is not necessary in such a context because impurity—at least some kinds of impurity—is contagious; everyone belonging to the group is affected by impurity.[92]

[89] Fredricksen, "Ultimate Reality," 62.

[90] As Jay says, "Sacrifice joins people together in community, and conversely, it separates them from defilement, disease, and other dangers. This opposition of joining and separating is so widespread that one of the clearest indications that a ritual killing is properly a sacrifice is that it is part of a religious system of this kind" (*Generations*, 17). In other words, the process of communal integration requires a concomitant process of differentiation.

[91] Δικαιωθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ. For as many times as Paul uses the word "justified" and its cognates, this is the only time the expression "justified by his blood" appears in the Pauline corpus. Virtually the same idea, however, is expressed elsewhere, as in Rom 3:5, "God offered him [Jesus] as an expiation through faith in his blood"; or when Paul recites the liturgy of the Eucharist in 1 Cor 11.

[92] Klawans has convincingly argued for making a distinction between moral impurity, which is generally not contagious, and ritual impurity, which is contagious but does not have moral value (*Impurity and Sin;* see esp. 26 for a list of the criteria that distinguish moral from ritual impurity). Hayes accepts Klawans's distinction between moral and ritual impurity, building on it and creating more subtle categories to describe it. Hayes sees Paul as having conflated the properties of moral and ritual impurity into something she calls carnal impurity, although she analyzes passages found only in the Corinthian correspondence (*Gentile Impurities*, 95–97). Both Klawans and Hayes agree that Judaism did not generally regard Gentiles as inherently impure by virtue of not being Jewish. However, Gentiles do engage in acts—most importantly idolatry—that are considered impure. Thus, while there is nothing about Gentiles per se that renders contact with them defiling, concern was often expressed about Jew–Gentile interaction when such interaction might result in (contact with?) moral impurity associated with idolatry.

In this way, then, Jesus' blood sacrifice is efficacious for Jews, not because such sacrifice atones for sins committed by Jews but because it removes the pollution potentially brought into the community of Israel by Gentiles. Thus, Jews and Gentiles, by the sacrificial death of Jesus, can now constitute one community.

One of the reasons interpreters of Romans read these chapters as addressing the universal condition of all humanity and the universal salvation now available in Christ is the Adam/Christ typology in Rom 5:12–21, the first verses of which read:

> 12 Therefore, just as sin came into the world through one man, and death came through sin, so also death spread to all because all sinned— 13 sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law. 14 Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come. 15 However the gift (χάρισμα) is not like the transgression. For if many have died by the transgression of one, the grace of God and the gift (δωρεά) wrought by grace that is of the one man Jesus Christ enable many to thrive.[93]

But these reflections are, at least partly, simply Paul's way of explaining how human beings find themselves in circumstances not of their own making. This kind of thinking appears almost "natural" in a cultural context like Paul's, where the actions of an individual can affect, for better or worse, the status of the whole family.[94] Adam and Jesus each inaugurate a new age. Adam marks the beginning of the age of sin and death, while Christ marks the start of a new age, one characterized by incorruptibility and eternal life.

But in the first age, as indicated by Rom 4, Abraham's faithful actions initiate a special lineage within and in spite of the Adamic situation. This lineage becomes the people Israel, who eventually receive God's Torah and therefore possess the cultic means of interacting with the deity. This ability sets them apart from the other peoples, who, because of Adam, remain enslaved to sin or, at the very least, are "common"—not yet in a state of sanctification requisite to being in the deity's presence.[95] Death may be a reality for everyone in the first age, Jews and Gentiles alike, but Jews, being children of God and in possession

[93] Significantly, Paul calls Christ the "gift" (RSV/NRSV: "free gift") several times in vv. 15–17 (including use of a third Greek word in v. 16, δώρημα), instead of "one" or "one man," which he uses only in v. 15b (and then in vv. 18–19, where the parallelism works much better to reinforce the typology between Adam and Christ).

[94] Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 254; Charles Cousar, "Continuity and Discontinuity: Reflections on Romans 5–8," in *Pauline Theology*, vol. 3, *Romans* (ed. David M. Hay and E. Elizabeth Johnson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 203.

[95] Fredriksen, "Ultimate Reality," 66.

of Torah, have the means of cultic purity and are poised to receive their divine inheritance, whenever the time comes. Gentiles, on the other hand, are slaves to sin and flesh—this is the predicament captured in abbreviated form by the familiar Pauline phrase "under the law."[96] Consistent with Paul's repeated claim of God's impartiality, Gentiles were technically as accountable to Torah as were Jews.[97] Following cultural stereotypes, Paul regards Jews as "naturally" obedient, not because they possess Torah but because they have already been incorporated into the patrilineage of Abraham and have a kind of "genetic edge," while Gentiles are morally and spiritually disadvantaged because they did not have the benefit of participation in this blessed lineage. In other words, they did not have the "gift" or "grace" that can be bestowed only by a father, whether divine or human, and is marked by a sacrificial rite—that is, until the sacrificial gift of Christ.

Torah did not create Jewish patrilineal privilege; neither does the observance of all the Torah's precepts ("works of the law") maintain it. That privilege came through being divinely ordained descendants of Abraham. Torah observance, therefore, is largely irrelevant for Gentiles. What Gentiles need is not Torah but reception into the lineage of Abraham. This God accomplishes by means of Christ's sacrifice, as Paul describes it in 8:3–4: "For God has done what Torah, weakened by the flesh, could not do: by sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, as a sin offering (περὶ ἁμαρτίας),[98] he condemned sin in the flesh, so that the just requirement of Torah might be fulfilled." Paul's claim in Rom 8:3–4, virtually a restatement of what he says in 3:21–26, is an articulation of Christ as expiatory sacrifice. But in distinction to 3:21–26, here Paul calls Christ the "Son." Gentiles who participate in the sacrifice of Christ receive adoption into the divine patrilineage and thus also become "sons." The discussion in ch. 8 culminates with Paul's declaration that they, the Gentiles, can now also claim God as "Father," becoming joint heirs with Christ. "For all who are led by the Spirit of God are children of God. For you did not receive a spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received a spirit of adoption. When we cry 'Abba! Father!' it is that very Spirit bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God, and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ" (vv. 14–17). Here one can see most clearly the paradigmatic connection between sacrifice and filial legitimation as articulated by Nancy Jay.

[96] As Gaston points out, this phrase seems to be idiosyncratic to Paul, but the apostle tends to use it specifically in reference to Gentiles (*Paul and the Torah*, 29–34). Much as Paul speaks of the connection between Jews and Torah in Romans and Galatians, he never describes their relationship to it as ὑπὸ νόμον.

[97] See esp. Rom 2:14–15 and Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 109–18; Elliott, *Rhetoric of Romans*, 286–87.

[98] The NRSV reads "to deal with sin," but "sin offering" is recognized as an option by many commentators.

Jesus' sacrifice expiates sin—Paul clearly understands Christ as an expiatory sacrifice and says so explicitly in 8:3. At the same time, Jesus' sacrifice effects the joining of Jews and Gentiles, and thus it is a communion sacrifice. As Stowers himself says, "For Paul, Jews and gentiles are now related because Christ has made Abraham the father of gentiles, so that the two sets of peoples share the same progenitor."[99] Both in 3:24–25 and here in ch. 8 the mention of Jesus' sacrifice appears in a context in which the boundaries between Jews and Gentiles are recognized and yet being overcome. In ch. 3 Paul reiterates that there is no distinction between Jew and Gentile; in ch. 8 he uses the language not of Jew/Gentile but of genealogical legitimacy in God's family. Gentiles receive the same "adoption" (υἱοθεσία, 8:15) that Jews already possess (9:4). Gentiles are joined to God's family because of Jesus' sacrificial death, a ritual realignment of kinship so powerful that it cannot be undone (8:33–39).

Since Abraham is nowhere explicitly mentioned in chs. 5–8, whereas Paul speaks repeatedly of being "in Christ," my claim that Gentiles need to participate in the seed of Abraham as part of their salvation needs some explanation. According to Stowers, the "faith of Christ" is analogous to the "faith of Abraham." Stowers refers to the faithful acts of both figures as "generative faithfulness," because God's response to their acts of faithfulness is to extend the blessing from the one to the many.[100] What each of them does as an individual has ramifications for others who receive blessings not because of what they do but because of what was done on their behalf.

In contrast to Stowers, I do not think the parallelism between Abraham and Christ can be extended that far, precisely because of the Adam/Christ typology Paul develops in 5:12–21. For Paul, Christ is analogous to Adam. Adam and Christ, as discussed above, each inaugurate an age that has general anthropological implications. Adam is associated with mortality, flesh, and sin. Jesus is associated with immortality, the spirit, and the removal of sin. In distinction to both, *Abraham inaugurates a special lineage that straddles both ages.* He remains the essential patrilineal ancestor for those who will inherit the divine promises in either age.

Paul does not—perhaps cannot—view Christ as an archetypal progenitor analogous to Abraham. Because Christ appears to have been established quintessentially as "the Son" already by Paul's time, it would have been difficult to conceive of Christ as a patriarchal figure. God is the only Father in the age to come. Jesus is God's first-born of the immortal, and believers are his "fellow heirs." Jesus' death on the cross is an act of faith; like Abraham, Christ is faithful by enacting the divine will. But Jesus' faith alone cannot explain why Paul sees a

[99] Stowers, *Rereading of Romans*, 239.

[100] Ibid., 230. Stowers's argument is necessarily predicated on both phrases being understood as subjective genitives.

link between Jesus' death and the inclusion of Gentiles. Rather, Paul makes that link because Jesus' death is the kind of filial sacrifice that has the power to rearrange genealogical relationships, in this case, the relationships between Jews and Gentiles and God.

What distinguishes Jesus from Abraham and other biblical paradigms is that Jesus is God's Son, whom God puts forward as a sacrifice (3:25; 8:3). It is indeed an act of grace, generated by God the Father, who sacrifices his firstborn on behalf of others who will become his children as a result, but it follows the pattern of human patrilineal kinship structures, where genealogical status is something one inherits from one's father at the father's discretion.[101] One cannot achieve membership in a lineage by one's own effort; it is always gratuitously bestowed. It follows, then, that a person does not become a "son" of God by achievement; such status can be bestowed only when Father-God adopts such a person as an heir. One does not achieve matrilineal status by one's own effort either, but the difference between matrilineal and patrilineal status in Paul's cultural matrix is that the father holds the power to incorporate (or reject) the child into his family, while mother and child are perceived as simply linked through biology and the reality of childbirth. Membership in the patrilineage can be granted only by the father; it is his prerogative and his alone, which means that it is completely independent of maternal claims and any other perceived limitations of human biology. Thus, it is no surprise that the means to immortality, which is ultimately what Paul means by being a "son of God," is achieved by the same patrilineal means that unite Jew and Gentile in Abraham. Participation in Christ's sacrificial rite, being "in Christ," not only bestows the Abrahamic patronym and promise of patrimony on the participant, but that patrimony comes not from a human father but a divine one, and thus it promises to dissolve the fleshly constraints of the body and thereby enable the realization of immortality in the world to come.

[101] As Jon D. Levenson has argued, the idea of God sacrificing his son to perform atonement represents both continuity and discontinuity with Israelite and Jewish tradition concerning the perceived obligation that the firstborn son properly belonged to God; the thread of this tradition ostensibly begins with Exod 22:28 (*The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993]). Levenson claims that "the impulse to sacrifice the first-born son never died in ancient Israel but was only transformed" (p. 55). The story of the *Aqedah* (Gen 22) represents the most powerful locus of this tradition. Most important among Levenson's observations in the present discussion is that Gen 22:16–18 explicitly connects the promise of numerous progeny to Abraham's act of near-sacrifice of Isaac. Levenson also observes that Christianity was as concerned as Judaism to establish a privileged lineage rooted in the "memory of Father Abraham" (p. 215).

JBL 123/4 (2004) 703–735

SAVED THROUGH CHILDBEARING: VIRTUES AS CHILDREN IN 1 TIMOTHY 2:11–15

KENNETH L. WATERS, SR.
kwaters@apu.edu
Haggard School of Theology, Azusa Pacific University, Azusa, CA 91702

> Let a woman learn in silence in all subjection. I do not permit a woman to teach nor to exercise authority over a man, but to be in silence. For Adam was formed first, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived fell into transgression. Yet *she* will be saved through *childbearing*, if *they* continue in faith, and love, and holiness with temperance. (1 Tim 2:11–15)

1 Timothy 2:11–15 is an allegory in which the virtues faith, love, holiness, and temperance are portrayed as the children of those women in Ephesus who will be saved.[1] A major part of our argument will expose a metaphorical use of the term "childbearing" and related concepts in the environment of 1 Timothy. However, preliminary discussion will center on our use of the term "allegory" as a description of 1 Tim 2:11–15. We will also show why the passage is ostensibly focused on a context-specific rather than a general relationship between women and men. Our goal is nothing less than to justify an entirely new reading of the phrase "saved through childbearing" in 1 Tim 2:15.

I. Allegory as Category

The term "allegory" is here used in the sense of an extended metaphor, that is, in the sense of language, imagery, and structure drawn from an ancient

This is an expanded version of a paper I presented at the Society of Biblical Literature International Meeting in Groningen, Netherlands, July 27, 2004, and earlier in the faculty colloquium of the Haggard School of Theology on January 12, 2004. I particularly wish to thank my HST colleagues for their helpful responses to this presentation. I am grateful also to the two anonymous reviewers, whose pregnant recommendations helped give birth to a much-improved article.

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all translations of ancient texts are mine. I have nevertheless consulted the English translations of the Loeb editions of Plato and Philo as well as the English translations found in *Plato: Complete Works* (ed. John M. Cooper and D. S. Hutchinson; Indianapolis: Hackett, 1997) and *The Works of Philo* (trans. C. D. Yonge; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997). In the citing of passages, I retain the numbering system found in the Loeb editions. All emphases are mine.

narrative and applied to a contemporary circumstance.[2] Alan Padgett uses the term "cautionary or negative typology" in a similar sense, while Andrew C. Perriman prefers the term "figurative interpretation."[3] Both scholars refuse the simple, unqualified term "typology" in order to avoid the suggestion of "creation-order" or "prefigurative relationship" as a component of 1 Tim 2:11–15.[4] According to Perriman, prefigurement involves "statements about a state of affairs established at creation that has prevailed to the time of this writing," while a "figurative interpretation" in this case refers only to "statements about a situation in language borrowed from Genesis."[5] Both scholars rightly discern that Gen 3:1–21 is not the archetype for divinely predetermined or prefigured relationships in the Ephesian congregation of Timothy, but only a source of meaningful language, imagery, and narration for the Ephesian situation.[6]

It would seem, however, that Padgett and Perriman's purpose would best be served by the term "allegory." If one might risk a pithy distinction, in a typology the present derives its meaning from the past, but in an allegory the past derives its meaning from the present.[7] Both Padgett and Perriman seem to find that the metaphorical meanings of 1 Tim 2:11–15 are determined by the present situation of the author and his audience.[8] There would at first seem to be

[2] See David Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 3, 5. To distinquish allegory from "metaphor, etymology, and personification" Dawson says, "interpretations and compositions designated as 'allegorical' must have a narrative dimension."

[3] Alan Padgett, "Wealthy Women at Ephesus: 1 Timothy 2:8–15 in Social Context," *Int* 41 (1987): 26; Andrew C. Perriman, "What Eve Did, What Women Shouldn't Do: The Meaning of ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΩ in 1 Timothy 2:12," *TynBul* 44 (1993): 140.

[4] Padgett specifically rejects the idea of "a creation-order of man over woman, and in general the superiority of man to woman" ("Wealthy Women," 27, 31).

[5] Perriman, "What Eve Did," 140.

[6] However, for arguments from creation order, see Jouette M. Bassler, *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 60; and T. David Gordon, "A Certain Kind of Letter: The Genre of 1 Timothy," in *Women in the Church: A Fresh Analysis of 1 Timothy 2:9–15* (ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger, Thomas R. Schreiner, and H. Scott Baldwin; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1995), 53–63.

[7] See Dawson, *Allegorical Readers*, 15–16: "Because it is said to preserve the historical reality of both the initial 'type' and its corresponding 'antitypes,' typology is said to differ from allegory, which dissolves the historical reality of type and/or antitype into timeless generalities or conceptual abstractions." Dawson, however, goes on to expound his view, in which "typology is understood to be simply one species of allegory." See also Richard M. Davidson, *Typology in Scripture: A Study of Hermeneutical τύπος Structures* (Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series 2; Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1981), 101 n. 1: "By those who make a distinction between allegory and typology (and this is the majority of modern scholars), allegory involves an arbitrary assigning of externally imposed meaning to the words of Scripture, which meaning is foreign to the ideas conveyed by the words, and often disregards the historical sense of the passage."

[8] For an unqualified typological interpretation of 1 Tim 2:11–15, see Raymond F. Collins, *I & II Timothy and Titus: A Commentary* (NTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 76–77:

no compelling reason for preferring the term "allegory" over "figurative interpretation," especially since the terms are practically synonymous. Yet the term "allegory" and its cognates have a longer history and furthermore connote a particular method of biblical interpretation contemporaneous with the Pastoral Epistles.[9] At the very least, this shows that there is nothing idiosyncratic about the author's hermeneutic in 1 Tim 2:11–15, nor about our modern attempts to characterize this hermeneutic. While the qualified typological/figurative approaches used by Padgett and Perriman illuminate our understanding of 1 Tim 2:11–15, the extended metaphorical usages in this passage seem more profitably described as allegory.

II. Childbearing as Allegorical Metaphor

In this discussion, our focus is on the allegorical use of the *hapax legomenon* "childbearing" (τεκνογονία) in 1 Tim 2:15.[10] It is a clear application of God's pronouncement upon Eve in Gen 3:16: "I will greatly increase your sorrow and your conception and in pain you will *bear children* (MT: תלדי בני; LXX: τέξῃ τέκνα). In 1 Tim 2:15, however, the children to be borne are to be found in the immediate context of the term, namely, the virtues πίστις, ἀγάπη, ἁγιασμός, and σωφροσύνη.[11] First, the women give birth to these virtues, and then they *continue* or *abide* in them in order to be saved. We see this same allegori-

"Insofar as Eve was more fully deceived than was Adam, she was the prototypical female, Adam the prototypical male."

[9] The allegorical method of biblical interpretation is usually associated with Alexandria and is most notably represented by Philo (20 B.C.E.–50 C.E.) and in later times by Clement (150–215 C.E.) and Origen (185-254 C.E.), all of Alexandria. See "Allegory," *ODCC*, 42–43.

[10] A form of τεκνοτροφέω ("to bring up children") appears in 1 Tim 5:10, while a form of τεκνογονέω ("to bear children") appears in 1 Tim 5:14.

[11] Cf. the four cardinal virtues of Plato, *Resp.* 4.419A–445E, σωφροσύνη, ἀνδρεία, σοφία, and δικαιοσύνη. The first is variously translated as temperance, moderation, self-control, soundmindedness, and sobriety. The remaining three are usually translated respectively as courage, wisdom, and justice. In *Resp.* 3.389D, σωφροσύνη is central to civic order and administration. "And as for the multitudes are not the chief aims of temperance (σωφροσύνη) to be obedient to rulers, and for rulers themselves to practice self-control in regard to drink and the pleasures of both sex (ἀφροδίσια) and food?" The four cardinal virtues reappear in Philo, where they are represented by the four rivers of the paradise of Eden (Gen 2:10–14) (*Leg.* 1.63–72) and as those qualities that are cut off from those who are opposed to learning (*Ebr.* 23); see also *Post.* 128. For Philo, σωφροσύνη is necessary for the health of the soul and mental salvation. See *Virt.* 14–16: "And the health of the soul (ὑγεία δὲ ψυχῆς) consists in well-tempered faculties . . . with reason in control . . . the special name of this healthy state is temperance (σωφροσύνη), which perfects salvation (σωτηρίαν) in our rational being." Finally, see Augustine, *Civ.* 19.4 for his discussion of temperance, prudence, justice, and fortitude.

cal pattern in Philo, *Leg.* 3.1.3.[12] Here he interprets the birth of the Hebrew male infants at the hands of the Hebrew midwives (Exod 1:21) as the effort of the soul (ψυχή) to "build up the substance of virtue" (οἰκοδομοῦσι τὰ ἀρετῆς πράγματα).[13] Philo then says that the substance of virtue is that "in which they have also decided to abide" (οἷς καὶ ἐνοικεῖν προήρηνται). In each case, that which has given birth (i.e., the soul or the Ephesian women) abides in the very thing that was borne. Our warrant for seeing this sequence of birthing and abiding in 1 Tim 2:15 comes partly from 1 Tim 1:5–6. Here the virtues of love, good conscience, and faith proceed from a pure heart (καθαρὰ καρδία), in the same way that the Philonic virtues proceed from the soul.[14] When the author criticizes those who have "missed the mark by turning aside" (ἀστοχήσαντες ἐξετράπησαν) from these virtues, he clearly implies that one should continue or abide in these virtues after they are born (cf. 1 Tim 1:19; 2 Tim 2:22). This at least shows that the author of 1 Timothy and Philo share a similar pattern of thinking in regard to virtue ethics. Elsewhere in the Pauline corpus, the idea of giving birth to and abiding in the virtues is expressed in terms of "fruit bearing" (καρποφόρος) (Rom 6:21–22; 7:4–5; Gal 5:22–25; Eph 5:8–11; Phil 1:11; Col 1:6, 10; Titus 3:14). This is a use of agricultural rather than gynecological reproductive imagery, but the idea is fundamentally the same.[15]

There is yet no grammatical element in 1 Tim 2:11–15, such as an apposi-

[12] Philo describes his method of interpretation variously as ἀλληγορικός ("allegorical" or "figurative") (*Opif.* 157), συμβολικῶς ("symbolic") (*Opif.* 164), and τροπικῶς ("tropical" or "metaphorical") (*QG* 1.52).

[13] Cf. "to build up the cause of virtue" (F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, LCL, 303) and "to build up the actions of virtue" (Yonge, *Works of Philo*, 50).

[14] This same pattern of birthing and abiding (or producing and abiding) occurs in *Odes Sol.* 11:1–3 (ca. 100–125 C.E.): "My heart was pruned . . . and it produced fruits for the Lord . . . and I ran in the Way in his peace, in the way of truth" (James H. Charlesworth, "Odes of Solomon," *OTP* 2:744). Notice the agricultural reproductive metaphor.

[15] The idea of children as "fruit of the womb" (MT: פְּרִי־בֶטֶן; cf.LXX: ἔκγονα τῆς κοιλίας; καρπὸν κοιλίας) is not unfamiliar in Judaism (Gen 30:2; Deut 7:13; 28:4, 11, 18, 53; 30:9; Isa 13:18; *Jub.* 20:9; 28:16; *L.A.B.* 50:2; 55:4; cf. Hos 9:16; Luke 1:42; *2 Bar.* 62:5; 73:7; *T. Ab.* 6:5; 8:6; *2 En.* 71:11). See also *Plant.* 134–38, where Philo uses the terms "fruit of the soul" (ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς καρπός) and "offspring of the soul" (τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς γέννημα) interchangeably in reference to Issachar. In this allegory, Leah represents "a rational and virtuous nature," while her sons, Judah and Issachar respectively represent "the mind which blesses God" and "the reward of gratitude." Judah is also called "the holy and praiseworthy fruit" (ἅγιος καὶ αἰνετὸς καρπός). In *Sobr.* 65, Isaac is the "fruit" of Abraham. Philo frequently uses "children" (γεννήματα, παιδεία, ἔγγονα) and "fruit" (καρπός) interchangeably as a metaphor for virtues, just as he uses "childbearing" (τίκτειν, τικτόμενος) and "fruit bearing" (καρποφόρος, καρποτόκα) interchangeably for the process of producing virtues (*Mut.* 73, 161, 224; *Somn.* 1.37; 2.75–77, 272; *Spec.* 2.29; *Prob.* 70, 160; *Contempl.* 68; *QG* 1.49; 3.10, 54; *Agr.* 9–11, 23, 25; *Opif.* 154–55; *Leg.* 1.45, 49; *Post* 10; *Sacri.* 103–4; *Gig.* 4; *Deus* 4; *Sobr.* 65; *Migr.* 125, 139–40, 205–6; *Congr.* 6; *Deus* 166, 180; *Plant.* 77, 106, 126, 132, 136).

tive phrase or linking verb, that explicitly shows the equivalence between the four virtues mentioned and the result of childbearing. There would probably be objection to our thesis on this basis; however, absence of such an element in 1 Tim 2:11–15 becomes rather inconsequential in light of a similarly structured passage in the writings of Philo. In *Gig.* 5, a series of virtues is referred to as the "male children" of Noah in contrast to the vices of the disobedient multitudes, which are referred to in typical patriarchal fashion as "female children."

> For since the just Noah had male children (ἀρρενογονεῖ), as a follower of right reason, which is perfect and truly male, the thoroughgoing injustices (ἀδικία πάντως) of the multitudes show them to be bearers of female children (θηλυτόκος).

Here the children of Noah are not literal children, but those virtues which correspond to the nature of reason itself, namely, manliness, justice, perfection, and uprightness.[16] Yet there is no grammatical element that explicitly identifies the children of Noah as these particular virtues. Instead, it is both the immediate and larger literary context of *Gig.* 5 that requires this identification. It is particularly in Philo, *Deus* 117–18, that the children of Noah are most clearly identified as the four virtues mentioned: "For [Moses] says, 'These are *the generations of Noah* (αἱ γενέσεις Νῶε). Noah was a just man, perfect among his generation. Noah was well-pleasing to God.'" Philo then explains that the children (ἔγγονα) of Noah are "the virtues already mentioned" (αἱ προειρημέναι ἀρεταί) here in Gen 6:9, namely, "the being a man, the being just, the being perfect, the being well-pleasing to God" (τὸ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι, τὸ τέλειον εἶναι, τὸ Θεῷ εὐαρεστῆσαι).[17] Philo makes explicit in this passage what was implicit in *Gig.* 5. In a similar manner, it is the immediate and larger literary context of 1 Tim 2:11–15 that creates the equivalence between *children* and *virtues* in this passage (e.g., 1 Tim 1:5–6, 19; 2:10; 4:12; 2 Tim 2:22; Titus 2:11–12). In the case of 1 Tim 2:11–15, however, it is also the larger religio-philosophical context of the entire epistle that drives us toward this identification, as we shall see.

[16] See Philo, *Mut.* 189: Arphaxad, the child of Noah (Gen 11:10) is "the offspring of the soul" (ἔγγονον ψυχῆς). He represents that virtue which destroys iniquity.

[17] In *Gig.* 5, Noah "had male children" (ἀρρενογονεῖ) who are associated with reason, which is "truly male" (ἄρρενα ὄντος). In the cognate passage, *Deus* 117–18, Noah is "a just man" (ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος) and "the being a man" (τὸ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι) is one of his virtues. The terms ἄνθρωπος and τὸ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι could very well be rendered "human" and "the being human" or "that he was human." However, context seems to limit the sense of ἄνθρωπος and ἄνθρωπον to "man," especially since the terms are so closely associated with ἄρρην and refer specifically to the male Noah and the virtues that are his offspring.

III. 1 Timothy 2:11–15 as Allegory

Recognition of the allegorical character of 1 Tim 2:11–15 is forced by the author's appropriation of Gen 3:1–21, particularly his use of the names Adam and Eve, and the apparent equivalence that the author creates between the singular pronoun "she," and the plural "they" in v. 15.

> Yet *she* will be saved (σωθήσεται) through childbearing, if *they* continue (μείνωσιν) in faith, and love, and holiness with temperance.

"They" refers either to "she," "her children," or "Adam and Eve" in this verse. If "they" refers to "she," then the two pronouns can only be understood as metaphorical references to the women of the Ephesian congregation. Since "Eve" in this literary context is the antecedent of "she," this name can also be understood only as a metaphorical reference to the women of the Ephesian congregation. Similarly, the remark about "the woman" (ἡ γυνή) who was deceived and fell into transgression becomes a metaphorical reference to the same collective. "Adam," then, by contrast, can only be a metaphorical reference to the men of the Ephesian congregration, particularly those functioning as leaders and teachers in the church.

We could then rule out the proposition that the author of 1 Timothy is speaking typologically of "women and men in general." An attentive reading of the epistle shows that the author is ostensibly concerned only with the specific situation of women and men in the church of Ephesus (e.g., 1 Tim 1:3–7, 20; 2:8–10; 3:14–15; 4:16). His use of the Genesis narrative is subordinate to this specific focus and is not an attempt to delineate a universal law of creation based on a prototypical relationship.[18] In all other places where the author draws on the Hebrew Scriptures, it is an ostensibly context-specific application (1 Tim 5:18; 2 Tim 2:19; 3:8, 16).[19]

If "they" refers to "her children," then we have the strange idea of Eve's salvation being dependent on the piety of her progeny. This idea has no support anywhere in biblical tradition.[20] In fact, it is inconsistent with Deut 24:16, Jer 31:29–30, and Ezek 18:1–4. Even stranger, we would have Adam exempt from a requirement for salvation imposed only upon Eve.

If "they" refers to "Adam and Eve," then Eve's salvation becomes depen-

[18] See Padgett, "Wealthy Women at Ephesus," 25: "It is these particular women rather than women in general that Paul was not allowing authority over men, nor teaching positions, in the church services (v. 12)."

[19] The vast majority of NT scholars agree that 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, and Titus are the work of a single author; see I. Howard Marshall and Philip H. Towner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 1–2.

[20] See James D. G. Dunn, "The First and Second Letters to Timothy and the Letter to Titus," *NIB* 11:802, esp. n. 56; see also Bassler, *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus*, 61.

dent on childbearing and on both her piety and Adam's piety. Meanwhile, Adam's salvation is dependent only on his own piety. These also are ideas that have no precedent in biblical tradition.[21]

The metaphorical or, as I would more specifically argue, allegorical interpretation offers the least difficulties in the context of biblical tradition. Furthermore, understanding "she," "they," "the woman," and "Eve" as equivalent references to the women of the Ephesian church coheres with an understanding of 1 Tim 2:8–3:11 as instruction for local women.[22] Moreover, this is not the only place in the Pauline corpus where allegorical interpretations occur (Rom 11:17–24; 1 Cor 10:1–11; 13:4–7; Gal 4:22–27; Eph 6:12–17).[23]

The author of 1 Tim 2:11–15, therefore, uses the names "Adam" and "Eve" as metaphors respectively for the male teachers and leaders of the Ephesian congregation, on the one hand, and its apparently wealthy female members, on the other (1 Tim 2:9).[24] As "Adam" was "formed first" (πρῶτος ἐπλάσθη) in Gen 2:7–25, so the male teachers and leaders of the Ephesian church were formed first in Christ before the women. The seniority of the male teachers and leaders in Christ becomes the author's reason for affirming their authority over those women of Ephesus who were far less mature in terms of their Christian development (not the authority of every man over every woman).[25] It was because of

[21] See William D. Mounce, *The Pastoral Epistles* (WBC 46; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2000), 147.

[22] See David M. Scholer, "1 Timothy 2:9–15 and the Place of Women in the Church's Ministry," in *Women, Authority, and the Bible* (ed. Alvera Mickelsen; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1986), 196: "Eve (v. 13) represents woman (v. 14)/women (vv. 9, 10, 11); thus, the grammatically natural shift in verse 15 from the singular (woman as womankind) to the plural (individual women)." Cf. also Gordon D. Fee, *Gospel and Spirit: Issues in New Testament Hermeneutics* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 59: "That is exactly the point of 5:15—such deception of women by 'Satan' has already been repeated in the church in Ephesus." Both Scholer and Fee imply a metaphorical understanding of Eve in 1 Tim 2:11–15, although they do not use terms like metaphorical, figurative, or allegorical. Both, however, stop short of a metaphorical reading of "childbearing" in 2:15.

[23] Even though Paul uses the terms τύποι (1 Cor 10:6) and τυπικῶς (1 Cor 10:11) to describe the relation of a section of the wilderness narrative (Exod 14:10–32:35) to the Corinthian believers, his application is still an ἀλληγορία (cf. ἀλληγορούμενα in Gal 4:24), since he is interpreting the past in light of his present, just as he does with the story of Sarah and Hagar in Gal 4:22–27. For an allegorical characterization of 1 Cor 10:4 and context, see Dawson, *Allegorical Readers*, 8. For an opposing typological interpretation of 1 Cor 10:1–13, see Davidson, *Typology in Scripture*, 287, 290. For Davidson, τύπος and τυπικῶς in 1 Cor 10 seemingly come close to having "specialized, technical meaning as hermeneuical terms." This, however, would probably be reading too much into Paul's use of these terms.

[24] Nor is this the only place in the Pastoral Epistles where metaphorical language is used. See 2 Tim 2:3–6, 20–21; 4:6–8, although in these other places they are not allegorical usages, strictly speaking.

[25] Contra Collins, *I & II Timothy and Titus*, 77; and Bassler, *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus*, 60–61. Collins feels that the author of 1 Timothy is referring to "women in general," particularly

their immaturity in Christ that these women were being deceived by false teachers, just as Eve was deceived by the serpent. They were therefore called on to submit in silence to the instruction of more seasoned, genuine leaders. These basic points have already been persuasively argued by Padgett and affirmed by Perriman.[26]

IV. A Postnatal Relationship in Literary Context

Padgett's and Perriman's metaphorical interpretations appear more feasible and defensible than Richard Clark Kroeger and Catherine Clark Kroeger's treatment of 1 Tim 2:11–15, which is based on rather loose reinterpretations of αὐθεντεῖν and ἡσυχίᾳ (1 Tim 2:12). Rather than understand αὐθεντεῖν as "to usurp authority over," the Clark Kroegers argue for translating the term as "to proclaim oneself as author of"; and rather than understand ἡσυχίᾳ as "to be in silence," they translate the word as "to be in conformity" or "to keep something a secret," so that 2:12 may be rendered:

> I do not permit a woman to teach nor to represent herself as originator of man but she is to be in conformity [with the scriptures] [or that she keeps it a secret]. For Adam was created first, then Eve.[27]

The author is therefore countervailing the Gnostic teaching that Eve was the creator of Adam.[28] While interesting, the Clark Kroegers' reinterpretations of αὐθεντεῖν and ἡσυχίᾳ appear rather forced.[29]

The Clark Kroegers, however, are helpful in exposing a possible Gnostic or at least proto-Gnostic presence in the background of 1 Timothy.[30] The term "proto-Gnostic" may be more appropriate, since we first know of a full-blown Gnosticism only from second- to fourth-century texts.[31] Passages such as 1 Tim 1:3–6, 20; 5:11–15; 6:20; 2 Tim 2:14–18; 3:6–9; 4:14 (cf. Titus 3:9) are fre-

---

with his statement "she will be saved." Bassler, too, feels that the author of 1 Timothy is addressing the behavior and weaknesses of women in general.

[26] I am grateful to Professor Alan Padgett for personally providing bibliographic information concerning his own work as well as the work of Fee, Perriman, and Porter, all cited in this present article.

[27] Richard Clark Kroeger and Catherine Clark Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman: Rethinking 1 Timothy 2:11–15 in Light of Ancient Evidence* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992), 103, 192.

[28] Ibid., 103, 121.

[29] For an incisive critique of the Clark Kroegers' argument, see Perriman, "What Eve Did," 132–38; see also Marshall and Towner, *Pastoral Epistles*, 457–66; and Walter L. Liefield's response to Catherine Clark Kroeger in *Women, Authority, and the Bible*, ed. Mickelsen, 244–48.

[30] Clark Kroeger and Clark Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 60, 66.

[31] *NHL*, 2, 16.

quently cited as possible indicators of an incipient Gnosticism in the Ephesian environment.[32] This recognition of a possible proto-Gnostic presence suggests a direction of interpretation different from that taken by Padgett, Perriman, and others, and even from the Clark Kroegers themselves in regard to being "saved through childbearing."[33]

Padgett, who renders the phrase "saved through childbirth," sees the passage as a reference to Gen 3:15. The "child" is primarily the seed of Eve and, in the context of 1 Timothy, perhaps an "oblique reference" to the child of Mary of Nazareth. Padgett indicates, however, that any allusion to Mary and her child is uncertain and at best tangential. In the end, the women of the Ephesian congregation are encouraged to reject the heretical doctrines of the snakelike false teachers, return to the marriage bed and resume childbearing.[34]

Perriman, too, sees in 1 Tim 2:15 an allusion to Gen 3:15. However, childbearing is only a "synecdoche" for a series of "good works," such as, "childrearing, hospitality to strangers, washing the feet of the saints, helping the afflicted," alluded to in 2:10 and 5:9–10.[35] Still, in Perriman's discussion, the literal birthing of children remains the root meaning of childbearing in 1 Tim 2:15.

Stanley E. Porter argues that the author "equates a woman's earthly function of bearing children with her eschatological or salvific reward."[36] By so doing the author of the epistle is countering an ascetic tendency and women's neglect of their domestic roles (1 Tim 4:3). He endorses the resumption of normal relations, including those that result in childbirth.[37] Despite our discomfort, "the author of 1 Timothy apparently believed that for the woman who abides in faith, love, and holiness, her salvation will come by the bearing of children."[38]

The Clark Kroegers particularly see in 1 Tim 2:15 a repudiation of Gnostic doctrines forbidding childbearing. They observe: "Women are acceptable to God within their childbearing function and need not change their sexual iden-

[32] Clark Kroeger and Clark Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 59–63; *NHL*, 4.

[33] See Padgett, "Wealthy Women," 21; and Perriman, "What Eve Did," 133. Padgett, nevertheless, suggests that ascetic tendencies referred to in 1 Timothy may be behind the Gnosticism of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* and other apocryphal acts and therefore may be "a precursor to Gnosticism arising from heterodox Judaism." In response to the Clark Kroegers' description of false teaching in Ephesus, Perriman observes that "it is quite possible that there were Gnostic elements in it and that women played a prominent role in its dissemination."

[34] Padgett, "Wealthy Women," 27–29.

[35] Perriman, "What Eve Did," 140–41.

[36] Stanley E. Porter, "What Does It Mean to be 'Saved by Childbirth' (1 Timothy 2:15)," *JSNT* 49 (1993): 101.

[37] Ibid., 102; see also Bassler, who makes a similar point (*1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus*, 61).

[38] Porter, "What Does It Mean," 102.

tity to find salvation." They find it best to render the statement as, "she shall be saved within the childbearing function" to emphasize that "woman can be saved while she still possesses that distinctive which most decisively sets her apart from man."[39]

For Simon Coupland, only one interpretation makes sense in the context of 1 Timothy and Pauline and Deutero-Pauline teaching on salvation through faith in Christ, and that is to take the prepositional object of διά in 1 Tim 2:15 as a genitive of place rather than agency. In this case, the term διά refers to "difficult circumstances through which women must pass." The author of 1 Timothy is saying that women will be saved *despite* the pain they suffer from bearing children as long as they continue in "faith, love, holiness, and chastity." Coupland observes that it is therefore not childbearing or the pain of childbearing that saves, but "being in Christ."[40]

These interpretations all suppose that τεκνογονία is a reference to the literal act of childbearing.[41] One of two consequences results: either a wedge is driven between "childbearing" and salvation for women so that the one does not really have anything to do with the other, or salvation for women is made dependent on childbearing literally understood.[42] Both options pose a problem in the context of 1 Timothy. The author does indeed appear to connect the salvation of women to childbearing, but the idea is at odds with the rest of Pauline thought when it is taken literally.

[39] Clark Kroeger and Clark Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 177, 176.

[40] Simon Coupland, "Salvation through Childbearing? The Riddle of 1 Timothy 2:15," *ExpTim* 112 (2001): 302–3. Coupland succinctly describes the legacy of difficulty that has been bequeathed to modern scholarship by this passage: "New Testament scholars have long been bewildered or bemused by the enigmatic remark in 1 Timothy 2:15. . . . This bewilderment is reflected by the marginal notes in some translations. . . . The theological problem posed by the verse is obvious. How could the author . . . suggest that salvation could come not through faith in Christ alone, but through the 'work' of childbearing?" Furthermore, Coupland is correct that previous christological, physiological, and traditional interpretations of the remark are inconsistent with Pauline and Deutero-Pauline thought.

[41] As also supposed by Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 49. For them, the author of 1 Timothy is here advocating preservation of the natural order against "syncretistic and ascetic tendencies and movements." Literal childbearing here is supposed also by Luke Timothy Johnson (*The First and Second Letters to Timothy: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 35A; New York: Doubleday, 2001], 207–8), Thomas R. Schreiner ("An Interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:9–15: A Dialogue with Scholarship," in *Women in the Church*, ed. Köstenberger et al., 150–51), and Collins (*I & II Timothy and Titus*, 76), who says, "The Pastor reaffirms the traditional maternal role of women."

[42] It is clear that the author's statement in 1 Tim 2:15 is an answer to the problem of Eve's transgression (παράβασις) mentioned in 1 Tim 2:14. Despite the echo of Gen 3:16, there is no evidence at all that he or his audience is concerned about the pain women feel when giving birth. The central question is, How will the transgressor "Eve" be saved? The answer is, "through childbearing." Narrative flow and context leave us little choice but to read the prepositional object of διά as a genitive of agency, contrary to Coupland.

A better solution to the problem of salvation for women through childbearing appears when we extend Padgett's and Perriman's metaphorical interpretations to include the reference to "childbearing." There is more here than a symbolic use of Adam and Eve; there is a nonliteral use of the image of childbearing as well. In other words, the whole of 1 Tim 2:11–15 is nonliteral or metaphorical. As we shall argue, the term "childbearing" refers only to birthing the virtues of faith, love, holiness, and temperance.[43] We therefore see a postnatal relationship between the four virtues of 2:15 and those women of Ephesus who will be saved. We shall contend that there was nothing strange about this use of the term τεκνογονία in the world of the author and audience of 1 Timothy.

V. Virtues as Children in Gnosticism and Greek Mythology

The idea of virtues and vices as children is a commonplace in the Gnostic literature of a later period. In *Orig. World* 106–7, for example, the vices are *begotten* by the archon Death:

> Then Death, being androgynous, mingled with his (own) nature and begot seven androgynous offspring. These are the names of the male ones: Jealousy, Wrath, Tears, Sighing, Suffering, Lamentation, Bitter Weeping. And these are the names of the female ones: Wrath, Pain, Lust, Sighing, Curse, Bitterness, Quarrelsomeness. They had intercourse with one another, and each one begot seven, so that they amount to forty-nine androgynous demons.[44]

On the other hand, the virtues are *created* by the archon Zoe:

> And in the presence of these, Zoe, who was with Sabaoth, created seven good androgynous forces. These are the names of the male ones: the Unenvious, the Blessed, the Joyful, the True, the Unbegrudging, the Beloved, the Trustworthy. Also, as regards the female ones, these are their names: Peace, Glad-

[43] In Prov 8:32–36 we have the converse idea. Instead of humans giving birth to virtues, it is the virtue wisdom (חכמה, σοφία) that has given birth to humans. Also in Philo, *Conf.* 49, wisdom is the mother of the wise. However, in Philo, *Fug.* 50–52, Bethuel is the father of Rebekah, yet his name means "the daughter of God," an appellation for wisdom. Philo asks, "How can wisdom, the daughter of God, be called a father?" Philo explains that even though wisdom is the daughter of God, it is both male and a father in that it sows the seeds of learning, education, knowledge, prudence, and begets (γεννῶντα) in the soul "good and praiseworthy practices." See also *Corp. herm.* 13.2, where Hermes Trismegistus explains the doctrine of spiritual rebirth. Tat, his son and pupil, complains, "I do not know from what womb a human being is born again, nor from what seed." Hermes responds, "O son, Wisdom is the womb which gives birth in silence, and the seed is the true Good."

[44] Trans. Hans-Gebhard Bethge and Bentley Layton, "On the Origin of the World (II, 5 and XIII, 2)," in *NHL*, 177.

> ness, Rejoicing, Blessedness, Truth, Love, Faith (Pistis). And from these there are many good and innocent spirits.[45]

Given the parallelism between these two acts of generation and the characteristic "birthing" theme in Gnostic texts, there is no reason to think that the creation of these virtues by Zoe occurs by some means other than birthing. In these two cases, however, the vices and virtues are children of archonic beings and are themselves hypostatized into archonic beings.

The idea of birthing *vices* recurs in *Paraph. Shem* 23:30, where it is said of the wind demons that "they gave birth to all kinds of unchastity."[46] The idea of birthing *virtues* recurs in *Exeg. Soul* 134:30 saying, "Thus when the soul [had adorned] herself again in her beauty [...] enjoyed her beloved, and [he also] loved her . . . so that by him she bears good children and rears them."[47] In context, "bearing and rearing good children" benefits the soul with "her rejuvenation," "resurrection from the dead," "ascent to heaven," "being born again," and "salvation" (*Exeg. Soul* 134). The children of the soul in this context can only be virtues.

Even though this language represents a late stage of development in Gnostic thought, it is reasonable to presume that the Gnostic idea of virtues and vices as children had at least an inchoate form in the environment of 1 Timothy. This is especially so if there was an inchoate form of Gnosticism in the environment of 1 Timothy, as 1 Tim 6:20, with its reference to "what is falsely called γνώσεως" would seem to indicate.

However, one need not look only to Gnosticism to find the idea of virtues and vices as children. In Greek mythology, the virtues Diké, Eirene, and Eunomia (Δίκη, Ἐιρήνη, and Ἐυνομία, Justice, Peace, and Order) along with Horae (Ὧραι, Hours) were the daughters of the chief god Zeus and the titanide Themis.[48] Furthermore, the Three Graces—Euphrosyne, Aglaia, and Thalia (Ἐυφροσύνη, Ἀγλαΐα and Θαλία, Merriment, Beauty, and Cheerfulness) were the daughters of Zeus and the titanide Eurynome (Hesiod, *Theog.* 909).[49] One cannot help but be struck by the formal similarity between the terms Euphrosyne and sophrosyne (σωφροσύνη, 1 Tim 2:15).[50] We also find fourteen vices

[45] Ibid.

[46] Trans. Frederick Wisse, "The Paraphrase of Shem (VII, *1*)," in *NHL*, 351.

[47] Trans. William C. Robinson, "The Exegesis of the Soul (II, *6*)," in *NHL*, 196.

[48] In *Theog.* 218–19 Zeus and Themis were also the progenitors of the Three Fates—Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos. See also *Theog.* 76–79, where Zeus and Mnemosyne are the progenitors of the Nine Muses—Cleio, Euterpe, Thaleia, Melpomena, Terpsichore, Erato, Polyhymnia, Urania, and Calliope. All anglicized spellings of names in the *Theogony* are from the Loeb translation by H. G. Evelyn-White.

[49] Cf. Philo, *Somn.* 2.174 on *euphrosynē*, and *Abr.* 54 on the three graces.

[50] The term εὔφρων, a root of εὐφροσύνη means "sound mind, reasonable," which is very close to the meaning of σωφροσύνη, "temperance, sound-mindedness."

and other negative entities that were the children of the goddess Strife (Ἔρις, Eris), namely, Toil, Forgetfulness, Famine, Sorrows, Fightings, Battles, Murders, Manslaughters, Quarrels, Lying Words, Disputes, Lawlessness, Ruin, and Oath (Hesiod, *Theog.* 224–32).[51]

Whether influenced directly by Gnosticism or not, the audience of 1 Timothy, as acculturated Hellenes, would have been familiar with the idea of virtues and vices as children.[52] Most likely the audience of 1 Timothy would have automatically read the meaning of virtues as children into the author's use of τεκνογονία. Such a reading would have been a natural, although metaphorical, interpretation of good works (ἔργα ἀγαθά) for women in 1 Tim 2:10. Oddly, *we* probably would have been spared years of modern exegetical difficulty if the author of 1 Timothy had used the term "fruit bearing" instead of "childbearing" in 2:15.[53] If the author had used the agricultural rather than the more appropriate gynecological metaphor, the postnatal or post-generative relationship between the four virtues and the women in 2:15 would probably have been more readily recognized by modern interpreters.[54] However, we should not suppose that the congregation of Timothy would have had the same difficulities grasping the gynecological metaphor that we seem to have had. After all, women are not fruit trees. Women give birth to children, not fruit. It would then make good cultural sense to speak of metaphorical "Eves" giving birth to metaphorical children. As we shall see, the most prevalent metaphorical use of children in the cultural environment of the Pastoral Epistles was as references

[51] The sire of these entities, if there was one, is not named. Strife herself was the daughter of Night (Νύξ).

[52] See Frances Margaret Young, *The Theology of the Pastoral Letters* (New Testament Theology; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 20–21. Concerning the Pastoral Epistles, Young says, "The Christian communities for which these epistles were intended are certainly to be located in a Hellenistic urban setting. Far more than in the authentic Paulines the vocabulary and allusions betray the assumptions of such a world." Young further observes, "On the other hand, these letters are pervaded by a religious culture that must stem from Hellenistic Judaism."

[53] In the Gnostic tractate *Apoc. Adam* 6:1, a remnant of the descendants of Noah are referred to as "fruit-bearing trees." Cf. *Odes Sol.* 11:16a–21, where the inhabitants of paradise are referred to as "blooming and fruit-bearing trees" (Charlesworth, "Odes of Solomon," in *OTP* 2:745). See also *Pss. Sol.* 14:2–5, where the Lord's "devout ones" are referred to as "the trees of life" (Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," in *OTP* 2:663). See G. MacRae, "Apocalypse of Adam," in OTP 1:715 n. 6c. In *Ebr.* 8, Philo speaks of "virtue and vice" as "neither blossoming nor bearing fruit at the same time." In Philo, *Congr.* 40 Ephraim represents memory but his name means "fruit-bearing" because "the soul of the man who remembers bears as fruit the very things he has learned and loses none of them" (cf. Philo, *Mut.* 98–100; *Sobr.* 28; *Migr.* 205). Particularly in Philo, *Gig.* 4 and *Plant.* 132, 136 the metaphors "children" and "fruit" are used interchangeably. Again, in *L.A.B.* 42.1–3—the story of Manoah and Eluma, the parents of Samson— the terms "children" and "fruit" are used interchangeably (D. J. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," in *OTP* 2:355).

[54] This may be primarily because of the influence of Matt 7:16–20; 12:33; and Gal 5:22–26 on Western thinking.

to virtues. The author of 1 Timothy therefore uses his audience's familiarity with a commonplace idea to introduce a more Christian form of that same idea.

Incidentally, in Gal 4:19, Paul declares that he is in birth-pangs (ὠδίνω) for his children (i.e., "my children," τέκνα μου) until Christ is formed (μορφωθῇ Χριστός) in them.[55] This is not the same idea as Ephesian women giving birth to virtues in 1 Tim 2:15. Still, this verse helps to make a point about the distance between the perspective of ancient writers and our modern sensibilities. If the idea of Ephesian women giving birth to virtues is strange to modern hearers, then it is certainly no stranger than the idea of the male Paul giving birth to Galatian believers who are themselves pregnant with Christ.[56]

VI. Virtues as Children in Philo

Most strikingly, the idea of virtues and vices as children appear in the allegorizing interpretations of Philo.[57] We have already referred to Philo's allegorical interpretation of the story of the Hebrew midwives as soul giving birth to virtue (*Leg.* 3.3), an idea not far from that of a pure heart issuing in virtue in 1 Tim 1:5 (cf. 1 Tim 1:19; 2 Tim 2:22). We have also already referred to Philo's allegorical understanding of the children of Noah as virtues, an understanding similarly implied in 1 Tim 2:15 for the children of the Ephesian women, and similarly made more explicit by context.

Philo interprets other narratives from the Hebrew Scriptures in the same metaphorical way, even to the point of allegorical rewording of patriarchal statements. In *Leg.* 3.180–81, Jacob responds to Rachel's request for children saying, "You have greatly erred, because I am not in the place of God, who alone is able to open *the wombs of souls* (τὰς ψυχῶν μήτρας), and sow virtues (ἀρετάς) in them, and make them to be pregnant (ποιεῖν ἐγκύμονας) and to give birth to good things" (τικτούσας τὰ καλά) (cf. *Leg.* 2.82; *Cher.* 2.45–52).

[55] Cf. Phlm 10, where Paul the Apostle speaks of Onesimus as "*my child* (ἐμοῦ τέκνου), to whom I *gave birth* (ἐγέννησα) while I was imprisoned."

[56] One might make a remote comparison to a somewhat converse idea in Plato's *Resp.* 6: 496A, where the sophisms of incompetent male philosophers are likened to "illegitimate and base children" (γεννᾶν νόθα καὶ φαῦλα).

[57] In *Congr.* 43–44, in his midrash on 1 Chr 7:14 and Gen 11:29, Philo explains his allegorical method. "Let no one in his right mind suppose that the wise lawgiver wrote these things as a historical record (ἱστορικὴ γενεαλογία), for these are matters of the soul (πραγμάτων ψυχήν) which can be explained only through symbolic interpretation (συμβόλων ἀνάπτυξις). When the things named are translated into our own language then we shall know their underlying truth " (cf. *Congr.* 180). Philo refers to allegorical, figurative, metaphorical, or symbolic interpretation numerous times in *Her.* 50; *Deus* 95; *Fug.* 181; *Somn.* 2.207, 260; *Abr.* 99, 131, 147; *Spec.* 1.327; 2.29; *Prob.* 82; *QG* 1.52; 2.36, 37; 3.24, 25, 32; *Opif.* 154–55; *Cher.* 1.21, 25; *Det.* 167; *Post.* 100; *Migr.* 203; *Agr.* 97, 157; and *Plant.* 36.

Elsewhere, Philo interprets Sarah's birthing of Isaac in terms of virtue (ἀρετῇ) giving birth (τέτοκεν) to happiness (εὐδαιμονία), that is, as virtue giving birth to virtue (*Leg.* 2.82). Philo affirms the birth of virtue even while condemning that which is antithetical to virtue. In *Leg.* 3.68, God curses the serpent, which represents pleasure (ἡδονή) because "she does *not possess in the womb* (οὐκ ἐχούσῃ) any seed of virtue, but is always and everywhere full of guilt and pollution."

Sarah returns as "the virtue that rules over my soul" in *Congr.* 6. She "bears children without the aid of a midwife" (ὡς μηδὲ μαιευτικῆς τέχης). Those children (τὰ γεννήματα) are identified as "the practice of prudence, the practice of justice, and the practice of piety" (τὸ φρονεῖν, τὸ δικαιοπραγεῖν, τὸ εὐσεβεῖν). Earlier in this same context her children are identified as "honorable words, irreproachable counsels, and praiseworthy practices" (λόγους δὲ ἀστείους καὶ βουλὰς ἀνεπιλήπτους καὶ ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις) (*Congr.* 4). Philo draws a contrast between Sarah's children and the many vices of his own youth. He describes these vices as the "multitude of *illegitimate children* (νόθων παίδων) which were *born in* (ἀπεκύησαν) me through vain imaginations (κεναὶ δόξαι)." Sarah's children, on the other hand, are "the firstfruits" (τὰς ἀπαρχάς) rendered back to God who "opened her womb" (μήτραν ἀνοιξαντι) (cf. *Congr.* 98; *Mut.* 77–79; *Abr.* 99).

In *Congr.* 13–23, Hagar, the handmaiden of Sarah, represents "education" (παιδεία) or "the middle education of the intermediate and encyclical branches of knowledge" (τὴν τῶν μέσων καὶ ἐγκυκλιων ἐπιστημῶν μέσην παιδείαν). Her children then are "abundant learning and intelligence" (πολυμάθειαν καὶ καταφρονητικῶς). As Abraham did not have a child by Sarah until after he had a child by Hagar, so the human soul cannot *produce the offspring* (τεκνοποιήσῃ) of virtue until it has produced the offspring of education.

In *Her.* 50, Leah represents that case "when the soul is *pregnant and begins to give birth* (κυοφορῇ καὶ τίκτειν ἄρχηται) to that which is proper for the soul," while Rachel represents "all that of the senses which is barren and *incapable of bearing children* (ἀτοκεῖ) (cf. *Mut.* 132–33; *Plant.* 134–37).

In *Leg.* 3.88–89, Rebekah is "the soul that waits on God." When God tells her that "two nations are in your womb," the meaning is that the soul contains both "that which is base and irrational" (τὸ φαῦλον καὶ ἄλογον) and "that which is honorable and rational and better" (τὸ ἀστεῖον καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἄμεινον). The birth of Esau and Jacob therefore represents the soul giving birth respectively to vice and virtue (cf. *Congr.* 129; *Sacr.* 4).

In Philo's allegory of Adam and Eve, Adam represents Mind (νόος) while Eve represents "sense-perception" (αἴσθησις). Each one bears "offspring" (ἔκγονα), "the offspring of the Mind being the things of mind (τὰ νοητά), and the offspring of sense-perception being the things of the senses (τὰ αἰσθητά)" (*Leg.* 3.198; cf. *QG* 1.37; *Cher.* 2.60). Philo interprets God's word to Eve, "In

sorrow you shall bring forth children" (ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα) (Gen 3:16) to mean that sense produces perception with great pain, especially for the foolish (*Leg.* 3.216; cf. *Leg.* 1.75). But when God says in Gen 3:16, "And you shall take refuge in your husband" (Καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἡ ἀποστροφή σου), the meaning is that sense has two husbands, Mind and Pleasure, "the one lawful, and the other an *abortioner*" (ὁ μεν νόμιμος, ὁ δὲ φθορεύς) (*Leg.* 3.220).[58] But when sense turns to Mind, "her lawful husband" (τὸν νόμιμον ἄνδρα), then "there are great benefits" (μεγίστη ἐστὶν ὠφέλεια) (*Leg.* 3.221). In the context of Philo's thought, these "great benefits" are nothing less than the birth of virtue, such as occurred when Sarah (virtue) gave birth to Isaac (happiness) (*Leg.* 3.217).

Philo, when considered together with Greek mythology, further shows that the idea of virtues and vices (ἀρετὰς καὶ κακίας) as children was not peculiar to strictly Gnostic or proto-Gnostic thought. It was a feature of Hellenistic thinking generally speaking.[59] More importantly, Philo shows that the idea of virtues and vices as children particularly of the soul occurred in the context of biblical exegesis of the Genesis narrative (e.g., *Leg.* 3.246–47) and was in currency at the time of 1 Timothy and before.[60] It is also of great relevance that it is not gods, goddesses, or archons that give birth to the virtues in Philo's midrash but mostly the human heroines of Israel's history—Eve, Sarah, Hagar, Rebekah, Leah, Rachel, and the enslaved Hebrew women of Egypt.[61] Furthermore, in Philo the virtues themselves are not hypostatized into gods, goddesses, or archons, but remain the inward dispositions and *outward expressions* of the

[58] Cf. "the one lawful, the other a seducer" (Colson and Whitaker, LCL, 451) and "The one a legal one, the other a destroyer" (Yonge, *Works of Philo*, 75).

[59] Hellenistic influence may explain the transition from "her works" (τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς) in Matt 11:19 to "all of her children" (πάντων τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς) in Luke 7:35, "But wisdom is justified by *all of her children*." Typical Hellenes would understand this as a reference to wisdom (σοφία) as a virtue of the soul *giving birth* to other virtues or virtuous works (cf. Philo, *Congr.* 129; *Fug.* 50–52). The idea is not altogether foreign to Judaism either (Prov 8:19; Wis 8:7; *Let. Aris.* 260; cf. Jas 3:17). Here in Luke, mother wisdom apparently gives birth to temperance (σωφροσύνη) in the soul of John, and to love or friendship (φιλία) in the soul of Jesus. In any case, Luke 7:35 is another place in the NT where we discover the idea of virtues as children. The intertextual transition from "her works" in Matt 11:19 to "all of her children" in Luke 7:35 seems to be paralleled by the *intra*textual transition from "good works" in 1 Tim 2:10 to "childbearing" in 1 Tim 2:15. For a different reading, see Simon Gathercole, "The Justification of Wisdom (Matt 11.19b/Luke 7.35)," *NTS* 49 (2003): 476–88. Gathercole argues for Jesus and John as "children" or "envoys" of "Lady Wisdom" and particularly for Luke 7:35 as Jesus' bitter complaint against those who dissociate him and John from Wisdom's commissioning.

[60] Philo also interprets "children" as a metaphorical reference to the senses—sight, hearing, smelling, and feeling (*QG* 1.49).

[61] However, in *Ebr.* 165, the daughters of Lot themselves are allegorized as Counsel (βουλή) and Assent (συναίνεσις).

soul.[62] There is both precedent and background for the listing of faith, love, holiness, and temperance as the products of "childbearing" by earthly women in 1 Tim 2:11–15.

VII. Virtues as Children in Plato

The idea of the human soul *giving birth* to virtues or vices is characteristically Platonic. In *Symp.* 206C, Diotima, the wise woman of Mantineia, declares, "All people are pregnant (κυοῦσι), Socrates, both in body and soul."[63] Again, in *Symposium*, virtues born of the soul are specifically referred to as *children* in contrast to human children literally understood. As Diotima says to Socrates concerning the Athenian statesman, Solon, and other benefactors:

> And Solon is honored among you because *he gave birth* to the laws, and so are many other men in many other places, among both Hellenes and barbarians, who performed many good works, and *gave birth to a multitude of virtues* (γεννήσαντες παντοίαν ἀρετήν). In their names many shrines have been built because *they had such children* (γέγονε διὰ τοὺς τοιούτους παῖδας), but none of them has been so honoured for having *human children* (διὰ τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους). (*Symp.* 209D–E)

In this same context, Diotima explains to Socrates that those who are "pregnant in their souls . . . further *conceive and bear . . . wisdom and the other virtues*" and "everyone would prefer *to have such children born to him rather than human children*" (*Symp.* 209A–D).[64]

In Plato, then, we find a natalistic concept of virtue. Virtues are birthed by the soul just as children are birthed by women. Accordingly, the soul is referred to as "she" (αὐτή) in Platonic thought regardless of whether the soul resides in

[62] Augustine will later criticize the Roman practice of hypostatizing virtues and vices into divine or semidivine beings in *Civ.* 4.20–24. Pseudo-Phocylides had much earlier rejected the Greek practice of making a god out of *eros*, which he instead characterized as a dangerous vice (Ps.-Phoc. 194).

[63] In *Congr.* 129, Philo refers to "souls which are pregnant with wisdom" and ready to "bring forth children." The same idea is found in *QG* 3.10: "For every rational soul bears good fruit or is fruitful" (trans. Ralph Marcus, LCL, 194). In *Det.* 127, "the mind becomes pregnant and labors to give birth to the things of mind." In *Migr.* 140, Sarah represents "the soul that appears to be pregnant."

[64] Of course, the context of Plato's narrative in this case is the celebration of pederastic relationships, in which communion between an older male teacher and a younger male pupil results in "a much greater fellowship than those who have children together" (*Symp.* 209C). Aristotle, Philo, and Paul would have condemned such a relationship (see Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 7.5.3; 7.7.7; Philo, *Spec.* 3.39; and Rom 1:26–27; 1 Cor 6:9; cf. 1 Tim 1:10). Also see Philo, *Contempl.* 57–61, for his scathing critique of this aspect of Plato's *Symposium*.

the body of a male or female.[65] As Socrates questions Cebes, "Whatever the soul occupies, *she* always comes to it bringing life?" He questions again, "Then soul will never receive the opposite to that which *she* brings?" (*Phaed.* 105D; cf. 106B, 107C).[66] As we have seen, in Philo we have both a natalistic and generative concept of virtue, that is to say, a use of both the gynecological and agricultural reproductive metaphors.[67] Both concepts and metaphors express the same Platonic idea in Philo.

A contrasting view is provided by Aristotle.[68] In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle argues for an active or kinetic concept of virtue. Virtue is more what one does; it is not just what one gives birth to within the soul.[69] However, although Aristotle avoids natalistic language, he is not altogether free of generative elements in this discourse about virtue. In *Eth. nic.* 4.3.33–34, Aristotle speaks of "the high-minded man" (μεγαλόψυχος) as "one who would rather possess things that are good and *bear no fruit* (ἄκαρπα), rather than things that are *fruit bearing* (καρπίμων) and cause others to be obligated to him; for in this way he would retain his autonomy."[70]

There is no question about Plato's influence on Philo and the Gnostics, particularly in regard to the idea of virtues as children.[71] Plato himself was most

[65] Philo refers to the soul as mother and nurse (μήτηρ καὶ τροφός) (*Somn.* 2.139). Philo also speaks of "the womb of the soul" (τῆς ψυχῆς μήτρας) (*Migr.* 34) without regard to the gender of the body.

[66] The English translation is from *The Complete Texts of Great Dialogues of Plato* (trans. W. H. D. Rouse; New York: Plume Books, 1961), 584. Rouse's translation preserves the feminine pronoun, unlike those of H. N. Fowler (LCL, 363–64) and *Phaedo,* trans. G. M. A. Grube, in *Plato: Complete Works*, ed. Cooper and Hutchinson, 90–91.

[67] Even in Philo, *Deus* 117–18, where it is Noah who gives birth to virtues, the metaphor is still gynecological, because it is not really Noah but his soul that gives birth. In a large part of Hellenistic thought, the soul is female.

[68] In *Somn.* 167–68, Philo seems to take a mediating stance between the Platonic and Aristotelian schools in the debate over whether virtue comes by nature, practice, or learning. In *Abr.* 52, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob respectively represent all three means of acquiring virtue (cf. Philo, *Ios.* 1).

[69] See Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 6.13.1–8, Aristotle acknowledges that virtues may be innate qualities, but we only recognize them as virtues when they take the form of action; and in order for them properly to take the form of action, they must be governed by reason.

[70] See *Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Hippocrates G. Apostle (Grinnell: Peripatetic Press, 1984), 69. Apostle's translation preserves the agricultural reproductive metaphor, unlike H. Rackham's in the Loeb edition.

[71] Plato's influence is pervasive in the Gnostic texts, but more specifically in places such as *Plato Rep* 588A–589B in *NHL*, 318–20; and perhaps in *Exeg. Soul* 127, 134; *Teach. Silv.* 99; *Val. Exp.* 37, 39; *Tri. Trac.* 75–77; *Great Pow.* 43–44. The influence of Homer and Hesiod is also pervasive in the Gnostic texts, but is probably more specifically indicated in the occurrences of names like Asclepius, Hades, Cerberus, Zeus, and Tartaros in *Asclepius* 21–29, 75; *Great Pow.* 37, 41, 42;

likely influenced in this regard by the mythology of Homer and Hesiod, among others;[72] Philo and the Gnostics also show direct influence by Homer and Hesiod, among others.[73] There are, however, no clear, unequivocal indications of direct influence by either Homer, Hesiod, Plato, or Philo anywhere in the Pauline corpus.[74] Yet there is no denying the influence of these writers in the Hellenistic world of the Pauline epistles. Therefore, even if there is only an indirect influence, that influence is reflected in the ideas of natalistic or generative virtue in the undisputed and disputed Pauline epistles.[75]

Plato Rep 49; *Interp. Know.* 13. However, in *Exeg. Soul* 136, 137 we have actual citations of the *Odyssey*.

[72] He was at least influenced by Homer in regard to the use of natalistic language. In Plato, *Theaet.* 152E, Socrates dialogues with Theaetetus the mathematician about the ambivalent, transitory, flux-like character of reality as it is described in the philosophy of Heraclitus. Among others, he associates Homer with Heraclitus, saying, "And when Homer spoke of 'Oceanus and Tethys, father and mother of the gods (θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα)' he meant that all things were the *children of flux and motion* (ἔκγονα ῥοῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως)" (cf. Homer, *Il.* 14.201–2, 246). See also *Tim.* 40E–41A and *Crat.* 402B–C for more natalistic language involving Oceanus and Tethys. The influence of Homer and Hesiod on Plato is indicated in *Crat.* 396B–C; 397E–398A; 402 B–C; *Lysis* 215C; *Min.* 318E–319D; *Menex* 238A; *Leg.* 2.658D and numerous other places in his writings.

[73] E.g., Philo, *Aet.* 17, 18 (cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 116). Here Philo reports that some people think that Hesiod was the "father" of Platonic thought. See also *Aet.* 37 (cf. Homer, *Od.* 6.107); 132 (cf. Homer, *Il.* 6.147*); Migr.* 156 (cf. *Il.* 6.484); 195 (cf. *Od.* 4.392); *Contempl.* 40–41 (cf. *Od.* 9.355); *Legat.* 80 (cf. *Od.* 4.363); and *QG* 3.3 (cf. *Od.* 12.183–94); 3.16 (cf. *Od.* 14.258).

[74] However, see the citations of Menander (343–292 B.C.E.) in 1 Cor 15:33 and Epimenides (ca. 600 B.C.E.) or Callimachus in Titus 1:12. There may be another citation of Epimenides in Acts 17:28a, and one of Aratus (ca. 315–240 B.C.E.) or perhaps Cleanthes (ca. 330–231 B.C.E.) in Acts 17:28b. Note the natalistic language of this last citation. "For we are his offspring" (Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν). Cf. Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus* 4, ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος εἴσι.

[75] After recounting a series of postresurrection appearances of Christ, Paul says in 1 Cor 15:8, "Last of all, as one born before the time, he appeared to me also." Paul's reference to himself as "one born before the time" (τῷ ἐκτρώματι; τὸ ἔκτρωμα) has been particularly troublesome to interpreters. Although there is still not enough evidence to be certain, this reference may be an allusion to Homer, *Il.* 19.118, where Hera causes the birth of Eurytheus "before the full course of months" (ἡλιτόμηνον ἐόντα). At the same time, Hera in her craftiness "held back the Eileithyiae" (σχέθε Εἰλειθυίας), the goddesses of childbirth, in order to delay the birth of Heracles against the wishes of unwary Zeus (*Il.* 19.119). Previously, Zeus had promised that the first of his descendants born on that day would become king of Argos (cf. Diodorus Siculus 4.9.4). Paul may be saying that, in the same way the prematurely born Eurytheus was made king in place of someone thought more deserving, he was made an apostle in place of others thought more deserving, with Christ replacing Hera in this potential allegory of Paul as Eurystheus. For a survey of other interpretations, see William F. Orr and James Arthur Walther, *1 Corinthians: A New Translation, Introduction, with a Study of the Life of Paul, Notes, and Commentary* (AB 32; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 318, 322–23; Harm W. Hollander and Gijsbert Van Der Hout, "The Apostle Paul Calling Himself an Abortion: 1 Cor. 15:8 within the context of 1 Cor.15: 8–10," *NovT* 38 (1996): 224–36; and Matthew W. Mitchell, "Reexamining the 'Aborted Apostle': An Exploration of Paul's Self-Description in 1 Corinthians 15:8," *JSNT* 25 (2003): 469–85.

A more general mark of Hellenistic influence in the undisputed and disputed Pauline epistles is the appearance of virtue and vice lists in this corpus.[76] 1 Timothy 2:15 is primarily a short list of virtues similar to the short lists that we find in Plato, *Resp.* 4.427E; *Lach.* 198B; *Prot*. 349B; Philo, *Prob.* 70; *Post.* 128; *Ebr.* 23; *Deus* 79; and Wis 8:7. Longer lists of virtues appear in Aristotle, *Eth. nic.* 2.2.7–9; 3.6.1–5.3.17; *Eth. eud.* 2.3.4; *Virt. vit.* 2.1–7; 4.1–5.7; 8.1–4; and Wis 7:22–23; Jas 3:17–18; and 2 Pet 1:5–7.[77] Short lists of vices appear in Plato, *Resp.* 10.609B; Philo, *Conf.* 21; *Somn.* 2.266; *Post.* 52; and *3 Bar.* 8:5 (Slavonic and Greek); and *T. Jud*. 16:1.[78] Longer vice lists appear in Aristotle, *Eth. nic*. 5.2.13; *Eth. eud.* 2.3.4; *Virt. vit.* 6.1–7.14; 3.1–8; and Matt 15:19; *3 Bar*. 13:4 (Greek); Wis 14:25–26; *T. Levi* 17:11; Jas 3:15–16; 1 Pet 4:3; and 2 Pet 2:12–20.[79] In Philo, *Sacr.* 32, there is an unusually long list, giving as many as 152 vices. Despite the variety, there is a discernible pattern of discourse in Hellenistic virtue ethics, and the listing of virtues and vices seems to be the most notable aspect of that pattern.[80] Therefore, it is plain that the author of the Pastoral Epistles is familiar with at least this aspect of Hellenistic virtue ethics.[81] If this is the case, we can hardly ignore the implications of his acquaintance with virtue and vice lists for our understanding of τεκνογονία in 1 Tim 2:15.

VIII. The Legacy of Ionia and Artemis

Ephesus is the purported locale of Timothy and his congregation (1 Cor 16:8–11; 1 Tim 1:3; 2 Tim 1:18; 4:12). Even if this locale is a pseudepigraphal

[76] *Virtue lists*: Rom 5:3–5; 1 Cor 13:4–7; 2 Cor 6:6–7; Gal 5:22–23; Phil 4:8–9; Col 3:12–17; 1 Tim 2:15; 3:2–7, 8–10, 11–12; 6:11; 2 Tim 2:22; Titus 1:7–9; 2:2, 3–5, 6–8, 9–10, 11–12; 3:1–2. *Vice lists*: Rom 1:29–31; 13:13; 1 Cor 6:9; Gal 5:19–21; Col 3:8–9; 1 Tim 1:9–10; 2 Tim 3:2–5; Titus 3:3.

[77] Aristotle, *Eth. eud*. 2.3.4 is actually a mixed list of both virtues and vices.

[78] In *Conf*. 21, Philo describes the mind that is *pregnant* with evil. He refers to what may be called the four cardinal vices: folly, cowardice, intemperance, and injustice.

[79] *On the Origin of the World* 106–7 and *Theog.* 224–32 mentioned above are also forms of virtue and vice lists.

[80] The occurrence of domestic codes, or *Haustafeln,* in the Pauline corpus (Eph 5:22–6:4; Col 3:18–4:1; 1 Tim 3:4–5, 12; 6:1–2; Titus 2:9–10) is a related phenomenon and also a mark of Hellenistic influence. See Lewis R. Donelson, *Colossians, Ephesians, First and Second Timothy, and Titus* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 48–49, 131–33.

[81] The author of the Epistle of James may also be influenced by Hellenistic virtue ethics (1:2–4; 2:18–26; 3:13–17). He specifically reiterates the theme of vice giving birth to vice, that is to say, lust giving birth to sin and sin giving birth to death (1:15). Observe furthermore, how the term "firstfruit" becomes a synonym for children in 1:18. There is a similar equivalence between children and firstfruit in Philo, *Congr*. 6.

feature of the text (which is by no means an unassailable characterization), it is still significant that the author evokes an Ephesian provenance for the audience of the epistle.[82] Knowledgeable Hellenes among the readers of 1 Timothy would inevitably imagine a hearing of its author against the backdrop of Ephesian culture and all that is associated with it.[83] Ephesus is therefore a referent that evokes observations relevant to the present argument.

Ephesus was in that coastal province of west central Asia Minor and nearby islands known in earlier times as Ionia.[84] This region was the matrix for a widely influential and particular kind of philosophical thought. In time, this particular kind of philosophy was identified by the name of the region itself. It is not critical for our case that the audience of 1 Timothy have an actual provenance in the region of Ionia (although Ionia was the most likely provenance). It is significant enough that this audience is associated with that region in the mind of an ancient author and his readers.

The influence of Ionian philosophers and their legacy in the wider Greek world is an already well-rehearsed theme in classical studies.[85] Similarly, the prominence of Plato and Philo as heirs of Ionian thought is another commonplace.[86] Even though Ionian thought is a rationalization or "demythologizing" of Homer, Hesiod, and other epic lyricists, it retains some of the natalistic features of epic.[87] Ionian thought perpetuates the tradition of natalistic lan-

[82] While acknowledging the impossibility of demonstrating the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles, Johnson nevertheless argues that the grounds for judging them inauthentic are so seriously flawed as to render these judgments invalid. After exploring the literary category of *mandata principis* (commandments of a ruler) as a possible genre for 1 Timothy and Titus, Johnson finds reason seriously to consider the provenance of 1 Timothy "not as a fictional setting, but perhaps as the real-life occasion for the letter." See Johnson, *First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 91, 140–42.

[83] See C. E. Arnold, "Ephesus," in *DPL*, 249–52.

[84] See Plato, *Thg*. 129D. Against Socrates' warning, Sannio and Thrasyllus go on an expedition to "Ephesus and the rest of Ionia." Incidentally, there are some scholarly doubts about the Platonic authorship of *Theages*.

[85] See Malcolm Schofield, "The Ionians," in *From the Beginnings to Plato* (Routledge History of Philosophy 1; ed. C. C. W. Taylor; London/New York: Routledge, 1997), 47–83; Jonathan M. Hall, "Ionians," in *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*, vol. 1 (ed. Graham Speake; London/Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), 820–21; *The First Philosophers: The Presocratics and Sophists* (trans. Robin Waterfield; Oxford World's Classics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xi–xxxiii; and A. A. Long, "The Scope of Early Greek Philosophy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Early Greek Philosophy* (ed. A. A. Long; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1–21.

[86] See F. E. Peters, *The Harvest of Hellenism* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970), 300–308.

[87] As founders of natural philosophy, the seventh- to fifth-century Ionian philosophers Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Democritus, Xenophanes, and others sought to replace mythological cosmologies with materialistic explanations for the universe. On the Ionian philosophers, see Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1.3.19–1.5.28; 8.1.1–8.3.30; and Augustine, *Civ*. 8.2; 18.37.

guage.[88] The Ionian philosophers particularly drew upon the myth of the titans Oceanus and Tethys as "begetters" of all things, as a convenient source of metaphors and imagery (Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1.3.29–36; Plato, *Theaet.* 152D–E; *Tim.* 40E–41A; *Crat.* 402B–C). Accordingly, Xenophanes says, "but the great ocean is begetter of clouds and winds and rivers."[89] Malcolm Schofield comments on this statement of Xenophanes: "The striking description of the ocean (*pontos*) as 'begetter' already recalls, yet simultaneously rationalizes, Hesiod's account of how it 'begat' Nereus, the old man of the sea and other mythical figures (Theogony 233–9)."[90] As rationalizers of myth, the Ionian philosophers were in large measure the founders of allegorical interpretation.[91]

Regardless of the actual place and destination of their literary compositions, it is this germinal Ionian heritage that binds Plato and Philo to Homer and Hesiod, and then binds them all to 1 Timothy at least in regard to the natalistic concept of virtue.[92] There is then no need to show that the author and

[88] See Plato, *Resp.* 6:18E, where the Ideas are described as "the offspring of the Good" (ἔκγονὸς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ). Also Plato, *Symp.* 203B–C, where Eros (Ἔρως, Love) is lauded as the son of Poros (Πόρος, Resource) and Penia (Πενία, Poverty). See also Philostratus, *Heroikos* 7.8, where truth (ἀλήθεια) is "the mother of virtue" (μητέρα ἀρετῆς).

[89] Schofield, "Ionians," 76. He identifies the source of this statement as "The Geneva Scholium on *Iliad* XXI." One might compare Job 38:29, where God asks Job, "From whose *womb* (MT: בטן; LXX: γαστρός) does the ice come forth, and who has *given birth* (MT: ילד; LXX: τέτοκεν) to the hoarfrost of the heavens?" The implication is that it was God who conceived in the womb and gave birth to these phenomena. This is a rare and startling case of natalistic imagery applied to the God of Israel.

[90] Schofield, "Ionians," 76. See also the reference to "men to whom the clouds gave birth" in *Apoc. Ab.* 14.6 (R. Rubinkiewicz and H. G. Lunt, "Apocalypse of Abraham," in *OTP*, 1:696, esp. n. f.).

[91] See Peters, *Harvest of Hellenism*, 451: "Plato, who cared only for the morality of the traditional myths as a criterion for their political use, reveals in passing that in his day there were those who saw an 'undersense' (*hyponoia*) in the myths. There is reason to suspect that this 'other reading' (*allegoria*) was being practiced by Anaxagoras and some of his disciples, and that the hidden meaning was a physical one. . . . For both the physicists and the moralists the preferred text was Homer, a choice dictated no doubt by the poet's place at the cultural center of the society and the consequent attention given to his works by literary exegetes at Alexandria and Pergamum."

[92] From a strictly linguistic point of view, the *Koine* dialect of the LXX, the NT, Josephus, and Philo descends mostly from the Attic, which was the dialect of Aeschylus (525–456), Sophocles (496–406), Euripides (ca. 480–406), and, of course, Plato (427–347) among other Athenian poets and philosophers. Attic in turn descends from Ionic, the dialect of Homer and Hesiod. For a discussion, see Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (rev. Gordon M. Messing; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920, 1956, 1976), 3–4A. According to Smyth, "The Koinè took its rise in the Alexandrian period, so called from the preëminence of Alexandria in Egypt as a centre of learning until the Roman conquest of the East; and lasted to the end of the ancient world (sixth century A.D.)." The author and audience of 1 Timothy therefore share a linguistic heritage with Philo of Alexandria. However, with the sharing of a linguistic heritage there must also be the inevitable sharing of other cultural legacies, such as a stock of familiar metaphors.

audience of 1 Timothy had direct knowledge of Plato or Philo as a way of accounting for the epistle's natalistic concept of virtue. The concept is simply *koinos topos,* or a philosophical commonplace.[93]

Ephesus is also significant as the ancient center of the worship of Artemis (see Acts 19:24–41). Here is another promising avenue of investigation uncovered by the Clark Kroegers.[94] Although we cannot accept their central argument for the reinterpretation of 1 Tim 2:12, their characterization of 1 Tim 2:11–15 as a probable response to some features of the Artemis fertility cult is helpful. For the purposes of this study, the relevant feature of the Artemis cult would be language that associates the goddess with birthing or midwifery.[95] When Apuleius (ca. 120–60 C.E.) identifies the Egyptian goddess Isis with Artemis (Diana) he says, "At another time you are Phoebus' sister; by applying to birth soothing remedies you relieve the pain of childbirth, and have brought teeming numbers to birth; now you are worshipped in the famed shrines of Ephesus" (*Metam.* 11.2).[96] At a much earlier time, Callimachus (310–235 B.C.E.) spoke for Artemis and said, "I will dwell on the mountains, and I will go to the cities of men only when women sorely distressed by the pangs of childbirth call upon me for help" (*Hymn. Dian.* 20–22). Plato, Callimachus, the author of Luke-Acts, Apuleius, other literati, and the audiences for whom they wrote show that knowledge of Artemis lore and Ephesian culture was widespread and transgenerational even beyond Ionia itself. One would expect that in cultures dominated by worship of a deity associated with childbirth, or at least in cultures knowledgeable about such worship, that the image of childbirth would be used in a variety of metaphorical senses.

In Plato's *Theaetetus*, for example, Socrates rehearses the legend of Artemis as the founder of the midwifery guild among mothers past the age of childbearing (*Theaet.* 149B–151E). Although Artemis was the patron goddess of childbirth, she herself was childless.[97] She honors the image of herself in

[93] For a discussion of *koinos topos* ("common-place") in a different context, see Hermogenes, *The Preliminary Exercises* 6, in *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (trans. George A. Kennedy; SBL Writings from the Greco-Roman World 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 79–81.

[94] Clark Kroeger and Clark Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 47–58, 105–13. See also L. M. McDonald, "Ephesus," in *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (ed. Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000), 318–21.

[95] Cf. Philo, *Migr.* 214, where the midwives of Exod 1:21 are "those souls which search for the invisible qualities" (αἱ ζητητικαὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν ψυχαί) (cf. *Leg.* 3.3).

[96] Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* (trans. P. G. Welch; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 219. Phoebus is another name for the sun-god Apollo. See the translation of W. Adlington and S. Gaselee (LCL, 541), where Artemis is addressed as the one "who hast saved so many people by lightening and lessening with thy medicines the pangs of travail" (*quae partu fetarum medelis lenientibus recreato populos tantos*).

[97] Outside of Ephesus, Artemis was usually thought of as goddess of archery and hunting

postreproductive mothers by assigning them the task of midwifing (μαιευτικός). Artemis does not choose women who have never been mothers because they lack experience. Socrates salutes midwives not only for their experience with pregnancy and motherhood but also for their skills in pharmacology, incantation, and matchmaking. The works of midwives are therefore highly important.

Socrates then describes himself to Theaetetus as a midwife (μαῖα) for the souls of men (he specifically means *men*, ἄνδρας). His vocation is to help *men* "give birth to the manifold good things found within them." They cannot give birth by themselves. "But it is God and I," Socrates says, "who delivers their children for them" (*Theaet*. 150D). Socrates criticizes those men who have failed to acknowledge his midwifing role after they had given birth. He also criticizes those who have left him for bad company and have "so greatly abused the children I helped them to birth that they lost them." According to Socrates, "they have caused miscarriage" (ἐξήμβλωσαν; root: ἀμβλίσκω) (*Theaet.* 150E). Those men who associate with Socrates are like women in childbirth, suffering the pains of labor. Their situation is indeed worse than that of parturient women because they suffer day and night. Socrates suspects that Theaetetus is parturient, like a woman in labor (*Theaet*. 151A–C). The speech of Socrates in *Theaetetus* bears great interest and relevance, because it is here that he deploys the Artemis legend as a frame of reference for a metaphorical use of childbearing, and for explicating his own role in the birthing of children, with the children to be borne being specifically understood as virtues.[98]

It would be difficult to see how the author and audience of 1 Timothy could be oblivious to this frame of reference and similar metaphorical uses of childbearing in Ephesian culture, whether or not that audience actually resided in Ephesus. As acculturated savants of this Artemis mythology and language

---

(Homer, *Il*. 16.184; Callimachus, *Hymn. Apoll*. 60). In this case, the role of goddess of childbirth was instead assigned to Eileithyia (Εἰλείθυια), daughter of Hera (Hesiod, *Theog*. 922; Homer, *Il.* 16.187; 19.103). Sometimes Homer uses a plural form of the reference, such as, "Eileithyiae, daughters of Hera" (Εἰλείθυιαι, Ἥρης θυγατέρες) (*Il*. 11.270–71; 19.119). That Plato preserves the tradition of Artemis as goddess of childbirth along with that of Eileithyia in the same role (*Symp*. 206D) attests to the degree of Ionian-Ephesian influence in his thought.

[98] This same excavating for birthing metaphors occurs in Plato, *Symp.* 206D, where we have the appearance of Eileithyia, patron goddess of childbirth. Diotima explains to Socrates that Eileithyia represents Beauty. The myth of the goddess is used as a frame of reference for speaking about the pregnant soul and her desire to give birth to beautiful things. Elsewhere, Pausanias (ca. 174 C.E.) speaks about the cult of Eileithyia, who had a sanctuary in Corinth, among other places (Pausanias, *Descr*. 2.35.11). The influence of such cults and their legends on language, particularly in the metaphorical use of the image of childbearing, may be at least remotely reflected in early Christian use of natalistic language (Luke 7:35; Acts 17:28; John 3:3–7; 1 Cor 15:8; Gal 4:19, 26–27; 1 Thess 5:3; 1 Tim 2:15; Phlm 10; Jas 1:15, 18; 1 Pet 1:3; Rev 12:1–6). However, there are also precedents in the Hebrew Scriptures (Deut 32:18; Num 11:12; Job 38:29; Hos 5:4–7).

and other birth-goddess lore, the author and audience of 1 Timothy would surely bring a metaphorical understanding to the use of "childbearing" in 1 Tim 2:15.

IX. Soteriology and Virtues-Bearing

More support for a new reading of 1 Tim 2:15 can be derived from a theological or, more specifically, a soteriological description of 1 Timothy and the other Pastorals. We are not suggesting that there is a formal theology or soteriology contained within the Pastoral Epistles. What we actually have is a series of loosely connected affirmations. Yet these affirmations possess sufficient coherence and consistency to enable us to lay out a basic pattern of thought.[99] We are especially interested in the author's use of σωθῆναι (1 Tim 2:4) and cognate terms. Salvation is ultimately an eschatological and apocalyptic event.[100] It is the central event in a scenario precipitated by the coming of Christ at the end of the age (1 Tim 6:14–15; 2 Tim 4:1; Titus 2:13). Eschatological salvation is corporate in scope (2 Tim 4:8; Titus 3:7), but personally apprehended (2 Tim 2:10–13; 4:8, 18). For the collective of believers it means "eternal life" (1 Tim 6:19; Titus 1:2; 3:7), "eternal glory" (2 Tim 2:10), "the crown of righteousness" (2 Tim 4:8), and life in God's "heavenly kingdom" (2 Tim 4:18). Eschatological salvation is preceded by the judgment of the living and the dead, and is awarded to those who are found "rich in good works" (1 Tim 6:18), who have lived according to "sound doctrine" (1 Tim 4:16; 2 Tim 4:1).[101]

There is, however, a second sense of salvation in the Pastoral Epistles. It is a realized sense.[102] The believer takes possession of future salvation in the present (1 Tim 6:12; 2 Tim 1:10; Titus 2:11; 3:5).[103] Salvation is realized when people "lay hold on to sound doctrine" (2 Tim 1:13), "come to a knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim 2:4; 2 Tim 2:25), and "cleanse themselves" of vice (2 Tim 2:21). Saving knowledge, which elicits faith, is communicated through the gospel of Jesus Christ (2 Tim 1:10)—a ministry of preaching and teaching that includes

[99] See Young, *Theology of the Pastoral Letters*, 2–3.

[100] Ibid., 57–59.

[101] See Donelson, *Colossians, Ephesians, First and Second Timothy, and Titus*, 146–50; also Young, *Theology of the Pastoral Letters*, 58.

[102] See Philip H. Towner, "The Portrait of Paul and the Theology of 2 Timothy: The Closing Chapter of the Pauline Story," *HBT* 21 (1999): 169.

[103] From a broad perspective, any distinction between realized and eschatological salvation is quite artificial. In the believer's experience, the possession of one is the possession of the other, as the author of the Pastoral Epistles indicates (1 Tim 6:12; Titus 2:11; 3:7). Nevertheless, the distinction becomes necessary in order to show more clearly how salvation is related to virtues-bearing.

exposition of the "the holy writings" (2 Tim 3:15–16). In this case, saving knowledge seems equivalent to "faith in Jesus Christ" (2 Tim 3:15). One receives salvation in the here and now when one accepts this knowledge.[104]

Realized salvation is nevertheless not according to works, here understood as virtuous works, but according to grace (2 Tim 1:9; Titus 2:11; 3:5).[105] Grace is both God's merciful disposition toward us (1 Tim 1:2, 13–14) and God's powerful presence with us (2 Tim 2:2; 4:17, 22; Titus 3:15).[106] As mercy, God's grace was expressed through the self-sacrifice of Jesus, whose death effected liberation or ransom from sin (1 Tim 2:6; Titus 2:14). As presence, God's grace is experienced as the Holy Spirit, which gives life (1 Tim 6:13; 2 Tim 1:7,14).[107] Grace was first mediated to us through Jesus Christ prior to creation and then during his earthly sojourn (2 Tim 1:9–10; 2:5). Grace continues to be mediated to us through his spiritual presence as resurrected Lord (1 Tim 1:14; 2 Tim 2:11). In either case, when God's grace through Jesus Christ is acknowledged and accepted, it elicits the response of faith.

Various senses of faith occur in the Pastoral Epistles. At times faith means assent to sound doctrine (1 Tim 1:4; 3:9; 2 Tim 1:13; 2 Tim 2:2). At times faith appears as the content of sound doctrine (1 Tim 4:6; 2 Tim 3:15; 4:7; Titus 1:4, 13; Titus 2:2). At other times, faith is a virtue of the soul among other virtues (1 Tim 2:15; 4:12; 6:11; 2 Tim 1:5; 2 Tim 2:22).[108] However, as a response to grace, faith is an act of bonding with God or Christ through self-surrender in a committed relationship (2 Tim 1:12; 2:19; 3:17). This faith as bonding is manifested outwardly in the life of the believer through acts that mirror the character of God or Christ (1 Tim 1:16; 2 Tim 1:13; Titus 2:11–14).[109] Although these acts would be called virtues elsewhere, in the Pastoral Epistles they are called acts of righteousness, godliness, faith, love, endurance, gentleness, or simply good works (1 Tim 5:25; 6:11, 18; 2 Tim 2:21; 3:17).[110]

In the Pauline corpus as a whole, virtues are understood variously as inwardly possessed gifts of God or the Holy Spirit (Rom 15:13; Gal 5:22–25; 1 Tim 1:2, 14, 19; 2 Tim 1:2, 5–7), willfully cultivated aspects of the human spirit (Rom 12:9–21; 1 Cor 13:4–7, 13; 2 Tim 2:22), or outward expressions of a righteous character (Rom 12:13; 1 Cor 16:14; Gal 6:10; 2 Thess 1:4; 1 Tim 3:2–

[104] See Young, *Theology of the Pastoral Letters*, 58–59.

[105] See Johnson, *First and Second Letters to Timothy,* 348.

[106] Ibid., 347–48, 355.

[107] See Young, *Theology of the Pastoral Letters*, 68–70.

[108] See Johnson, *First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 153; Marshall and Towner, *Pastoral Epistles*, 120.

[109] See Johnson, *First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 179, 183.

[110] See Donelson, *Colossians, Ephesians, First and Second Timothy, and Titus*, 131–33.

4, 8–13; 5:25; Eph 4:25–32).[111] In all three cases, virtues are consequent to realized salvation (Rom 13:11–14; Eph 4:21–24; 1 Cor 2:14; 15:58; Titus 2:11–14; 3:8) but antecedent to eschatological salvation (Gal 6:8; 2 Thess 1:5; 2:13–17; 1 Tim 4:8–10; 6:11–12, 18–19; Titus 3:3–7).[112] 1 Timothy 2:15 seems to share more in this third sense of virtues as outward expressions of a righteous character. This is not to suggest, however, that 1 Tim 2:15 is entirely free of ambiguity in its evocation of virtue ethics. In context, the four virtues of 1 Tim 2:15 are both inward dispositions (1 Tim 4:14; 2 Tim 1:5–6) and outward expressions (1 Tim 2:2; 3:2–4; 5:9–10, 25; 6:11; 2 Tim 2:22; 3:10; 4:5; Titus 1:7–9; 2:3–8) as well as signs of realized salvation (1 Tim 1:5) and means of eschatological salvation (1 Tim 1:16; 4:15–16; 2 Tim 4:7–8). However, in 1 Tim 2:15 the emphasis appears to be on the outward expression of virtues as the means of eschatological salvation (cf. Rom 2:6–7; 2 Cor 5:10). The performance of these works somehow builds up merit or "stores up treasure" that will guarantee one's salvation in the eschatological future (1 Tim 6:18–19).[113]

Both God and Christ are Savior (1 Tim 1:1; 2:3; 2 Tim 1:10; Titus 1:3, 4; 2:10; 3:4, 6).[114] It almost seems that God is primarily Savior in an eschatological context and Christ is primarily Savior in a realized context, but we cannot be altogether certain that this is what the author is thinking. At one point it is not clear whether God is again being called Savior, Christ is being called God, or a distinction is being maintained between God and Christ (Titus 2:13; cf. Rom 9:5; 2 Pet 1:1).[115] It is at least clear that the roles of God and Christ as Savior converge insofar as God has acted in and through Christ to bring salvation to all (1 Tim 2:3–6; 2 Tim 1:8–10; Titus 2:11–14; 3:4–8).[116]

We come to a critical point with the observation that "God our Savior wants all people (πάντας ἀνθρώπους) to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim 2:3–4). This inclusive aspect of the author's message is a recurring theme. The author wishes that prayer and intercession be made for

[111] See Johnson, *First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 182–83; also Young, *Theology of the Pastoral Letters*, 37–39.

[112] See Young, *Theology of the Pastoral Letters*, 28–31, 57–59.

[113] See Marshall and Towner, *Pastoral Epistles*, 673.

[114] This may or may not be a self-conscious rejection of the idea of the Roman emperor as savior. J. N. D. Kelly feels that it is not. He maintains that the author is simply speaking in accordance with Jewish theology and tradition when he applies the title Savior to God as well as to Christ (*A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles: Timothy I & II, Titus* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987], 40).

[115] See Raymond F. Collins, "The Theology of the Epistle to Titus," *ETL* 76 (2000): 71–72; also Bonnie Thurston, "The Theology of Titus," *HBT* 21 (1999): 179.

[116] See Greg A. Couser, "God and Christian Existence in the Pastoral Epistles: Toward *Theo*logical Method and Meaning," *NovT* 42 (2000): 283.

"all people" (πάντων ἀνθρώπων) (1 Tim 2:1). Christ gave himself as a ransom for "all" (πάντων) (1 Tim 2:6). God is the savior of "all people" (πάντων ἀνθρώπων), especially those who believe (1 Tim 4:10). The author exhorts "everyone (πᾶς) who names the name of the Lord to depart from unrighteousness" (2 Tim 2:19). The grace of God has appeared bringing salvation to "all people" (πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις) (Titus 2:11).

It is probable that the terms for "all" used by the author are gender-inclusive as well as ethnically inclusive—perhaps even primarily gender-inclusive. Although there is mention of Gentiles in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim 2:7; 3:16; 2 Tim 1:11; 4:17), there is not an explicit Jew–Gentile dichotomy (cf. Rom 1:16; 2:10; 3:30). Instead we find an explicit male–female dichotomy. Furthermore, when the author wishes to be gender-specific he uses restrictive terms (ἄνδρα, ἄνδρας, γυνή, γυναῖκας, 1 Tim 2:8–12; 3:2, 11–12).[117] His use of inclusive terms in a soteriological context therefore appears to be more than casual.

We come to an equally critical point with the observation that the means of salvation are the same for *all*, without regard to gender. These closely related references to saving knowledge (1 Tim 2:4), the ransoming death of Christ (1 Tim 2:6), saving faith (1 Tim 4:10), and the grace of God (Titus 2:11) are inseparable from the inclusive statements already mentioned. If both genders are included in these "all" phrases, then the author of the Pastoral Epistles believes that the means of salvation for women and men are the same (cf. Gal 3:28). We must ask, then, how to reconcile this observation with the seemingly gender-specific idea of salvation through childbearing.[118] At this point, the solution seems readily available in the literary-cultural background of the idea.

Why then should we suppose that the author and audience of 1 Timothy have an understanding of childbearing that is similar to metaphorical uses in Hellenistic virtue ethics? Why should we abandon a literal "plain sense" reading of 1 Tim 2:15? The answer is threefold. First, the form of the statement, with "childbearing" in the apodosis and four virtues listed in the protasis, is similar to other literary expressions in that culture where children become metaphors for virtues (e.g., Plato, *Symp*. 209D–E; Philo, *Gig*. 5; *Deus* 117–18). Second, such a supposition places a theologically and historically coherent reading of 1 Timothy over against an incoherent one. Third, this dual coherence in itself exists at four levels: within the epistle of 1 Timothy, within the cor-

[117] See Marshall and Towner, *Pastoral Epistles*, 425–28. As they show in their survey of interpretive options for 1 Tim 2:4, not much attention has been given to the possibility of gender inclusiveness in the epistle's use of "all."

[118] See the survey of attempts to address this question in Marshall and Towner, *Pastoral Epistles*, 467–70. They observe, "Its meaning is a puzzle, and a number of interpretations have been offered."

pus of the Pastoral Epistles, within the Pauline corpus as a whole, and within the Hellenistic environment of the NT. The availability of both extrabiblical and intertexual literary evidence for a coherent reading of a notoriously difficult biblical text cannot be merely fortuitous, especially when the two kinds of evidence are culturally contemporaneous. Unless we want to assign all such correspondences in historical studies to happenstance, our metaphorical understanding of childbearing in 1 Tim 2:15 is more probable than the glaring contradiction posed by a literal, "plain sense" reading. It is true that metaphorical and literal interpretations are not always mutually exclusive. Even though Philo, for example, interprets the child of Sarah as virtue, he does believe that there was actually a flesh-and-blood Isaac. However, there can be no literal understanding of childbearing as a means of salvation in 1 Tim 2:15, precisely because childbearing is here linked to salvation as its means. A theological and historical investigation precludes such literalism.

It should also be acknowledged that the understanding of salvation in 1 Timothy and the other Pastorals is not altogether congruent with how salvation is understood in Plato or Philo. In Hellenistic virtue ethics, salvation is mostly the attainment of sound-mindedness, self-control, and self-sufficiency (Plato, *Resp*. 3.389D; Philo, *Virt*. 14–16). This is not the salvation that furthermore means forgiveness of sins, escape from divine wrath, fellowship with God, and life eternal, such as we find in the Pastorals. Our point is not that the author of 1 Timothy shares a common understanding of salvation with Plato and Philo, but that they draw upon a common metaphorical use of "childbearing."

X. 1 Timothy 2:15 in the History of Biblical Interpretation

In the history of biblical interpretation, a literal understanding of childbearing in 1 Tim 2:15 is assumed by Clement of Alexandria (150–215 C.E.), Gregory of Nyssa (330–395 C.E.), Theodore of Mopsuestia (350–428 C.E.), Ambrosiaster (ca. 370 C.E.), and Pelagius (ca. 415 C.E.).[119] However, in *Strom*. 3.12.90, Clement altogether ignores the subject of 1 Tim 2:15. It is the man who is the husband of one wife who finds salvation by bringing children into the world. For Gregory, the text refers to the salvation of the mother who bears

[119] See *Colossians, 1–2 Thessalonians, 1–2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon* (ed. Peter Gorday; ACCS 9; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000), 167, for citations of Theodore, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, and Gregory on 1 Tim 2:15. Origen of Alexandria (185–254 C.E.) is also cited, but Origen is actually commenting on the Song of Songs when he speaks allegorically of a "chaste begetting of children" as a result of marital union between Christ and the church or between Christ and the "blessed soul" as an individual member of the church. It is not clear whether the "children" themselves are anything other than members of the church.

spiritually regenerated children. Theodore only stipulates further that all women, not just Eve, will be saved through childbearing. Ambrosiaster adds the qualification that the salvation that comes through childbearing applies only to women whose children are "reborn in Christ." Pelagius explains that when Paul speaks of the salvation that comes through childbearing, he is referring only to the baptism and spiritual rebirth to which children are brought by their believing mother. Although Pelagius spiritualizes the meaning of childbearing, he still assumes that these are literal children borne by their mother. A literal reading of "childbearing" in 1 Tim 2:15 can therefore claim ancient roots. Nevertheless, an arresting departure from this historic literal reading occurs in the deliberations of Augustine of Hippo (354–450 C.E.).

In *Trin*. 12.7.11, Augustine maintains that Paul's teaching—that the woman is "brought to salvation by childbearing" (*saluam fieri per filiorum generationem*)—is to be understood "figuratively and mystically" (*figurate ac mystice*). Augustine, however, is here chiefly addressing the conundrum of why a woman is required in 1 Cor 11:5–7 to wear a veil over her head if she is also made in the image of God, as we are told in Gen 1:27. Augustine explains that it is both the man and the woman together who are the image of God. Yet, when standing alone, the man remains the image of God, while the woman, when standing alone, does not. This is because the man in the Genesis text represents the human mind directed toward spiritual things, while the woman represents the human mind directed toward temporal things. When the human mind is both directed toward the spiritual and distracted by the temporal it is still the image of God. However, it is only the spiritually directed side of the mind that is the image of God when standing alone, while the temporally directed side when standing alone is not. It is obvious that Augustine is straining at this point. In any case, the veil on the woman's head represents the restraining influence of the spiritually focused side of the mind upon the temporally focused side of the mind.

To prove that Paul's teaching in 1 Cor 11:5–7 and other places should be interpreted in this figurative and mystical way, Augustine cites 1 Tim 5:5, where the widow who is bereft of children and nephews has nevertheless placed her trust in God and prays constantly. For Augustine (and this is quite a leap) the widow of 1 Tim 5:5 illustrates the deceived woman and transgressor who is brought to salvation by childbearing, but only if "they" continue in "faith, and charity, and holiness, with sobriety."[120] Augustine understands "they" as a reference to the widow's children; however, he finds it untenable that a widow could be deprived of salvation if she had no children, or if the children she had did

[120] *Augustine: On the Holy Trinity, Doctrinal Treatises, Moral Treatises* (ed. Philip Schaff; NPNF 3; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 159.

not continue in good works. Therefore, like the veil on the woman's head, "children" must be understood figuratively and mystically. According to Augustine, "good works are, as it were, the children of our lives" (*opera bona tamquam filii sunt vitae nostrae*). Although Augustine sees "good works as children" in the apodosis of 1 Tim 2:15, he disappointingly does not explicitly identify these good works as the four virtues listed in the protasis. Furthermore, it is not historical evidence but wild logic and a dogmatic allegorizing hermeneutic that form the basis for his conclusions. Nevertheless, in the history of biblical interpretation, it is Augustine who comes closest to the understanding of 1 Tim 2:15 advocated in this article. Later, in *Civ*. 10.3, Augustine will say that it is by God's embrace that "the intellectual soul is impregnated and made to give birth to true virtues." Augustine in no way directly relates this observation to 1 Tim 2:15, but it certainly reflects the Platonic-Philonic perspective that characterizes both the time of Augustine and the time of 1 Timothy several centuries earlier.

The period between Augustine and the Reformation is a wide gap, but one finds nothing new or notable in this gap regarding the exegesis of our text. Martin Luther (1483–1546) will still offer little to celebrate in his appropriations of 1 Tim 2:15. He understood that salvation through literal childbirth applies only to the married woman who lives by the Word of God and faith.[121] In another place, however, the verse means that God will not reject infants "because of pimples, filth, and troubles provided they persevere in faith and love." God "has patience in many infirmities."[122]

John Calvin (1509–1564) also understood "childbearing" in 1 Tim 2:15 in the literal sense. He maintained, however, that women are saved through childbearing as an act of obedience. But more than childbearing is being referred to here. The apostle is speaking also of the pains and distresses associated with childbirth and the rearing of children. Nevertheless, obedience in these matters is acceptable to God only if it proceeds from faith, love, sanctification, and sobriety.[123] Again, there is nothing new or notable in the exegesis of our text in the period between Calvin and twentieth-century biblical scholarship. In retrospect, our brief encounter with Augustine was the only glimmer of confirmation offered for our investigation by this trek through time. Perhaps he would have offered us more had he engaged the text of 1 Tim 2:15 more directly.

[121] Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 26–30*, in *Luther's Works* 5 (ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Walter A. Hansen; St. Louis: Concordia, 1968), 5.

[122] Ibid., 312.

[123] John Calvin, *Commentaries on the First Epistle to Timothy* (trans. William Pringle; Calvin's Commentaries 21; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker, 1993), 71–72.

XI. The Convergence of Evidence

It might finally be asked, To which stream of influence do we assign the greatest weight in our argument for an allegorical and natalistic interpretation of 1 Tim 2:15? Is it Greek mythology, Ionian philosophy, Platonic or Philonic thought, Hellenistic virtue ethics, Gnostic background, Ephesian culture and Artemis lore, or an apparently synonymous agricultural metaphor and generative concept in the undisputed and disputed Pauline epistles? Answering this question would seem to be an unnecessary exercise. If it were not the case that all of these influences weigh heavily upon our argument, it would surely be a few of them. But given the demonstrable historical and literary interrelationship of these streams of influence, how could we isolate a few from all the rest? How could we isolate only one from the rest? It seems that we should simply acknowledge the weighty relevance of all of these streams of influence in this argument.

Therefore, in regard to the hermeneutics of 1 Tim 2:15 in particular, our investigation leaves us with two possibilities. Either the author and audience of 1 Timothy understood the four virtues of 1 Tim 2:15 as *children*, that is to say, as the products of "childbearing," or we have a soteriological idea in 1 Tim 2:15 (i.e., the idea that women are saved through literal childbirth) that is both unprecedented and uncorroborated in the whole of the Pauline corpus and its literary-cultural environment. In light of the religio-philosophical evidence herein discussed, we must ask, Which is most likely, the former or the latter case?

XII. Virtues as Children in Pauline Context

"Childbearing" in 1 Tim 2:15 is therefore a metaphor for "virtues-bearing." It is the final metaphor in a thoroughly allegorical parenesis. One advantage of this new reading of 1 Tim 2:11–15 over traditional ones is that it more clearly shows how "saved through childbearing" coheres with the typical Pauline notion of "saved by faith" (Rom 1:16; 10:9–10; 2 Tim 3:15; Eph 2:8).[124] Our reading also more clearly shows how "saved through childbearing" coheres with the typical Pauline notions of "love as the fulfillment of the law" (Rom 13:10), "fruit unto holiness" (Rom 6:22; cf. Heb 12:14), "love, goodness, faith, and self-control as fruit of the Spirit" (Gal 5:22–23), and "working out your soul salvation with fear and trembling" (Phil 2:12).[125] Therefore, we have reason to

[124] Cf. "saved by hope" (Rom 8:24) and "saved by grace" (2 Tim 1:9; Eph 2:5). Cf. also "justified by faith" (Rom 3:28; Gal 2:16) and "justified by grace" (Titus 3:7).

[125] In some contexts, 1 Tim 2:11-15 is often discussed in conjunction with 1 Cor 14:34-35. A

retire patently non-Pauline notions such as the salvation of women based on their ability to bear children in the literal sense. For the author of 1 Timothy, the means of salvation for women remains the same as the means of salvation for men[126]—and vice versa. *All women and men must give birth to and continue in faith, love, holiness, and temperance in order to be saved*. The author of 1 Timothy implies as much in 4:12. "Let no one despise your youth, but be an example to the believers in word, in conduct (ἀναστροφῇ), in love, in faith, and in purity (ἁγνεία)" (cf. Titus 2:11–12). Despite questions about the authorship of 1 Timothy, there is no question that the author belongs to the "Pauline school."[127] In no other way does the author of 1 Timothy present an idea that is incompatible with the thought of the undisputed Paulines (cf. 1 Tim 1:8–11 and Rom 7:7–12). It is therefore highly unlikely that the author of this epistle would depart so greatly from typical Pauline thought that he would suggest that literal childbirth is somehow important for the salvation of women.

---

convincing treatment of this Corinthian passage was presented by David W. Odell-Scott in a paper entitled, "The Paulinist Reversal of Paul's Critique of Gender Subordination: Ephesians 5 and 1 Corinthians 11" presented at the SBL annual meeting in Boston, November 22, 1999. In this paper Odell-Scott demonstrated that 1 Cor 14:34–35 and 1 Cor 11:3–9, 13–15 are not the words of Paul but the words of Corinthian opponents whom Paul quotes and then debunks in 1 Cor 11:11, 16; 14:36. See also his "Let the Women Speak in Church: An Egalitarian Interpretation of 1 Cor 14:33b–36," *BTB* 13 (1983): 90–93; and "In Defense of an Egalitarian Interpretation of 1 Cor 14:34–36: A Reply to Murphy-O'Connor's Critique," *BTB* 17 (1987): 100–103. In this last article Odell-Scott responds to Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Interpolations in 1 Corinthians," *CBQ* 48 (1986): 81–94.

[126] See Clark Kroeger and Clark Kroeger, *I Suffer Not a Woman*, 171, 177; and Coupland, "Salvation through Childbearing," 303. This is ultimately the point that the Clark Kroegers and Coupland want to make, but their literal understanding of the reference to "childbearing" forces them to make this point in spite of rather than because of the reference.

[127] See Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 82–84.

JBL 123/4 (2004) 737–740

CRITICAL NOTE

TWO NEW TEXTUAL VARIANTS FROM THE FREER PAULINE CODEX (I)

The Society of Biblical Literature and Brigham Young University have recently teamed together to produce Multispectral Images (MSI) of the Greek materials from the Freer Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution.[1] One of the goals of the project is to provide digitized images of the Freer codices that will be available for scholarly research.[2] The MSI images have provided a new opportunity to look at the previously transcribed and collated materials using the latest and most advanced imaging technology. In working with these images, it has become apparent that in several instances the newly produced images reveal more text than could be seen by Henry A. Sanders.[3] In two instances, the newly available materials from Pauline Codex I have revealed textual variants unknown to Sanders.

Titus 1:10

> Εἰσὶν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνυπότακτοι, ματαιολόγοι καὶ φρεναπάται, μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς
>
> There are also many rebellious people, idle talkers and deceivers, especially those of the circumcision. (NRSV)

In Titus 1:10 the text of Nestle-Aland[27] reads, εἰσιν γὰρ πολλοὶ °[και] ἀνυπότακτοι and lists support for the text as D, F, G, I, Ψ, 33, 1739, 1881, 𝔐, lat, Lcf Spec. The καί, however, is omitted in Nestle Aland[26], ℵ, A, C, P, 088, 33, 81, 104, 365, 614, 629, 630, vg^{mss}, sy, co, Cl, Ambst. The critical apparatus lists καί as the reading of Codex I along with Bezae Cantabrigiensis, the Majority text, and other important witnesses.

[1] The actual imaging work was done by Steven W. Booras of the Institute for the Study and Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts.

[2] For more on MSI imaging technology and its current applications, see Gregory H. Bearman and Sheila I. Spiro, "Archeological Applications of Advanced Imaging Techniques," *BA* 59 (1996): 56–66; Gregory H. Bearman, Douglas M. Chabreis, and Steven W. Booras, "Imaging the Past: Recent Applications of Multispectral Imaging Technology to Deciphering Manuscripts," *Antiquity* 77 (2003): 359–72; Gregory H. Bearman and Sheila I. Spiro, "Imaging: Clarifying the Issues," *DSD* 3 (1996): 321–28.

[3] Henry A. Sanders, *The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (London: Macmillan, 1918), 259–63.

Sanders in his transcription of Titus 1:10 does not list this reading as questionable for Codex I, but its location on the leaf corresponds directly to a dark and somewhat damaged portion of text. The transcribed line also contains three letters beyond the average line length for the codex.[4] Using the MSI images, the text in the darkened and damaged portion is readily legible and clearly does not contain καί. This reading agrees with the tendency of Codex I elsewhere to contain Alexandrian readings against so-called "Western" readings.[5]

1 Corinthians 10:29

> συνείδησιν δὲ λέγω οὐχὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ ἑτέρου. ἱνατί γὰρ ἡ ἐλευθερία μου κρίνεται ὑπὸ ἄλλης συνειδήσεως
>
> I mean the other's conscience, not your own. For why should my liberty be subject to the judgment of someone else's conscience? (NRSV)

The second textual variant is more difficult to establish but also potentially more valuable for NT textual critics. On the first legible fragment of the collection, Sanders was able to detect twenty-nine letters, with four letters being supplied with reservation. Sanders then correctly identified the text of 1 Cor 10:29, based on the legible text. In his reconstruction, he posited that the text had suffered damage on both the right-hand and left-hand margins and that the legible text fit almost squarely in the middle of the fragment. The fragment in question shows damage on both sides and also shows significant deterioration on the bottom portion, where parchment appendages have been created in the process. The top portion of the fragment is in fine condition, but the bottom portion is now quite darkened from decay. By using averages obtained from more extensive fragments in the codex, Sanders was able to reconstruct five nearly complete lines of text for the initial leaf.[6] Sanders's transcription reads thus:

[συνειδ]ησιν δε λεγω ου[χι την εαυτου]	29
[αλλα] ṭην του ετε[ρου. ινα τι γαρ η]	25
[ελευθε]ρια μου[κρινεται υπο αλλης]	28
[συνει]δ̣η[σεως]. . .[7]	

[4] Sanders calculated the average line length to be twenty-five letters, but more detailed analysis reveals that the average line length is actually twenty-three letters per line, with significant variation between the epistles (*New Testament Manuscripts*, 254). The lowest average is 2 Timothy, with twenty-one letters per line, and Galatians has the highest average, at twenty-six letters per line.

[5] Ibid., 259–63.

[6] The width of the codex when it was complete measured 12 cm. across, and the length, which can be calculated by including the missing text between the fragments, can be set at 20 cm. The text would include thirty lines per page with a 4-cm. margin (Sanders, *New Testament Manuscripts*, 254).

[7] Sanders used brackets to indicate missing text and a dot below the letter to indicate that the text has been restored with hesitation.

From Sanders's own calculations, each of the reestablished text lines is slightly longer than average, although not without precedent (cf. Heb 4:13). In comparing Sanders's transcription with the MSI images, it became apparent that this fragment preserves the portion of text up to the right-hand margin. Each of the text lines ends with Sanders's right-hand set of brackets, and in the far right margin there is an unidentifiable scribal siglum (⊐).[8] The siglum could be the original quire number that has bled onto this leaf from its opposing leaf. The quire for this page would be IE if that portion of parchment were still visible. This solution, however, is somewhat problematic because since it places the quire number lower on the page than elsewhere in the codex.[9] There are no signs of erasure or emendation in the portion to the right of the visible text. The reconstructed transcription therefore should read:

. . . συνειδ]ησιν δε λεγω ου[χι	18
την εαυτου αλλα] τ̣ην του ετε[10]	22
ρου. ινα τι γαρ η ελευθε]ρια μου	24
κρινεται υπο συνει]δ̣η̣[σεως	22

The fingerlike fragmentation of the manuscript permits a convincing reconstruction of the fourth line with the absence of either αλλης or απιστου. Based on the clear evidence that the first leaf of Codex I represents the right-hand verso margin, the reconstructed δη of the fourth line must fit beneath either the ρ or the preceding ε of line 3 owing to the location of the remaining parchment appendages.[11] Sanders must have seen them there because in his transcription he sought to place the δη underneath the ρ of ελευθερια, even though this forced him to place the reconstructed δη in a position where there is no parchment appendage. Given these data, it is possible to reconstruct the fourth line without αλλης, since the addition of five more letters would push συνειδήσεως too far to the right and off the page.

The importance of such a reading was anticipated by Rudolf Bultmann.[12] An important exegetical question raised by 1 Cor 10:29 is whether the μηνύσας ("informant") of v. 28 is a weaker Christian brother or a Gentile outsider.[13] The variant απιστου is an obvious scribal emendation seeking to clarify the point that Paul had in mind a Gentile outsider.[14] Ἄλλης is the reading of Nestle-Aland[27], a reading that suggests

[8] Sanders notes that there are two other stray sigla in the manuscript, a λ on p. 11 and the reading πεμπτις at the top of p. 3 (*New Testament Manuscripts,* 252).

[9] Cf. quire ΙΘ for a similar seven-leaf quire.

[10] Codex I follows the convention of dividing a consonant with its preceding vowels and thus ετε-ρου would be consistent with Codex I elsewhere.

[11] Unfortunately the manuscript has further deteriorated and darkened in the bottom portion, and no traces are left of συνειδήσεως in the fourth line. Elsewhere in the manuscript there is clear evidence that letters on the lower portions of the leaves are no longer visible because of darkening, but there are no signs of significant decay of the parchment.

[12] Rudolf Bultmann posited that v. 29 was a commentary on v. 28 (*Theology of the New Testament* [trans. Kendrick Grobel; 2 vols.; London: SCM, 1952, 1955], 1:219). The indefinite μηνύσας of v. 28 would therefore be continued into v. 29.

[13] Hans Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (ed. George W. MacRae; trans. James W. Leitch; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 178.

[14] Απιστου is the reading of F, G, a, b, d, and vg^{mss}.

itself on the grounds of strong textual witnesses. Ἄλλης is meant to clarify ἑτέρου and can be translated in the sense of "another's conscience." The Greek wording, however, is ambiguous and can be translated adjectivally as "another conscience," or substantively as "another's conscience." Both translations are permitted by the Greek syntax, with the latter being the preference of the majority of translations. Paul does not use this grammatical construction elsewhere, which makes it difficult to decide this matter on syntactical grounds alone.

In the absence of ἄλλης the sense of the verse would be accurately rendered as "Why should my freedom be subject to the judgment of conscience?" This reading appears to be in harmony with Paul's reticence to distinguish the exact identity of the μηνύσας. The subject matter of v. 29 is to explicate the principle of freedom versus conscience by identifying forces that bring freedom into subjection. The identification of the μηνύσας redirects the argument away from its intended focus, which is that certain actions create offense even though they are inherently benign, toward a specific target. The reading ἄλλης enjoys the superiority of witnesses as well as being the more difficult reading. The refocusing of the reader's attention back to the μηνύσας in 10:29b undermines the main point that Christian freedom is being subjected to conscience. The reading of συνειδήσεως without ἄλλης in connection with the question of "whose conscience" appears to be a clarifying scribal tendency meant to correct the syntactical ambiguity of the reading with ἄλλης.

Thomas A. Wayment
thom_wayment@byu.edu
Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602

JBL 123/4 (2004) 741–783

BOOK REVIEWS

Abraham, Blessing and the Nations: A Philological and Exegetical Study of Genesis 12:3 in Its Narrative Context, by Keith N. Grüneberg. BZAW 332. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003. Pp. xii + 296. Hardcover. $94, €78. ISBN 3110178370.

This book is a publication of the author's doctoral dissertation, written at the University of Durham under the supervision of Walter Moberly. It addresses an often overlooked but significant translation problem in Gen 12:3b. Although many, particularly Christian, commentators understand this half-verse to be a promise by God to Abraham that "in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed" (NRSV), Moberly and others (e.g., Rashi, Erhard Blum) have argued plausibly that the promise might be better rendered as a reflexive, "by you all the families of the earth shall bless themselves" (NRSV note). In contrast to his doctoral adviser, Grüneberg argues, particularly on grammatical grounds, that the former translation, "be blessed," is better.

The book wanders a bit on its way to (and from) this thesis. After a helpful introduction to the translation issue, Grüneberg devotes the balance of the first chapter to discussion of his focus on "the final form of the text." Though he recognizes the efforts of some—including the present reviewer—to argue for a mixed approach, he argues that attentive readers can perceive the cross-currents of a multilayered text well enough without having to investigate the probable contours of those different layers (pp. 6–7). This review could engage that perspective, but it is not necessary, given how Grüneberg proceeds. In point of fact, Grüneberg himself states his intent to include diachronic considerations in his discussion of Gen 12:36 (p. 11), and later he includes such considerations as this and other points (e.g., pp. 155–59, 177). So Grüneberg's extensive elaboration of final form focus is somewhat misleading in characterizing his operative method.

After a brief discussion of parallels to the blessing formula in Gen 12:3a ("I will bless those who bless you and curse the one who treats you lightly"), Grüneberg moves to the heart of his study in ch. 3: a survey of the uses of the *niphal* in Hebrew. Depending largely on work by S. Kemmer, who identifies semantic domains that are often marked off as "middle" from active constructions (*The Middle Voice* [Typological Studies in Language 23; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1993]), Grüneberg attempts to classify the

uses of the *niphal* in Hebrew, particularly a limited set of domains where the *niphal* expresses a "middle" sense. For example, the Hebrew *niphal* expresses actions done for one's own benefit, reciprocal actions, verbs of grooming and other verbs where one moves/hides oneself ("'self-move' middles"), and so forth. Outside of this limited set of "middle" uses, Grüneberg argues that the vast majority of uses of the *niphal* are passive constructions. The examples of true direct reflexive use of the *niphal,* Grüneberg contends, are rare and questionable ("indirect reflexives" are classified by Grüneberg as a form of middle *niphal*). Based on this, Grüneberg concludes that נִבְרְכוּ in Gen 12:3b is passive in meaning. The direct reflexive *niphal* is rare and would be clearly marked in a case such as this, and the verb ברך does not fit in the limited categories of middle verbs in Hebrew.

This argument then serves as the foundation for much of the rest of Grüneberg's discussion of Gen 12:3b and related texts. For example, in ch. 4 Grüneberg considers the two other texts in Genesis (besides Gen 12:3b) that use the *niphal* of ברך to describe the promise to Abraham: Gen 18:18 and 28:14. With regard to Gen 18:18, he builds a good case from its narrative context that the promise is focused on Abraham and his descendants, not the nations (pp. 74–76). Nevertheless, he rejects the possibility that נִבְרְכוּ can be translated middle or reflexively, based on the previous chapter (on the *niphal*). Likewise in the case of Gen 28:14, Grüneberg argues compellingly that this promise should be understood as a promise that other peoples will look to Jacob as a paradigm of blessing, but Grüneberg rejects this because "we have argued (ch. 3) that on grammatical grounds passive force for the niphal is most likely" (p. 84).

In subsequent chapters Grüneberg discusses the semantic range of "blessing" roots in Hebrew (ch. 5), the translation and interpretation of Gen 12:3 in the context of the preceding texts of Genesis (ch. 6), the meaning of the *hithpael* in Hebrew (ch. 7), and parallels to Gen 12:3b in Genesis that use the *hithpael* rather than the *niphal* of ברך (ch. 8; ch. 9 is a brief summary). Overall, Grüneberg maintains that the divine promise of blessing in Gen 12:3b—using the *niphal*—should be translated on grammatical grounds as a passive: "all the families of the earth shall be blessed through you," while the parallel divine promises of blessing in Gen 22:18 and 26:4 that use the *hithpael* should be translated as reflexives, "all the nations of the earth shall bless themselves by you." Nevertheless, along the way, he raises some important considerations that would counter this approach. For example, in parts of chs. 5 and 6 Grüneberg argues compellingly that calling a person a ברכה means that they are "either a byword of blessing or signally in receipt of blessings." Thus the imperative to "be a ברכה" in Gen 12:2b is focused on Abraham as a signal example of blessing to others (pp. 117–21, 146), and this would lead naturally to a promise in Gen 12:3b that clans of the earth would bless themselves by Abraham. Similarly, Grüneberg notes ways in which the preceding promise in Gen 12:3a is likewise focused primarily on Abraham's superlative blessing (pp. 167–76), thus leading well into a promise that other families of the earth would recognize that blessing and wish a similar blessing on themselves (Gen 12:3b [pp. 178–79]). In these and other ways Grüneberg builds parts of a case for a reflexive or middle understanding of the *niphal* ברך in Gen 12:3b. Nevertheless, he rejects that option, again primarily on the grounds of his treatment of the *niphal* in ch. 3.

Thus, the core argument of the book stands or falls on the grammatical arguments in ch. 3 (pp. 34–66). Nevertheless, this reviewer did not find the argumentation there

decisive. First, as Grüneberg repeatedly recognizes, there are a number of examples of *niphal*s that are functionally "indirect reflexives," such as אחז, שאל, and שמר, where the actor does something for his or her own benefit (pp. 46–47, 62). It is not hard to imagine ברך as a fourth such example, especially since its semantic field is somewhat similar. Second, Grüneberg's arguments that each of the direct reflexive uses of the *niphal* is really a "nuance of the passive" (pp. 62–64) does not obviate the fact that the *niphal* occasionally is used for the reflexive, albeit more rarely than the *hithpael.* Third, especially given the ambiguity of the *niphal* and the relative rarity of its use for (indirect) reflexive action, it is easy to imagine that an earlier set of promises using the *niphal* in this rare reflexive sense (esp. Gen 12:3; 28:14; cf. 18:18) might be supplemented by a later set of promises that express that reflexive sense more clearly through the *hithpael* stem, which was more commonly used for that sense (Gen 22:18; 26:4; see D. Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996], 155–58).

Once it is clear that language use allows either translation, the decisive arguments must come from the context in which these promises occur. On this point, Grüneberg himself shows that the contexts of Gen 12:3; 18:18; and 28:14 correlate strongly with a translation of these promises as reflexive or middle: focused on Abraham and his heirs as signal examples of blessing. The main text that Grüneberg repeatedly adduces as an example of Abraham as a conduit of blessing for others, Gen 18:22–32, is a slender branch on which to hang such a theory. After all, the towns of Sodom and Gomorrah, on whose behalf Abraham pleads, are eventually destroyed. Indeed, a broader survey of the pentateuchal narrative after Gen 12:3b turns up repeated examples where Abraham and his heirs are signally blessed and that blessing is recognized by others. There are few clear examples of other families/nations of the earth being blessed through him or his heirs. Often they are cursed (see Carr, *Reading the Fractures,* 186–94). In other words, a "final form reading" of Gen 12:3b in the context of Genesis would favor an interpretation of it as a promise that "all families of the earth shall bless themselves by you." Furthermore, this translation correlates better with the royal and ancestral promises on which this formulation probably is based (esp. Ps 72:17b; Gen 48:20; cf. Zech 8:13).

The passive translation of the *niphal* in Gen 12:3b—"all the families of the earth will be blessed through you"—makes good sense only in another literary/scriptural "context": that of a broader Christian Bible where emphasis is placed primarily on interpreting the OT in light of the NT. If one is doing a reading of Gen 12:3b primarily from the perspective of the mission to Gentiles so prominent in the NT, then one might reread Gen 12:3b as Paul does (Gal 3:8) and interpret it as an anticipation of the blessing of other families of the earth through Jesus. That kind of broader final-form reading of the Christian Bible is a worthy and intellectually respectable enterprise. It is not, however, attempted by Grüneberg.

At the very least, this book should raise the consciousness of scholars to the significant translation issue in Gen 12:3b. Though it might seem odd to focus so much on the translation of one verb in one half-verse, it turns out that highly intelligent and otherwise thorough theological proposals, such as that by Ken Soulen (*The God of Israel and Christian Theology* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996], esp. 120, 140) have been seriously weakened by lack of attention to this issue. And though Grüneberg may not have established a persuasive case for the translation of this verse as passive ("all the families of the

earth shall be blessed through you"), his balanced treatment sometimes strengthens the case for the view he opposes: the probably correct translation of Gen 12:3b and its parallels (Gen 18:18; 28:14) as "all families of the earth shall bless themselves by you."

David M. Carr
Union Theological Seminary in New York City, New York, NY 10027

Punishment and Forgiveness in Israel's Migratory Campaign, by Won W. Lee. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. Pp. xv + 308. $45.00 (paper). ISBN 0802809928.

Although never explicitly noted, this book is a revision of Lee's 1998 dissertation under Rolf Knierim at Claremont Graduate University, entitled "Punishment and Forgiveness in Israel's Migratory Campaign: The Macrostructure of Numbers 10:11–36:13." It is the kind of dissertation that makes a splendid book, with its sustained argumentation, focus on interpretation of a large portion of text in the biblical corpus, and limited (but careful) review of past scholarship.

Citing the majority opinion that Num 1:1–10:10 is a distinct and coherent unit, Lee has as his goal to provide a structural analysis of the latter part of the book: Num 10:11–36:13. Although sensitive to the vast body of literature (especially commentaries) on the book of Numbers, Lee focuses his literature review on the earlier works of George B. Gray, Martin Noth, Philip J. Budd, Dennis T. Olson, Jacob Milgrom, and Timothy R. Ashley, six key figures in the recent history of the interpretation of the book of Numbers. Lee focuses on their analyses and conclusions about the unifying concept and overall structure of 10:11–36:13. For each of these issues (concept, structure) Lee identifies two basic streams of scholarship.

With regard to the unifying concept of this section of Numbers, Lee identifies one stream that denies any significant unifying concept (Gray, Noth) and a second that finds a well-ordered and coherent concept, whether that is God's enduring commitment to the Israelites despite setbacks (Budd), the transition from one generation to the next (Olson, Milgrom), or movement from orientation to disorientation to new orientation (Ashley). He notes an important contrast in starting points between these two streams: Gray and Noth start their analyses with past scholarship on the Pentateuch as a whole, while Budd, Olson, Milgrom, and Ashley begin their analyses with Numbers itself.

As for the overall structure, Lee notes the lack of agreement between the six scholars either on the macro- or microstructure of Num 10:11–36:13. Again two basic streams may be discerned: those who choose geographical and/or chronological signals as key to the structure (Gray, Budd), and those who choose thematic criteria, such as Noth's combination of the traditions of Sinai revelation, guidance in the wilderness, preparation/beginning of conquest; Olson's focus on the death of the old and birth of the new; Milgrom's mix of Noth and Olson; or Ashley's focus on obedience from orientation through disorientation to new orientation.

Although affirming many aspects of this earlier scholarship, Lee is dissatisfied with their analyses and conclusions and attributes this to methodological deficiencies, especially the error of "surface reading" rather than "close reading" of the text, as well as a lack of attention to compelling literary evidence. According to Lee, "these scholars' structures portray their tendency to start with the assumption of a certain kind of the-

matic reality that in turn determines the literary analysis of the text and, as a result, to impose their themes on the text without considering the generic and functional individuality of each component unit within a whole." This prompts him to propose "a systematic discussion of the structure of Numbers 10:11–36:13, which accounts for the generative inexplicit conceptualities underneath the text" (p. 46).

Lee's goal, then, is "to reconstruct the conceptual system of Numbers 10:11–36:13 at its highest level, that is, the macrostructure of the text," a conceptual system provided by the text itself, which is "located underneath its surface" (infratextual; p. 47). The way to access this infratextual dimension, according to Lee, is through "conceptual analysis," a methodology that he draws largely from Rolf Knierim. This approach focuses on information gained from both the surface as well as the subsurface level of the text in order to reconstruct the infratextual dimension.

Lee sees in recent form-critical reflection the impulse to bring together diachronic and synchronic approaches to the OT, so that they should be viewed no longer as dichotomous but rather as complementary. Such complementarity is demonstrated in recent work (not surprisingly) by Marvin Sweeney and Knierim that gives priority to the final form of the text and sees the value of structural analysis to access the "underlying matrices" generated by the human mind, rather than by sociolinguistic settings. Knierim, in particular, contends that the infratextual concepts in a text are more influential on the structure of a text than the typical aspects of its form. Thus, texts are "conceptualized linguistic-semantic" entities (p. 54) with both explicit statements and implicit concepts.

Following his Doktorvater's refining of traditional form criticism, Lee says that conceptual analysis is "interested in explaining a text, specifically as a conceptualized phenomenon" (p. 55). This necessitates attention to the connotative surface level of the text (verbal, syntactic, semantic) through analysis of the text's grammar, syntax, stylistic and rhetorical features, genre elements, and themes. But it also means attention to texts as conceptual entities with assumptions, presuppositions, or concepts operative in their thought system through suprasyntagmatic factors. Such a system is specific to an individual text and "located foundationally underneath the surface expression of the text" (p. 56). Thus conceptual analysis means accessing both explicit statements and implicit presuppositions of a text and then investigating the relationship between the two. Priority is given to the presuppositions, for the linguistic and literary features of the text are in service of the composition and structure of the text.

The bulk of this book is consumed by a deep and careful conceptual analysis of the various pericopae within Num 10:11–36:13, so I can here showcase only a limited portion of Lee's work. There is no better place for this than his work on Num 10:11–12, a section essential to his conclusions on the structure and meaning of 10:11–36:13.

First, Lee identifies two key surface indicators within 10:11–12 that highlight its rhetorical role in the macrostructure of the book of Numbers as a whole: the chronological marker in 10:11 ("the second year, in the second month, on the twentieth day of the month"; cf. 1:1) and the topographical/geographical marker in 10:12 ("then the Israelites set out by stages from the wilderness of Sinai"; cf. the focus on a single location in 1:1–10:10). Such recognition of surface features, however, is only half the work for Lee. He seeks to uncover that to which these explicit surface features point conceptually underneath the text. For this he relies heavily on Knierim's work on Numbers, noting

the importance of terms such as *nsʿ* and *ḥnh* to categorize this section as a narrative that denotes not only migration but also cultic pilgrimage and military campaign: "This concept of preparation and execution of the sanctuary campaign controls and provides the ultimate meanings for the chronological and topographical/geographical indicators" (p. 98).

Lee not only works this way on the highest level markers such as 10:11–12, but also on the smallest subunits of 10:11–36:13. Before doing this he reveals his definition of what comprises an individual unit and then lists the results of his study of each of the thirty-six units followed by the detailed analysis of each unit.

This all leads to his conclusion about the macrostructure of Num 10:11–36:13. Although aware throughout of diversity in the material found in this section of Numbers, it is in fact a self-contained, well-organized, and coherent unit. For Lee the decisive criterion for the significance of the thirty-six units within 10:11–36:13 is the conquest of Canaan, the land promised to the Israelites, and the goal of their continuing campaign (p. 279). The fundamental conceptual basis without which the units would not exist as they do nor be placed where they are is Israel's failure to conquer the promised land from the south in Num 13–14. This clearly differentiates Lee from Olson (for instance), for whom the generational succession is so important, since in Lee's schema the generational succession is at best indicative of the transition from Yahweh's punishment of Israel to Yahweh's forgiveness. The general structure is presented as:

10:11–14:45: Event: failed campaign to enter the promised land from the south
15:1–36:13: Consequence: entrance into the promised land delayed by forty years
15:1–20:29: Completion of Yahweh's punishment of all the exodus generation: the death of the exodus generation
21:1–36:13: Actualization of Yahweh's forgiveness of the exodus generation: the call of the new generation as the new carrier of the divine promise of land

There is no question that this book represents a major contribution to the study of Numbers that will provide a new foundation for reflection on this book in years to come, especially for future commentary on the structure of the book as a whole as well as the individual units in 10:11–36:13.

Lee does a masterful job of placing his exegetical method into the larger hermeneutical context of critical methodologies. He is careful not to alienate these other approaches, even as he creates space for his own. However, in his delineation of conceptual analysis, Lee makes the claim that "[f]rom the inception of form criticism, its goal has been to explain the biblical texts in their present form. However, the early history of its application to texts demonstrates that most form critics move backward to search for a short, self-contained, and 'original' oral element behind the sources" (p. 63). This statement should be qualified, for it is clear that one key aspect of early form criticism was its aim to uncover the various *Sitzen im Leben* of the biblical text. For instance, when scholars admitted the fruitlessness of searching for the original, unique historical setting of individual psalms, they identified a level of historical rootedness by considering the repeating liturgical contexts that gave rise to the compositions. Thus, even if form criticism did bring too much emphasis on the typical aspects of the text (as James Muilenburg so aptly expressed), this was a key aspect at the inception of form criticism.

Lee's analysis provides much-needed reflection about and definition to the rhetorical study of biblical material. Most commentaries on biblical books today provide some form of structural analysis of units ranging from the smallest pericope to entire books, but rarely is the methodology for arriving at such structures provided, suggesting that little reflection has taken place. Lee offers careful reflection on key methodology and definitions, fulfilling a concern for proper method and definition expressed in the opening words of the book, where he notes his desire to find an "empirically verifiable procedure" that will enable him "to articulate the interrelationships among the many units of Numbers 10:11–36:13" (p. vii).

Such a lofty goal is to be applauded, but at times one wonders if Lee's analysis is in the arena of science (empirically verifiable) or that of art. For instance, when he defines the "individual unit" for his study, he notes that the criteria for determining the boundaries of units is "not only compositional devices, such as linguistic, stylistic, rhetorical, formal, generic, and thematic signals, but also conceptualities under the text" (p. 120). He adds, "It is possible that not one but a mixture of several devices works together to circumscribe the limits of a unit, to mark out a unit from adjacent units, and thus to establish the independence of the unit" (p. 120). Here we see a clear admission that the identification of the rhetorical units cannot be controlled by consistent and repeating phenomena. Rather the interpreter needs to be sensitive to the various methodologies that could be used, even on the conceptual level.

Lee's decision to look not only to the surface (which is much more easily "empirically verifiable") but also to the deeper conceptual level introduces a greater degree of subjectivity to his analysis. To enhance objective control over this process, Lee suggests a spiral of interpretation that returns to the surface level for confirmation once the conceptual level is mined. While this balance between the surface and conceptual levels does introduce greater debate (and some would say subjectivity) into the process, it is not to be regarded as an entirely negative aspect. Rather, it encourages a rhetorical analysis that transcends mere counting of discourse markers to suggest the underlying theological themes that hold these discourse units together. In this, Lee provides a case study of the kind of theological fruit that conceptual analysis can bear, and thus provides a way to bridge the gap between biblical and theological studies in the academic world.

Mark J. Boda
McMaster Divinity College, McMaster University, Hamilton, ON L8S 4K1, Canada

Battle of the Gods: The God of Israel versus Marduk of Babylon: A Literary/Theological Interpretation of Jeremiah 50–51, by Martin Kessler. SSN 42. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003. Pp. x + 263. € 69.50 (paper). ISBN 9023239091.

Martin Kessler's *Battle of the Gods* is a welcome addition to the scholarly literature focusing on the oracles against the nations (OAN) in general, those against Babylon in particular, and especially the anti-Babylonian block of material in Jer 50–51. Kessler has long been interested in this material, and thus his history of scholarship presented in ch. 1 is particularly useful. Kessler's pioneering work ("Rhetoric in Jeremiah 50 and 51," *Semitics* 3 [1973]: 18–35) was followed by Kenneth Aitken's "The Oracles against Babylon in Jeremiah 50.51: Structure and Perspective," *TB* 35 (1985): 25–63, and the first

book-length consideration by this reviewer (Bellis, *The Structure and Composition of Jeremiah 50:2–51:58* [Mellen, 1995], originally published by University Microfilms in 1986). Kessler's contextualizing of this material among the Jeremian OAN, the canonical book of Jeremiah, and the Isaian anti-Babylonian oracles (ch. 7) is also helpful. The remaining seven chapters deal with motifs running through the material (ch. 2), literary commentary on Jer 50–51 (chs. 3–6), historical considerations (ch. 8), and summarizing conclusions (ch. 9).

Kessler's perspective is in line with the trend away from historical-critical, diachronic approaches and toward synchronic, literary readings. To the extent that he considers historical matters, he subordinates them to synchronic concerns. At one point he suggests that his reason for this preference is a practical one: the text has not given us satisfactory answers to historical questions (p. 29), although presumably he does not really mean to suggest that we cannot find acceptable answers to any historical questions. Indeed, he subsequently states that it would be useful to be able to date component parts of the book of Jeremiah, if possible, and that since agnosticism is not a desirable thing, we should at least seek answers (p. 30). Toward the end of the monograph, he offers a "narrow" window of between 586 and 550 B.C.E. for the composition of Jer 50–51 (p. 206).

On the issue of authorship, Kessler refrains from saying whether or not the author of the core of the book of Jeremiah wrote chs. 50–51. Instead, he suggests two "alternatives": to listen to the voice of the text or remain agnostic. "[T]hose who view the literature as Scripture (instead of a subject of *scholarly preoccupation* only, or for entertainment) will be inclined to pay attention to 'the voice' which may be heard in this book" (p. 203, emphasis added). Kessler's denunciation of the scholarly preoccupied folks aside, it is odd that he considers listening to an unnamed, anonymous voice in the text to be an alternative to agnosticism on the question of who wrote this material.

Kessler acknowledges that, given his dating of Jer 50–51 between 586 and 550, this material cannot be a *vaticinium ex eventu.* Rather it must rather have been written before Cyrus "conquered" Babylon peacefully in 539 precisely because the violent predictions are so out of sync with what actually happened. He goes on to say that Jer 50–51 cannot be considered a historical document (p. 206). By "historical document" he seems to mean a narrative with accurate information about an event rather than one written about a past occurrence. Kessler is certainly correct that the predictions in Jer 50–51 are very specific and thus have verisimilitude. Many biblical prophecies sound historical (in the sense of describing a past event) to a modern reader because of the use of the prophetic perfect in which future events are described as if they had already happened, so sure was the prophet that the events would actually take place. But most of the details of the prophecies in Jer 50–51 turned out to be wrong. The most central point, that Babylon would fall, was correct, however.

Although Kessler claims little interest in historical matters, he spends an entire chapter dealing with Jer 50–51 in the context of Babylonian history. He is at some pains to explain the material's lack of historical (or more properly predictive) accuracy. Thus he concludes that "these oracles serve a purpose which is more ideological than historical" (p. 198). All biblical prophecy was ideologically driven, and all predictive prophecy aimed at accurately foretelling the future, at least in terms of the bigger picture (otherwise only false hope could be conveyed), but much conventional language was used because prophets did not know the details of the future. That is a problem if truth is

equated with historical accuracy (the modern view) but not if it is focused on spiritual and moral verities, such as that tyrants sow the seeds of their own destruction or pride precedes a fall (the ancient one).

Kessler's methodological perspective is at least in part canonical criticism of the Brevard Childs variety (focused on the canon in its final form), as opposed to the type practiced by James Sanders (focused on the development of the canon). In a section entitled "The Interpretive Agenda," he declares, "Biblical scholars have their agenda for doing *responsible* exegesis; *rightly,* it begins and ends with the text, i.e. the MT" (p. 54, emphasis added). He does not defend this position nor even mention the term *canonical criticism.* His rather narrowly dogmatic view does not leave room for biblical scholars who are interested in the development of the text, even from a theological perspective.

On literary matters, Kessler steers a middle course between the usual dismissal of Jer 50–51 as being without literary logic or coherence and those such as Aitken (whom he does not review in any detail) and this reviewer, who have seen a series of poetic units in the material. Instead of poems, he divides the material into somewhat smaller "segments," dismissing this reviewer with a scant two-paragraph discussion. He concludes that, "Bellis, like many modern literary critics, appears anxious to find an elegant structure; unfortunately, she has chosen the wrong subject for that, for in this rather unique literary piece, formal poetics must take a backseat to rhetorical effect" (p. 27). Perhaps—but Kessler does not define the difference between formal poetics and rhetorical effect. It is also not clear what his rationale is for dividing the text into smaller subpoetic units but not into larger poetic blocks.

If one drops back one level from "poetic unit" to Kessler's segments, there is significant agreement between his and my partitions. Although the matter is too complex to discuss in detail here, the only places where he makes a division in the text and I do not is in Jer 51. Our disagreement centers on where to place 51:24 (he ends a segment there, and I begin one). We also have several differences of opinion in 51:41–53, probably the most difficult section in the whole block of material. The amount of agreement between Aitken and this reviewer on poetic units, on the one hand, and between Kessler and myself on segments, on the other, suggests that a more collaborative and less combative, dismissive approach might be useful.

Finally, a concern may be raised about Kessler's contrast of Israel's and Babylon's gods (p. 216). First, he states that YHWH sides with justice and mercy. He admits that in Hammurabi's Code, the practice of justice is delegated to the Babylonian king and that the study of ancient Near Eastern laws has resulted in the discovery of many shared norms. Still, he says that there were "radically different representations of Marduk, as head of the pantheon, and YHWH," but he does not substantiate this claim. Second, Kessler asserts what even he admits is a biblically partisan view, that YHWH speaks and the other gods are silent. Third, he states that the Babylonian gods were prone to selfishness, hatred, and violence, unlike YHWH. This is a particularly odd statement to make in a book devoted to two chapters of Jeremiah that contain some of the most violent, hateful rhetoric in the Bible.

Finally, Kessler speaks of the sin of hubris, of which Marduk was guilty according to biblical anti-Babylonian oracles. Again, it seems inequitable to condemn the pride of Babylon's gods while engaging in proud contempt for the Babylonian god Marduk. It is one thing for tiny, oppressed Judah to have asserted what had to be seen as an absurd position at the time as a way of creating hope for the future. It is quite another for some-

one in a Western nation to trumpet the superiority of the Judeo-Christian deity over the ancient god of Babylon (modern-day Iraq). Such hubris is more in line with what is condemned in Jer 50–51 than with the biblical prophet's pride.

In spite of the concerns outlined above, Kessler's monograph on Jer 50–51 is helpful in bringing together the fruits of scholarship on Jer 50–51 and in comparing this material with the other Jeremian OAN and with the Isaian OAN against Babylon, which has not been done to date. Embarrassment over the harsh rhetoric in the OAN has relegated the queen of the OAN, Jer 50–51, to the sidelines of biblical scholarship. Kessler's thoughtful work helps correct this problem.

Alice Ogden Bellis
Howard University School of Divinity, Washington, DC 20017

"According to My Righteousness": Upright Behaviour as Grounds for Deliverance in Psalms 7, 17, 18, 26 and 44, by Gert Kwakkel. OtSt 46. Leiden: Brill, 2002. Pp. 342. $157.00. ISBN 9004125078.

This study, a slightly revised dissertation directed by Ed Noort at the University of Groningen, focuses on five psalms that report upright behavior on the part of the psalmist. In each case, the reported behavior serves as the grounds by which the psalmist may be delivered from peril, but the exact intention of the report is not self-evident. Gert Kwakkel analyzes these accounts of upright behavior found in Pss 7, 17, 18, 26, and 44 and concludes that the psalmist is claiming to be loyal to God and to lead a life that accords with God's will. Kwakkel adds that such claims of loyalty imply a relationship between the psalmist and the (divine) person, although such a conclusion is not always inevitable.

The relevance of Kwakkel's study becomes more clear when it is situated in the history of scholarship. In the first half of the twentieth century, certain scholars of the psalms equated assertions of upright behavior with self-righteousness, with a deficient understanding of one's own sin; the assertions were said to anticipate Pharisaism (i.e., the mind-set of the Pharisee in Luke 18:9–14). Although this interpretation has lost currency, no consensus has emerged in terms of a definitive interpretation of declarations of upright behavior in the psalms. To fill this lacuna, Kwakkel undertakes his study and concludes that the psalmist is claiming to be loyal to God, to be doing God's will, and to be implicitly in relationship with God.

In Kwakkel's analysis, each of the five psalms reflects his primary conclusion differently. His analysis of Ps 7, for example, rightly identifies 7:9b as the psalm's center, where the psalmist asks God to vindicate him according to his righteousness and integrity. It is possible, Kwakkel contends, that the claims to righteousness and integrity include "loyalty to YHWH" (p. 45) if one accepts a parallel conclusion that Kwakkel draws in his analysis of an earlier verse (7:2). Elsewhere, he suggests that other expressions such as "upright in heart" (7:11) are in fact declarations of loyalty to God. In his final analysis of Ps 7, he nuances his claim thus: "If it is correct that an explicit claim to faithfulness to his God is not the main point … such things were not far removed from his [the psalmist's] objective" (pp. 66–67).

In Ps 17, Kwakkel contends, vv. 3–5 are intended to refute charges of malfeasance

that have been falsely brought against the psalmist, although the verses also assert that the psalmist adheres to a way of life in accord with God's will. Kwakkel's view finds support in vv. 4–5, a difficult portion of Hebrew text that has yielded varying translations, most of which tend to report the psalmist following God's commandments. Kwakkel concludes that v. 5 is an explicit reference to the psalmist's firm adherence to God's commandments. Kwakkel further contends that such adherence is tantamount to faithfulness to God, so vv. 3–5 describe a way of life determined by loyalty to God and a relationship with God. Because these several conclusions are at best implicit in the text, Kwakkel prudently notes that a precise paraphrase of Ps 17 would emphasize the psalmist's obedience to God's commandments rather than his loyalty to the relationship with God (p. 108).

Psalm 18 provides the book's title as the psalmist twice asserts that "according to my righteousness" God has affirmed the psalmist's upright behavior (18:21, 25). These verses and others that precede or follow make clear the intent of the assertion, in Kwakkel's view. Keeping God's ways and not acting wickedly (18:22) are instances of righteousness that, Kwakkel holds, denote not only a life lived by God's precepts but loyalty to God (p. 245). Similarly, blamelessness before God (18:24) is to be associated with "walking with God" and furthermore with being in intimate relationship with God. On the basis of these interpreted data and a generic reference to the faithful person in 18:26, Kwakkel suggests that the psalmist's being loyal to God and to his relationship with God may be the main objective of the passage in question (18:21–28; p. 247).

In the case of Ps 26, Kwakkel isolates references to the psalmist's trust (26:1), faithfulness (26:3), and preference for God's house (26:8) as indicative of a claim of loyalty to God (p. 148). On the basis of this data, he asserts that loyalty to God implies loyalty to one's relationship with God. The claim, although plausible, is open to debate, and, in fact, Kwakkel notes that in Ps 26 the psalmist's relationship with God is never considered outright (p. 148).

Psalm 44:18-21 proves a key passage for Kwakkel in that it contains assertions of righteous behavior in spite of which disaster and exile have befallen the people. Denials of forgetting God, being false to God's covenant, and worshiping a foreign god loom large in Kwakkel's analysis. He proposes that the foreign gods are to be defined as those who have not entered into a relationship with Israel (as God has done). Forgetting God and breaking the covenant are interpreted broadly as indicative of disobeying *all* the commandments, not only those against idolatry. Such a broad assertion, Kwakkel further reasons, amounts to a denial of having been disloyal to God, and the prayer is thus "a somewhat general claim to loyalty to its God and its relationship to him" (p. 206). The chapter's conclusion reverberates this interpretation while adding that the people may have interpreted their misfortune (44:10–17, 20, 23) as a charge of disloyalty God has brought against them. In the case of Ps 44, Kwakkel's claim that the text addresses issues of loyalty in relationship has a basis in the concept "covenant" (44:18), which indeed denotes relationship in ways that Kwakkel documents and clarifies (pp. 206–8).

During the course of his study, Kwakkel devotes a chapter to Walter Beyerlin's argument that the setting of Pss 7, 17, 26 and other psalms was a cultic ordeal undertaken by an accused person to elicit a divine judgment as to the party's guilt or innocence. Beyerlin's reconstruction of the ordeal includes an oath that the accused would profess to establish his or her innocence. Kwakkel reviews Beyerlin's evidence for the

oath and finds it unpersuasive. In one instance, Kwakkel states that the account of the woman accused of adultery, Num 5:11–13, approximates the cultic trial that Beyerlin reconstructs but there is not "firm proof" (p. 174) of an ordeal that incorporates an oath of innocence. Absent the requisite burden of "firm" proof, Kwakkel dismisses the cultic ordeal as a possible setting for the psalms in question.

The manner of the dismissal raises a question about this book and its argumentation: the burden of proof shifts at various points to suit the author's advantage. When arguing for interpretations of Pss 7, 17, 18, 26, and 44 that pivot on the psalmist's relational loyalty to God, Kwakkel routinely argues from evidence that is indirect, implicit, or oblique. When weighing the claims of other scholars such as Beyerlin, Kwakkel holds that an interpretation should not be more explicit than the biblical text itself and that acceptable interpretations must be decisive and strong rather than forced. Were this burden of proof applied to the book's central hypothesis that incidents of righteousness in the psalms pertain to a loyal psalmist in relationship with God, the hypothesis would not fare well.

This reservation does not overshadow the book's numerous strengths. Kwakkel delivers a clear and comprehensive exegesis of each of the five psalms in question. His work with both the biblical text and the relevant scholarship is detailed and carefully executed, with evidence of very few errors. There are insightful observations, and Kwakkel is judicious in dealing with the thorny issues of a psalm's setting and dating. In most cases, he finds that there is insufficient evidence to date the psalm in question. Kwakkel similarly refrains from proposing a setting for a given psalm and rather examines whether behind the text there is a given situation or ritual, such as the cultic ordeal to determine guilt or innocence, the rite by which pilgrims were allowed to enter the temple precincts, or the royal address of God by the king as leader of the temple cult. His only detailed treatment with regard to matters of setting and dating—that Ps 44 was written when the Assyrian King Sennacherib was attacking King Hezekiah and the people of Jerusalem and Judah (p. 231)—is well founded. In short, this is an important book for scholars of the psalms while its exploration of human righteousness before God will prove valuable for all who are interested in the theology of the OT.

Richard J. Bautch
St. Edward's University, Austin, TX 78704

A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19: "No One Has Seen What I Have Seen," by Kelley Coblentz Bautch. JSJSup 81. Leiden: Brill, 2003. Pp. xvii + 332. €79 (hardcover). ISBN 9004131035.

In order to comprehend the development of Judaism in the Second Temple period, it is necessary to understand the large and complex Enochic corpus, which many have suggested represents a distinct form of Judaism ("Enochic Judaism"). Yet, because the Enochic corpus consists of five separate writings, each stemming from a different period of time and composed by a different author for a specific community, we cannot treat the corpus as a single, unified entity; instead, we must endeavor to understand each book in its own right and within its own historical and literary context. Bautch does just that for the "Book of the Watchers" (*1 Enoch* 1–36 [henceforth BW]), which is quite

possibly the earliest Jewish apocalypse and, together with the "Astronomical Book" (*1 En.* 72–82), also the earliest part of the Enochic corpus, dating to the latter half of the third century B.C.E. (see now James H. Charlesworth, "A Rare Consensus Among Enoch Specialists: The Date of the Earliest Enoch Books," *Henoch* 24 [2002]: 225–34). Arguing that the BW itself is a composite writing, Bautch limits the scope of her study to *1 En.* 17–19, which she argues existed as an independent literary unit before being incorporated into the BW. Hence, insofar as it takes us back to the time of the initial formation of the Enochic corpus itself and of apocalyptic literature in general, this study deals with crucial matters about which all biblical scholars and historians of early Judaism must be vitally concerned.

The fact that Bautch further narrows the focus of her study to the geography of *1 En.* 17–19 is not surprising. For not only does *1 En.* 17–19 consist of Enoch's first-person account of the various geographical features and cosmological phenomena that he saw during a journey around the world, but Bautch's doctoral supervisor, James C. VanderKam, has contributed significantly to the study of geographical aspects of Jewish literature of the period, including the geography of the Enochic books. The present monograph is a welcome addition to the burgeoning scholarly literature that is giving serious and sustained attention to the question of ancient geographical conceptions and "mental maps," which provide significant clues about the author's worldview, sources, and agenda. The geography and the journeys in the BW have been a particularly vexing question, which has been addressed by only a few studies dedicated solely to their explication (in addition to the four studies listed on p. 7 n. 26, see now Pieter M. Venter, "Spatiality in Enoch's Journeys [1 Enoch 12-36]," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* [ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003], 211–30). Bautch's helpful focus on *1 En.* 17–19 provides us with a multifaceted study that considers the text's geography and journeys in far greater depth and with more sensitivity than has previously been attempted (see also now Michael A. Knibb, "The Use of Scripture in 1 Enoch 17-19," in *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome: Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst* [ed. F. García Martínez and G. P. Luttikhuizen; JSJSup 82; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 165–78). This book is likely to remain a standard treatment of the subject for years to come and a great boon to scholarship on the Enochic corpus as a whole.

The book consists of three main sections, an extensive conclusion (including an excursus on Law and the Enochic Community), an appendix on text-critical issues, a bibliography, and indices of modern authors and ancient sources. In the following, I will provide an overview of the major findings of the book, along with an evaluation of some of the author's most important arguments.

In section 1 ("Preliminary Determinations," pp. 13–30) Bautch argues that, although *1 En.* 17–19 fits fairly well within the narrative structure of the BW as a whole, it also stands out from its surrounding context because of seams that appear at both ends and the presence of "duplicate traditions" in *1 En.* 20–36 (esp. chs. 21 and 24–25). This indicates, Bautch suggests, that *1 En.* 17–19 "as it now stands is the result of a later redactor awkwardly trying to adapt an independent Enochic tradition to the growing narrative" (p. 23). In some ways, Bautch wants to have her cake and eat it too, for she regularly calls upon other parts of the BW to elucidate enigmatic portions of *1 En.* 17–19, as if the latter were an organic part of the book. At what point, then, do we

acknowledge that the BW is a substantial unity with respect to *1 En.* 17–19, and that modern criteria of consistency and redundancy are insufficient to detach *1 En.* 17–19 from the BW as source material (there is, after all, discontinuity within *1 En.* 17–19 itself [cf. p. 99])?

Section 1 also deals with the issue of the literary form of *1 En.* 17–19. Bautch argues that the section can be classified as both an apocalypse and a *nekyia*, "a Hellenistic genre featuring accounts of journeys to the land of the dead" (p. 29). However, neither classification seems to fit precisely or completely. Viewing the text as a *nekyia* hardly accounts for the total sweep of Enoch's world-encircling journey, since this designation relates to only a few of the many places that Enoch visits and observes. The classification of the text as an apocalypse also seems problematic. Using John J. Collins's widely accepted definition of "apocalypse," Bautch tries to show how *1 En.* 17–19 fits this description. Yet, taken in and of itself, without reference to its surrounding context *1 En.* 17–19 does not present Enoch's observations as part of a vision or divine revelation. Indeed, there is hardly any indication that *1 En.* 17–19 constitutes a "revelation mediated by an otherworldly being." Although unidentified beings initially lead Enoch from place to place in the narrative, they play no role in explaining what Enoch sees, except toward the end of the narrative, when—in the only direct reference to eschatology in the whole text—an "angel" and Uriel elaborate on the places of imprisonment in which the Watchers and the errant stars will remain until the final judgment (18:14–16; 19:1–2). Since the BW is quite possibly the earliest apocalypse, we must be careful about attributing a genre function to the *angelus interpres* in a writing that supposedly predates the composition of the BW. Could it not be that *1 En.* 17–19 uses the *angelus interpres* simply to emphasize the places of incarceration for the Watchers and the errant stars (cf. pp. 134, 254)? Moreover, if, according to Collins's definition, an "apocalypse" discloses a "transcendent reality," do we really find this element in *1 En.* 17–19? Bautch argues that "since the phenomena described in *1 En.* 17–19 are inaccessible to other mortals (see *1 En.* 19:3), they may be considered otherworldly, supernatural, or spatially transcendent" (p. 27). However, as she herself emphasizes, Enoch's observations pertain almost exclusively to the periphery of the present earth (e.g., pp. 27, 188, 194, 205, 284). Neither apocalypse nor *nekyia* seems to describe adequately the genre of *1 En.* 17–19; therefore, an alternative suggestion will be ventured below.

Section 2 ("Description of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19," pp. 33–156) begins with an English translation of *1 En.* 17–19 and a synopsis of the Aramaic, Greek, and Ethiopic versions of the text. Bautch then attempts to identify and explicate the various geographical features and cosmological phenomena contained in *1 En.* 17–19, taking the reader through a painstaking analysis of a largely recondite and obscure text. We are struck by the number of times, both in this section and throughout the study, that Bautch must admit that the text remains enigmatic and vague (e.g., pp. 3–4, 116, 120, 134, 142, 144, 160, 195, 196, 227, 277). Major uncertainties relate to the text and its redaction, the logic and progression of Enoch's journey (with a major digression on the winds in 18:1–5), and the identification of beings and toponyms met along the way. For example, when *1 En.* 17:2 states, "And they led me away to a dark place and to a mountain whose summit reached into the heavens," Bautch speculates that this rather nondescript mountain refers specifically to Mt. Hermon, one of only two mountains named in the BW and the supposed point of departure for Enoch's journey in *1 En.* 17–19. If

so, one wonders why the writer chose to refer to the mountain so indefinitely. Given the many uncertainties attending the geographical features of this section, Bautch is surely correct when she later states that,

> [as] for the vaguely described phenomena of 1 Enoch 17–19, perhaps it is not important for the reader to understand what the phenomena are or where they are located precisely. Maybe it is only important that Enoch, the seer par excellence (cf. 1 Enoch 19:3), has seen these natural wonders. One recalls Wis 9:16–17: "We can hardly guess at what is on earth or what is at hand we find with labor; but who has traced out what is in the heavens? Who has learned your counsel, unless you have given wisdom . . . ." The type of cosmological phenomena that Enoch sees underscores the seer's uniqueness; Enoch is the individual to rise to the challenges presented in wisdom literature and other apocalypses. (p. 227)

In section 3 ("Making Sense of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19," pp. 159–274), Bautch examines how the various sites described in *1 En.* 17–19 stand in relationship to one another, including a graphic reconstruction of the mental map of Enoch's world based on the passage at hand (p. 185). Given the aforementioned uncertainties of the text's interpretation, constructing even a schematic map of *1 En.* 17–19 seems like a formidable, if not impossible, challenge (cf. p. 160). One notices immediately that the placement of Zion in the center of a disk-shaped earth cannot be supported from the text, because Zion does not figure at all in *1 En.* 17–19. Nevertheless, assuming that the text presupposes that the earth is indeed disk-shaped (the only evidence for this is the interpretation of "the great river" [17:6] as the world-encircling Ocean), it is plausible to suggest a generally counterclockwise progression to Enoch's journey, beginning perhaps in the North (Mt. Hermon [17:2]?) and proceeding along the perimeter of the earth, past, for example, "the great sea of [the] west" (the Mediterranean [17:5]?) and the mountain (in the South?) that "reached to the sky like the throne of God" (Mt. Sinai [18:8]?), and coming finally to the prisons of the disobedient angels and stars, located presumably in the Far East. One notices, however, that identifying the two mountains at the northern and southern extremities of the earth as Mt. Hermon and Mt. Sinai, respectively, results in an unusually compressed earth along the north–south axis.

If, as seems likely, *1 En.* 17–19 describes Enoch's eyewitness account of his circuit of the earth, this may give us an important clue as to the literary form of the text as a whole. Contrary to Bautch's classification of the text as an apocalypse and a *nekyia*, I would suggest that, seen as a whole, *1 En.* 17–19 is an example of the well-established *periodos ges* or "around-the-earth journey" literature. As James S. Romm (*The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002], 26–31) explains, the *periodos ges* offered ancient audiences a pleasingly synoptic view of the earth's circuit, embellished with curious details of its most exotic phenomena. This is precisely what *1 En.* 17–19 seems to do. Moreover, the emphasis on Enoch's personal observation of these phenomena (note the refrain, "[And] I saw . . .") feeds right into this particular literary form, for the convention of *autopsia* ("seeing with one's own eyes") almost always occurs in connection with the verification of information from or about distant *places* (cf. Loveday Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel: Literary Convention and Social Context in Luke 1.1–4 and Acts 1.1* [SNTSMS

78; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993], 34–41; J. S. Romm, "Herodotus and Mythic Geography: The Case of the Hyperboreans," *TAPA* 119 [1989]: 97–113).

My suggested approach to the genre of *1 En.* 17–19 opens up a new vista on the international influence that Bautch perceives in the text. For if, as Bautch argues (e.g., pp. 198, 255–56, 278–79, 287), *1 En.* 17–19 was deeply influenced not only by biblical and Jewish (esp. wisdom) traditions, but also—and even more fundamentally—by an international mixture of Greek and Mesopotamian traditions, then we begin to understand the complex maneuver the text makes when it purports to preserve antediluvian knowledge that is beyond the normal human ken. In this international climate, *1 En.* 17–19 presents Enoch as a great sage, an antediluvian man of science whose unique firsthand investigation of the earth's circuit (reinforced by angelic elaboration at certain points that are crucial to the Enochic literature's emphasis on future judgment) allows the author(s) of the text to domesticate a body of alien wisdom within Jewish tradition (cf. Philip S. Alexander, "Enoch and the Beginnings of Jewish Interest in Natural Science," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* [ed. C. Hempel et al.; BETL 159; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002], 223–43). Moreover, this appeal to antediluvian scientific knowledge is right in step with the international climate of the Hellenistic period. As Pieter W. van der Horst ("Antediluvian Knowledge: Graeco-Roman and Jewish Speculations about Wisdom from Before the Flood," in *Japheth in the Tents of Shem: Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity* [CBET 32; Leuven: Peeters, 2002], 139–58 [here 139]) states: "In this primordial [antediluvian] time, so it was thought, mankind certainly possesses precious knowledge now lost, great wisdom now only attainable to those who are fortunate enough to lay hold of documents that survived that cosmic catastrophe, that is, on 'inscriptions from before the flood.' No wonder that such claims were rampant in antiquity, especially in the Hellenistic period when claims of priority played such a large role in the cultural battle between the nations that was waged with a definite 'fondness for speculation about εὑρήματα,' that is, the origins of the arts and sciences." Seen in this light, all the threads of *1 En.* 17–19 come together in a tightly woven fabric to articulate a distinctively Jewish worldview: the emphasis on Enoch *the* antediluvian sage, his *periodos ges*, and his eyewitness account of the unseen and inaccessible things of this world, expressed partially in terms of the international culture of the Hellenistic period.

In the foregoing, I have expressed reservations about some of Bautch's results and have suggested ways in which her own observations could be developed in new directions. Nevertheless, I would like to reiterate my gratitude for this important and stimulating book and to commend it to others for profitable further study.

James M. Scott
Trinity Western University, Langley, BC V2Y 1Y1, Canada

The Making of Fornication: Eros, Ethics, and Political Reform in Greek Philosophy and Early Christianity, by Kathy L. Gaca. Hellenistic Culture and Society 40. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003. Pp. xviii + 360. $60.00 (hardcover). ISBN 0520235991.

Twenty years after his death, there remain many different Foucaults, and this, one suspects, is how the late Michel Foucault would have wanted it (maybe each of us gets

the Foucault we deserve?). The Foucault whose work inspired the title of Averil Cameron's lucid review essay—"Redrawing the Map: Early Christian Territory after Foucault" (*JRS* 76 [1986]: 266–71)—is the author of the *The History of Sexuality*, specifically vol. 2, *The Use of Pleasure*, and vol. 3, *The Care of Self*. Even so, the relevant figure may be less the Foucault of these volumes than the Foucault who, before his death, described the contours of an as yet unpublished fourth volume on ancient Christianity. For a close, brief encounter, there is no better place to look than an extract from a 1980 lecture (now available as "Sexuality and Solitude" in *Religion and Culture: Michel Foucault* [ed. Jeremy R. Carrette; New York: Routledge, 1999], 182–87). Here Foucault identified "the new type of relationship which Christianity established between sex and subjectivity":

> Augustine's conception is still dominated by the theme and form of male sexuality. But the main question is not, as it was in Artemidorus, the problem of penetration: it is the problem of erection. As a result, it is not the problem of a relationship to other people, but the problem of a relationship of oneself to oneself, or, more precisely, the relationship between one's will and involuntary assertions. (p. 186)

For this Foucault, the new religion of Augustine caused a rupture, separating the bishop and his ilk from the dream interpreter and the strange but predictable calculus of coupling apparent in the *Oneirocritica*.

But there are many Foucaults. The one that Kathy Gaca selects as a foil in her important book is not the Foucault of rupture and discontinuity but the Foucault of continuity between Christian and pagan sexual ethics. *The Making of Fornication* represents a sustained, cogent dissent from the "continuity thesis," buttressed by a careful survey and analysis of Greek philosophy, the writings of Paul and Philo, and the diverse approaches to sexual morality among second-century Christians. Out of this investigation Gaca's main thesis emerges: early Christians adapted and altered classical Greek views nearly beyond recognition. Where the philosophers saw in sexuality the potential for social reform, most Christian authorities discerned instead "fornication" (*porneia*), something to avoid at all costs.

Where did Foucault and others—the "continuity" scholars—go wrong? According to Gaca, they overlooked, among other things, the Septuagint. *The Making of Fornication*, perhaps more than any recent comparable study, gives the Septuagint its due, not only as a cache of images and language for Paul, Philo, and others, but as a conversation partner in its own right. "Continuity" scholars also misconstrued the sexual ethics of Greek philosophy. Moreover, while social historians have plotted the rise of ascetic practices and sensibilities among early Christians, they have yet, according to Gaca, to expose the "the motivating philosophical and religious principles" behind this restrictive lifestyle. "Surely the stimulus was not one of merely irrational frenzy due to some undetectable potion that early Christians drank," Gaca drolly comments (p. 9). To correct these problems, Gaca applies a "philosophical methodology," an approach, she pledges, that will not only deliver an accurate, subtle analysis of relevant philosophical and biblical texts but will also lay out the "underlying principles" that shaped the sexual morality of ancient Christianity (p. 10).

The book's prose is dense, but on almost every page close reading repays the effort (the erudition on display in the footnotes alone is staggering). This review can only hint

at the riches inside the book. Part 1 presents the views of Plato, the Stoics, and the Pythagoreans, all of whom link sexual principles to social reform. Chapter 2, "Desire's Hunger and Plato the Regulator," shows that, for Plato, sexual desire gives rise to the most significant problems of the human condition: for the individual, sexual passion impedes the progress of the soul; for society, it, along with other corporeal needs, is the source of crime and warfare. Hence the lesson of the *Republic* is as follows: regulate desire and the rest will fall in line. Here, as elsewhere in the book, Gaca embellishes the discussion with style and wit. Anticipating that her readers might wrongly associate Plato's social model with Marxist communalism, Gaca casts the Greek philosopher as "the first voice of the Platonist Temperance Union," and not as a proto-Engels (p. 45). Plato wants to change the world from the inside out.

For readers accustomed to seeing Stoicism cited as a support for the status quo, ch. 3, "Crafting Eros through the Stoic Logos of Nature," will be both illuminating and dissatisfying. Gaca positions early Stoics, such as Zeno and Chrysippus, over against "popular Greek thought"; while most Greeks cowered before Aphrodite and Eros, blaming the gods for the passions that made slaves of all, the Stoics dismissed such fears as a "misconception." Furthermore, the early Stoics stress communalism, rejecting marriage in favor of cultivating friendships. What about later Stoics? Gaca concedes that there is a "social mainstreaming" of Stoicism as represented, for example, by Musonius, a staunch proponent of marriage. "The social mainstreaming of later Stoicism is an example of the process by which a revolutionary set of ideas gets tamed, loses touch with its origins and thereby gains middle-of-the-road popularity," laments Gaca (p. 90). But isn't this—Stoicism's "middle-of-the-road popularity"—why later Stoics loom large in the study of early Christian morality and in Foucault's models of sexual ethics and subjectivity?

Gaca continues to de-Stoicize Seneca and Musonius in ch. 4, "The Reproductive Technology of the Pythagoreans." Here she locates the origin of "procreationism"—sex for the purposes of propagation alone—in the Pythagorean camp. Though the Stoics Seneca and Musonius support this principle, Gaca remains unyielding: "It does not follow . . . that procreationism is philosophically Stoic simply because two Roman Stoics happen to advocate it" (p. 98 n. 10). Seneca distances himself from Stoic sexual ethics by limiting the experience of eros to reproduction, as does Musonius. Gaca declares: "Both Seneca and Musonius are ascetic Pythagoreans in Stoic clothing, at least with regard to their sexual ethics" (p. 115). No one will deny the importance of accurate classification, but here the payoff is unclear. Whatever its provenance, "procreationism" seems to have gained traction among non-Christians under the Roman emperors.

Part 2 turns to the place of the Septuagint in the writings of Paul and Philo, bringing us to the heart of the study: the making of fornication in Jewish and Christian traditions. In ch. 5, "Rival Plans for God's Sexual Programs in the Pentateuch and Paul," Gaca reiterates the basic, salient difference between Greek philosophical and biblically based sexual ethics: the latter made approved sex an expression of devotion to God; this possibility did not even occur to the philosophers. Paul molds the Septuagintal program to fit his own instruction, according to which Christians had one of three options: marry a Christian spouse for procreationist sex; remain single; or, for those already married, convert one's spouse to Christianity and procreationist sex.

In ch. 6, "From the Prophets to Paul: Converting Whore Culture into the Lord's

Veiled Bride," Gaca examines "spiritual fornication." Paul raised the stakes even higher than the Prophets had by locating "sexual fornication in a class of danger by itself because of the body with which he associates the violation" (p. 180). Focusing on 1 Corinthians, Gaca suggests that, for Paul, the "virginity of Christian monotheism" will be preserved for the parousia only if the "collective bride of the Lord" remains pure, untainted by sexual transgressions (pp. 178–79). Philo takes center stage in ch. 7, "Philo's Reproductive City of God," which both outlines the elements of Philo's "Jewish Middle Platonist" procreationism and anticipates its adaptation and redeployment by Clement of Alexandria.

Part 3 details the "Patristic Transformations of the Philosophical, Pauline, and Philonic Rules" in the proposals of Tatian, Clement, and Epiphanes. In ch. 8, "Driving Aphrodite from the World: Tatian and His Encratite Argument," Gaca contends that behind Tatian's renunciatory demands were, on the one hand, the Greek appreciation of the controlling potency of Aphrodite, and, on the other, Paul's admonition to his followers to "flee from fornication" or else. By comparison, Clement of Alexandria occupies a moderate position, as Gaca describes in ch. 9, "Prophylactic Grace in Clement's Emergent Church Ethic." Following Philo, Clement insists that "any deviation from procreationism reveals the sexual appetite fornicating against God in its hedonistic pursuit of Eros and Aprodite" (p. 270). This perspective, Gaca smartly stresses, is forged in conflict with the encratite Tatian and his followers: any allowance for sexual pleasure would deal a fatal blow to Clement's position. Thus, Clement points to a special dispensation, a "prophylactic grace," granted by God to Christians alone, which renders intercourse "passionless" as long as it is remains solely reproductive. Chapter 10, "The Fornicating Justice of Epiphanes," describes the sexual ethics of the obscure second-century heretic, who argued for sexual communalism. But this view, with its roots in the reformist agenda of Plato and the early Stoics, never stood much of a chance. As Gaca reiterates in the conclusion, the future belonged to the Bible of Paul, Philo, and Clement, not to the ideal city of the Greek philosophers.

The book possesses too many strengths to enumerate; the only glaring weakness, in my view, is its treatment of Foucault and his legacy. The Foucault repeatedly invoked in these pages seems incapable of appreciating difference; the same seems to hold true for the other scholars that Gaca lumps together under the rubric of the "continuity thesis." But this is only one Foucault, or rather, only one way of assessing his work. As Daniel Boyarin and Elizabeth A. Castelli have suggested, "the Foucaultian historiographical project" is "not only the record of epistemic shifts and breaks but also the inscription of deep continuities within this cultural development" ("Introduction: Foucault's *The History of Sexuality:* The Fourth Volume, or, A Field Left Fallow for Others to Till," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10 [2001]: 364). When, in his 1980 lecture, Foucault himself wished to throw into relief the object of inquiry, he recalled a remark by the inimitable Peter Brown: "what we have to understand is why it is that sexuality became, in Christian cultures, the seismograph of our subjectivity" (p. 183). To adapt the metaphor, *The Making of Fornication* has precisely recorded tectonic shifts. But it is equally important to notice when the plates are still.

Chris Frilingos
Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824

The River of God: A New History of Christian Origins, by Gregory J. Riley. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2003. Pp. 252. $14.95 (paper). ISBN 0060669802.

The attractive bait is in the subtitle's promise to present a "new history of Christian origins." Riley, it would seem, shares in the aim that is spreading in the academy among NT scholars and historians of early Christianity, to trouble, then to replace, the ahistorical histories of early Christianity that stretch almost indistinguishably from sacred text (e.g., Luke-Acts) to countless textbooks. His "new history" is mounted on a tripod of metaphorical-conceptual terms which Riley too unjustifiably calls "models."

The first "model" aims to regard early Christianity in historical terms that oppose two familiar variants of representing the status of Christianity in transcendent terms, either as a revealed religion (which, by definition, has no history) or as the manifestation of divine "salvation history" (which is not so much a history as a theological claim that imagines a narrow salvation-historical swath from ancient Israel to Jesus and the church, bypassing both the ancient cultures of the Near East and the more mixed cultures of the Greco-Roman period). It is because of this emic Christian conjunction of "history" and "salvation" that Riley sets aside the term "history" and opts for the term "genealogy." "Christianity has . . . had a history" (p. 3), he writes, but "[f]or most of our era Christianity cannot be said to have had a genealogy at all" (p. 2). He points out the conceptual benefits of this move: a "wider historical base and a far more complex lineage than the small nation of Israel alone" (p. 2); hence, the Greco-Roman cultures are not merely the environment or context for early Christianity but parental contributors, providing "half of the substance of Christianity" (p. 7); the historical fact of multiple early Christianities can now be acknowledged as fact and understood as several children who develop distinct personalities while sharing "traits derived from their inherited and shared genealogy" (p. 7).

Riley imagines this process of derivation by means of his second "model," a great river system (the Mississippi serves as the illustration). The river, a murky flowing cauldron produced by countless tributaries and "seasonal washes," contains "the totality of the historical and religious background of Christianity" (p. 9), "the vast store of ideas and traditions that [Christians] used to form their own unique expressions of religious truth" (p. 11), or—and here Riley allows us a glimpse at a crucial premise to which I will return—"a flow over time of the relationship between God and humanity in the ancient Near East" (p. 9; cf. p. 219), hence the "River of God," for "the flow is composed of contributions . . . from the divine world . . . and the formulations of religious ideas and doctrines by inspired prophets, teachers, and wise people" (p. 9). He positions "the life of Jesus and the inception of Christianity" just above the river delta, and "the many divisions of the delta are the many versions of the Christian movement that arose immediately after his [Jesus'] death" (p. 10).

Riley's third "model" is the idea of "punctuated equilibrium," drawn from modern paleobiological theory, where it is argued controversially by Niles Eldredge and Stephen Jay Gould. The notion refers specifically to geologically brief (hence punctuated) adaptive events at the level of speciation, concentrated bursts of change precipitated by environmental catastrophes during a long period of evolutionary stasis or equilibrium. Riley applies this theory to the evolution of ideas so that the rather rapid rise of Christianity is imagined as an adaptive response to crises presented by "the new revelation and the new pressures of the Greco-Roman world" (p. 13). Lest the genealogical, streaming, and punctuated eruption metaphorics conjure the view that early Christianities were the

unintended, nonagentive (in human terms) products of earlier cultural DNA strands, or an allogamous alluvial deposit of the historical flow of ideas and traditions, so to speak, Riley also uses the idea of "punctuated equilibrium" to wedge a bit of space for "invention" (p. 1), for "humans acting" (p. 11) in the formation of Christianity, though this space is just about washed out by the powerful current of the "river of God."

The bulk of the book consists in applying this tripodal evolutionary-flow-of-ideas complex to generate ancestor-offspring stories of the "five major subject areas that make up the core of the Christian faith" (p. 16): the evolution from polytheism to monotheism (pp. 22–49); the development from triads to the Christian Trinity (pp. 50–89); the arrival of the devil and world-ending eschatologies (pp. 90–132); the genealogy of body-soul relations and the appearance of body-soul dualisms (pp. 135–69); and the phylogeny of saviors culminating in Jesus as *the* savior of the world (pp. 170–218). Each story is an accomplished compact of the genealogy and history of an idea as it trickled into the great Near Eastern ideational river, bobbed along, was submerged, then resurfaced, getting rinsed or reshaped along the way as the river flows through cultures and time and weaves its way through cultural-environmental undulations (e.g., national disasters, political and social upheavals, changes in philosophical and scientific knowledge).

Scholars in Riley's field will find little that is new or surprising in his argument by synthetic demonstrations that early Christian beliefs were (pluralist) reformulations of multicultural antecedents. Since, however, the same may not be true for nonspecialist readers, the book should be regarded on its merits as an exercise in public pedagogy. As respectable and necessary as it is for academics to engage in such exercises, and paying due applause to Riley for the wide range of his ancestral tour and the graceful ease of his literary address, his chief lesson—that early Christianity was neither *sui generis,* nor a single-parent offspring, nor an only child—while true and importantly corrective in its own right, is however locked into a larger theoretical view of the history of religion that can hardly stay upright on its foundational premises.

Among the hoariest and most ironic given Riley's criticism of the "salvation-history" model, is the explanation of historical development and change by assuming transcendent agency. This is most obvious in the "River of God" metaphor (itself of biblical provenance and appropriated as a symbolic identifier by a range of conservative Christian groups) in which Riley not only locates the fluvial accumulation of human imaginings, but revelations and divine plans as well (see pp. 21, 237). Thus, the "historical process that led to [Christianity's] invention" (p. 1) has neither contour nor depth, much less turmoil and turbidness. The genius of "invention" (really the genius of reformulating old goodies for critical, new times) is signed over to a few "inspired people and communities" (though no communal processes come to view), among whom we would expect to find, as we do, Jesus as the prime "catalyst for new and eventually overwhelming change in religious conception" (pp. 224–25). Surely Luke announced this kind of historical paradigm first, and Hegel worked it out with superior sophistication. But neither shared Riley's specific theological aim to find in derivative and multiple early Christianities a sacred precedent for an implicitly adjured Christian pluralism and religious ecumenism today, a kind of Christian world theology that Riley embraces on the urging of Wilfred Cantwell Smith's famous distinction between the universality of faith, "given to everyone by God," and the particularity of beliefs, "given by one's culture and century" (p. 231) and hence changeable, replaceable, endlessly different (but making no difference in the grand single essential religiosity of all humankind).

Riley's other metaphors ("models") too are clever pedagogical and rhetorical devices that, though they give the book a tint of vocabular novelty and a patinal "scientific" authority, do not reach the status of explanatory theories that he claims for them. The genealogical model does sustain the claim that early Christians made nothing from nothing, but those who need this argued will not be persuaded in any case. Where there *is* need for greater understanding for the intellectually hospitable reader is with regard to the thickly historical, truly social processes of early Christian invention, or re-uptake and revision of mythologoumena for purposes that themselves ought to be explained in thickly historical, truly social terms. For example, Riley's claim that the "most important contribution toward the development of monotheism . . . [came] from ancient science" (p. 17) gives science and, by extension, rational thought too much credit as shaper of religious views. A rather flat, Lovejovian kind of history of select early Christian creedal ideas hardly amounts to a new history of Christian origins. (Riley cites A. O. Lovejoy's classic, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936], though how much he is directly influenced by the founder of the "history of ideas," not to speak of more recent trends in intellectual history, is not clear.) Similarly, Eldredge's and Gould's theory of "punctuated equilibrium" concerns species-level changes in evolutionary time; it may well lend itself to some kind of translation into, or development as an analogy for, a theory of social formation and change in more modest historical time, but not to straightforward explanatory application that begs more questions than it donates answers. One wonders in any case why a tidbit of a paleobiological theory of dubious social-historical value is employed instead of one or another of many available theories of social change and invention, some of them even accounting cogently for a problem at the core of Riley's project, that is, why emerging social formations like to present their novelties as old and their apparent recursive uptakes of old ideas as utter novelties.

The River of God is, finally, for all its novelty, an exemplar of an old, familiar genre: a theological history of early Christianity to legitimate a particular theological stance, in this case that of ecumenically minded North American Christians who, for complex and likely luxurious reasons that themselves deserve thorough exposition, hypervalorize "faith" as the index of true religiosity, leaving them sanguine about beliefs as human-made, impermanent, and ever variable. For the sake of more accurate signaling of the book's argument, however, it needs a different subtitle so as to reserve the current one for a book still to come. In the meantime Burton Mack's *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) will do just fine.

Willi Braun
University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB T6G 2H4, Canada

The Formation of Christianity in Antioch: A Social-Scientific Approach to the Separation between Judaism and Christianity, by Magnus Zetterholm. Routledge Early Church Monographs. London/New York: Routledge, 2003. Pp. xiv + 272. $92.95 (hardcover). ISBN 0415298962.

Historical analysis of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity in the first centuries of the Common Era, long a central concern in the study of Christian origins,

seems to be approaching a crossroads. The general "Parting of the Ways" model that has dominated scholarship since the Second World War has become the object of substantial and serious criticism (see, e.g., Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* [TSAJ 95; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003]). And Paul, traditionally regarded as a (if not the) decisive figure in this respect, has himself been read "within Judaism" in an increasing number of recent studies (see on this point John G. Gager, *Reinventing Paul* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000]). Yet another sign of the healthy reconsideration of conventional wisdom on this matter is the revised version of Magnus Zetterholm's doctoral dissertation (Lund University, 2001), which brings current sociological theory to bear on the separation as it occurred in one specific location, Antioch-on-the-Orontes. The book's provocative thesis is that the "parting of the ways," at least here, was essentially an inner-Christian affair: the result of a conscious effort by "Jesus-believing Gentiles" to dissociate themselves from the "Jesus-believing Jews" to whose community they were attached. What is more, it was not Paul who laid the groundwork for this separation, but James.

In the first chapter, Zetterholm explains that the approach to the general problem of the separation of Judaism and Christianity taken by James D. G. Dunn's *The Parting of the Ways* (London: SCM, 1991) is inadequate on three scores: its limited focus on "ideological aspects" (Zetterholm will deal with these, but "within a sociological framework" [p. 4]); its notion that Paul meant to replace "the Torah with faith in Christ for both Jews and Gentiles" (Zetterholm assumes, with Gager, that Paul envisioned separate paths to salvation for Jews and Gentiles [p. 5]); and, most interestingly, its assumption that "the original Jewish and Gentile identities of the adherents to the Jesus movement are transformed *into a common Christian identity*" (Zetterholm prefers to speak of "Jesus-believing Jews" and "Jesus-believing Gentiles" [p. 6, his emphasis]). Since the separation cannot in any case be assumed to have occurred uniformly everywhere, Zetterholm limits his study to one location: Antioch.

Given the paucity and questionable reliability of the sources, Zetterholm finds sociological theories to be indispensable "gap-fillers," indeed, "providers of information" in those cases where "*the alternative*," given the state of the evidence, "*is to say nothing*" (pp. 10, 11). He thus proposes a four-part method involving (i) the assumption of the general theoretical perspective of the sociology of knowledge as presented by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality* (London: Penguin, 1991); (ii) the use of more specific sociological theories and models to illuminate particular problems; (iii) comparative study of other data from antiquity; and, of course, (iv) analysis of the primary source material from Antioch. A case is considered made "if we find something in texts about the local situation in Antioch that makes sense from an underlying social-scientific perspective, and if this text can be analyzed with modern theories in order to extract more information from it, and if we also find expressions of the same phenomenon in other ancient texts dealing with other locations" (p. 14).

In ch. 2, Zetterholm provides a broad treatment of the history of, and sociopolitical conditions in, ancient Antioch in order to provide a general context for the study. The most important points would seem to be the following: All inhabitants of Antioch, generally speaking, were required to participate in the city and imperial cults. The Jewish

community, which like other foreign cults was constituted as a *collegium*, was the sole exception. The established social networks provided by Antioch's various *collegia*—including the Jewish one, with its estimated twenty to thirty synagogues—would have been attractive to the city's substantial immigrant population.

The third chapter examines religious differentiation within the Jewish population of Antioch, with special attention to the matter of its relations with the dominant Hellenistic society. The sources from Antioch are scanty, so Zetterholm's method is clearly on display. Gaps left by the primary sources are filled in by a contemporary theory of religious change in migrant populations and a sociological model of assimilation, with these in turn checked against comparative materials from Hellenistic Egypt. His starting point is the assumption that "Diaspora status . . . created certain differences in the religiousness of Diaspora Judaism" as compared to that in Palestine due to a change in what Berger and Luckman call plausibility structures. In other words, life in a religiously diverse environment, particularly where one is in a minority, presents ongoing challenges to one's commitment to the construction of reality presented by one's own religion. Sociological studies suggest that "some people tend to be more religious, some become less religious, and still others become religious in a new way" in such situations (p. 97). These generalizations are then significantly nuanced vis-à-vis a model of assimilation that Zetterholm adapts "to suit the conditions during antiquity" (p. 98).

Drawing primarily on Josephus's account of the public renunciation of Judaism by a prominent Antiochene Jew named Antiochus in 66 C.E., and the massacre of Jews that resulted from his accusation that the Jewish community had been conspiring to burn the city, Zetterholm finds evidence both for total assimilation and for intensified religious commitments with mere acculturation (i.e., "familiarity with the cultural matrix of the host society" [p. 68]) on the part of the Jews of Antioch. Evidence of "innovative manifestations of Judaism" (pp. 90–91), on the other hand, is found both in the messianic Jesus movement and (rather more vaguely) in the creation of a "Hellenistic Judaism"—both of which, he argues, went beyond mere acculturation to form "[p]rimary relationships with members of the host society" even while drawing the line at intermarriage (p. 68). Finally, he argues that "the evidence as well as sociological considerations speak strongly in favor" of viewing individual synagogues in Antioch as being dominated by different forms of Jewish ideology (p. 91). Zetterholm suggests that what Luke called the Antiochene *ekklēsia* was in fact "a synagogue consisting mainly of Jesus-believing Jews" (p. 93), and that the name Χριστιανός, first attested in Antioch, likely originated as "an intra-Jewish designation for a Jewish messianic synagogue" there (p. 96)—roughly analogous to the description of synagogues elsewhere as being of Augustans, Agrippans, or Vernaclesians.

In ch. 4, Zetterholm zeroes in on the nature of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles—including "Jesus-believing Jews" and "Jesus-believing Gentiles"—in Antioch. From the Gentile side, he finds clear evidence of both anti-Judaism (he would even say anti-Semitism; see pp. 112–14) and a certain attraction to Judaism. The latter is particularly evident on the part of those "god-fearers" who, he argues, were generally characterized by simultaneous attachment to a synagogue community and involvement in the religion of the *polis* ("Only formal conversion to Judaism, if that was possible, would exempt a Gentile born person from his or her [civic] religious obligations" [p. 128].) Such Gentile attraction to Judaism is also clear in the case of the Jesus-believing Jews,

who, however, exacted a higher-than-usual price on Gentiles by requiring them to renounce Greco-Roman religion entirely.

Turning to the so-called "incident at Antioch," Zetterholm proposes "*a different interpretive frame*" (p. 135, emphasis his) in which to view what little information the sources provide regarding this specific instance of Jew–Gentile interaction. His reconstruction involves a complex series of arguments, but boils down to the following main points: First, he emphasizes the eschatological dimension of Gentile presence within the context of a Jewish messianic group. While ancient Jewish texts reveal eschatological expectations for Gentiles ranging from salvation to destruction, "the early Jesus movement certainly seems to have been influenced by traditions with a positive attitude toward Gentiles," as evidenced by their Gentile mission (p. 139). Second, even in Jewish texts that envisioned salvation for Gentiles, "the question of *how* this would come about had not been reflected upon" (p. 142; cf. p. 156). If Jewish salvation is guaranteed by participation in the covenant, no analogous mechanism was specified in the case of Gentiles who were generally expected to be saved *precisely as Gentiles* rather than as members of the covenant people. Third, the so-called "apostolic decree" is historical. Fourth, for Jews in general, common meals with Gentiles were "perfectly possible," particularly if they occurred within a Jewish setting (p. 155). In fact, Zetterholm suggests that the occurrence of such meals among believers in Jesus before the arrival of James's representatives "may have had nothing to do with the specific theology of Paul and the Jewish-believing Jews," but rather simply been "part of a local Antiochean halakhah prevalent among Hellenized Jews in general" (pp. 159–60).

With this as his framework, Zetterholm analyzes the conflict itself. As he sees it, the ultimate cause of the problem was the lack of any established understanding of Gentile salvation in contemporary Jewish eschatology—a problem that became quite pressing within a messianic movement for whom these issues were no longer abstract; in which "[i]deology had to be transformed to social reality" (p. 140). Paul, "embrac[ing] the pattern of covenantal nomism," proposed a radical solution: "in order to be saved, Gentiles had to be *included in the covenant*" (p. 156)—only precisely *as Gentiles*, not as circumcised converts, lest Israel's god seem to be merely the god of the Jews rather than the god of all. James, however, worked with a different model. He "considered the Jesus-believing Gentiles to be connected to the Jewish community as *god-fearers*," and believed they would be saved as such—not as actual members of the covenant people (p. 161, emphasis his). With "too close an association with Gentiles" perhaps "regarded as a threat to Judaism itself," James reacted by demanding that Jesus-believing Jews and Jesus-believing Gentiles form separate commensality groups, and it was his position that was adopted (p. 161). Precisely in his victory do "we find the embryo of what later became a virtual separation between Jews and Gentiles, between Judaism and Christianity" (p. 166).

Chapter 5 explains how subsequent social and political circumstances led to a final separation of the two groups created by James. With a theory of social movements as his model, Zetterholm argues that this separation was the result of a conscious effort on the part of the Gentile believers to become recognized as a *collegium* independent from that of Judaism, but nonetheless sharing its exemption from participation in the civic cult. The crucial development was the imposition, following the Jewish revolt, of the *fiscus Judaicus*. This empire-wide tax placed the issue of Jewish identity in sharp relief,

and severely curtailed "the possibility of existing in a religious no-man's-land" such as that which characterized the Gentile believers-in-Jesus (p. 223). The Jesus-believing Gentiles of Antioch found themselves in the peculiar position of having to publicly identify themselves as Jews subject to the tax in order to avoid prosecution for neglect of the cult, even as such an identity was denied them within their own community. The resulting tension in a group thus "deprived of all social and religious identity" (p. 223) led to the formation of a social movement aimed at the creation of a new *collegium*: one entirely separate from Judaism, but the true heirs, nonetheless, of the ancient (and thus legitimate) heritage claimed by Jews. The adoption of anti-Jewish rhetoric by Ignatius and in so much of the subsequent Christian literature was a key strategy in this effort.

This is a highly original and provocative study. Its relentlessly sociological approach and apparent lack of any underlying Christian (or Jewish) apologetic make this work a breath of fresh air in the perennial discussion of the separation of Judaism and Christianity. It is also, however, frequently quite speculative. To some degree this is unavoidable given the state of the sources. Nor is it always a problem. What Zetterholm often has in his favor is at least some clearly articulated theoretical ground for his various suggestions, and the study is at its best when reconstructing general socio-political contexts. But where specific theoretical justification is lacking, particularly in the case of the detailed points that get closer to the specific theses of the book, the reader may become a bit more uneasy. Thus, for example, the account of the range of Jewish assimilation in Antioch in general in ch. 3 is quite persuasive, but the specific point about a Christian synagogue in Antioch—while not implausible—is rather less well grounded. One would in any case like to have seen some discussion of what we can know about the number of "Jesus-believers" in Antioch in any given period. Is it entirely out of the realm of possibility that Jewish Jesus-believers, like the Gentile ones in Paul's orbit, assembled as a community primarily in private households?

Similar concerns arise in the crucial chs. 4 and 5. The general thesis of ch. 4, that James viewed the Gentiles essentially as "god-fearers" while Paul did not, seems to me to be quite to the point. But Zetterholm's detailed reconstruction becomes unnecessarily complicated as a result of its positive assertion of the historicity of the apostolic decree. Even if Luke-Acts' account of this decree reflects a first-century Jewish discussion, and granting the point that Paul himself reveals a certain squeamishness about food offered to idols in 1 Cor 8–10, this is hardly a positive case for asserting the historicity of a formal agreement between Paul and Jerusalem on the matter—particularly given Paul's silence on the issue in Gal 2, and his explicit statement that nothing was added to his mission except the stipulation regarding the collection (Gal 2:6, 10). In fact, the assumption of an agreement about Gentile dietary restrictions in Jerusalem only makes the subsequent dispute about common meals in Antioch more puzzling—especially if, as Zetterholm seems to suggest, the decree itself had reflected "a prevalent halakhah in Antioch" (p. 160)! Similarly, the reconstruction in ch. 5 of the general sociopolitical situation faced by Jesus believers after the imposition of the *fiscus Judaicus* is, in the main, quite illuminating. But given the crucial importance of the point to the book's overall thesis, Zetterholm's ultimate inability to produce explicit evidence for an Antiochene attempt to establish Gentile Christianity as a separate *collegium* is troubling (see pp. 219–22).

As with any study that represents a radical rethinking of major issues, and particu-

larly in matters where the primary evidence is thin, this book will no doubt elicit such criticism on a number of such points. There is nonetheless much to be learned from this volume. Between its theoretical sophistication, its relentless attention to social realities, and the seemingly apologetic-free challenge it presents to traditional readings of Christian origins, this book deserves a wide hearing among historians of early Christianity. I highly recommend it.

Matt Jackson-McCabe
Niagara University, Lewiston, NY 14109

Der Römerbrief als Gratwanderung: Eine Untersuchung zur Abfassungsproblematik, by Angelika Reichert. FRLANT 194. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001. Pp. 366. €64 (hardcover). ISBN 3525538782.

This study was originally submitted as a *Habilitationsschrift* for the Protestant Theological Faculty of the University of Münster (Germany) in 2000. It deals with one of the most difficult introductory issues concerning Paul's letter to the Romans, namely, the problem of its purpose (cf. K. P. Donfried, "False Presuppositions in the Study of Romans," in *The Romans Debate* [rev. and expanded ed.; ed. K. P. Donfried; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995], 102: "Current research concerning the purpose of Romans is in a state of confusion"). Reichert finds the diverse previous solutions unsatisfying, because, on the one hand, they do not account for the unity of the letter and, on the other, they do not consider the connection between the initial communication by letter and its possible future continuation face to face (see pp. 32–33).

After reviewing former studies on this topic (ch. 1: "Zur Forschungslage," pp. 13–75), Reichert seeks to offer a new answer to the problem by approaching it from two methodically independent perspectives. First, she develops a hypothesis regarding the occasion for Romans from a (text-external) author related point of view (ch. 2: "Hypothese und Zweck des Röm in der Intention des Paulus," pp. 77–100). Second, Reichert analyzes the communicative function of certain sections of Romans from a text-internal perspective (ch. 3: "Analysen zur Textfunktion," pp. 101–33). Following these analyses, Reichert wants to demonstrate that the functions of the elaborated text match the previously developed reconstruction of Paul's purpose in writing Romans, thereby confirming her hypothesis. The book closes with some methodological remarks on the research on Romans (ch. 4: "Schlußbemerkungen: Zwei methodologische Postulate zu Beginn der 'Romans Debate,'" pp. 335–46).

Reichert's starting point is the conviction that past studies on Romans have not provided convincing answers for why Paul wrote the letter. This especially applies to the supposedly loose relation between the opening and concluding formulae in Rom 1:1–15/15:14–16:24 and the body of the letter in Rom 1:16–15:13, but also to the awkward connection of the doctrinal with the hortatory parts in the body: Reichert sums up these observations in six questions, which are answered in the course of her study (p. 17): (1) Does the more general character of Rom 1:16–11:36 contradict the assumption of a specific pragmatic intention of the letter with regard to the Roman community? (2) Is such a pragmatic intention perhaps only contained in 12:1–15:13? (3) Do the "Israel chapters" (Rom 9–11) have any specific function within a letter addressed to pre-

dominantly non-Jewish recipients? (4) Does the designation of the recipients as Gentiles have a certain purpose? (5) Why does the author not express more explicitly that his letter is an initial act of communication? (6) What relation do the future plans of the author have to the purpose of the letter?

In Reichert's mind, these questions are not satisfactorily answered in what she calls the four traditional solutions concerning the occasion of Romans (pp. 22–33), namely: (1) preparation for Paul's visit to Jerusalem (G. Bornkamm; J. Jervell); (2) inclusion of the Roman community in the Pauline missionary plan (D. Zeller; P. Vielhauer); (3) recommendation of the Pauline gospel for the purpose of establishing a community (G. Klein; W. Schmithals); (4) solution to an internal problem in the Roman Christian community (A. Suhl). Nor are the above mentioned questions solved by more recent studies based, for example, on text-oriented, sociological, historical, or rhetorical methodologies (exemplarily considered in more detail are M. Kettunen, F. Watson, A. J. M. Wedderburn; N. Elliot; L. A. Jervis [pp. 34–57]).

Yet Reichert accords significant potential to rhetorical approaches for guiding interpretation, which are for her closely linked with a functional and pragmatic perspective (see p. 56):

> Der traditionellen Frage nach dem Abfassungszweck, also nach dem Ziel, das der Verfasser mittels des Textes zu erreichen trachtet, wird die Frage nach dem "Funktionieren" des Textes zur Seite gestellt, also die Frage nach der sprachlichen Handlung, die der Text selbst ist. M.a.W.: Die Frage nach dem warum und wozu der sprachlichen Handlung wird ergänzt durch die Frage, worin denn diese sprachliche Handlung überhaupt besteht. (p. 57)

This assumption, which is not further corroborated but only redundantly repeated in what follows, leads Reichert to a twofold structure for her work.

The question related to the historical situation of author and addressees is, according to Reichert, very similar to that dealing with the purpose of the letter, as both aspects are (from the point of view of composition of the letter) only mental phenomena in the mind of the author (see p. 72). While already this presupposition is disputable, even more so is the methodological conclusion drawn by her out of it: Although Romans is thought to be the most important source for the reconstruction of the text-external figure (*extratextuelle Größe*) of the author, it can be assumed that the perception of the author is related to the historical reality. Consequently, other sources which bear witness to this reality are of potential relevance for its reconstruction, including other Pauline letters (p. 72). Hence, Reichert speaks of an author related, text-external side of the problem of the occasion of Romans, which she deals with in ch. 2. Unfortunately, the complex hermeneutical problem of the relationship between perception and reality comes off badly and needed further theoretical reflection (see, e.g., J. C. Polkinghorne, *Reason and Reality: The Relationship between Science and Theology* [London: SPCK, 1991]; and J. Schröter with A. Eddelbüttel, eds., *Konstruktion von Wirklichkeit: Beiträge aus geschichtstheoretischer, philosophischer und theologischer Perspektive* [Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 127; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004). This theoretical deficiency is even more apparent and significant in ch. 3., where she details her functional analyses. That Reichert does not develop her text theory more explicitly is surprising and unsatisfying, given that rhetorical and literary approaches have become so very

important in NT exegesis in the last decades (see pp. 55–56, where she offers short remarks on J. A. Crafton, "Paul's Rhetorical Vision and the Purpose of Romans: Toward a New Understanding," *NovT* 32 [1990]: 317–39 [pp. 75, 101–2 reveal that she owes certain insights to U. Eco's semiotic theory as well]; for an overview of new tendencies in exegetical methodology, see esp. M. Meiser, "Gegenwärtige Herausforderungen und bleibende Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft," in *Herkunft und Zukunft der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft* [ed. O. Wischmeyer; Neutestamentliche Entwürfe zur Theologie 6; Tübingen: Francke, 2003], 35–62; S. E. Porter, "New Perspectives on the Exegesis of the New Testament: Anglo-American Insights," in Wischmeyer, *Herkunft und Zukunft*, 63–84). This terminological and theoretical indeterminacy results in a methodological one. Reichert states very generally that the message and effect intended by the author ("Mitteilungs- und Wirkabsicht") are to be ascertained from the text as a linguistic sign separated from its producer ("aus dem Text als einem von seinem Erzeuger abgelösten sprachlichen Zeichen zu erheben" [p. 74]). Apart from this strict (and artificial) distinction between empirical author (cf. her remarks [p. 102] on the preferred term "inner textual" addressee or addressant instead of "implicit" author/reader, as, e.g., is used by W. Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* [Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1974; see 2d ed. in German: Munich: Fink, 1979]) and text, Reichert simply demands for a text-immanent exegesis according to the following principles (p. 74): (1) no reconstruction of the history of a tradition; (2) no anticipation of later parts of the text; (3) no comparison with other Pauline letters, as these would have been unknown to the original addressees.

Reichert's hypothesis regarding the purpose of Romans as developed in ch. 2 is based on the overall impression of the uncertainty of Paul's future with respect to the acceptance of the collection by the Jerusalem community. The letter quite obviously reflects Paul's expectation of its failure, which would deter his plan to visit Rome and the western part of the empire. Therefore, Reichert speaks of Romans as an initial and potentially final communication at the same time ("Erstkommunikation und potentielle Letztkommunikation;" esp. pp. 77–82). Paul could not express his anxiety concerning the collection explicitly because that would have discouraged his readers and provoked the question as to why he made this risky journey at all instead of immediately traveling to Rome. Furthermore, a positive outcome was, at least theoretically, still possible. As a consequence, Paul had to account for two different conditions for the reception of the letter on the part of the Roman church: (a) the failure of the handing over of the collection and as a consequence no personal visit to Rome; (b) the successful outcome of the collection and his subsequent visit to Rome (and Spain!). In the latter (though very unlikely) case, the Roman church could be helpful for the apostle as co-workers during his mission in Spain. If the visit to Jerusalem were a failure, however, the letter would enable the Roman community to establish an independent mission to the east. That is the reason why Paul unfolds his theology in Romans in large. He especially emphasizes the identity and unity of the God who acted in Christ with the God of Israel, because before 70 C.E. only a few Jews lived in Spain; thus, this essential component of the Pauline gospel was not self-evident and had to be illuminated. Hence, Paul's proclamation of the gospel to the Romans already has in mind another situation of proclamation with the same content but with a change of role on the side of author and addressees:

"Die römischen Christen könnten gegebenenfalls die Adressantenrolle übernehmen, und sie hätten sich an Adressaten außerhalb des Bereichs der jüdischen Diaspora zu richten" (p. 90). This constellation was aided by the fact that the Roman community appeared to be more easily shaped or influenced ("Prägungsfähigkeit") than others because it was not grounded in the mission of one individual or a single group of missionaries, and thereby possessed a heterogeneous character: "Die fehlende kollektive Prägung der römischen Adressatenschaft mußte dem paulinischen Vorhaben in hohem Maß entgegenkommen. Gerde darin lag ja die Chance des Paulus, die römischen Christen auf der Grundlage seines Evangeliums zusammenzufassen und damit zu einer paulinischen Gemeinde zu machen" (pp. 96–97).

It is from the uncertainty of the Pauline future that the study derives its title—Romans as a "tightrope-walk" (*Gratwanderung*). It is a double-edged undertaking in three respects. Above all, it is the first and probably also the final act of communication between the two partners. Second, Romans aims at the advancement of the Pauline gospel among the Roman Christians, but it also has already in view its spreading beyond cultural borders toward the west of the empire. Third, the letter is addressed to readers who will not only be united in a community but who are already deemed fit to be potential independent missionaries (pp. 99–100). According to Reichert, this new proposal concerning the purpose of Romans answers three of the questions raised at the outset, namely, the question of the general character of Rom 1:16–11:36 (a), as well as why Paul does not explicitly state the reason for his writing (e): such an allusion would have established a conflict at a time when a successful outcome of the collection was still possible. Finally, it explains why Paul does not express a connection between the purpose of the letter and his missionary plans (f), so that in the case that he should—probably but not definitively—be hindered, the Romans would be asked to carry on an independent missionary activity.

Since Reichert is aware of the ambiguity of her conclusions, she seeks to corroborate her results by a functional analysis. In ch. 3, she analyzes the pragmatic intention of Romans with special emphasis on the opening formula and the proem, the Israel section in Rom 9–11, and the hortatory portion in 12:1–15:13. She first deals with the question of why the recipients of Romans are plainly and repeatedly referred to as being from the Gentiles even though this circumstance should be well known to them (ch. 3.1: "Der Heidenapostel und seine heidenchristlichen Adressaten," pp. 101–46). This designation is firmly joined to a presumed double role played by the recipients. They belong to all the Gentiles to whom Paul addresses his gospel, but at the same time they are assigned to be missionary partners, as autonomous bearers of the proclamation. It is quite evident that this twofold identity perfectly matches Reichert's proposal for the purpose of Romans and answers yet another question (d). In a second step she analyses the significance of Israel in Rom 1–8 and in particular in Rom 9–11 (here: 9:1–5; 9:6–13; 10:1–13; 11:11–32; cf. ch. 3.2: "Die theozentrische Ausrichtung der Israelkapitel," pp. 147–221). In Rom 9–11, the general Pauline idea of a soteriological equality between Jews and Gentiles, alongside the continuous distinction of Israel as a people to whom God has revealed himself, is first developed from a theocentric perspective, which aims at showing that the identity of the God of Israel is the same as that of the Christians (pp. 217–18). Again, Reichert finds her hypothesis on the reason for writing Romans confirmed and another question (c) is answered as a result: Rom 9–11 enables the

Roman Christians to be independent missionaries beyond the western boundaries of the Jewish Diaspora: "Im Hinblick darauf hat er mit Röm 9–11 einen Schwerpunkt gesichert, der bei solcher von seiner eigenen Person abgelösten Weiterverkündigung des rechtfertigungstheologisch ausgelegten Evangeliums in einem Bereich ohne jüdische Präsenz überaus leicht abhanden kommen konnte, aber keinesfalls abhanden kommen durfte: die Identität des Gottes, der in Christus Heil als Rechtfertigung der Gottlosen gewährt, mit dem Gott, der sich von seiner Vergangenheit mit Israel lossagt" (p. 220). Finally, Reichert deals with the hortatory passages in Rom 12:1–15:13 (see ch. 3.3: "Modell einer nach außen wirkenden Gemeinde der 'Starken,'" pp. 222–333). The pragmatic function of this section can be defined as follows: The text aims at forming the addressees into an independent and externally effective community ("Prägung der die Adressatenschaft zu einer selbständigen und nach außen hin ausstrahlenden Gemeinde," p. 312). This characterization again fits with the suggested occasion of Romans and relates to question (b).

The last part of the study briefly discusses the greetings found in Rom 16. They function to establish a relationship with the unknown community, to assure a positive reception of the letter, and to name single persons whom Paul believes competent for future missionary activities. In the rest of the chapter the methodological claims are only repeated but no new insights are added.

Considering the amount of literature on Romans, the bibliography is rather short (pp. 337–66), and unfortunately no indices are provided. Moreover, it is not divided into primary and secondary sources, and, as a result, some of the classic works of the same authors are to be found in some cases under their own names, but in others under those of the editors of the texts, a situation that is somewhat puzzling.

Here is not the place to discuss single results of the study, e.g., whether Paul really was in a position where he could not reveal his travel and missionary plans more openly to the Romans, or whether a failure of the collection necessarily must have entailed the cancellation of his visit to Rome. Concerning Rom 9–11, it is at least debatable whether Paul really is grappling in this text with having a predominantly Gentile mission in mind. Besides, it would have been worth comparing these observations with representatives of the so-called "New Perspective" on Paul, who evaluate the significance of the Israel theme for Paul quite differently. Finally, what about the success of the Pauline epistolary strategy? Why do we know nothing about an early mission to Spain? Did the readers not understand Paul's pragmatic advice or were they merely not as malleable as Reichert suggests? The major question about this study, however, relates to its method: Due to the lack of a methodological foundation, Reichert cannot carry out her claim to separate strictly the levels of author and text. Because she does not provide an account of her own preconceptions, her functional analyses are implicitly influenced by her overall hypothesis regarding the purpose of Romans (so the argument is highly circular).

Despite these critical remarks, Reichert's book represents an important attempt to combine traditional and more recent methodologies. Even if some of the arguments are not new, the present combination at least provides for some interesting new insights on Paul and the Roman church, which is surely going to keep alive the "Romans debate."

Heike Omerzu
University of Mainz, Mainz, Germany 55118

Ein unerschütterliches Reich: Die mittelplatonische Umformung des Parusiegedankens im Hebräerbrief, by Wilfried Eisele. BZNW 116. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003. Pp. xvii + 547. €128 (hardcover). ISBN 3110175959.

This study, a dissertation completed under the direction of Michael Theobald at Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, is one of a growing number of works attempting to relate the NT writings to first- and second-century Platonism. That such research is long overdue is not entirely the fault of NT scholars, for very few Platonic texts have survived intact from the first two centuries of the common era. Students of ancient philosophy, moreover, have generally neglected such Middle Platonic writers as Albinus and Timaeus of Locri. The eclecticism of these figures makes it difficult to assess their thought in terms of a coherent system, and, as a result, they usually receive attention as "background" for Plotinus and the Neoplatonic tradition (a bias reflected in the nomenclature—earlier German scholars sometimes referred to Middle Platonism as *Vorneuplatonismus*, "pre-Neoplatonism").

Inasmuch as its author speaks of the OT cultus as "a copy and a shadow of the heavenly" (8:5), many perceive in the Letter to the Hebrews the earliest instance of Platonic influence on Christian thought. Standing in tension with this "vertical" conception is the "horizontal" notion of salvation history: God has spoken definitively "in these last days" (1:2). Even if one leaves off Eisele's German translations of key primary texts (pp. 429–502) and the bibliography and indices (pp. 505–47), this study is perhaps the most ambitious attempt yet to sketch the putative Platonic background of the letter. Most previous efforts at demonstrating the philosophical character of the letter focus exclusively on Philo as the conduit through which Plato's ideas have come down to its author. The many similarities between Hebrews and Philo's writings make this assumption a natural one, though the quest to prove some sort of literary dependence has been largely abandoned. Because there is more to Platonism than one finds in Philo, Eisele makes a signal contribution by widening the scope of the question to include authors normally left out of the discussion.

Eisele's formidable volume is divided into three parts. As a preliminary, the introduction lays out the three main *religionsgeschichtliche* options for situating the letter, the Hellenistic Jewish, Gnostic, and Jewish apocalyptic models, and also surveys the various manifestations of the *parousia* concept encountered in the NT. Part 1 (pp. 27–133) treats those passages that have usually been understood as allusions to the second coming of Christ (1:6; 9:27–28; 10:25, 36–39; 12:25–29). Rhetorically, this proves much more effective than beginning with those passages that attract attention on account of their parallels with Platonic dualism (e.g., Heb 8:1–5; 9:11; 9:23–24; 10:1; 11:1–3). Had Eisele attempted this more direct route, his argument would have been susceptible to the same kinds of alternative readings that undermine the case for an Alexandrian provenance. Instead, he concentrates on the references to the *parousia* and marshals evidence suggesting that they are out of step with the rest of the letter. With the exception of his brief treatment of Heb 10:25, the exegesis carried out is carefully researched and integrated with a sophisticated analysis of the letter's overall literary structure. Eisele maintains that, for the author, the traditional temporal schema of Jewish apocalyptic has receded behind the spatial-ontological conception; the distinction between the "shakeable" and "unshakeable" worlds has replaced the tension between "the already" and "the not yet" (p. 132).

Part 2 (pp. 135–368) contains Eisele's analysis of the relevant Middle Platonic sources. He prefaces this analysis—two lengthy chapters on Philo and Plutarch and two shorter chapters on Seneca and Alcinous—with a brief overview of the state of philosophy in the first century and Middle Platonism's place within it. As he duly notes, there is not unanimous agreement as to which authors and ideas this label covers (indeed, many would question his inclusion of Seneca). Each of the major schools, moreover, influences the others, which makes it difficult to isolate a specifically Platonic origin for certain motifs one sees in Hebrews. Eisele nevertheless makes a very strong case for the prima facie plausibility of the comparison he undertakes between Hebrews and these Middle Platonic texts.

Philo's writings are treated under the headings of eschatology, protology, and angelology. Discussion of his eschatology focuses on the relationship between virtue and the blessings and curses contained in the book of the law (*Praem.* 91–97, 162–72). Under protology, Eisele dwells on the contrast between the perceptible and intelligible worlds, and the corresponding relationship between time and eternity (*Opif.* 1–35; *Aet.* 1–20). Philo's angelology provides the occasion for synthesizing his views on the soul, the problem of evil, and the proper interpretation of Scripture (*Somn.* 1.133–59; *Gig.* 6–18; *Plant.* 11–14; *Conf.* 168–82). Much of this is standard fare in the secondary literature, but Eisele goes far beyond the analysis of terms and concepts to which the comparison of Philo and Hebrews is typically limited. The appearance of Plutarch at this point advances the argument by displaying a configuration of theological concerns running parallel to those in Philo, and, as Eisele will contend, in Hebrews as well. Plutarch's writings on cosmogony likewise bring together questions concerning theodicy and the nature of the soul by way of reinterpreting the authoritative texts of his own religious-philosophical tradition (*Is. Os.* 53–57; *An. procr.* 5–10). Even more striking are the texts illustrating Plutarch's demonology (esp. the discussion of *E Delph.* 17–21; *Def. orac.* 10–15) in light of Hebrews' teaching on the method and timing of God's speaking to humans, through prophets, angels, and the Son. The brief chapters on the shorter texts from Seneca (*Ep.* 58.16–28; 65.2–10) and Alcinous (*Didaskalikos* 8–16) supplement and provide additional documentation for the larger portrait sketched in the chapters on Philo and Plutarch.

In Part 3 (pp. 369–428) Eisele returns to Hebrews and reexamines its eschatology in light of the Middle Platonic sources. Those aspects of the letter that seem to be determined by a non-Jewish ontology take on a different character when viewed through the lens provided in part 2. Eisele's conclusion, that the author is engaged in a Middle Platonic transformation of the parousia concept, is a bold one, moving well beyond the similar thesis put forward in a simpler form by G. W. MacRae ("Heavenly Temple and Eschatology in the Letter to the Hebrews," *Semeia* 12 [1978]: 179–99), and he recognizes that many commentators will hesitate to commit to so specific a construal of the evidence. Although he addresses potential objections to his thesis by clarifying his application of such terms as dualism, myth, and metaphysics, it is not always clear that he has adequately responded to scholars (e.g., L. D. Hurst, "Eschatology and 'Platonism' in the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1984* [SBLSP 23; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984], 41–74), who have traveled the same territory and found that signs of platonizing tendencies had been exaggerated or misinterpreted.

By tracing a broader pattern of conceptual parallels with the new material he has

accumulated, Eisele steers clear of "parallelomania" and offers a compelling way to read Hebrews. The character of the sources and the nature of the system they represent militate against a more definitive demonstration of Middle Platonic influence. With this study, however, Eisele successfully shifts the burden of proof back in the direction of those who would deny it.

Patrick Gray
Rhodes College, Memphis, TN 38112

An Ecstasy of Folly: Prophecy and Authority in Early Christianity, by Laura Salah Nasrallah. HTS. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003. Pp. xii + 225. $25.00 (paper). ISBN 0674012283.

Laura Nasrallah's *Ecstasy of Folly* opens a substantial discussion of the complex intersection of ancient discourse on madness, history, and prophetic knowledge. The key sources for Nasrallah's investigation are 1 Corinthians, Tertullian's *De Anima,* and a source within Epiphanius's *Panarion.* Nasrallah begins by emphasizing that early "Christian" (the term is not actually applied to Paul) discussions of prophecy need to be understood in relation to Greco-Roman treatments of a wide variety of nonrational knowledge: dreams, oracles, ecstasies, and so forth. She also focuses on the ways in which discussion of the bounds of legitimate prophecy functioned in identity and social border formation. By striving to read an ancient discourse on prophecy, ecstasy, and varying understandings of *heilsgeschichte,* Nasrallah orients her analysis to the rhetorical dimension of charismatic phenomena. And by attending to rhetoric, she treats charismata seriously as social phenomena with social functions: boundary definition, the construction of authority, and the negotiation of difference. Rather than a focus on heresy, Nasrallah thus produces something like a sociology of heresiology.

After an introduction that lays out a broad range of theoretical debts, from Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza through Michel Foucault to Dipesh Chakrabarty, Nasrallah attempts to sketch the lay of the land by offering a taxonomy of madness and ecstasy in antiquity. Though engaging, this survey does not substantially impact the rest of the analysis.

Nasrallah next argues that Paul and Tertullian each in his own way claimed the territory of folly or madness in debates over the legitimate possession of knowledge of the divine. The "Anti-Phrygian" source of Epiphanius's work contested any association of prophecy with ecstasy, but his polemic focused on the dynamic of compulsion and control rather than on *ad hominem* accusations of ecstasy and immoral ethical license that were the stock in trade for other heresiologists. Nasrallah makes a strong case that the seemingly epistemological questions by these writers are conditioned by social polemics. When is the time for prophecy? For Paul, it was the future; for Tertullian, the present; and for the Anti-Phyrgian, the past. These chronological commitments are the product of a wider discourse of the periodization of history that Nasrallah illuminates helpfully.

In ch. 2 Nasrallah's discussion of Paul's conflict over ecstasy, revealed knowledge, and ethical freedoms at Corinth focuses on the rhetorical deployment of ecstasy in that context. Nasrallah relies heavily on the crucial work of Margaret MacDonald for the

large picture of the conflict in Corinth as well as for the rhetorical approach to the letter as acting in conflict rather than recording reality and proffering a correct understanding. Nasrallah's treatment of Paul's periodization of history hits all the relevant texts of 1 Corinthians but does not reckon directly with the intensity of Paul's eschatology; Nasrallah's discussion of a Pauline deferral of perfect knowledge to the future does not communicate the intensity of transformation that Paul expected in the very near future.

The second node in the confluence of discourses that Nasrallah tracks is Tertullian. She devotes chs. 3 and 4 to the sharp-tongued father of Christian Latin letters. The very peculiar combination of Stoic anthropology, Platonic and simultaneously anti-Platonic cosmology, and a disposition for inner-Christian argumentation at a fever pitch makes the works of Tertullian a rich source for Nasrallah's analysis. In the first of her two chapters on Tertullian, she offers as lucid a presentation of Tertullian's anthropology as his muddled conceptions allow. On this basis, her second chapter on Tertullian centers on *De Anima* and chronicles his arguments against Hermogenes and Marcion as well as his justifications of the continued prophetic activity of the paraclete. Tertullian represents a noteworthy combination of respect for the newness of the "New Prophecy" and derision for the innovations of those he sees as heretics.

The third node in the discourse Nasrallah sketches is the "Anti-Phrygian" source of *Panarion* 48. Dating the source to the early third century, Nasrallah traces the contours of an argument against the New Prophecy that dovetailed discourses of periodization (drawn to some extent from Maximilla's own oracles) and of madness. The "Anti-Phrygian's" argument goes something like this: given that Maximilla prophesied that there were to be no prophets after her, and given that her followers claim to prophesy, the movement must be unsound in root or branch or both. The "Anti-Phrygian" sees prophetic gifts as limited to apostolic times and any "New Prophecy" as a necessarily false prophecy.

A brief concluding chapter summarizes and sets Nasrallah's treatment into the wider trajectory of treatments of Christian "origins" that abstain from the identification of origin with authority and authenticity.

In terms of method, Nasrallah's mentors function in two ways. Foucault, Spivak, and Chakrabarty receive positive nods but have little direct impact on Nasrallah's reading. Mentors from Harvard receive constant citation, even when they are only passing on much more broadly held views or making relatively tangential comments. Scars of a past as a dissertation remain. Nasrallah's methodological mentor, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, whose influence looms large in this book, has certainly taken account of the voices of postcolonial subjects, but the "model of struggle" that Nasrallah adopts is substantially internal to the nascent Christian movement and pays very little direct attention to the colonial and imperial character of the Roman context.

Would the postcolonial question in relation to Nasrallah's analysis of a *discourse* of ecstasy be "how did the structures of colonial rule in antiquity condition the evaluation of *ectstasis* in subject peoples?" Here is the opportunity to drill down into the meaning of, for example, phenomena such as the geographical designation "Phrygian" within the power dynamics of the Roman Empire. Nasrallah alludes, of course, to the conception of barbarism that undergirds this geographical designation, but it is not the subject of theoretically informed analysis. It is also a designation that she reproduces in her discussion. Postcolonialism has influenced Nasrallah in her antifoundationalism but not sub-

stantially in terms of her social-historical analysis. Methodologically, the strength of the work is Nasrallah's resolutely rhetorical and simultaneously social-historical approach to her material.

In terms of data, three points may define a line, but a landscape needs many more. Nasrallah treats directly Paul, Tertullian, and the mysterious "Anti-Phrygian." It is also possible to illuminate a "Montanist" discourse on ecstasy, madness, and history. Nasrallah has opened up an avenue of inquiry that needs to treat a much wider set of texts: the *Didache* in its discussion of the validity of prophetic utterance and the apocryphal Acts with their narrative sketches of prophetic rivalry (preeminently Peter versus Simon, but also Peter versus Paul in the *Kerygmata Petrou* recast eventually as the Peter–Simon conflict). Such texts focus clearly on rival claims to divinely mandated knowledge and authority but also engage Nasrallah's concern for discourses of historical periodization in their retrospective orientation. This is only to say that the dissertation has opened up an inquiry that can be pursued profitably much further. Nasrallah's work here and in the future deserves a wide reading and engaged dialogue. An *Ecstasy of Folly* constitutes a valuable contribution to an important discussion in the study of religion.

John W. Marshall
University of Toronto, Toronto, ON M5S 3H7, Canada

Rashi's Commentary on Psalms, by Mayer I. Gruber. Brill Reference Library of Judaism 18. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004. Pp. xvi + 914. $219 (hardcover). ISBN 9004132511.

Rashi was the premier Jewish Bible exegete of all time. It was therefore a surprise to learn from this book that while we possess hundreds of commentaries on Rashi, the vast majority relate to his Torah commentary; only seven works have been written about Rashi on Psalms. Further, while there are numerous English translations of the Torah commentary, Gruber cites no previous translations of Rashi on Psalms, in any language. Gruber translates the commentary, written in northern France after the First Crusade, and supplies copious notes which amount to a supercommentary. The translation and notes (pp. 165–763) are preceded by an introduction of 164 pages, actually a panoply of monographs on various subjects: Rashi's Life, Rashi's Literary Output, Rashi's Liturgical Poetry, Rashi's Commentary on the Babylonian Talmud, Rashi's Responsa, Rashi as Storyteller, to name a few. Chapters more relevant to the body of the work are "The Importance of Rashi's Commentary on Psalms" and "The Method and Purpose of the Present Translations and Notes." The book contains a large bibliography, the Hebrew text of Rashi on Psalms (MS Austrian National Library Cod. Heb. 220), and extensive indices (biblical sources, rabbinic sources, ancient and medieval authors, subjects).

According to Gruber, the Psalms commentary provides a sampling of Rashi's exegetical concerns and methods: "*midrash aggadah, midrash halakah*, lexicography, grammar, syntax, source criticism, and attention to literary devices . . ." (pp. 128–30). As such, this book can serve as an introduction to Rashi's commentaries, much as Psalms itself has been called "a little Bible" which contains "most of the characteristic ideas and types of poetry scattered throughout the rest of Hebrew Scripture" (p. 127).

Of interest to a wider readership is "the significant data on Jewish-Christian intellectual relations before and during the era of the First Crusade" (p. 130). Thus, Rashi's

initial comment on Ps 2 is: "Our rabbis interpreted the subject of the chapter as a reference to the King Messiah. However, according to its basic meaning and for a refutation of the Christians, it is correct to interpret it as a reference to David himself. . . ." Rashi is speaking of the word משיחו ("His anointed") in v. 2. Based on another scriptural reference, Rashi maintains that this word could refer to King David. The Hebrew words ולתשובת המינין ("and for a refutation of the Christians") are missing from the printed editions of Rashi, due to censorship. In a page-long note on this expression (pp. 179–80), Gruber points out "that the search for the literal meaning [*pĕšûṭô*] by Rashi . . . was motivated by the belief that the Bible, understood on its own terms, would demonstrate that Judaism rather than Christianity is the only legitimate heir to the legacy which is commonly called 'the Old Testament.'" In other words, Gruber thinks that Rashi veered away from midrashic interpretation ("our rabbis interpreted") and chose instead more literal meanings and historical contexts to preclude christological exegesis. This idea is well attested by Rashi scholars.

However, in line with contemporary scholarship on Jewish exegesis in northern France, Gruber finds that the engagement with Christianity was not only polemical: "It has been demonstrated, however, that precisely at the period of the emergence of the northern French school of Jewish biblical exegesis (eleventh and twelfth centuries C.E.) there emerged also among the Christians of western Europe an interest in recovering the literal sense of Holy Scripture" (p. 132). He ascribes the common interest in pure exegesis to "the general spirit of the times" (ibid.). Gruber himself tries to connect Rashi's motivation to interpret Scripture in the ways of *peshat* and *derash* with the ideas of realism, nominalism, and conceptualism which were then current in medieval philosophy, but this argument is insufficiently explained for the nonspecialist in philosophy.

Gruber was a student of Moshe Held, and so his notes to and comments on the individual psalms are strongest in the field of language, whether the language of Rashi or the language of Psalms. He sums up the purpose of his notes as follows: to call attention to idiomatic expressions in Rashi; to identify Rashi's sources; to distinguish between those comments of Rashi that are explications of philological problems in the text "and those that are expressions of Rabbinic or Medieval Judaism superimposed upon the biblical text" (pp. 148–49). Gruber's philological notes will be of interest to biblical scholars for he aims "to place Rashi's lexicographical comments in dialogue with both ancient (Septuagint, Vulgate, etc.) and modern biblical lexicography, and to call attention to suggestions which are especially worthy of consideration in the light of recent research" (p. 128 n. 6). Here Gruber refers the reader to his discussions on the words *yāpîaḥ, tômîk, misgĕrôtêhem, hawwôt*.

Gruber deals with the structure and meaning of the individual psalms, though less extensively than with language matters. For example, Rashi comments only briefly on Ps 145 (five lines in the Hebrew text). He repeats the psalmist's phrase *dôr lĕdôr,* "one generation to another," three times and each time adds the comment "and also as for me." Gruber notes: "Rashi calls our attention to the psalmist's speaking in the parallel versets of vv. 4, 6, 21 alternately in the first person, expressing the psalmist's own desire to praise the Lord, and in the 3^{d} pers., expressing the hope that others will do so." He then refers the reader to an article by Adele Berlin on the rhetoric of this psalm.

Gruber is fluent in Semitic philology and rabbinics; Midrash, Talmud, medieval grammarians, and modern scholarship are all at his disposal. His capabilities are tailor-

made for this annotated translation, dealing as it does with Psalms and with its medieval Jewish interpretation. The weakness of the book derives from the same source. Gruber displays his erudition on many topics far removed from Rashi on Psalms. This is evident in the chapter headings of the introduction cited above; one such chapter devotes eleven pages to the epithet *Parshandatha* used for Rashi, and in another part of the introduction a lengthy footnote (two and one-half pages in small type) elaborates on the grammar of the formula *hammelek hammišpāṭ* in the daily prayerbook, the etymology of the word "Slav," a short history of slavery among Jews in France and the United States, and the literary history of the work *Mahzor Vitry*. All of these items are interesting and tangentially related to Rashi, but have nothing to do with Rashi on Psalms.

These digressions might have been avoided if the book had been properly edited. Apparently, this was not the case. The typographical errors are too numerous. The most significant is "to diffuse the Christian belief" when "defuse" was intended; the most ironic, Gruber's admission that "I alone am responsibile [*sic*] for any errors in this work" (p. xvi). Errors of grammar and syntax are numerous as well: "it was a shame that I did not used," "for my not have utilized" (both on the same page, 164). Finally, a comparison reveals that Gruber combined his earlier book, *Rashi's Commentary on Psalms 1–89* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) with Pss 90–150 to arrive at the present volume. Chapters 2–5 of the current introduction, those unrelated to Psalms, are new, while chs. 1, 6–9 were taken from the 1998 edition verbatim. So too, as far as I could judge, were the translation and notes for chs. 1–89. Such a combinatory undertaking requires editorial adjustments: a reference on p. 205 n. 12 reads "cited in our introduction, pp. 30–31" when the citation in question is found on pp. 150–51. The closing sentence, "I fervently pray that this edition of Rashi's Commentary on the fourth and fifth of the five books of the Psalter . . ." (p. 806) must have been written when Gruber did not yet know that he would reprint his earlier edition of the first to third books in the same volume. In the preface to the first volume, Gruber explained the ancient Jewish division of Psalms into five books, but this sentence was eliminated in the current preface.

Nevertheless, it is worth overlooking these technical flaws to gain entrance to the world of Rashi via a wide-ranging introduction and a thorough explication of one of his most important commentaries. The added bonus is Gruber's erudite philological treatment of many lexical difficulties in Psalms.

Isaac B. Gottlieb
Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel 52900

A Shadow of Glory: Reading the New Testament after the Holocaust, edited by Tod Linafelt. New York: Routledge, 2002. Pp. 258. $95.95 (hardcover). ISBN 0415937930. $26.95 (paper). ISBN 0415937949.

This excellent set of seventeen essays is the companion volume to *Strange Fire: Reading the Bible after the Holocaust*, also edited by Linafelt, which dealt with interpretation of the Hebrew Bible (New York: New York University Press, 2000). The NT volume is divided into four sections, following an introduction by Linafelt: Part 1: The Holocaust in the History of Interpretation (Pamela Eisenbaum, "The Christian Canon and the Problem of Antisemitism"; Deborah Krause and Timothy K. Beal, "Higher Crit-

icism on Late Texts: Reading Biblical Scholarship after the Holocaust"; Susannah Heschel, "Reading Jesus as a Nazi"; and Mark K. George, "Shoah Consciousness and the Silence of American Christian Biblical Scholarship"); Part 2: Reading as Jews (Steven L. Jacobs, "Blood on Our Heads: A Jewish Response to Saint Matthew"; Richard L. Rubenstein, "The Apostle and the Seed of Abraham"; and Jennifer L. Koosed, "Double Bind: Sacrifice in the Epistle to the Hebrews"); Part 3: Reading as Christians (Walter Brueggemann, "Reading from the Day 'In Between'"; Margie Tolstoy, "Woman as Witness in a Post-Holocaust Perspective"; Lloyd Gaston, "New Testament Theology after the Holocaust: Exegetical Responsibilities and Canonical Possibilities"; Tania Oldenhage, "Reading the Cross at Auschwitz: Holocaust Memories"; and Rolf Rendtorff, "Did Christianity Die at Auschwitz?"); and Part 4: Jews and Gentiles, in the New Testament and Today (John Dominic Crossan, "The Passion after the Holocaust"; Craig C. Hill, "Restoring the Kingdom to Israel: Luke-Acts and Christian Supersessionism"; James D. G. Dunn, "The Jew Paul and His Meaning for Israel"; Luke Timothy Johnson, "Reading after the Holocaust: A New Testament Scholar Responds to Emil Fackenheim"; and Gary A. Phillips, "The Killing Fields of Matthew's Gospel"). Only three of the essays, or versions of them, have been published previously (Heschel, Dunn, Phillips), while several of the authors in this volume also contributed to the earlier collection on the Hebrew Bible (Beal, Brueggemann, Rendtorff, Jacobs, Koosed, Rubenstein, Linafelt, and George).

The cover art is a detail of Marc Chagall's *Drawing of Jesus Appearing in the Sky and Worshippers.* The detail includes no Jesus, but a flying fish and faces of worshipers looking in different directions. The book's title alludes to Heb 8:5 and 10:1, which is often read as presenting the Judaism before Christ as a shadow of glory, "a religion that was useful in a fallen and limited way, but must now be abandoned in light of the fullness of Christ." From that allusion, Linafelt defines the collection as follows: "The present volume looks out from this shameful shadow back at the texts of the New Testament and explores how those texts might be read differently in the light of the Holocaust" (p. ix). Included are both issues that can and have been raised independently of any explicit focus on the Holocaust (such as anti-Judaism in Paul, the Gospels, and Acts) and those which arise from the specific events of the Holocaust (such as the membership of some NT scholars in the Nazi party). The aim is that all NT scholarship should develop a more consciously explicit post-Holocaust hermeneutics.

Should it be realized, this aim will change and vitalize our field of study. Toward that goal, Linafelt asks the important question: "How is the objectivity striven for in historical criticism called into question by the real ethical demands of contemporary Jewish-Christian relations?" (p. x). Several of the essays recognize that objectivity is impossible and claim it is dangerous. Yet nonpositivistic historical criticism is an essential part of the ethical task. So too is the effort to reckon with the traditional and contemporary impact of the texts, apart from issues of historicity. George considers literary criticism, feminist criticism, and postmodern criticism as correcting some of the deficiencies of historical criticism, presenting its shortcomings and problems for addressing the question of (the Christian) God in relation to the death camps. The effort to introduce students and the public to a biblical criticism that combats fundamentalism is deadly serious business that requires the remaking of religious identities. This is "a world that continues to practice genocide," a world that "continues to experience a

growing and increasingly violent and textually based fundamentalism," which drowns out the voices of reason and tolerance, to use Jacob's phrases (pp. 57–58). As Gaston puts it (p. 130), Christians "can learn from Judaism how to express passionate loyalty to our own particularity while affirming room for others to have an equally valid attachment to another particularity." Learning from Judaism and from contemporary Jews is a major theme of this collection, which seeks to show that such learning does not entail reading texts or events in the identical way, or recreating the same feelings.

Basic information and explanation of terms make the book accessible to beginning and advanced students. There are clear summaries of recent scholarship on certain issues, such as Paul's understanding of the Torah, as well as Philo's and Josephus's treatment of Pilate and Caiaphas. Discussions of Christian theories of supersessionism, replacement, and appropriation, as well as claims of discontinuity and superiority, expose "the presupposition underlying . . . harmful exegesis: triumphalism" (Gaston, p. 129) and illustrate "how the debates of antiquity were eerily replayed by Christian theologians during the Third Reich" (Eisenbaum, p. 4) and afterwards. Jacobs performs a helpful service in this respect, quoting from the commentaries of John Gill (1697–1771) and (the still much used) Matthew Henry (originally published 1706–1721), from a text by the (American) Southern Baptist Sunday School Board (1932), the *Baker Commentary on the Bible* (1989), the *Zondervan NIV Bible Commentary* (1994), the *Collegeville Bible Commentary* (1992), and David Stern's *Jewish New Testament* (1979, representing the view of a "Jew for Jesus"), in order to show the pervasiveness of popular ideas regarding the literal truth and historical accuracy of Matt 27:25, the misreading of Talmudic citations, and the avoidance of the serious engagement of biblical interpretation in the shadow of the Shoah. Interpretation of Matt 27:25, absolving Pilate and bringing a curse on the Jews and their children, runs like a red thread through this book (Oldenhage quotes Crossan: "these stories send people out to kill"; and Phillips provides a stimulating cultural critique of this text's murderous potential). Other contributors criticize Julius Wellhausen, Ferdinand Christian Baur, Adolf von Harnack, Joachim Jeremias, and Rudolf Bultmann, among others. A massive effort is thus required in order to be interpret Judaism fairly (Hill, pp. 185–86), to acknowledge that it is a religion of grace, and to become alert to the prejudice and confusion that are part of our discipline's history (Dunn, pp. 204, 213). The silence concerning the Holocaust in most interpretations of the Christian Testament (not limited to just American scholarship)—our teachers, our colleagues, ourselves—rings loudly. At last we are given books like *A Shadow of Glory* to deal with the frustration described years ago by Charlotte Klein (*Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975]), who reported how, despite hours and hours of lecture and discussion, her students' papers reinscribed the very anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic notions and attitudes she had been combating, because those very notions and attitudes [and now, we must add, the silence] were embedded in the scholarly research materials they used. They are embedded also in sermons by ministers and priests; this book should be put into their hands too, in courses that update their training.

Further enhancing the utility of the collection is that authors are in indirect conversation and confrontation throughout, offering perspectives and insights that support or extend or clash with each other in challenging ways. Christology, some insist, must be transformed by the insistence that Jesus be seen as Jewish: "Jesus was and remains a

Jew" and as a result "his teachings can in particular be understood as authoritative midrash of the Scriptural passages proclaiming the Kingdom of God . . . [His] teachings and his deeds are to be interpreted *without remainder* [emphasis mine] as part of the Judaism of his day, in continuity with Scripture and the tradition of its post-Biblical interpretation" (Rendtorff, p. 165). This admission would mean that "the doctrine of the Trinity has logical priority over Christological doctrines . . . the doctrine of the Trinity formulates the fact that through the Son and the Holy Spirit this is the God Gentiles worship too" (Gaston, p. 136). But how Christians have traditionally understood Jesus makes Jewish christology and theology impossible. George argues:

> the theological assumption that Jesus is the messiah, the fulfillment of Hebrew Bible prophecy, and thus that Christianity is *the way* of salvation for all the world, needs to be questioned by Christian biblical scholars, for it is precisely this theological assumption about Jesus and (the Christian) God that made (and makes) the death camps possible. We also must be willing to question directly our theological images and assumptions about God and ask how our Christian notions of God made the Shoah possible (if they did not outright demand the Shoah). (p. 52)

Rendtorff answers his question, "Did Christianity die at Auschwitz?," in the affirmative: yes, a certain kind of Christianity did in fact die. Or at least it should die and we scholars should help kill it. Can Christians, I wonder, come to regard Jesus as "a" rather than "the" Messiah? We are given glimpses in this collection of what is involved in refashioning the common Christian understanding of Jesus the Messiah rejected by the Jews and sacrificed to God. Ecclesiology too changes dramatically if Christians see themselves as the people of God alongside the Jews and together with the Jews (Rendtorff, p. 166).

The question of (the Christian) God and the death camps involves the question of whether Christians hold that their God would have allowed or participated in the Shoah (see George, pp. 43, 46). Here it is helpful to examine the contextualized nature of biblical religious sentiments. Tolstoy, for instance, points to the patriarchal context of all theology and christology: "It is well to remember that Jesus (as if) the obedient son of a patriarchal God is the product of a patriarchal religious imagination and does not reflect an objectively God given reality. Scripture and tradition are historically ambiguous" (p. 118). But there are still ambiguities in the present work. Speaking of Crossan's earlier work, Oldenhage says the early Christians were driven by a desire "to have in Jesus not a cursed victim of Roman state terror but God's Holy One" (pp. 144–45). Why, one wonders, not both? The cross at Auschwitz, literally and figuratively, as offense for Jews or as necessary symbol for Christians, looms as a shadow within the shadow. Thus, there is still work to be done with respect to reconstructing early Christian symbols and connecting them with their effective history.

In this same vein, resurrection is rehabilitated from being a product of cheap grace and thoughtlessness; it is spoken of as "not in itself revelatory but [as] an ambiguous event that is in itself mute" (Gaston, p. 136). Shoah, writes Brueggemann, disrupts "the rhythm of even the most elemental claims of Christian faith, in particular the decisive liturgical and theological move from the cross of Good Friday to the Resurrection on Easter Sunday" (p. 106). He insists that "the rush to the third day must be profoundly

slowed." It is necessary to show the depth and reality of the *kenōsis*, to retard Christian triumphalism when there is in fact no visible triumph. Matters must come down to "socioeconomic-political issues of abandonment, wretchedness, and rescue," which must be "bodily" in nature. Acclamation of victory must be less triumphal "because of the durable wretchedness evident on the ground." Easter, he suggests, "may be more sign than event, more hope than accomplishment" (p. 111). Tolstoy is on the same wave length: "The empty tomb and the closed doors are powerful symbols of loss and disorientation. This is not a finished story . . . but a new beginning," which involves the struggle to change conditions of suffering (p. 119).

The reader is hit time and again with hard, basic questions. "The theological problem is whether the Aryan Jesus movement is a product of Christianity or Christianity gone awry." "What happens when texts are read not from the position of a struggling new religious community, but from the position of a powerful dominant religion?" (Heschel, p. 38). Do texts carry the same meaning before and after the Holocaust? (Koosed, p. 91). Has religion, "both institutional and theological, . . . proven itself so morally and ethically deficient and bankrupt as to be both meaningless and irrelevant in this twenty-first century"? (Jacob, p. 58). In many of the answers, there seems to be some agreement about the necessity of Christianity's return to Judaism. Tolstoy calls Christianity "an orphaned religion unless it returns to the Judaism of Jesus and reconnects with contemporary Judaism and Jewish scholarship" (p. 125). Rendtorff cites Stendahl's insistence that the "parting of ways" between the two faiths was a fundamental moment of loss. Early Christianity, Rendtorff holds, "should have maintained its cognizance that it was part of Judaism." Christianity has to redefine itself in the light of the continued existence of the Jewish people and in terms of "the fundamental Jewish element in its own identity" (pp. 162–63, 167).

But not all the essays contribute to the larger aim with the same success. Luke Timothy Johnson's article strikes me as an irritant in the oyster. It is a retarding agent, some might see as ballast, perhaps expressing the views of most Christians. He denies that christology is inherently anti-Semitic, and that the writings of the NT led inevitably to the Holocaust "so that the only way Christianity can finally be purged of its anti-semitism is by recasting the image of Jesus and abandoning its own canonical texts" (p. 225). He does not think Christian theology has to reconstitute itself completely using the Holocaust as a new starting point. For Christians "there can be no new starting point except that *novum* in their experience and conviction that is the resurrection of Jesus to share the life of God and become 'life-giving Spirit' as the basis for a new humanity" (pp. 225–26). Calling for loyalty and moral courage, Johnson speaks of "the affirmation of the *novum* that is the death and resurrection of Jesus as a *novum* that is as experientially real today as in the first century," and of Christians as those marked by faith in the resurrection of Christ (pp. 228–29)—without, unfortunately, explaining here what he means. I wish he had said more about his understanding of the responsibility his own tradition (Roman Catholicism) bears with regard to the Holocaust, including reflection on his training, self-understanding, and present experience within that tradition insofar as that might shed light on the subject of the volume.

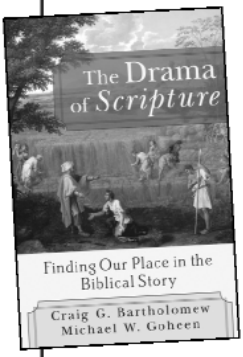
Several other essays would also have been enriched by more autobiographical reflection on experience, motivations and contexts of their work (such as those that Oldenhage provides). The collection would also have been further strengthened by

some specifically self-critical feminist contributions, along the lines of Judith Plaskow's "Anti-Judaism in Feminist Christian Interpretation" (in *Searching the Scriptures* [ed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza; New York: Crossroad, 1993], 1:117–29; mentioned by George along with the important work of Bernadette J. Brooten and Katharina von Kellenbach), or the studies of Amy-Jill Levine and Adele Reinhartz (see, e.g., the essays in *Jesus, Judaism and Christian Anti-Judaism* [ed. P. Fredriksen and A. Reinhartz; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002]). Heschel discusses the arguments of German feminist theologian Christa Mulack (1987; popularized in 1989), who blamed Nazism on Judaism, arguing that both were typically patriarchal "male" religions in contrast to the "female" morality of Jesus (Heschel notes that this articulation brought about no comment by Mulack's reviewers). Tolstoy, following Melissa Raphael ("When God Beheld God: Notes Towards a Jewish Feminist Theology of the Holocaust," *Feminist Theology* 21 [1999]: 53–78 [here 62]), calls Nazism "a demonic but logical conclusion of the [*sic*] patriarchal worldview which objectifies all things as disposable means to power." But it was "a patriarchal model of God, not God in God's self, that failed Israel during the holocaust" (p. 119). By contrast, Rubenstein's essay is androcentric ("fraternity and fratricide") and has no gender critique, although he talks about Paul's dream of "one humanity united in Christ" (cf. Fackenheim and Johnson on "fraternal reading").

The authors of *A Shadow of Glory* are to be congratulated and thanked for entering into this terror, for doing this hard work. I highly recommend this book as required reading for all in the field of Christian Testament studies, to help us begin to set the data and the questions right (see Heschel, p. 38), and to help us interrogate courageously the texts and our own interpretations for any trace of "the teaching of contempt" and of the avoidance of the big questions raised here. After reading this collection, one is left with a sense of the tremendous task ahead—to rethink and refashion basic elements of Christian thought and action, to develop a different form of religious imagination. Koosed states that the idea that Christians have been reading their Scriptures incorrectly for 2000 years is "not a viable solution" (p. 99). Why not? Some of us may find it invigorating and liberating.

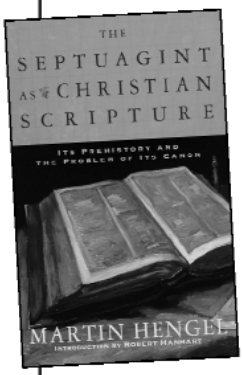
Jane D. Schaberg
University of Detroit Mercy, Detroit, MI 48221

Extending the Conversation in Biblical Studies



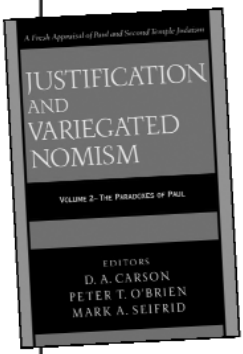
The Drama of Scripture
Craig G. Bartholomew and Michael W. Goheen
0801027462 • 256 pp. • $19.99p

"*The Drama of Scripture* is a model of biblical scholarship, integrating sound critical methods with a disposition of faith that is open to the revelation of the living God through his Word. This engaging book opens up for students the panoramic vision of the Bible that has been obscured by centuries of confessional battles and has been fragmented by Enlightenment rationalism. It succeeds in rendering the biblical world truly habitable, thus bridging the gap between the Bible and Christian experience."—Mary E. Healy, Notre Dame Graduate School of Christendom College



The Septuagint as Christian Scripture
Martin Hengel; Mark E. Biddle, translator
080102790X • 176 pp. • $24.99p

"It is impossible to imagine any work by Hengel that lacks erudition, perception, or considerable scholarly worth. This triad of laudable features is indeed found in this brief . . . essay or, rather, series of essays. . . . This volume is sure to educate, illuminate, and stimulate further creative thought on issues still all too often consigned to the sidelines of academic discourse. And for this we heartily thank Hengel and his translator."—Leonard J. Greenspoon, *Religious Studies Review*



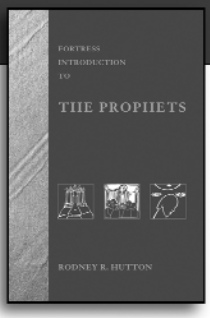
Justification and Variegated Nomism, vol. 2
D. A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid, editors
0801027411 • 576 pp. • $49.99p

A comprehension of Paul's understanding of the law and justification has been a perennial problem for historians and theologians. In light of new studies on early Judaism, an international group of esteemed New Testament scholars evaluates the paradoxes of Paul in this second volume of *Justification and Variegated Nomism*. Contributors include Martin Hengel, Douglas J. Moo, Miroslav Volf, Timothy George, and Stephen Westerholm.

Baker Academic
Extending the Conversation

Available at your local bookstore, www.bakeracademic.com, or by calling 1-800-877-2665
Subscribe to Baker Academic's electronic newsletter (E-Notes) at www.bakeracademic.com

Old Testament STUDIES

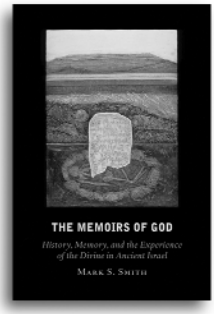


RODNEY R. HUTTON

FORTRESS INTRODUCTION TO THE PROPHETS

Provides students with an accessible entrée into this fascinating area of Hebrew Bible studies through literary, social, and theological analysis.

0-8006-3670-8 128 pp paper $16.00



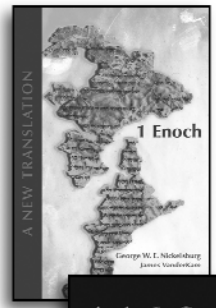
MARK S. SMITH

THE MEMOIRS OF GOD

History, Memory, and the Experience of the Divine in Ancient Israel

Examines the ways that collective memory, oral tradition, history, and history writing intersect upon Israel's history.

0-8006-3485-3 176 pp paper $21.00



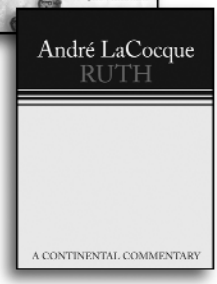
GEORGE W.E. NICKELSBURG and JAMES VANDERKAM

1 ENOCH

A New Translation

The only translation of 1 Enoch that takes into consideration the Ethiopic version, the Greek texts, and Dead Sea Aramaic fragments.

0 8006 3694 5 192 pp paper $16.00



ANDRE LACOCQUE

RUTH

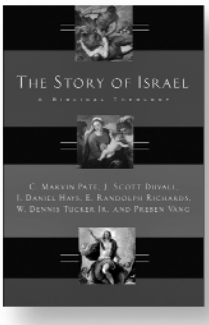
Translated by K.C. Hanson

Combines historical, literary, feminist, and liberationist approaches in an engaging synthesis, arguing that Book of *Ruth* was written in the post-exilic period by a woman.

0-8006-9515-1 200 pp jacketed hc $28.00

FORTRESS PRESS
Augsburg Fortress, Publishers
1-800-328-4648
fortresspress.com

New Titles in Biblical Studies



304 pages, paper,
0-8308-2748-X, $24.00

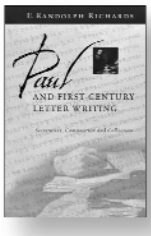
The Story of Israel

A Biblical Theology

Among the several prominent themes in the Bible, the story of Israel is one that has attracted recent attention and study. The biblical story of Israel — in its election, sin, exile and restoration — is a finely articulated drama of the glory and the plight of the universal story of humanity and creation. And the story of Jesus, born from the womb of Israel as its Messiah and true seed of Abraham, provides the redemptive solution to Israel's and the world's plight.

This book by C. Marvin Pate, J. Scott Duvall, J. Daniel Hays, E. Randolph Richards, W. Dennis Tucker Jr. and Preben Vang explores the unitive theme of the story of Israel from Genesis to Revelation. Probing each section of Scripture, the authors bring the contours of this story to light. From close-up examinations of key texts to panoramic shots of the biblical terrain, *The Story of Israel* unfolds an intriguing and compelling perspective on biblical theology. And with its features of recommended readings and study questions, it is a textbook suitable for classroom and individual study.

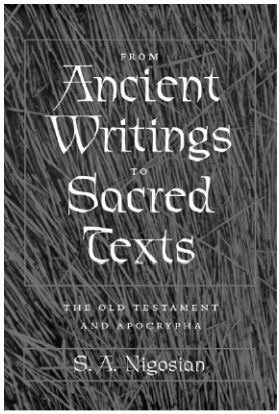
Also available from InterVarsity Press:

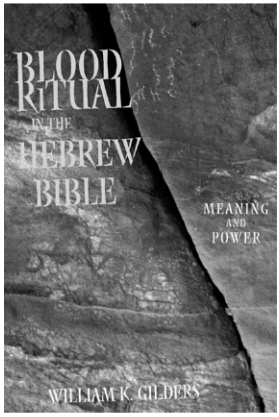


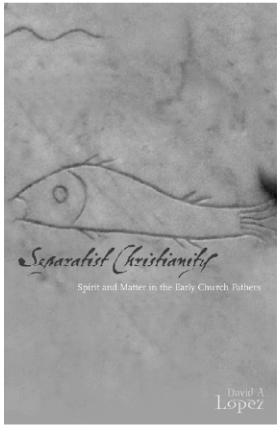
Paul and First-Century Letter Writing

Secretaries, Composition and Collection

E. Randolph Richards has extensively studied ancient letter writing and secretaries. The resulting book is an intriguing glimpse of Paul the letter writer that overthrows our preconceptions and offers a new perspective on how Paul's letters came to be. *240 pages, paper, 0-8308-2788-9, $19.00*







Fathers and mothers

From Ancient Writings to Sacred Texts

The Old Testament and Apocrypha

S. A. Nigosian

S. A. Nigosian, a scholar of Biblical and Near Eastern religions, explores the diverse literary antecedents of the Old Testament as well as the Apocrypha—books excluded from the canonical Hebrew text but included in the Septuagint. Closely analyzing the formation and contents of these works, Nigosian compares them with the religious, philosophical, didactic, and historical works created by the neighboring Near Eastern civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor.

$18.95 paperback

Blood Ritual in the Hebrew Bible

Meaning and Power

William K. Gilders

"An interesting and significant investigation of the meaning of blood in rituals and ritual-related texts in the Hebrew Bible."
—David P. Wright, Brandeis University

$55.00 hardcover

Mother of the Gods

From Cybele to the Virgin Mary

Philippe Borgeaud

translated by Lysa Hochroth

"*Mother of the Gods* reaches out far beyond its ostensible subject—the cult of the divine mother in Greece, Rome, and Christianity. It is rich with implications for our understanding of antiquity in general—and, for that matter, for our understanding of culture and society. This is a book that every scholar interested in ancient religion will have to read."
—James Redfield, University of Chicago

$49.95 hardcover

Separatist Christianity

Spirit and Matter in the Early Church Fathers

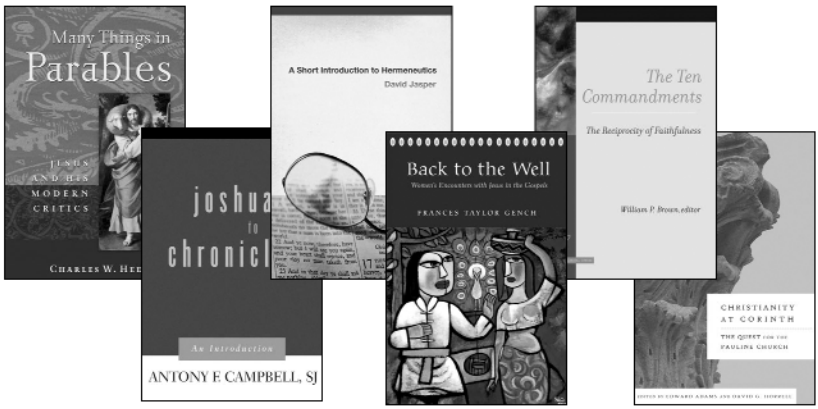
David A. Lopez

"This book will make a good contribution to the field of early Christian studies by illuminating the important—and often neglected—question of the relationship between Christians and the state."
—Joyce E. Salisbury, University of Wisconsin—Green Bay

$39.95 hardcover

The Johns Hopkins University Press • 1-800-537-5487 • www.press.jhu.edu

NEW IN BIBLICAL STUDIES



Many Things in Parables
Jesus and His Modern Critics
Charles W. Hedrick
Paper • $19.95 (Canada $30.00)
ISBN: 0-664-22427-X

Joshua to Chronicles
An Introduction
Antony F. Campbell, SJ
Paper • $29.95 (Canada $46.00)
ISBN: 0-664-25751-8

A Short Introduction to Hermeneutics
David Jasper
Paper • $19.95 (Canada $30.00)
ISBN: 0-664-22751-1

Back to the Well
Women's Encounters with Jesus in the Gospels
Frances Taylor Gench
Paper • $19.95 (Canada $30.00)
ISBN: 0-664-22715-5

The Ten Commandments
The Reciprocity of Faithfulness
LIBRARY OF THEOLOGICAL ETHICS
William P. Brown, editor
November • Paper • $34.95 (Canada $53.00)
ISBN: 0-664-22323-0

Christianity at Corinth
The Quest for the Pauline Church
Edward Adams and David Horrell, editors
Paper • $39.95 (Canada $61.00)
ISBN: 0-664-22478-4

WJK

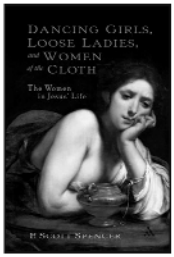
Westminster John Knox Press
Call: 1-800-227-2872
Fax: 1-800-541-5113
www.wjkbooks.com

Promo Code: AD2004

Dancing Girls, Loose Ladies and Women of the Cloth

The Women in Jesus' Life

F. Scott Spencer

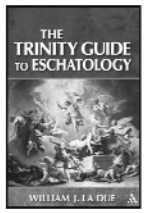


Scott Spencer, a virtuoso young New Testament scholar, provides his own lively forays into reading the Gospels through women's eyes. He shows what it is like for a man to read stories about the women in Jesus' life from a new perspective.
208pp 0-8264-1612-8 PB $22.00 (Can $28.50) Continuum

The Trinity Guide to Eschatology

William J. La Due

An every person's guide to life, death and the End Times. La Due offers an evenhanded and accessible survey of the history of theological thought on eschatology.
176pp 0-8264-1608-X PB $22.00 (Can $28.05) Continuum



Understanding the Bible and its World

A new series of books for anyone interested in the latest advances in our understanding of the Bible and its intellectual, political and religious context.

The Septuagint

Jennifer Dines

Jennifer Dines traces the Septuagint's origins in the third to first centuries BCE and its subsequent history to the fifth century CE. The Septuagint is shown to be important for biblical studies (both Old and New Testament), to have a distinctive contribution to make to the history of biblical interpretation, and to be of considerable interest for understanding the early development of both Judaism and Christianity.
208pp 0-567-086464-7 PB $24.95 (Can $32.50) T&T Clark International

Plus newly-reissued in the series

Narrative Art in the Bible

Shimon Bar-Efrat

"It seems to me that in regard to its level there is nothing which can equal it in the entire scholarly literature in this field."
—Uriel Simon
296pp 0-567-08649-5
PB $28.95 (Can $37.95)
T&T Clark International

The Synoptic Problem

A Way Through the Maze

Mark Goodacre

Readable, balanced, up-to-date guide to possibly the greatest literary enigma in history
188pp 0-567-08056-0
PB $24.95 (Can $32.50)
T&T Clark International

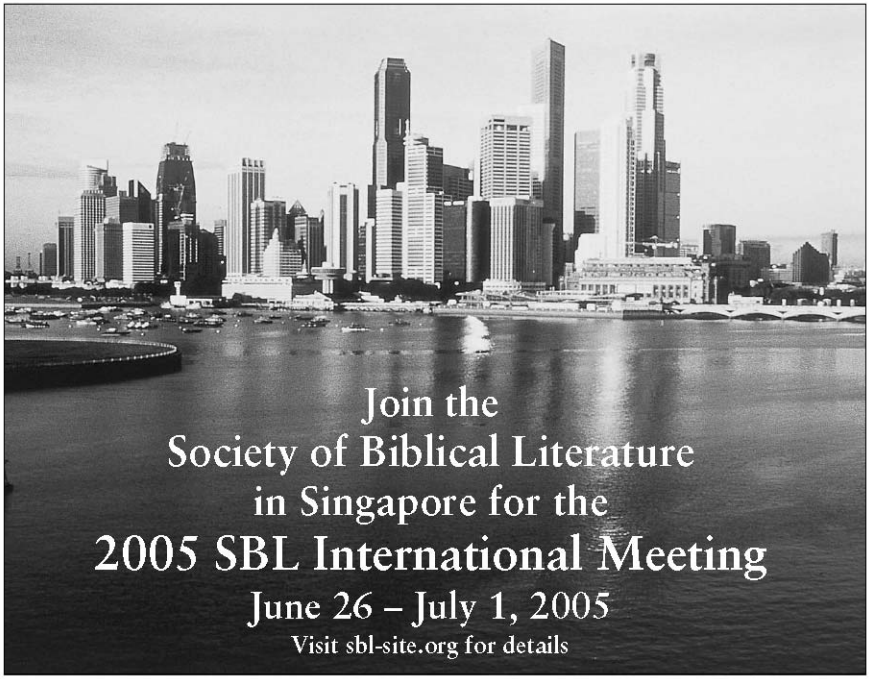
Ethics and the New Testament

J.L. Houlden

"…a little gem…lucid and scholarly, ethically and theologically sensitive." —*Journal of Theological Studies*
144pp 0-567-08475-2
PB $24.95 (Can $32.50)
T&T Clark International

t&t clark

From good bookstores or to order call 1-800-561-7704
www.tandtclarkinternational.com


Join the
Society of Biblical Literature
in Singapore for the
2005 SBL International Meeting
June 26 – July 1, 2005
Visit sbl-site.org for details

ANNUAL INDEX
Volume 123 (2004)

I. Articles and Critical Notes

II. Book Reviews

III. Reviewers

In honor of 125 years of
fostering biblical scholarship,
everyone is invited
to support:

global horizons
new voices
publications
expanded programs
digital resources

Celebrate the past.
Invest in the future.
Support the 2005-2006
SBL Anniversary Campaign
www.sbl-site.org/125years

SBL est. 1880
Society of Biblical Literature