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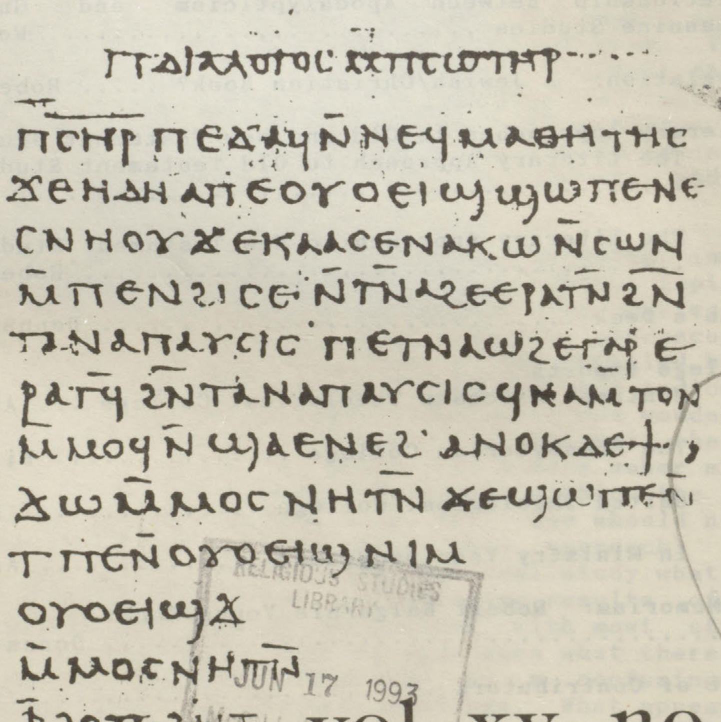
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ARC is a publication of the theological community of the Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University, its affiliated Colleges (Anglican, Presbyterian and United Church) and the Montreal Institute for Ministry.

PREFACE

Frederik Wisse

The seven essays in this volume present a cross section of current research by doctoral students in biblical studies at the Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University. Dean Donna Runnalls has supplemented this with a report on research in the closely related area of Judaism in late antiquity, and a sample of her own scholarly work in this field. The research projects represented here are in varying stages of completion. Dr. Harry Shepherd finished his thesis in the spring of 1987 and Edith Humphrey has only just begun her research. Robert Hill and Michael Pettem are near the end of the writing stage, while Susan Slater is still in the middle of her research and Robert MacKenzie in the middle of writing.

It is difficult to say in how far the topics represented here are typical for present day biblical research. Two of the essays, the ones by Slater and by MacKenzie reflect the current interest in a literary approach to the biblical text. This is also the topic of their research reports. This approach is not entirely new, but a study of the text which is informed by insights from linguistics, philosophy of language and literary studies in other fields.

In New Testament Studies it is becoming increasinly difficult to find worthwhile and manageable thesis topics. The small body of New Testament literature has during the last decades been put under increasingly powerful microscopes. The sources, redaction, theological nuances and detailed historical settings which New Testament scholars claim to see indicate great erudition, ingenuity and effort, but make one wonder whether these texts can sustain such scrutiny. In contrast, the literary approach promises to be a return to a more sober and modest reading of the text which stays consciously within the limits of what literary texts are and can do. One should not expect startling and dramatic results from this approach. However, after almost 200 years of critical biblical study what is novel is by definition suspect. The accumulative results of biblical research are not the tip of an iceberg with most still to be uncovered. By and large we have already seen what there is to be seen, though it is often obscured by a confusing array of dogmatic, speculative and esoteric readings. What appears to be needed is not further refinements in method or new interpretive keys but the testing and sorting out of the basic assumptions and hypotheses which have guided biblical interpretation. The essays by Pettem, Hill and MacKenzie are examples of this. They focus on major assumptions in New Testament scholarship about the ethnic and history of religious background of, respectively, the authors of the Gospels of Matthew and John, and the Revelation of John. These assumptions, which in part go back before the rise of critical scholarship, have major interpretive implications. They are being tested to see whether they are warranted. The result of the literary approach and the testing of assumption may well be that far less can be said about the historical and social setting of the biblical text than previous scholarly thought possible. Paradoxically, this may prove to be a gain, rather than a loss in seeing the basic meaning.

THE RHETORIC OF DEUTERONOMY 1-3

Susan Slater

Deuteronomy 1-3 is one of those texts that scholarship has treated mostly in terms of its textual "problems", without in the process being able to shed much positive light on its interpretation as a whole. These "problems" are very real to historians of the text, who are interested in the text's genesis, devlopment and transmission. Whether they need be seen as obstacles to interpretation, however, is another question. From an interpretive perspective these "problems" only emerge as such when viewed from the angle of implicit expectations about the text that the text itself repeatedly does not meet. The text's dissonance with scholarly expectations might suggest that it is not interested in corresponding to the type of model we are bringing to bear on its interpretation, with that model's assumptions of unity of authorship, voice and time, for example. We have to ask ourselves whether the problem does not lie more with our expectations of the text than with the text itself. After all, for at least one person once, the final redactor, the text "worked." Perhaps we are going about things backwards in viewing the "problems" as obstacles to interpretation, to be overcome before moving on to questions of meaning and function.

Another way of approaching the text would be to *start* with its outstanding features (formerly the "problems") and to approach the question of what the text wants to communicate through the question of how these function in the text. This would be to focus on the "rhetoric" referred to in the title. Here rhetoric is being used in the classical sense of "the art of persuasion." The text wants to communicate something, and attention to a) what it is talking about and b) how it talks about it, can shed light on its overall communicative goal. This is something we all know from our own experience of being spoken to and speaking. "What is he/she really trying to get at?" "I wonder why he/she said that?"

Turning, then, to the outstanding features of Deut. 1-3, the first thing to say would be that all these features find their significance within its central puzzle, namely that of its location in the Bible. Looking at this question first will give us a perspective from which to inquire about the other features of the text.

On the basis of its location at the beginning of both the book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History (Deut.-II Kings), there is a scholarly consensus that Deut. 1-3 is introductory. Less clear is the question of *how* it introduces these segments of text, in the sense of granting access, disclosing them to the reader. There is even serious question of whether it is meant to introduce the book of Deuteronomy at all.

Late nineteenth century and early twentieth century commentators on the book of Deuteronomy tended to see Deut. 1-3 as a preparation for the book of Deuteronomy in some way. This opinion was displaced by Martin Noth, when he identified the Deuteronomistic History as a literary complex within the Bible. Recognizing the fundamental importance of legislation for the book of Deuteronomy, and noting the absence of concern for legislation in Deut. 1-3, he concluded that these chapters introduced the Deuteronomistic History rather than the book of Deuteronomy. He found this conclusion to be supported equally by the fact that the narrative threads of Deut. 1-3, laid down in 3:29, are not picked up again before 31:1, which looks like a direct continuation of 3:29.

If one considers that beginnings are important in literature or, more specifically here, in histories--that they open, set up, introduce--this construction puts Deut. 1-3 in the unhappy position of having to introduce something that will not start happening for another 28 chapters. How is it to be effective across that distance? Deut. 1-3 is given the unlikely appearance of a fish trying determinedly to make a portage across dry land to the next hospitable body of water. It is not surprising that it tends to drop out of sight!

If one were to ask why Deut. 1-3 was not just put at the end of the book, next to its narrative continuation, the answer would be given that the deuteronomistic historian wanted to bring Deuteronomy into the Deuteronomistic History as its foundation. We should be clear about this: The Deuteronomistic History never existed and does not exist as such without the book of Deuteronomy. It is this book that provides the stamdard by which all actions in the history are measured, and also that announces the fruit of different kinds of acts, whether blessing or curse. This has implications for Deut. 1-3. If it is bringing Deuteronomy into the Deuteronomistic History, then surely it should be seen as addressing the book as well as the history.

But here we are brought up short. We cannot get at the question of how Deut. 1-3 relates to the two bodies of text it begins, from the outside. More precise attention to the internal rhetoric of Deut. 1-3 is necessary at this stage, to gather some clues about its relation to the two bodies it precedes.

We come back to our two questions: 1) What is the text talking about? and 2) How does it talk about it? In the answers to these two questions, which can only be sketched here, we may hope to find indications of the overall communicative goal of Deut. 1-3; the "why" of its composition, to borrow Sternberg's phrasing (1). This, in turn, will lead us back to the question with which we began, that of the relation of Deut. 1-3 to the two bodies of text it precedes.

I.

We start, then, by looking at what Deut. 1-3 is talking about.

Although Deut. 1-3 is a speech, it is retrospective in character, and largely composed of elements also found in narratives elsewhere in the Bible. The events recalled took place between Horeb and the present moment just preceding entry into the land. There is the departure from Horeb, the establishment of judges and the famous story of the scouting party that ruined the people's nerve and that led to the exclusion of the generation involved from entry into the land. There are the forty years' wandering, the victories over Sihon and Og, the division of their land, and the refusal of entry into the land to Moses, but the granting to him of a far-off glimpse of it. Although many of these elements are also to be found in Numbers, they appear in different clothing here, where they are put together as continuous and interrelated parts of one recollection.

It may seem too obvious to mention, but we note that those elements collected in Deut. 1-3 deal almost exclusively with matters of the land, and, in particular, would seem interested in the relations between acquisition of the land, mistrustful disobedience and trusting obedience. In Numbers, the land is only one among a number of concerns.

The extensive verbal parallels between Deut. 1-3 and the passages in other books containing the same narrative elements are sufficient to establish the existence of literary dependencies between most of them. Much more difficult is the next question: Which way do the literary dependencies incline? Is Deuteronomy dependent on Numbers here, or is the reverse true? The traditional wisdom on this subject is that Deuteronomy is dependent on the J stream of Numbers, with the exception of the Og episode which is original to Deuteronomy and added to Numbers by a later source (Moran, 261, 263). Over the last few years, however, enough obscurity has been cast over the figure of the Yahwist, in particular, and the Documentary Hypothesis in general, that the question of dependencies must be reconsidered. When one adds to the stew the fact that the discernment of the four documentary sources in Numbers had always required an element of faith, it becomes clear that any current reconsideration of the problem should proceed independent of a comprehensive source hypothesis. In other words, the direction of dependency has to be discerned on a text-to-text basis. Currently, there are some, such as John Van Seters, who believe the traditional direction of dependence should be reversed. This position is highly controversial and has been challenged by a number of scholars.

There is no space here to go through the argument concerning the direction of literary dependency in its particulars. My own findings, however, would support the established view insofar as it affirms, generally, that Deuteronomy is the later text, and dependent principally on Nu. 13-14 and material from Nu. 15-23. In the selection of material a preference is shown for passages which place the matters of trustful obedience and mistrustful rebellion in relation to the matter of the acquisition of the land. This preference is also evident in the arrangement of passages into one coherent account.

II.

We come now to the second point of our inquiry into the text's rhetoric, where we look at *how* the text says what it is saying.

Having seen that Deut. 1-3 makes use of other literary sources, and selects from them materials relating to the land, sin and obedience, it remains to ask the central question for a discussion of rhetoric: How are these narrative elements used? The primary considerations in answering this question in the present case are: 1) Narrative elements are placed into a speech genre. 2) These narrative elements are selected and reworked for a particular effect. 3) There is more than one time operating in Deut. 1-3. 4) There is more than one voice speaking. In what follows, these areas will be considered individually.

1) Deuteronomy 1-3 has usually been treated by scholars as narrative. In fact, however, the reader's experience of the text as narrative ends in 1:5, where the narrator last speaks in his own voice. After that point, we are released into the world of Moses' speech. We have moved, then, from narrative into oration. This has implications for the way in which the narrative elements taken from Nu. 13-14, etc., are used. Rather than being arranged according to structures of expectation proper to narrative, we may expect that they will be used to reinforce overtly rhetorical priorities proper to oration. Speeches are usually designed to persuade, to make the audience see things the way that the speaker sees them.

Viewing Deut. 1-3 as a speech provides a key to understanding a number of the uses of narrative material that are highly surprising if Deut. 1-3 is taken to be narrative. For example, not once but a few times, steps necessary to understanding the unfolding of the narrative that is being spoken about are simply left out of the recollection, only to be alluded to later, as if everyone knew they were part of the story.

The most obvious example concerns the report brought back by the scouts. In Moses' recollection (Deut. 1-3) the report is univocally positive: "Good is the land which Yahweh our God is giving to us" (Deut. 1:25). And yet, a few short verses later, Moses recalls the people saying, "How can we go up? Our brothers have melted our hearts, saying, 'A great people, and mightier than we, great cities, and fortified to the heavens; and the sons of the Anaqim, too, we saw there'" (Deut. 1:28). From a narrative point of view, this gap in the recollection makes no sense. It does make sense from a rhetorical point of view, though, because it participates in the complete refusal to associate the people's lack of faith with anyone but themselves. Even if the basic story (Nu. 13-14) offers some slight foundation for the people's lack of trust, we will hear so here (Deut. 1-3) only from the mouths of the guilty ones themselves.

Another very striking feature of the recalling of these narrative elements in speech form (Deut. 1-3) is that the speech is addressed, in the second person, to people identified as those acting in the story. Deut. 1-3 recalls what the people addressed did on these axial occasions in the past. There is thus an identification set up between the participants in the narrative and those the speech addresses. Moses is speaking of how "you" and "we" came to be where we now stand, on the brink of entry into the promised land. So strong is the identification of the participants in the story with those to whom Moses is addressing his speech that, when a whole generation dies for its sin (Deut. 2:14-16), no recognition of a change of cast is given within the speech. Despite the fact that the "you" first addressed were eliminated in the desert, there is an essential identity between them and the "we" who now stand within sight of the promised land.

This glossing over of the first generation's death suggests that the unity of identity assumed by the speech is primarily for the ones the speech addresses, who are the same at its beginning and at its end, and less for the actual participants in the narrative. Specifically, the use of "we" and "you" in describing the journey that led to the present brink of the promised land is a rhetorical device to make the reader identify with the participants in the narrative. This device is made particularly effective by the complete retreat of the narrator after introducing the speech in 1:3-5a. Moses becomes the only speaker; the reader, or listener, remains undistractedly the one addressed.

2) We have already seen that the narrative elements chosen from Numbers share a focus on the conquest of the land and its relation to trustful obedience or mistrustful disobedience. We

may presume in this that these narrative elements have been selected because they focus on those particular themes. Within this thematic area, further selection is evident in the elements of the narratives chosen to be represented in the speech, and in the manner of their representation. We have seen one example of this already in the treatment of the scouts' report. The selection functions here to highlight the people's sole responsibility for their sin. The account is streamlined: all that does not lead to a recognition of the people's unmotivated faithlessness, God's justice, and the journey beyond into the promised land, has been let fall. Caleb is mentioned only in passing, Joshua figures only as the one who is to lead the people in the new land, God is not excessively wrathful and Moses does not intercede with him to obtain the relative mercy of the slaying of only the present generation. God does not offer to set Moses' offspring up in the stead of an annihilated chosen people.

After the death of the present generation comes the turning point in Moses' arrangement of the narrative elements. Obedience and trust issue in the beginnings of conquest in the Transjordan. From this point on, the narrative selection will function to highlight the inevitable triumph that follows upon obedience to Yahweh. Striking, almost humorous, in this respect is what happens to the encounter with Edom/Esau. In Numbers 20:14-21, Moses makes his elaborate bid for passage through the land of Edom, complete with assurances that food and water consumed would be paid for, and that the Israelites would pass straight through the land. His generous proposal is greeted with a flat refusal of passage, to which the Israelites respond by turning around and trying elsewhere! This kind of scenario would seriously wound Deuteronomistic sensitivities. Either Esau had to allow passage or, failing that, to be decimated for standing in the way of the forces of the Lord. Esau being family, the second option was practically excluded. Inevitably, by the time of Moses' recollection in Deut. 1-3, the sons of Esau do the sensible thing and we are simply given to understand, without its being said in so many words, that passage was granted to the Israelites.

3) There is a certain compression of times in the re-presentation of narrative elements in Deut. 1-3. Most clearly present are the two basic times: the time in the desert after leaving Horeb, and that in which the speech is given, in the moment before entering the promised land. The first of these times approaches the second in Moses' speech, until the two meet in the present moment of the speech. Besides these two, there is a third time, which is that of the narrator. It is adverted to with relative openness in the narrative framework, Deut. 1:1-5, when the narrator says that Moses addressed the people "across the Jordan," thus indicating his own position and that of those he is addressing, within the land of Israel, and at a significantly later time. This is the last time the narrator

identifies himself as such in Deut. 1-3. But throughout Moses' speech there are a number of interruptions in an anonymous voice that appears to share the time and setting of the narrator (2:10-12, 20-23; 3:9, 11, 13b-14). Thus it manages to guide our reception of the material in some way, while at the same time declining to challenge Moses' position as primary speaker, the one to whom our attention is directed: the authoritative voice, as Polzin would argue.

In the compression of these times we are led to superimpose different moments one upon another. The moment of the original call to conquer the land, with its sin of mistrust and melted hearts is superimposed upon the narrative present of Moses' speech which prefaces the actual entry into the land. The message is clear: "Don't make that mistake again." And similarly, those two moments are superimposed upon the time of the narrator and those he addresses, as theological keys for the present moment, whatever its promise, whatever its enemy, whatever its sin of mistrust.

Two things are striking in this regard: First, the relationship, the shared time, between narrator and "narratee," is more openended than the other two times, because both stand outside of the story. The relationship between these last two is implicit in the text, but realized only in the reading of it. And in this, the time of the narrator remains fixed, but that of the "narratee" does not.

Second, in this re-telling of the second half of the book of Numbers with its attendant remoulding and reinterpretation, something happens to the story itself: it becomes elevated above the level of the simple stream of narrative; it becomes paradigmatic of something. Of what? Of the relation between Yahweh and his people as mediated by the promise that binds them, perhaps. Failure of heart, mistrust before Yahweh's promise lead to exclusion and death. Trust and obedience, on the other hand, lead to the promised inheritance.

To say this has become paradigmatic is not simply a bald affirmation. The biblical tradition itself has accepted this as a paradigmatic episode, as Psalm 95, Psalm 106:24-27, I Cor. 10:1-13, and Hebrews 3:7-19 show. It has become fused with the memory of the Meribah/Massah incident, which led to the forfeiting of the promised land. Interestingly, that is how the tradition has assimilated this: as the incident which lost Israel the land. This interpretation would seem to shown a congruence with the post-exilic situation, where the fullness of the promise was at least diminished. It is noteworthy that Deut. 1-3 itself shows loss of land only as a prelude to conversion and conquest, which in itself seems congruent with a situation of possession, however precarious. In any case, the episode has become paradigmatic.

4) Along with these different times, naturally enough, come different voices. There is the voice of the narrator, explicitly identified in 1:1-5, and incognito throughout the body of Deut. 1-3. There is the voice of Moses, speaking at the time of the desert wanderings, and then again adding his own comments in the context of the speech as he retells the events of those wanderings. The distinction between these two times is not always clear, so that the compression of the two times is reinforced. In his speech Moses continues the sermon on trust begun forty years ago when the people's hearts failed them. Added to the sense of plurality in Moses' speaking, is the variety in the way he addresses his audience, now as "you" (singular), mostly as "you" (plural). The question of whether this might be an indicator for a distinction between sources has been hotly debated over the years, but it would seem impossible to distinguish between sources on that basis alone.

All of these different voices, with their different times, give an element of dialogue to the text, in that it does contain, within its own fixity, elements of response. It would be interesting to explore how much this dimension of the text functions to invite other readers to graft themselves onto the ongoing response as the author of Deut. 4, for example, may be seen to have done.

III.

On the basis of these various observations, what can we conclude about the communicative goals of Deut. 1-3? We have seen that Deut. 1-3 has a thematic focus on the link between faithful obedience and inheritance of the land. In transmitting existing traditions, Deut. 1-3 consistently chose to portray the people as fully responsible for their own sinfulness. It is quite openly addressed to the reader, both in terms of the speech genre, with its second person address, and through the compression of succeeding historical moments.

Deut. 1-3 would seem to encourage the reader to assume the identity proposed to him or her through the interplay of the various features of the text discussed above in Section II. The "you" addressed by Moses is, paradoxically, (one of) a community that, lacking in trust, was excluded from the land and died; and that, trustingly obedient, was ushered into the fulfilment of the ancient promise to the Fathers.

Such an interpretation of the community in history before God, is thoroughly Deuteronomistic, of course. So far, it is nothing new. What is new here, is specifically the identification of the rhetorical tactic of including the reader in the history. Deut. 1-3 has been a puzzle, not because of what it says, but rather because of how and where it says what it says. It precedes a body of law, but it is neither hortatory nor didactic. It begins the Deuteronomist's history, but it is set in Moses' mouth, and is formally part of his lawgiving discourse. It speaks through a mélange of times and voices. And all of these features have the effect of loosening the moorings of the story in a particular time and place, and of drawing the actual reader in as a participant.

Why would Deut. 1-3 have the readers' identification with the community of Israel at those two crucial moments as its communicative goal? To ask this is to raise the question of the relation of these three chapters to what follows, in the book of Deuteronomy and in the Deuteronomistic History. We are back at the question with which we began; only this time we have some idea of where to look for an answer. If the internal rhetoric of Deut. 1-3 is geared towards persuading the reader to assume the identity of those now standing on the brink of the promise, then this identity must be judged an essential prerequisite for entry into the book of Deuteronomy, conceived as part of the Deuteronomistic History. The reader is introduced into the systems of law by becoming one of those to whom they are addressed, and whose future blessing or cursing hangs utterly on their response to these rules for life in the promised land.

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JUDAISM IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Notes from Berlin

Donna Runnalls

In the last week of July I attended the Third Congress of the European Association of Jewish Studies which was held at the Volkshochschule of Schloss Glienicke in the Wansee district of Berlin. Schloss Glienicke is an old hunting estate and part of the complex has been converted into a youth and adult education centre. This particular section of the estate is surrounded on three sides by the Berlin Wall, so those of us who were at the Congress were made very aware of the division of the city and the consequences of that for the life of Berliners.

It was an interesting experience to attend a Jewish Congress held in Berlin because there were special dynamics attached to such an event. We were entertained by both the Government of the Federal Republic and by the West Berlin Government. One afternoon the city had arranged a sight-seeing tour, much of which was taken up with visits to Second World War memorials. The tour guide of my bus was very loquacious and spent a great deal of time explaining conditions during the Nazi period. What became clear as one listened to him was that the memorialization of the German resistance fighters of that period has become one mechanism by which Germans can cope with the psychological trauma resulting from their sense of guilt: that is, by claiming identification with the martyrdom of the resistance fighters it becomes possible to be on the right side. I found it fascinating that among those with whom I discussed this, some American Jews were very angry about it, but several Israelis not only thought it was a healthy phenomenon, but concluded that because of this way of dealing with the problem Germany was now the country where fascism was least likely to reappear.

There were about 100 participants in the Congress of whom I was the only representative from a Canadian institution (there was one Canadian student, studying at Oxford, who gave a paper in my section). The programme was divided into six sections covering Jewish studies from Biblical times to the contemporary period. My own participation was primarily in the section covering studies of Judaism in Late Antiquity. Papers were presented in a variety of languages: English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Hebrew. As a result, I have only a general impression of several of the topics covered.

What are the issues of interest in the studies of the Judaism of the New Testament period?

Studies of details from the texts of Qumran, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphy, Josephus and Philo were numerous. Wider issues of interpretation were also on the programme: differences in interpretative traditions between Pharisees, Sadducees and Paul; the social setting within which ideal figures developed; questions concerning the eschatological thinking of the time; the application of structural analysis to the wide variety of texts from this period.

From personal conversations as well as the session discussions it was clear that most of the British scholars present saw themselves as historians dealing with solid "factual" evidence in their studies of this period. An example of this approach was a plenary address given by Professor Geza Vermes of Oxford University entitled "Bible Interpretation at Qumran." In this address Vermes brought together the results of various studies, including his own, of Qumran biblical interpretation and presented the results in a logical and consistent manner. On the other hand, the French are very much influenced by Lévi-Strauss and are largely pursuing studies into the social and psychological structures underlying the production of the texts and their ideas. Such a study was that of Professor Jacqueline Genot of Brussels entitled "Herméneutique et Apologétique en milieu pharisien à l'époque de l'apôtre Paul." Each of the groups is somewhat suspicious of the work of the other: the British feel that structuralism is too speculative while the French and some Israelis expressed the opinion that the British are stuck in outdated methods. The rest of us, including Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish and American scholars were somewhere between the two poles.

My own contribution to the Congress was extremely well received by all parties to the debate. I gave one of the two papers on the writings of Flavius Josephus. The first paper was that of Professor Tessa Rajak entitled "The Battle-Courage of Josephus' Saul." Rajak suggested that the portrait of Saul was related to Josephus' image of himself as a military leader. My contribution to the discussion was "Indicative and Imperative: Josephus' Version of the Mosaic Code" in which I attempted to present a systematic analysis of the material from the Pentateuch which Josephus presented in the *Antiquities* as either descriptive or prescriptive. The following is a summary of my paper.

S.N. Mason has recently argued that when all the evidence is examined the real basis for the scholarly consensus that Josephus wanted to be understood as a Pharisee is a single sentence in *Life* 12b. In anglophone scholarship this sentence has consistently been translated and understood as: "Being now in my nineteenth year I began to govern my life by the rules of the Pharisees ..." The grammatical structure of the sentence, however, would suggest that a better translation is: "Being now nineteen years of age I began to engage in public affairs following the school of the Pharisees." (This is the sense assumed by the majority of German scholars.)

Josephus' interpretation of the Mosaic Law in the *Antiquities* has been cited to support the view that he either was or wanted to be known as a devoted Pharisee. However, a close examination of his presentation of the Law would suggest either that we do not know much about the biblical interpretation of the Pharisees or that Josephus was not an adherent of that school as it is represented elsewhere. The suggestion that it was only in order to participate in public life that he followed the political policy of the Pharisees, and that he was not himself a Pharisee, clears away difficult assumptions and calls for a new look at his presentation of the Law.

In the general introduction to the *Antiquities* Josephus stated that he would give an account of "our entire ancient history and political constitution, translated from the Hebrew records. ... The precise details of our Scripture records will .. be set forth, each in its place ... neither adding or omitting anything" (1.5, 17). In Books 3 (224-286) and 4 (67-75); 199-301) he has included lengthy descriptions of the "code of laws" (3.286, 4.198, 292) which Moses "learnt from the mouth of God and transmitted in writing to the Hebrews" (3.286). Moreover, in the second account in Book 4 he claimed:

> All is here written as he left it: nothing have we added for the sake of embellishment, nothing which has not been bequeathed by Moses. Our one innovation has been to classify the several subjects; for he left what he wrote in a scattered condition, just as he received each several instruction from God. (4.196-197)

In fact, he both omitted material and made additions, but it is my proposal that by his use of the indicative and the imperative voices the historian showed which parts of the Law of Moses he considered prescriptive and integral to what he called the "political constitution" of the nation and which parts he included in order to show the unique cultural behaviour of the Jews.

At least since the appearance of Samuel Krauss' article on Josephus in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1904) scholarly attention given to the historian's presentation of the Law has generally centred around four issues:

1. Was Josephus' principal source a Hebrew or a Greek Bible?
2. Are the legal sections of *Antiquities* related to other contemporary legal exegeses?
3. Was Josephus interested in theoretical or practical law?
4. How do the legal exegeses in *Antiquities* document the history of first century Palestine?

While all of these issues are important, it is by examining Josephus' use of the imperative and the indicative that we can see that the legal sections of the Torah have been reorganized to emphasize that the social or secular laws are binding because they made up the political constitution of the Jewish nation. Purity and holiness considerations were to be seen as the particular and peculiar cultural behaviour of an exotic people living in the distant land of Palestine.

In Book 3. 224-286, using the indicative voice, the historian described three groups of laws: those related to sacrifice, ritual purity, and laws which would go into effect after the conquest of Canaan. For this section Josephus was following the text of Leviticus and Numbers. While this first collection of laws was organized according to a classification of subjects, the biblical order seems to have had some influence on the arrangement. The short collection of laws in Book 4. 67-75 was also written in the indicative and arranged topically; it covered the roles of priests and Levites. The biblical source was again Numbers and Leviticus. In both of these sections the indicative voice is used primarily in the present tense. Clearly they present a description of the cultic life of the Jews in Palestine before the destruction of the Temple, a cultic pattern with which many of his readers may have been familiar.

Antiquities 4.199-301, the biblical sources for which are Deuteronomy and the Book of the Covenant, is the largest collection of biblical laws in Josephus' writings. It is this section which, written in the imperative, clearly contains those laws which the historian considered to be prescriptive for all who considered themselves to be a part of the Jewish people. These laws can be roughly divided into six categories: Holy City, Temple and the laws related to it (199-213); judicial and administrative procedures (214-224); agriculture (225-243); marriage laws and family relations (244-265); torts and ethical precepts (266-291); and military law (292-301). This is only a rough attempt at indicating the content of this long account and, in act, there is little internal order within each section with regard to the logical importance of the laws. While there are some parallels with the order of the laws in Deuteronomy, the determining principle for the historian's presentation does not seem to have been a desire simply to copy his Torah sources.

Josephus fitted this collection into a larger narrative framework, which itself is primarily taken from Deuteronomy 1-11 and 27-34. In the paragraphs immediately preceding the section Josephus described the speech which Moses gave prior to his death. In this speech, Moses, who is pictured as an ideal Greek general and orator, makes reference to "a code of laws and a constitution" which God had dictated to him (193). In a 1914 article Benedictus Niese suggested that "When Josephus ascribes to Moses two works, viz. *Politeia* and *Nomoi* (iv. 194, 196, 302), it is manifest that he has in his mind the two great works of Plato bearing these names--the law-giver being the precursor of the philosopher" (Hastings, *ERE* 7 [1914], 573). He then added that Josephus supplemented the biblical text with his own additions "to invest the Mosaic legislation with a character of extraordinary humaneness and clemency ..." (574). There clearly are additions to the biblical law in this section of the *Antiquities* but Niese's explanation of them is not very helpful for identifying what Josephus' purpose might have been if, indeed, it was not simply "for the sake of embellishment."

While the bulk of the collection contains laws of a secular nature, the first section of Josephus' prescriptive code concerning the Holy City, the Temple and its regulations (199-213), the treatments of the scapegoat ritual contained within the wider section on judicial and administrative procedures (220-222), and the rules relating to the presentation of first fruits in the agricultural section (241-243) can be classified as cultic laws. Clearly not all elements of the cultic life were to be ignored in Josephus' constitution.

The political constitution begins in the following way.

> Let there be one holy city in that place in the land of Canaan that is fairest and most famous for its excellence, a city which God shall choose for himself by prophetic oracle. And let there be one temple therein, and one altar of stones, not worked but picked out and put together, and which, coated with plaster, will be seemly and neat to look upon; and let the approach to this altar be not by steps but by a sloping embankment. In no other city let there be either altar or temple; for God is one and the Hebrew race is one.

When this is compared with Deut. 12:5:

> You must seek Yahweh your God only in the place he himself will choose from among all your tribes, to set his name there and give it a home

and Exodus 20:25-26:

> If you make me an altar of stone, do not build it of dressed stones; for if you use a tool on it, you profane it. you shall not go up to my altar by steps for fear you expose your nakedness

both legal and apologetic intentions seem clear. Josephus has followed the Deuteronomic law about the centralization of the cult, but omitted the injunction to destroy foreign altars and images (Deut. 12:2-4). In fact, in addition to the prohibition of blasphemy against the God of Israel (Lev. 24:16, #202), he extended the sin of blasphemy to include the gods of other nations (#207). Moreover treasures dedicated to other gods are not to be stolen. In this passage he has also added the details that the location of the temple would be chosen by prophetic oracle and that there should be a ramp leading to the altar, although in the later case he was probably describing the plan of the altar in the second Temple (M. Middoth 3. 3, 4). Such additions parallel the interpretative work of Josephus' contemporaries and appear to update Scripture and make it more understandable.

The most important factor to note, however, is that Josephus has declared that Jerusalem is the only possible capital city for the Jews because it symbolizes the unity of God, Israel, Holy City, Temple and altar. This is an appropriate theoretical focus for a political constitution.

A description of the three pilgrimage festivals follows. These festivals are to provide an opportunity not only to worship God but for the people from various parts of the world to remain in contact with their fellow Jews and with their history and traditions. The second tithe, which according to Josephus apparently all were to convert into money, is to be used to support the feasting during these community festivals. The festival of Succoth is, every seventh year, to be the occasion for the reading of the Torah, the knowledge of which is the responsibility of everyone. Learning Torah must begin in childhood. Prayers, said twice daily, are obligatory, as is the wearing of phylacteries and the use of mezuzot.

The minimal cultic and religious underpinings of his version of the Jewish political constitution thus include:

1. the recognition of the primacy of the Holy City in the life of the nation;
2. the need for public reading of the law so that none can claim lack of knowledge;
3. the obligation to pray on a daily basis, acknowledging this obligation through the use of visual symbols.

Within this general pattern, however, Josephus has added individual injunctions, such as the prohibition against blaspheming foreign gods, or the use of garments woven of linen and wool restricted to the priesthood, the inclusion of which seems to be quite arbitrary. Do they represent issues which were of particular importance to the Jews at the time? Are they apologetic passages which show Josephus' defence of Judaism within a particular social context? Or do they illustrate the historian's own obsessions? One example of such an injunction is the following.

After the summary statement concerning the second tithe he added prohibitions regarding the wages which may not be used to pay for sacrifices. The injunction found in Deut. 23:29 is as follows:

> You must not bring to the house of Yahweh your God the wages of a prostitute or the earnings of a dog (KLB), whatever vow you may have made, for both are detestable to Yahweh your God.

Josephus' version, however, adds some interesting details concerning the second prohibition.

> From the hire of a prostitute let no sacrifices be paid; for the Deity has pleasure in naught that proceeds from outrage, and no shame could be worse than the degradation of the body. Likewise, if one has received payment for the mating of a dog, whether hound of the chase or guardian of the flocks, he must not use thereof to sacrifice to God.

While "dog" (KLB in Semitic) may originally have referred to some other type of cult personnel besides the prostitute of pre-Israelite Canaan, the reference to "earnings of a dog" has commonly been understood to specify the wages acquired from male prostitution. S.R. Driver, commented on the verse in Deuteronomy: "In the impure worships of antiquity, it was not uncommon for the gains of prostitution to be dedicated to a deity" (*Deuteronomy* 1895, p. 265. Cf. Hdt. i. 199; Lucian, *de dea Syria*, #6, *Dial. Meretr.* 7, 1; 14, 3; Clem. Al. *Protrep.* p. 13).

Josephus has interpreted the word "dog" literally. Is he using a current interpretation or did he wish to avoid or even counter the idea that Jews might be male prostitutes? It should be noted that Mishnah Temurah 1.3 also interprets "dog" as a reference to the natural animal:

> What is accounted *the price of a dog*? If a man said, "Take this lamb for this dog"; so, too, if two jointholders divided their goods, and one took ten [lambs] and the other took nine and one dog, those [lambs] that are set over against the dog are forbidden, but those that are together with the dog are permitted.

While this represents only a small section of Josephus' prescriptive code, an examination of the pattern of the whole suggests that we should take seriously the historian's comment that he has included those laws which were related to what he considered to be the political constitution and has left other laws for a separate treatise. This political constitution was intended to ensure the stability of the society and its civil life by providing the basic order of law. Moreover, Moses "gave to his constitution the form of what--if a forced expression be permitted--may be termed a 'theocracy,' placing all sovereignty and authority in the hands of God" (*Contra Apionem* 2. 165).

In his article on "*polis*" and related words in the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Hermann Strathmann has given the following assessment of the direction which Josephus took in his presentation of the law.

> The use of terms taken from the political sphere is calculated to conceal the religious orientation of the political thought of Israel. Connected herewith is the material deviation of Jos. from the spirit of the OT, which consists in the fact that he suppresses the whole group of ideals revolving around the hope of a new and better Jerusalem as the mid-point of a religio-political age of salvation. Jos. sacrificed the Messianic hope for the sake of peace with Rome. (Vol. 6, p. 527)

While the second part of Strathmann's assessment might be supported by the evidence, the first part can not be. There is a clear pattern in the presentation of the laws in this section of Book 4 which begins by establishing the "religious orientation of the political thought of Israel" by describing the holy city and its religious festivals as the centre from which the rest follows. The kind of bias shown by Strathmann, which is typical of much New Testament scholarship about Josephus, illustrates how important new critical studies of Josephus' biblical interpretation may be for the whole field.

"BLESSED IS YOUR NAME FOREVER": A SECOND DEBUT FOR ASENETH?

Edith M. Humphrey

AN UNKNOWN WORK

"... Joseph and WHO?" This is the general response which has been offered when I have attempted to give some idea of my current research. The query has come not only from uninformed friends, but even from students in theology and specialists in biblical studies. The romance, *Joseph and Aseneth*, probably a Jewish work written in Greek, likely at a time roughly contemporaneous to that of the New Testament, has obviously not been in the centre of "background" or contextual studies. While the Qumran scrolls and Nag Hammadi have become almost household words, this has not been the happy fate of *Joseph and Aseneth*. The most likely reason for the book's relative obscurity is that it was not edited until the end of the last century and even then it was erroneously described as a fifth century Christian production. This rendered it of interest to Byzantinists or perhaps early Church historians, but not to biblical scholars nor to the general public.

However, *Joseph and Aseneth* is no longer quite so "neglected" as described by West in 1974, and is indeed becoming increasingly important to biblical, especially New Testament, studies. A recent article by Burchard devotes almost 30 pages to the romance and its relationship to certain NT passages (*NTS*, 1987). Nevertheless, *JA* still remains a tantalizing puzzle to scholarship. Despite a limited recent consensus in certain areas, it has obstinately "proved difficult to classify" (West 70). Questions continue to arise not only in regard to genre, but also concerning text, original language, date and provenance, function, and (for want of a better term!) "message." Burchard, who is probably the most competent *JA* critic of recent years, declares: "If ... we ask what Judaism as depicted in Joseph and Aseneth is like, it is easier to say what it is not" (Burchard 1985, 194). There would, indeed, even be a few who do not consider that the book depicts "Judaism," but rather Christianity, Gnosticism or mysticism of some sort. With such uncertainty, one is not surprised to find in the work a complexity and richness of allusion which has rendered it difficult to master.

The story itself is less difficult, indeed rather popular in appearance. Aseneth, the 18-year old virgin daughter of Pentephres (Potiphar of Gen. 41:45), Priest of Heliopolis, has scorned the advances of many. Breathtaking in beauty, she lives secluded in a tower adjacent to her father's house, worshipping numerous idols, and attended by seven beloved virgins. At harvest time, Joseph, who is gathering grain against the famine to come, stops at Potiphar's home for refreshment. Potiphar intends to offer him Aseneth in marriage, but she refuses arrogantly. She is, however, *bouleversée* by Joseph's entry "as the sun of heaven," and comes to greet him. Joseph refuses to kiss her in greeting, since a Jew who worships the living God and is sustained by gifts of heaven (bread, wine and oil) is forbidden contact with a "strange" woman. Seeing Aseneth's remorse, he prays for her future blessing, then goes on his way with a promise to return on the eighth day. Aseneth retires to her chamber, where she mourns for a week, destroying her idols and denouncing her pride. The morning star of the eighth day heralds an angelophany: God's chief angel visits Aseneth, declares her acceptance, gives her the name "City of Refuge" for subsequent converts, feeds her with honeycomb (which he says is "bread of life, cup of immortality and ointment of incorruptibility"), and promises her marriage to Joseph. Aseneth dresses in bridal attire, is transfigured, and greets Joseph, who has been informed of her conversion in a twin vision. They are married by Pharaoh, and Menasseh and Ephraim are conceived.

The second half of the work reads as a sequel, perhaps even an afterthought, with the emphasis on action rather than mystery. Aseneth is ambushed by Pharaoh's covetous son. He is aided by Gad and Dan, but opposed by Joseph's other brothers, especially Levi, who has prophetic powers, and Benjamin, who behaves like a young David. At the climax, Aseneth is saved by divine intervention, Pharaoh's son is wounded, and the two treacherous brothers crave forgiveness. This is given, but Pharaoh's son, and then Pharaoh himself, die, leaving Joseph as king of Egypt.

AN UNKNOWABLE WORK?

Some idea of the history of scholarship is instructive. Earlier scholarship tended to see *JA* as a fifth century Christian work on the basis of Batiffol's 1889 decision concerning the "sacramental" passages and *JA*'s alleged indebtedness to a Jewish 4th c. legend (Batiffol 37). The recent consensus is, however, that the work is Jewish in essence, while a few would argue at least for Christian interpolations (Holtz). Dates have been given from 1st c. B.C.E. (Kilpatrick) through the 1st c. C.E. (Aptowitzer), to the 2nd c. C.E. (Philonenko), by the application of various criteria. The only *external* criterion is a probable fourth century reference entitled *Pilgrimage of Etheria*, which describes Aseneth's tower and Pentephres' temple. Scholars have therefore turned to the book's content as a clue to dating. Its main purpose, to set up Aseneth as mother of proselytes, has suggested two details, one of date, the other of provenance. One would expect that the focus on an archetypal proselyte would be found before Judaism had been replaced by Christianity as an attractive religion to those outside monotheism. Further, the choice of relatively obscure Aseneth over more well-known Rahab or Sarah (the latter is even mentioned at 1:5) suggests that Egypt is more than a mere backdrop for the narrative. Most scholars therefore consider that *JA*'s latest date must be early 2nd c. C.E., with Hadrian's anti-circumcision edict (c. 135) and the revolt under Trajan in Egypt (c. 117, assuming an Egyptian provenance) providing an upper bracket. Other evidence, such as the prominence of Isis symbolism and the lack of audience for a Jewish work after this time in Egypt, would confirm such dating. All but Riessler and Aptowitzer have considered the original language Greek, on the basis of weighty phraseological evidence such as *athanasia*, *aphtharsia* and *phanerosas ta aphane*. Beyond this there is little consensus: Essene (Kohler), mystic (Kee), and non-sectarian Jewish (Burchard) origins have been offered as explanatory of the troublesome "meal formula" passages (8:5, 8:9, 15:5, 16:16, 19:5, 21:3). Some, such as Kuhn, have tried to be even more specific, suggesting the Therapeutae, an Egyptian sect comprising men and women (albeit unmarried!), as a likely background. The book has been considered against a background of Greek romance (West), allegorical *roman à clef* (Philonenko), and "sapiential novel" (Pervo). There is, further, a significant textual problem, since scholars are unagreed as to whether the long text of Batiffol, Philonenko's shorter text, or a composite such as that suggested by Burchard best represents the original work.

An analysis of the arguments shows problems with each of the various backgrounds postulated, even with Burchard's straightforward non-sectarian, non-liturgical, non-mystical proposal. None of the more esoteric branches of Judaism fits exactly; however, Kee seems correct in seeing Burchard's view inadequate to explain the high-flown imagery of the honeycomb sharing. In his own words, "what is at stake in [Aseneth's] participation is far more than bourgeois tranquillity arising out of the enjoyment of the privileges of considering oneself a child of God" (Kee 1983, 403). Can it really be that a writer would employ techniques such as angelophany, miraculous find of honeycomb (the bread of angels), and supernatural transformation verging on divinization in order to describe "divine life ... obtained through the right use of food, ointment, and by the avoidance of the pagan way of partaking of them" (Burchard 1985, 191)? On the other hand, does the piece fit an Essene or Therapeutic milieu, given its easy commerce with the outside world? Kee, tempted to parallels with merkavah mysticism, admits the problem of proselyte interest in such an inwardly-oriented movement. Philonenko's explanation of Aseneth after the image of the Egyptian goddess Neith cannot be adequately demonstrated by the text or by precise Egyptian parallels, as Burchard has ably criticized (1985, 189). Allegorical approaches are self-demonstrably tenuous by virtue of their very discrepancies and number.

SIGNIFICANCE TO BIBLICAL STUDIES

Despite all this uncertainty, it is clear that *Joseph and Aseneth* provides parallels to biblical material in an amount out of proportion to its length (slightly longer than the Gospel of Mark). It can therefore no longer be ignored. Burchard and others like him have demonstrated the necessity for a second *début* for our romance. Yet this coming out must needs be permitted with due caution. The amount of ink spilled on *Aseneth* as a source or clue to the Christian eucharist may serve as a warning. Where there is confusion regarding the text of a work, no precision concerning its date, and reasonable doubt concerning its context, source analysis is at the very least suspect. Further, it is unlikely that *JA* will provide clues to hitherto unresolved Biblical problems; as Burchard says, "Much of what can be gathered from JosAs merely duplicates what we have known all along" (Burchard 1987, 105). However, a richer understanding of the milieu in which early Jewish and NT writers worked is by no means an unimportant factor.

One obvious point of interest is the piece's continuity with the OT tradition. Even a cursory reading of the text will show OT parallels, even to the LXX wording. A case in point is the presence of Psalm 19 (LXX 18) lurking behind *JA*. Three large themes, cleansing from sin, Bridegroom-Sun and God's word, inform the romance, and these they share with the psalm, particularly in its LXX rendering. Aseneth, like the Psalmist, repudiates all that is "strange" (*allotrios*, 13:7 cf. Psalm 18:12-14), throws herself on her "Helper" (*boethos*) like a little child (12:8, cf. Psalm 18:7b) and finds herself a "clean" virgin, transformed by God (15:13, cf. Psalm 18:13). She is thus a fit consort for the Sun of heaven, God's "Powerful One," Joseph, who comes to her on golden chariot, crowned with twelve rays, and with a gaze that cannot be escaped (*JA* 13:13, 5:5-6:6)--central images in the LXX Psalm 18. Again, the centrality of God's word and wisdom, within a discussion of an ordered creation, finds its place in *JA* as well as in Psalm 18. This is particularly true of the honeycomb image, precious word from God's mouth, and equal to life-giving bread, cup and ointment. In Psalm 18, the law of God is sweeter than the honeycomb; in Ben Sirach, this law is seen as an expression of God's wisdom (24:23); in *JA* Aseneth is fed honeycomb after recognizing the mystery of God, and as prelude to more revelation. Ben Sirach would seem to read as a meditation or commentary on LXX Psalm 18, while *JA* gives a concrete example of what happens when the believer is nourished by God's mysterious wisdom.

Besides showing continuity with or extension of the Jewish tradition, the book is of some help in NT studies. A very obvious area would be in the solving of ambiguous readings by parallels. One example would be Jeremias' early use of *JA* to explain the meaning of 1 Cor 7:16 (1954), where the ambiguous *ti gar oidas* is given the optimistic sense of "perhaps" by reference to *JA* 11:12. Again, we might look to our piece as a parallel to Revelation's application of *parthenos* to males, and a way into the debate regarding spiritual or actual (i.e. ascetic) virginity. (Did Joseph and Aseneth remain "virgins" after their union, superintended by the "virgin" angel Repentance?) No doubt scholars will also want to investigate the romance for its understanding of repentance, new life, and wisdom, all key NT themes. Of particular interest are the motif of Aseneth's transfiguration and her designation as "City of Refuge." Such a supernatural transformation and similar corporate identity may be seen in other early Jewish and early Christian literature, such as 4 Ezra 9-10, *Shepherd of Hermas*, and Revelation 12, 21. The historical question arises, why were female corporate figures popular at this time, and to what end? In terms of literature, do these figures serve parallel purposes, or are the similarities superficial? In terms of genre, can we understand more about visionary and apocalyptic pieces by reference to this recurring image of corporate transformation? In terms of theology, does the transformation of one like Aseneth shed any light on the early Christian (e.g. Pauline) understanding of "metamorphosis" (2 Cor. 3:18) or the doctrine of the resurrection? Is Aseneth's transformation intended as repeatable, or unique, as paradigmatic or peculiar to her status as "City of Refuge" (whatever that may mean)? If her transformation may be related in any way to the expectations of her readers, did they understand such an experience as a present reality or a future hope? Can this problem be related to the realized/future eschatology of the NT?

The trick is not simply to answer the questions, but to discover which are worth asking, truly related to the subject matter, and promising of fruitful answers. It is certainly true that in *JA* the transformation of our heroine is no mere gratuitous or sensational detail, but a climax, to which attention is drawn both before and after its occurrence. The entire "problem" of the piece is to demonstrate how an impure, godless woman can become the fit wife of the "all beautiful" "son" of God. (13:14). Joseph himself, somehow identified with the heavenly visitor, becomes God's hunter, ambassador and imparter of life, bringing the arrogant (if beautiful) woman into real life, and endowing her with unimagined beauty (21:21). Her transformation is a gift of heaven, as is the vision itself, and the second half of the romance shows how her transformation changes "everyday" (if novelistic!) life. If transfiguration is essential to *JA*, and an important theme in other contemporaneous works, then the similarities and differences are worth noting. It is only by such careful observation that the pieces themselves can be understood in their uniqueness, and that the possibility, or inadvisability of theological generalization can be discussed.

Such cautions are to be made with regard to other motifs or details that strike those looking at *JA* with NT eyes. As in every discipline, relevance is a commodity sought hard after, and even becomes at times a Procrustean bed. My first plea for *JA* is not that it be read because of its applicability to historical study, Biblical studies, or theology, but because it deserves to be heard on its own merits. It is only then that we can begin to hear it in relation to the literature than we know so well. As Burchard says: "JosAs must itself be understood before it may be asked to give aid in NT matters. This is a task begun but by no means completed" (1987, 105). The angel promised Aseneth that, like Mary, her name would be "blessed for ever." That is unlikely given the obscurity of her story in years past. Yet we may find a use for her name again.

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MATTHEW: JEWISH CHRISTIAN OR GENTILE CHRISTIAN?

Michael Pettem

Jesus and his disciples were Jewish. All the members of the earliest Christian community were Jewish. Yet, by the second century Christianity was basically a gentile movement, separate from Judaism. How, when and why did this transformation take place? These questions have troubled historians of the Christian church since the time Luke first put pen to papyrus. The last century and a half of research have led to the consensus that this transformation was much more traumatic than Luke would seem to indicate in the book of Acts.

The figure who inspired much of the debate in the last century about the development of Christianity from the first community to the early catholic church was F.C. Baur. Starting with his work on the divisions in the church at Corinth (cf. 1 Cor 1:10ff), he began to suspect that there were in fact two different conceptions of Christianity at work in the early church. On the basis of the major Pauline letters, he concluded that Paul viewed Christianity as a universal religion of the heart, free from legalism. The other view, Baur became convinced, was not just that of Paul's opponents in his letters, but was also the older, more original view of Christianity, the view of the Apostles and the earliest Christian community, which Baur called "Jewish Christianity." He deduced the content of this other view from the apparent position of those against whom Paul argues in his letters, from a careful reading of Acts, from Matthew (which he thought represented an advanced and developed form of the Jewish Christian position), from some other New Testament books, and from the pseudo-Clementines. (The pseudo-Clementine literature, which in its final form dates from the fourth century, has attached to it fictional correspondence between James and Peter.) These various sources led Baur to see Jewish Christianity as a kind of Messianic Judaism, hierarchic in structure and open to the gentile world only insofar as gentiles were prepared to accept obedience to the Jewish law as part of Christianity. Gentile Christianity did not evolve smoothly out of Jewish Christianity, but rather represents a separate and rival beginning for Christianity. Early catholic Christianity developed in the second century as a synthesis of these two different conceptions of Christianity.

Baur's dialectic theory proved to have great appeal, and with two major modifications, was to dominate thinking for generations. The first major flaw found in it was that the New Testament evidence does not support the idea that the split between Paul and Peter was as fundamental as Baur made it out to be. It was generally granted that there were some radical Jewish

Christians holding the views Baur outlined, but most other Jewish Christians likely agreed that gentiles might become Christians on the basis of faith in Christ without taking on the whole Jewish law. These more moderate Jewish Christians would themselves have continued to observe all aspects--both moral and ethical--of the Jewish law, but they would not have insisted on such full obedience from gentiles. Baur's schema was thus modified so that early catholic Christianity was seen as a synthesis of moderate Jewish Christianity and gentile Christianity, with the radical Jewish Christians having gone their own way. The second flaw found in Baur's theory was that further research showed that early catholic Christianity emerged much earlier than Baur had thought. The new consensus had the early catholic church emerge as a synthesis of moderate Jewish Christianity and gentile Christianity by the end of the first century.

Research on the development of the early church was not done in a vacuum, but in the anti-Semitic climate of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus although Jewish Christianity was in theory assigned an important role in the formation of the early catholic church, in practice its role was not generally viewed in a very positive way. Non-Christian Judaism was even less well viewed, and tended to be studied by historians of the early church mainly as the background against which to view the birth of Christianity. The Holocaust brought Western civilization face to face with the results of its racist attitudes. This shock not only changed the tenor of the West's relationship to modern Judaism, but also caused scholars to rethink their views of ancient Judaism. The scholarly world was thus ready to lend a more sympathetic ear to theories which supposed a greater sophistication for Jewish Christianity, and gave it a greater and more positive role in the evolution of the early catholic church.

The most influential proponent of the post-war approach to Jewish Christianity was Jean Daniélou. Before this time, Jewish Christianity was not generally considered to have developed Christian theology. The traditional view had been that Christian theology was developed as the Christian message was analysed and presented in Greek philosophical categories. Daniélou held that the early Jewish Christian church developed a true theology which analysed and presented the Christian message in Semitic categories, principally those of apocalypticism. On the basis of this contention, Daniélou opposed the dialectic view of Christian development. The leadership of mainstream Christianity remained ethnically Jewish and its theology remained Jewish Christian well into the second century. Only then did gentiles acquire the maturity necessary to take over the leadership of the church. But with this new leadership, and an overwhelming gentile majority in the ranks, there was a rupture with the Jewish past. Jewish festivals and those legal observances which had still been part of Jewish Christianity were suppressed.

The most recent way of viewing the development of the early church may be illustrated by the work of Raymond Brown. His well known studies of the Gospel and Letters of John, on the basis of which he worked out his theories on the history of the Johannine groups, led him to believe that a wide spectrum of different communities contributed to the final form of the early church. On the basis of this view, he became dissatisfied with the traditional terms "Jewish Christianity" and "gentile Christianity." In his view of group origins, each New Testament community tradition was directly or indirectly founded by a missionary or group of missionaries who were ethnically Jewish. And in his view of these early communities, all of them made at least some gentile converts. Thus, instead of the early consensus that Jewish and gentile Christianity were in dialectic tension, and instead of Daniélou's theory of an early, dominant Jewish Christian theology which was later superseded by gentile Christian theology, Brown suggested four types of what he calls "Jewish/Gentile Christianity." These represent four positions which range from full acceptance of the Jewish law all the way to fundamental rupture with most distinctive Jewish cultic practices. The early catholic church developed through the attraction of these various groups toward a central, mediating position.

These newer developments, though more positive in their view of Christianity's Jewish heritage, have emptied the terms "Jewish Christianity" and "gentile Christianity" of any useful meaning. In Daniélou's schema, "Jewish Christianity" is defined in terms of a system of thought. Yet his chosen thought system which is "Semitic" in structure, with "apocalypticism" as its main organizing principle, has so far resisted precise definition. On the one hand "Semitic" thought of the first and second centuries had been appropriating Hellenistic ideas at least since the time of Alexander the Great centuries earlier. On the other hand, apocalypticism was not a merely Semitic world view, but was well known in Iranian and other cultures.

Brown's work also has major defects. His four types of Jewish/gentile Christianity describe a range of Christian attitudes toward the Jewish law, but they are all essentially worked out from a Jewish perspective. Brown explicitly rejects the idea that there was a distinct gentile theological position in the first-century church. But contemporary interpreters of Paul, whose work is changing our reading of the apostle to the gentiles, gives a basis for questioning Brown's assertion. E.P. Sanders, formerly of McMaster University and now at Oxford, has Paul's action and thought dominated not by any view of the law, but by two central convictions: Jesus Christ is Lord; and he, Paul, was called to be the apostle to the gentiles. Paul describes the radical change brought about by Christ's lordship in many ways, including the transformation of the believer from "being in the flesh" to "being in Christ." Paul's special call to preach to the gentile world led him to use his not inconsiderable intellect in working out the meaning of the universal lordship of Christ for the gentile world. His view of the relationship of gentiles to the Jewish law is certainly a secondary matter. These conclusions of Sanders, now widely accepted, may be linked to the results of other recent research. Paul does not assume that the majority of the readers of his letters have detailed knowledge of the Jewish law (note the character of his aside in Romans 7:1), and he does not seem to be distressed by this fact. The leadership in Paul's churches was not assumed by missionaries sent out from Jerusalem by the original apostles, as often imagined in earlier generations. It was rather generally assured by local, and therefore largely gentile, converts. These people would have learned from the Septuagint, but would have had little intimate knowledge of the living Jewish tradition. Thus on Paul's foundation, thought out for the gentiles, was built a church which was truly gentile in its orientation, not falling into any of Brown's four categories which all suppose an intimate knowledge of Judaism.

On the basis of such recent study, there does seem to be a place for what earlier scholars called gentile Christianity. But the establishment of clear distinctions is called for if research into the emergence of Christianity from Judaism is to advance. We must ask what features in Judaism clearly distinguish it from Christianity. These features must be well documented in the literature of the first centuries of the common era. "Jewish Christianity" or the "Jewish Christian tendency" within early Christianity must be distinguishable from "gentile Christianity" by the presence of one or more of these distinctive Jewish characteristics. If this proves impossible, then the terms "Jewish Christianity" and "gentile Christianity" are of no real value. Merely to say that there were ethnic Jews and ethnic gentiles in early Christianity is to say something that has been known ever since Peter baptized Cornelius and his household.

In 167 B.C. Antiochus IV Epiphanes published a decree ordering that the Jews no longer keep the Sabbath, circumcise their sons or observe the Law of Moses, including its directives on dietary ritual purity. But "many Israelites strongly and steadfastly refused to eat impure food. They accepted death, in order that they might not be defiled by food and in order not to profane the holy Covenant; and they were killed" (1 Maccabees 1:62-63). This reaction, probably incomprehensible to the Greeks, shortly culminated in the Maccabean Revolt. The point for our research here is that this reaction established a line which the ancient Jewish community itself recognized as a dividing line between itself and the gentile world, a line across which the pious would not step. Although the later Rabbinic tradition decided that ritual dietary purity was not a sufficiently crucial point of the law to call for martyrdom, it has remained to this very day as an important part of that line of demarcation carefully observed by religious Judaism. If the term "Jewish" in "Jewish Christianity" is to mean more than merely an ethnic group, then "Jewish Christianity" must designate a position which requires circumcision and reverence for the Mosaic Law, including Sabbath observance and ritual dietary purity, at least for its Jewish adherents.

These criteria chosen from Jewish history mainly function negatively. That is, any group which does not conform to these criteria shows itself not to be Jewish Christian; evidence of observance of these criteria is less conclusive. At least the ethnic Jews within a Jewish Christian community must observe them, but a gentile Christian group may also observe one or more of them. It is widely agreed that Luke wrote for a gentile Christian audience. Yet this audience probably observed the Apostolic Decree (Acts 15:28-29) which includes some, albeit very limited, dietary ritual purity regulations. Gentile Christianity has particularly hesitated concerning Sabbath observance since it is included in the Decalogue. Few have been inclined to follow Paul's opinion that the Sabbath is only a shadow of things to come, for which no one should be criticized (Col 2:16-17, cf. Rom 14:5, 6). Some non-Jewish Christian groups, including such modern groups as the Seventh Day Adventists, have observed the Sabbath. The majority tradition has been something of a compromise: the Sabbath has been replaced by a Sabbath-like Lord's Day observance.

The object of my thesis is to determine whether the Gospel of Matthew is Jewish Christian or gentile Christian. According to the criteria set out above, if it affirms circumcision, Sabbath observance and dietary ritual purity it may be Jewish Christian, but a gentile Christian identity cannot be excluded. If, however, the gospel categorically rejects any of these, then it clearly stands outside the historical limits of Judaism, and beyond what may be reasonably called Jewish Christianity. Matthew's redactional addition to Mark's section on the Great Tribulation (cf. Mk 13:18 and Mt 24:20) has convinced many that Matthew assumed his readers kept the Sabbath. On the other hand, Matthew's redactional addition to the pericope on plucking grain on the Sabbath (cf. Mk 2:26 and Mt 12:5-7) gives cause for hesitation. The issue is worthy of investigation, but will not be pursued here. Circumcision is never mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew, not even in connection with the Great Commission (Mt 28:16-20). The future gentile converts envisioned there are to be subject to all that Jesus commanded the original disciples (Mt 28:20), yet they are to be admitted not by circumcision and baptism, but by baptism alone (Mt 28:19). This would certainly be a curious combination for a Jewish Christian group. Nevertheless, I will not pursue this line since it has the inherent weakness of any argument from silence. The final test is the question of ritual dietary purity, and here we may find our answer, since there is a long and carefully argued section in which ritual dietary purity is a major issue: Mt 15:1-20.

In my thesis I argue that Matthew rejects any conception of ritual dietary purity in 15:1-20, and instead presents purity as a moral category only. Space prevents me from imposing the details of the argument on the already indulgent reader. The basic assumptions of the argument are, however, quite simple; on this basis the reader may study the section and draw his or her own conclusions. The majority opinion of modern New Testament scholarship is that the author of Matthew used the Gospel of Mark as his primary source, adding material from "Q" and other sources. Mk 7:1-23 appears to be the only source for Mt 15:1-20. Mk 7:1-23 rejects the concept of dietary ritual purity. One must then compare the Matthean story with the Marcan story, noting carefully the changes Matthew has made. These are the clues to how he understood it, and what his assumptions were. My conclusion is that while Matthew makes significant literary changes (eliminating extraneous material, rearranging elements for greater literary effectiveness, rewording for clarity, adding a final statement to tie the story together), he does not change the basic rejection of the idea of dietary ritual purity, and the affirmation of moral purity. Since the author of the Matthean Gospel rejects ritual dietary purity, he and his Gospel must be understood to stand outside Jewish Christianity.

One further attempt to bring Matthew into the Jewish Christian orbit must also be rejected. The book of Acts seems to suppose that a Jewish Christian group, observing circumcision and the Mosaic Code (including ritual dietary purity) existed in Jerusalem for the whole period covered by Luke's history (Acts 21:20ff). While united on Jewish responsibility to the law, both Acts and Paul's letters show that within Jewish Christianity there was sharp controversy over the extent to which gentile Christians should obey the law. Jewish Christianity could see gentile Christians as converts to Judaism, thus responsible for the whole law; or as "God-fearers," only responsible for some of the law; or as a new work of God among the gentiles, with them thus only responsible for the laws which contemporary Judaism believed God had ordained for all humanity. Could not Matthew have been written for Gentiles by a Jewish Christian who did not believe them to be subject to the laws of dietary ritual purity? The answer to this is clearly no. There is no redactional indication in Matthew that he believes his readers will be subject to a different law than the original believers. Surely Matthew is not calling upon himself the fate of being "called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven" for having "set aside one of the least of these commandments and teaching others to do so" (Mt 5:19). No, for him dietary ritual purity is simply not one of the commandments.

The conclusion of my thesis is that the Gospel According to

Matthew is not a product of Jewish Christianity. The truly fascinating aspect of this is the questions it raises. If Matthew is not Jewish Christian, what changes may have to be made in the way Matthew is interpreted? In particular, how then should we understand the Matthean statements about the law? Should this in any way change our understanding of the Sermon on the Mount? Some of the basic research which undergirds the various theories on the development of Christianity from a Jewish sect to the catholic church uses Matthew as a source document for Jewish Christianity. Our view of the evolution of the early catholic church will have to be changed substantially if Matthew is actually a product of early gentile Christianity.

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Virtually all modern commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew assume that it was written by a Jewish Christian for a Jewish Christian community. The reader is invited to take several commentaries and skim the introductions with this in mind, and then to read a few sections where this assumption has particular importance, such as Jesus' statement about the Law and the Prophets (Mt 5:17-19), the section mentioned above (Mt 15:1-20) and the denouncing of the scribes and Pharisees (Mt 23:1-36). Try to determine for each of these texts whether the commentator's remarks can be justified by a careful reading of the Matthean context, or whether it is necessary to bring in this assumption of a Jewish Christian background to justify his or her exposition. If in doubt, read the passage assuming Matthew to be Jewish Christian, then read it again assuming Matthew to be gentile christian, and see which seems to fit better into the general context.

THE LAST SUPPER AND NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES

W.H. Shepherd

The centrality of the accounts of the Last Supper in Christian eucharistic liturgy is both a help and a hindrance to the New Testament scholar. Its advantage is that it provides a ready frame of reference from which the Last Supper and early Christian worship can be evaluated. Its disadvantage is that it is difficult to approach the first century texts without bringing later theological developments to them. This article will endeavour to shed light on this situation by analysing the first major developments in the early Church's interpretation of the Last Supper.

I. HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Investigation of the question of the origin of the Eucharist can be grouped into two general categories: hypotheses which postulate two sources for it, and those which trace it back to a single event. An early exponent of the two-source hypothesis was Hans Lietzmann who argued that early eucharistic meals developed from table-fellowship between Jesus and his followers during his ministry. After his death, the disciples continued this practice with the conviction that he was present in their midst. Paul encountered a tradition which recorded the words of Jesus at the Last Supper and amalgamated it with the Christian fellowship meal to produce a historicized aetiological cultic legend (see Lietzmann 204-205). O. Cullmann has modified this position by stating that table-fellowship with Jesus during his post-Easter appearances led to a celebration of meals with "eschatological joy" (Cullmann 9-21). E. Lohmeyer has claimed that a Galilean fellowship meal was combined with a Jerusalem tradition of the Last Supper in order to develop the Lord's Supper of the early Church (Lohmeyer 217-252).

Others have concurred with these scholars that the Eucharist originated in meals eaten with Jesus during his ministry, but believe that the accounts of the Last Supper were developed by interpreting the meal in light of Jesus' crucifixion, not by the convergence of two independent traditions. This position can be seen as early as 1917 in the writings of Johannes Weiss (502). Albert Schweitzer has suggested that the miraculous feeding with loaves and fish was the first Eucharist through which the participants shared in a messianic banquet. The Last Supper was an example of this type of meal, although the belief that Jesus' death would provoke God into establishing his kingdom was added to it. Schweitzer goes on to state that common meals were eaten in anticipation of the eschatological banquet, and that it was

Paul who reinterpreted them in light of his "Christ mysticism" and of the cross (Schweitzer 241). A. Loisy also traced the Lord's Supper back to the multiplication of loaves and fish (Loisy 289).

Marxsen, Lohmeyer, and Hahn have claimed that the Lord's Supper originated in Jesus' table-fellowship with tax-collectors, sinners, and disciples. The implied anticipation of the messianic banquet inherent in these meals was carried on in the orientation of early Christian meals. Marxsen goes on to say that, because the Lord's Supper reflected developments in christology, the meal was soon interpreted on the basis of beliefs concerning the significance of Jesus' death (Marxsen 22). In brief, this line of inquiry has concluded that the accounts of the last Supper are legends which were developed either by bringing together two independent traditions or by interpreting a fellowship meal in light of Christian reflection on the significance of Jesus' death for the purpose of attributing an origin of the practice to Jesus himself.

Others have affirmed that the Church's celebration of the Lord's Supper stemmed from the Last Supper. A common feature of this position is the belief that Jesus indicated that he would die the atoning death of the suffering servant of Isaiah 53. Among those who hold this view are J. Jeremias (1966: 193-196; 1972: 198), H. Patsch (180, 185-197), R. Pesch (59), and I.H. Marshall (31-33).

The major problem with the two-source hypotheses is that they do not adequately account for such a rapid liturgical development in a Church in which people present at the Last Supper were active. I Cor 11 was penned by Paul who, according to Galatians, had encountered Peter in Jerusalem and Antioch. It is unlikely that Paul devised an aetiological cultic legend to explain the Lord's Supper and then introduced it to his churches, given that it is historically certain that at least one of the churches in which he worked was visited by Peter. On the other hand, those who attribute sacrificial atonement theology to Jesus' words at the Last Supper may well be attributing early Christian soteriological reflection to Jesus. It is preferable to trace the Lord's Supper back to a historical Last Supper at which words were spoken which reflect the major theme of Jesus' ministry: the Kingdom of God.

II. THE LAST SUPPER

The story of the Last Supper has been preserved in two different traditions, one found in 1 Cor 11:23-25 and Lk 22:15-20, and the other in Mk 14:22-25 and Mt 26:26-29. The Lukan version is based on a liturgical tradition similar to that found in 1 Cor 11, but has been reworded either on the basis of Mk 14 or by use of an independent tradition. H. Schürmann has claimed that Lk 22:15-18 was a pre-Lukan text which was amalgamated with 22:19-20 to give the impression that there were two interpreted cups, and that Jesus abstained from eating the meal (Schürmann 123). Others have made the case that Lk 22:15-18 reflects the practice of pre-Easter fasting in the early Church which can be detected in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastal History* 5:22-23 and in the *Epistle of the Apostles* 15.

The majority of scholars believe that Lk 22:15-18 represents a rewording of Mk 14:25 in light of the belief that the Last Supper was a Passover meal. For reasons which cannot be properly set out here, I believe that the Johannine dating of the Last Supper to the day before Passover (see Jn 18:28; 19:14) is to be preferred to the Synoptic dating of the meal to this feast (see Mk 14:12-16). It will have to suffice to point out that it is unlikely that Jesus' arrest, trial, crucifixion, and burial could have taken place on a festival which, according to Jewish Law, came under the same prohibitions against work as the sabbath, except for the preparation of food (see Ex 12:16; Lev 23:7; Num 18; *Bes.* 5:2; *Meg.* 1:5).

The Last Supper was a formal Jewish banquet which took place on the day before the day of Preparation for the Passover. It is likely that Jesus anticipated his imminent death and provided his disciples with an interpretation of it. Its original form is most likely closer to the Pauline than to the Markan version of the tradition. In 1 Cor the cup-saying is separated from the bread-saying by the meal; in Mk the two are brought together. In 1 Cor words at the distribution of the cup read: "This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me." The Markan version has: "This is my blood of the covenant which is poured out for many." This account juxtaposes body and blood in the two sayings, whereas Paul contrasts body with new covenant. It is more likely that the Markan symmetry was developed in liturgical usage than that Paul did away with it in 1 Cor.

The primitive form of the account of the Last Supper most likely interpreted the bread as Jesus' body, and the cup as the (new) covenant in his blood. In many Jewish texts, the shedding of blood refers to dying. This usage in the cup-saying would denote that the drinking of the cup represented a sharing in the (new) covenant brought about by Jesus' death. This is symbolically quite different from the Markan notion of the wine representing covenant-making sacrificial blood, although its consumption probably also denoted a sharing in the covenantal effects of Jesus' death. The Markan account has been modified in Mt 26:28 by the addition of the idea of atoning sacrifice to the Markan account (i.e. blood "poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins"). Furthermore, Mt changes Markan indicatives to imperatives which are better suited to liturgical usage.

Given this reconstruction of the words spoken at the Last Supper, what was their significance? It is generally recognized that a major part of Jesus' ministry consisted in the proclamation of the Kingdom of God. Through word and deed he showed signs of this reign which would dawn in its fullness in the near future. As agent of the Kingdom, it is likely that Jesus believed that he would exercise a viceregal role in establishing it. In anticipation of his approaching death, Jesus took bread and interpreted it in terms of his own person. The act of sharing in it denoted a participation in Jesus and all that he represented. It symbolized the process of coming to Jesus, hearing him, accepting his teaching, orienting oneself towards the Kingdom by means of proper repentance, and placing oneself under the authority of (and in fellowship with) him. The bread-saying was a visible sign of the deeper relationship which already existed between Jesus and his disciples. Part of its power lay in the reapplication of the notion of solidarity in table-fellowship to that of solidarity with Jesus in his mission of making present the Kingdom of God. For this reason the bread-saying also served as a challenge to the disciples. As Jesus worked for the Kingdom of God, and as they were bound to him in solidarity, so must they continue his mission after his death. From this point of view, the bread-saying was part of a farewell meal which referred to the proper response of the disciples to the events which were to follow. This response was conceived of in terms of the Kingdom which Jesus had preached and made present during his ministry.

The cup-saying reinforced the bread-saying. By passing around a common cup and saying that it denoted a sharing in the covenant which would be brought about by his death, Jesus implied that he would soon suffer a death which would bring about a salvation-historical shift in the dealings between God and his people. There are frequent references in intertestamental Jewish literature which describe the fate of the righteous martyrs in terms of resurrection and rule. It would not be anachronistic to ascribe to Jesus the belief that his ministry would be vindicated by God through resurrection, and that he would serve as God's representative in the Kingdom. If such were the case, then Jesus' death would have served as the means by which he could enter into a viceregal office through which he could establish God's reign. This concurs perfectly with the cup-saying in the account of the Last Supper, and can also be found expressed in Rom 1:4 ("appointed Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead"), and in the exaltation christology of Luke/Acts (see Acts 2:32-33; 5:30-31; etc.).

From this point of view, the cup-saying implies that drinking wine represents a sharing in the new relationship (covenant) between God and his people by establishing the Kingdom which Jesus will inaugurate through his death. Jesus may, then, have believed that he would give his life to free his followers from bondage to this present age by making God's eschatological reign present through an enthronement which would follow his martyr's death. This interpretation is further illustrated by Lk 22:28-30: "You are those who have continued with me in my trials; and I assign (covenant) to you, as my Father assigned (covenanted) to me, a kingdom, that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." The cup, then, symbolized solidarity with Jesus in the Kingdom, and served as a pledge of participation in this reign when it is established by Jesus.

III. INTERPRETATION

Recently, some have begun to interpret the Eucharist in terms of anticipation of the messianic banquet. This is the heritage of attempts to situate its origin in fellowship meals with Jesus. This idea is no doubt present in the texts, but does not adequately convey the richness of the theology inherent in them. In addition to a future reference, the Lord's Supper also has past and present dimensions. Paul, for example, stated: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ? Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread" (1 Cor 10:16-17). The loaf represents the risen Christ who is present in the midst of the community. The sharing of the many in the bread represents the common participation in Christ which serves as the basis for the Church's unity. Furthermore, eating and drinking bread and wine either evoke the idea of sharing in Christ's death or of appropriating the benefits of his crucifixion. The past referent can also be found in this passage: "For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes" (1 Cor 11:26). This making known of Christ's death anticipates a future time when the Lord's Supper will no longer be required.

These three temporal referents are also present in the hypothetical reconstruction of the Last Supper. The act of sharing in the bread and wine evoked the past and present solidarity between Jesus and the disciples in his ministry concerning the Kingdom of God; it also served as pledge to them of future involvement in this realm despite (and even because of) his death. At both this level and that of Pauline redaction, it is the distribution of bread and wine which supports the notion of "fellowship with." Interpretation does not derive from consuming sacrificial "body and blood."

In the Markan tradition, the past referent is that of sacrificial death which inaugurates a covenant, and the present one is that of sharing in the benefits of this type of death. The principal meaning is still that of new relationship to God gained by virtue of Jesus' death. The future referent of Mk 14:25 is different from this sacrificial perspective since it looks forward to the disciples' sharing in the messianic banquet; an interpretation of food which would better fit with the Pauline tradition (and which may well go back to the earliest level of the account of the Last Supper). Mt juxtaposes the concept of covenant offering with that of atoning sacrifice.

The use of symbolism in the Lord's Supper has the power to represent visibly a present authority and claim. It is for this reason that Paul can state that those who do not eat and drink with due respect fall under God's judgement (1 Cor 11:27-32). It is not because they have failed to think back to the decisive saving event of Christianity, but rather because sharing in the bread and wine denotes the present relationship between the communicant, the community, and Christ which is based on his crucifixion and on his presence in their midst by the Spirit of God. It is an outward and visible sign of the inner life of the community in Christ, and so serves to remind the Church of its true nature, and to challenge it to live according to the ideal inherent in this relationship. Whereas Jesus interpreted the elements in terms of the coming Kingdom (most likely historically inaugurated), Paul distinguished between the eschatological quality of the Church brought about by the indwelling of the Spirit in such a way as to make the Kingdom present, and its future plenary manifestation.

The symbolism of the Last Supper evokes the ideal terms of reference for the relationship between God and his people through Christ. It is based on historical memory, grounded in present experience, and looks forward to future consummation. It is, as Perrin would call it, a "tensive symbol." That is, rather than making one point which can be grasped by decoding the "meaning" of the symbol as is the case with steno-symbols, the tensive symbol opens up new horizons for understanding the world and one's role in it. Since the Lord's Supper denotes solidarity between Christ and his followers (qualified by past and future events), it represents the various relationships which constitute the Church as the agent of God's liberating presence in the world through Christ, and challenges each participant to enter fully into the implications of these relationships in terms relevant to his or her own context.

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AN EXAMINATION AND CRITIQUE OF THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN APOCALYPTICISM AND GNOSTICISM IN JOHANNINE STUDIES

Robert A. Hill

ARC readers who have followed the American political controversy over the nomination of Robert Bork to sit on the U.S. Supreme Court perhaps wonder whence the sound and fury over one judicial appointment. The American and Canadian judicial systems are quite different, and I imagine some bewilderment as Canadian readers watch the strange proceedings south of the border. History provides some unsettling scenes: during a pastoral call a parishioner and I considered the irony of a certain portion of the investigation in which Bork's personal ethics were being questioned by Senators Biden and Kennedy, those staunch defenders of the seventh and eighth commandments.

Bear with the story a moment. This has been, for the U.S., a very significant debate. On the surface, the political issues of civil rights, women's rights, privacy, and, of course, the seldom directly discussed but still primary dilemma--abortion--have directed the course of events. Nevertheless, another crucially important debate has also taken place over, of all things, "interpretation." What constitutes faithful interpretation of a semi-sacred, old document (the Constitution)? Who makes a faithful interpreter? How far can the interpreter stray from the "original intent" of his text?

These are questions with which the Protestant preacher wrestles every week. Many *ARC* readers preach every Sunday. The Bork proceedings can remind us of how difficult and yet how essential some understanding of "original intent" will always be for those who respect a religious or political tradition. If the work done in Biblical Scholarship at McGill and elsewhere helps the preaching of the Christian church, then it has a future of its own and some reason for being.

My thesis inspects the "original intent" of the Fourth Gospel with regard to the End. I argue against one popular version of this and in favour of another. To do so I have to review prior understandings of John and John's background, including our recently augmented understanding of Gnosticism. I have enjoyed the discipline of the work, and have been very grateful for the expert guidance provided at McGill.

In Biblical Studies, as in other academic disciplines, crucial insights from one generation, when robed in memorable phrases, become by-words and signposts for other generations. Some time ago A.D. Nock wrote, with regard to an issue unrelated to this thesis, of a "fallacy of misplaced concreteness." This thesis attempts to unearth, to describe, to test, and to correct another such fallacy of misplaced concreteness. Here one concrete assumption about gnostic eschatology, frequently employed by Johannine scholars, is examined. Let us turn first to a single clear example of the presence and use of this assumption, in the work of one of the most important Johannine interpreters.

One of the best and most influential commentaries on the Gospel of John from the last twenty years is Raymond Brown's *Anchor Bible Commentary.* This is arguably the best commentary for its thoroughness, for its judicious positions on most difficult questions, and for its exhaustive review of past scholarship. Furthermore, it may be the most influential Biblical commentary of our time because, in the wake of Dead Sea Scroll scholarship, it has turned the attention of many scholars back toward the "Biblical" and "Jewish" backgrounds of the Fourth Gospel. One must continue to stand in awe of the magisterial contribution to our understanding of John.

In the course of his "Introduction" (a major writing in itself) to the commentary Brown is forced, by the structural constraints of an exegetical commentary and by the difficulties in the text before him, to set some limits--phenomenological, historical, theological limits--to the discussion which will soon stretch out over hundreds of small print pages. One can view these definitions and limit decisions as the forging of exegetical tools which later will be brought to bear upon the text. Like a surgeon preparing for a major operation, the author first sets out his equipment. One such surgical tool is forged out of an historical understanding of Gnosticism and its assumed intolerance for horizontal eschatology. Brown has begun a discussion of eschatology by positing, in a fair and lucid fashion, two spatial orientations in ancient eschatology, to wit, the "horizontal" (Biblical) and the "vertical" (Gnostic). This is a careful argument and a good one. The argument brings lucidity to an historical issue of substantial theological significance. Further, there quickly appear interpretative clues that later will have utility in exegesis. For instance, since both vertical and horizontal eschatological orientations do appear in John, one might argue that the Fourth Gospel, exhibiting as it does numerous examples of horizontal eschatology, ought not be interpreted--in verses where such interpretative judgements are needed--in relation to Gnosticism. This is in fact Brown's argument. This is a major limit and definition decision. A sharp tool for later interpretative surgery is partly forged. Brown writes,

> Thus the Johannine view of salvation is both vertical and horizontal. The vertical aspect expresses the uniqueness of the divine intervention in Jesus; the

horizontal aspect establishes a relationship between this intervention and salvation history. This is why no Gnostic interpretation of the Fourth Gospel can do justice to its full teaching. (Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, Vol. 1, p. cxvi)

These horizontal elements of eschatology, and other final eschatological features (Brown then takes up temporal imagery to follow on his use of spatial imagery) constitute the biblical and ultimately the apocalyptic view of eschatology. Precisely these elements and features, so this argument runs, fence off the text from any Gnostic interpretation, because, it is assumed, final and horizontal (that is, apocalyptic) eschatology had no place in Gnosticism. This historical limit decision is basic and important for the commentary that utilizes it. In addition, Professor Brown may be the leading Johannine scholar, but he is by no means the only one to employ this assumption. The literature, as shown below, is replete with other examples.

Nor is this assumption limited to Johannine studies. One encounters it elsewhere in New Testament studies. This thesis limits itself to John, but the assumption is not so limited. For instance, witness Helmut Koester using this same argument with regard to Jude:

> The renewed interest in apocalyptic traditions was useful not only in the struggle against a radicalized eschatology, it also proved to be an effective weapon in the controversy with Gnosticism. This is evident in the Epistle of Jude. The origin and date of this brief writing are uncertain, but its employment of apocalyptic material against Gnosticism is so obvious that it is best treated in this context... [and later] Hebrews enters into a critical theological controversy with Gnosticism by refuting the gnostic understanding of both the redeemer and the process of salvation. Two important elements ... are used as criteria in this controversy: first, recourse to the suffering of the redeemer on earth; and second, adherence to an apocalyptic view of the future. (Koester, *The History and Literature of Early Christianity*, pp. 246, 274)

Unasked, however, and therefore unanswered as well, is the logically prior question: "Is it true that horizontal, final (that is apocalyptic) eschatology had no place to lay its head in Gnosticism?"

With this question we enter into a thicket of difficulties that come up both within and between the subjects mentioned. A major area of scholarly controversy in present Biblical Studies can be located at the intersection of "apocalyptic" and "gnostic" literature, theology, and views of history. Definitions for both terms are hotly disputed. Convincing descriptions of the connections between the three levels of reference attached to both terms are not now available. The juncture, within the history of religions, of the two phenomena remains as intriguing as it is unknown. This is a storm centre for Biblical studies. That is, it is not clear how we are to picture the relationship between Apocalypticism and Gnosticism. On the one hand, the similarities between the two world-views have long been noted. For instance, K. Koch notes R. Otto's statement that "Gnosis is the very spirit of Apocalyptic" and also makes the following assertion: "for the later period God moved away into remote transcendence and ... man's personal relationship to Him thereby became so tenuous that religious feeling demanded intermediary courts of appeal. Where such an explanation is adopted it would seem only a short step to move from Apocalyptic into the vicinity of another spiritual movement, namely, Gnosticism." In this somewhat awkward statement, Koch expresses both a vague sense of the spiritual affinities between the two movements and a lack of critical examination of their relationship. Both are seen and overheard in the background of early Christian literature. It would seem that they share some things. On the other hand, points of basic divergence have been claimed. For instance Kaesemann writes, "All Gnosis testifies to the present nature of salvation, and in so doing, diverges from Apocalyptic." A few words of caution are sounded in recent books and articles. C. Rowland remarks, "It is difficult to draw a sharp line between Apocalyptic and Gnosticism--a fact with large consequences." And, finally, the more than occasional instance of scholarly frustration found in the literature bears eloquent witness to the unclarity of the issue. D. Aune complains, "It is precisely at this point, however, that scholarly discussion exhibits all the order of a barroom brawl."

Given the general haziness of our view of the Apocalyptic/Gnostic juncture, and the size of the issue in general, we may be justified in focusing a study in this area upon a single theme, that of horizontal eschatology. In so doing, we avoid some potential difficulties. That is, we avoid presupposing any narrow, partisan, limiting definitions of "Apocalyptic" and "Gnosis." We also avoid undue breadth in the thesis. From the outset, inspection of the ancient texts and the secondary literature will be severely limited to the issue of horizontal eschatology. Thus, the related but distinct issues of mystical experience, visions, heavenly journeys, and so on, can safely be left aside. With this limitation, the thesis research takes on a narrowness that should save time and produce clearer results. Furthermore, in the Johannine studies, assumptions about the relationship between Apocalypticism and Gnosticism have been limited, as this thesis is limited, to the issue of horizontal eschatology. Thus, the thesis will focus on a hypothetical construct as it has functioned in Johannine studies.

An abstract of this assumption might be: "Apocalypticism" involves final eschatology and moves along a horizontal, temporal axis; "Gnosticism" involves personal eschatology and moves upon a vertical, spatial axis. This reigning assumption stands front and centre in a number of noted books and articles, and is simply presumed in a great many more writings. For instance, as seen above, an essential part of Raymond Brown's "Introduction" to the Anchor Bible Commentary on John relies on this syllogism: Apocalyptic is horizontal, but Gnosis is vertical. John is partly horizontal. Therefore, John is not Gnostic. This and other equally confident appraisals of apocalyptic and gnostic eschatology, resting as they do on the above-mentioned problem within Biblical studies, provoke a question: Does the evidence, as presented in gnostic and apocalyptic literature, warrant the assumption and its application?

Another and possibly more precise rendering of the assumption in question is the following: "In early Christian literature, the more thoroughly gnostic a writing, the less chance for the presence within it of horizontal eschatology." In New Testament studies, the assumption has functioned as a constant against which other variables have been measured. The question raised by this thesis is the reliability of the assumption.

The example from R. Brown, cited above, is a secondary, generalized, and derivative occasion of this phenomenon. He is probably trusting R. Bultmann's understanding of Gnosticism (ad. loc. John 6:29). Believing that John was a gnostically influenced writing, and that the assumption to be tested here was true, Bultmann had assigned all future references to a redactor: "In John there is no reference at all to a new condition of the world which is still to come in the future." Perhaps, too, the influence of R. Grant's book, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, is alive in Brown's commentary. Grant, like Bultmann, uses our assumption as a constant. He writes, "A would-be Gnostic, searching for security in a troubled and evil world, could hardly ignore the claims being made for Jesus by Christians, though the emphasis laid on apocalyptic eschatology by many of them would hardly appeal to him." *That is, apocalyptic eschatology offended the Gnostic.* In even clearer fashion, Grant applied this hypothesis to the Gospel of John: "Because John was not a thorough-going Gnostic he could still write of the future resurrection and the last judgment." The use of the assumption as a "constant" in New Testament studies is fairly widespread. This thesis, however, will focus on its function in Johannine studies.

We expect that the conclusions, and so the positive contributions to original knowledge of this thesis will include the following listed summary of results:

1. The assumption is widely present in literature devoted to the Fourth Gospel.

2. The assumption is invalid with regard to Apocalypticism as currently described.

3. The assumption is invalid with regard to Gnosticism as exemplified in the recently discovered Nag Hammadi Codices.

4. The assumption needs modification or possibly rejection.

5. The exegetical need in Johannine interpretation for the hypothesized presence of the hand of an "ecclesiastical redactor," which rests heavily on the assumption, is greatly lessened; thus, the importance of the hypothetical redactor decreases.

6. New directions for study at the border between Apocalypticism and Gnosticism may be discovered to include: a general "blurring" of the formerly distinct and useful line of separation, in the history of religions, between the two world-views; another look at the problem of definition of terms; renewed concern for the manner in which these ancient esoteric and mysterious texts are to be properly read.

REVELATION: A JEWISH/CHRISTIAN BOOK?

Robert MacKenzie

The Revelation of John has much in common with post-Exilic Jewish apocalyptic literature. It shares with these writings a concern for the holiness of God, an abhorrence of idolatry and pagan ways, and an interest in angels and visions and the information they can impart about the heavenly realm. As a result, it has seemed only natural to assume that Revelation's author was Jewish and thus to give preference to a Jewish "connection" when expounding the book in the pulpit or the classroom.

Québec's François Rousseau, for example, has in this regard followed the lead of R.H. Charles, the foremost commentator on Revelation in this century. Rousseau has made the issue of authorship the key to the interpretation of the book, which in his opinion was intended to encourage Jewish-Christian refugees demoralized by the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple (142-6). Other recent commentators, many of whom who have concentrated on the social and religious function of Revelation's imagery and symbols and so have less to gain from a conclusion regarding authorship, have also endorsed the idea that John was a member of an embattled Jewish-Christian minority (Fiorenza 195-8; J. Collins 1974, 31; 1977, 342; A. Collins 136-138).

Acceptance of the idea of the essential Jewishness of Revelation can, however, have adverse effects on the study of early Christianity and on the exposition of the book. Since it has been tied so closely to a minority ethnic group (Jewish) within a minority religion (Christianity), the tacit assumption obtains that Revelation is neither representative of early Christianity nor is it helpful for later generations of believers. Consequently, the historian is not compelled to confront the possibility that the document may well by typical of the views of first-century Christians. The pastor likewise may have a good excuse to avoid preaching on this difficult portion of the canon.

The unanimous opinion of the commentators notwithstanding, recent developments in the study of the nature of language present a serious challenge to the prevailing judgement about the "Jewishness" of Revelation. As a consequence, the apocalyptic aspects of Revelation can be viewed "not merely [as] deviations from mainstream Christianity" (Rowland 443), but as important elements of the early christian experience.

The case in favour of Jewish authorship of Revelation has been based on three main arguments:

(1) the author John made use of Jewish traditions and source-documents;

(2) he betrayed his Aramaic mother tongue when writing Greek, as demonstrated by his many Semitisms, and;

(3) on many occasions he drew allusions from the Hebrew Bible and not the Septuagint (LXX), its Greek translation.

Jewish traditions. There is little in the content of the book that would lead one to believe that John was Jewish and not Gentile. He identified himself as John (2:1,4,9) but unlike Paul he did not provide information about his ethnic background (Phil 3:5, 2 Cor 11:22; Rom 11:1). Although there are strong traditions from the late second century onward that he was in fact the apostle John son of Zebedee, Christians have argued the opposite for almost as long a time. The author's name was admittedly a common name for a Jew, but its use need not have been limited to this group. If as is generally assumed Revelation was written in the late first century its author could have been a Gentile Christian who was given this name at birth, he could himself have adopted it later in life as his "Christian" name.

With respect to specifically Jewish matters, Revelation says little. It does not speak explicitly about the nation of Israel beyond mentioning it in connection with the common scriptural figures of Balaam and the twelve tribes (2:14; 7:4, 21:12). On the two occasions when he refers by name to contemporary Judaism ("those who call themselves Jews but are not, for they are a synagogue of Satan" [2:9; 3:9]), his intended meaning is not clear. Is he demonstrating an insider's knowledge of what qualified a person to be a true Jew, namely birth, and thereby ridiculing Gentiles who had converted to Judaism? Or is he betraying an outsider's view that borders on anti-Semitism, declaring that a true Jew must be Christian?

Apart from this enigmatic mention the subject of the role of contemporary Judaism in the plan of God does not appear to have been a pressing problem for John. There is also no discussion of the Law in Revelation (*nomos* does not occur). One could legitimately expect that such issues would have been treated by a Jewish Christian, as they were by the Jewish-Christian Paul (e.g. Romans 9-11). The fact that they were not lends weight to the view that John may have been a Gentile.

The few references in Revelation to matters involving purity may without difficulty be attributed to the author's acquaintance with biblical stories and commandments. The story of Balaam and the defection of Israelites at Peor (Num 25:1-8; 31:16) clearly provides the background for the reference: "to eat things sacrificed to idols and to commit acts of immorality" (2:14). He repeats the same phrase several verses later (20) in connection with another Old Testament figure, Jezebel.

Furthermore, the issues of idolatry and immorality were of concern not only to Jews but also to Gentile Christians such as those at Corinth (1 Cor 5,8). The Apostolic Decree recorded in Acts 15 and 21, itself probably based on the biblical teaching of Leviticus 17-18 (Haenchen 469), confirms that Gentiles were not unaware of these subjects. In view of the absence of references to specific Jewish ritual practices, it would thus seem that John's interest in purity was moral or ascetic (common to both Jews and Gentiles) and not legal or ritual.

Another line of argument in favour of the Jewish character of Revelation is based on an attempt to isolate in it Semitic and Jewish source documents which have been translated and/or adapted for Christian use. Such endeavours, since they are inevitably speculative and highly subjective, have not secured general approval among scholars. In any case, the mere presence in Christian writings of material that would have been of interest to Jews as well as Christians is not adequate proof of Christian re-working of Jewish sources. M. de Jonge has argued the same point with reference to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In the case of Revelation, all that can be said is that John was familiar with and in a general way borrowed from contemporary religious traditions, including that of the Jews.

Viewing the question of content from another angle, it cannot be said that Revelation is in conflict with other New Testament writings. John speaks for and about Christ throughout Revelation, addressing himself not to Jewish-Christian congregations, but to churches in a Gentile area well-known to Paul and to the rest of the Church. His familiarity with Pauline and Johannine traditions and agreement with if not dependence upon them, has been outlined by Fiorenza (85-132) and Böcher (1981). The striking similarities in the order of events and imagery among the Synoptic apocalypses (Mk 13; Lk 21; Mt 24), Didache 16, and Revelation bear witness that, even if more elaborate, John's eschatology is not a departure from a commonly held Christian view of the Last Things (Fiorenza 1977, 106; Sweet 19-21, 52-54). John's distrust of the world outside the Christian community and his repeated calls for holy living are also recurring themes in early Christian literature.

There can be little doubt that Revelation was typical of the views held by a large segment of the early Church, although the book has considerably expanded upon basic themes. This is strongly confirmed by the fact that in the face of serious questions as to its apostolic authorship Revelation survived the process which led to its inclusion in the canon. Those who designate it as the work of a Jewish Christian author must therefore build a much stronger case in order to demonstrate that Revelation is distinctively Jewish. The evidence clearly favours the opposite: that the book is in line with the mainstream of early Christianity, a Christianity that embraced both Jew and Gentile but was not Jewish in its piety.

Semitisms. The argument most commonly advanced in support of the Jewish (Palestinian, to be more exact) character of Revelation is one which points to errors in the book's Greek grammar (solecisms) and to its uncommon Greek constructions (Semitisms). The former are conveniently summarized in Nigel Turner's volume on style in Moulton's NT Greek grammar (4: 145-159). Their occurrence, it is argued, stems from John's inadequacy in a second language. A number of his violations of agreement in gender, number or case can, however, be attributed to other causes such as the incidence of "attraction." That is, a word is made to agree with another nearby or dominant noun which is in a different gender, number or case than the word's strictly grammatical antecedent ("like a trumpet saying" in 1:10-11; also 11:4; 14:1). A noun can also appear in the accusative case instead of the grammatically correct nominative case because it is meant to be taken as object of a verb that occurs in a preceding relative clause ("The voice which I heard ... speaking," 10:8). On some occasions the objective case simply requires that a verb be understood ("Write about..." can be supplied in 1:20 and "I saw ..." in 4:4; 13:3). This phenomenon is not so uncommon in Greek that it can be said that Revelation's instances constitute outright blunders. John's Greek should thus be seen as the colloquial writing of a native-speaker and not as the barbaric linguistic abuse of a bilingual Palestinian Jew.

Regarding Semitisms, appeals have been made to various kinds of direct Semitic influence. R.H. Charles promoted a psychological explanation, contending about the author that "while he writes in Greek, he thinks in Hebrew" (I: cxliii). His approach, supplemented by the judgements about Semitisms of Matthew Black and by Nigel Turner's theory about the existence of a Jewish-Greek dialect, has recently been defended in a doctoral dissertation by Steven Thompson. C.C. Torrey, on the other hand, maintained that the Semitisms were not due to the unconscious practice of John, but were the result of a translation process into Greek of an Aramaic original of Revelation. Former McGill professor the late R.B.Y. Scott likewise thought that the book was a translation, although he held that the original was written in Hebrew.

The problem with proposals which advocate direct Semitic influence, whether they invoke theories either of alleged linguistic interference or of supposed translation technique, is that they cannot adequately explain the inconsistency in John's writing style or in the strategy employed by a later translator. For it is curious that Revelation often exhibits good Greek style only to employ unusual syntax in equivalent phrasings. Why is it that examples of unusual and of good Greek appear in such a random fashion, often in close proximity? Appeals to later editorial activity by John's disciples or to the presence of source-materials are too complex to be convincing.

A more satisfactory explanation is that John's first language was Greek and that, for various reasons, he sometimes departed from what was the better Greek style of his day. Some Semitisms are no doubt attributable to the author's familiarity with and respect for the Greek Old Testament. He not only was heavily dependent upon the Old Testament for his allusions and imagery, but he appears to have imitated its style as well. Septuagintal usage can account for the "incorrect" forms of *legon* and *echon* (11:1; 14:7; 21:14), the frequent use of paratactic *kai*, and other instances of deliberate Semitizing such as the instrumental use of *en*, the presence of redundant pronouns (3:8; 7:2) and the uncommon syntax of *tou polemesai* (12:7; cf. Judges 1:1 and many references in some manuscript traditions). An obvious fondness for descriptive slogans and titles explains the nominative phrases used in apposition with other cases (1:5; 2:13,20; 3:12; 9:14; 20:2).

This kind of biblical-sounding language could only have enhanced the authority of John and his prophecies. In the case of several speeches of Jesus in the seven letters, John's motive for adopting a particular style (*casus pendens* [2:26; 3:12,21] and use of *ou me* [2:11; 3:3,5,12]) was likely intended to make Jesus "sound" like the dignified Jesus that Christians knew from the gospels (see Lee, Black 34-36). As a prophet, John's own speech in the book would no doubt have conformed to conventional expectations on the part of his hearers. They would have respected a style which utilized favourite Christian idioms, a style similar to that which Christian leaders today employ when they use King James English in prayers and hymns.

Given the fact that Semitisms occur inconsistently in Revelation and that they can be explained satisfactorily on grounds other that direct Semitic influence, it would seem best to assume that John's offences against Greek grammar are in most cases deliberate (Kraft 45). This strongly suggests that far from his being unfamiliar with the language, John was a master at using it to reinforce his prophetic oracles and appeals.

Use of Hebrew biblical texts. This argument has the best claim to be able to settle once and for all the question of John's ethnic background. If it can be shown that he made use of a Hebrew instead of a Greek version of the Old Testament, then it is all but certain that he was Jewish.

Although much of the evidence adduced in favour of the view that John was dependent upon the Hebrew Old Testament was outlined by R.H. Charles, the more detailed work of L.P. Trudinger and A. Vanhoye is more commonly cited. Their case is built upon three main assumptions:

(1) it is possible to isolate direct quotations from the OT in Revelation;
(2) if Revelation does not conform to the Septuagint in these quotations, it is likely that at these points John was following the Hebrew OT, and;
(3) John only had access to a standard Christian version of the Greek OT, which closely corresponds to the third-century CE Septuagint of Origen.

With respect to the first two of these assertions, it is clear that Revelation does not contain any direct quotations from the OT of the sort which are introduced by a formula such as "It is written" or "Isaiah says." Furthermore, there are no portions of any length that are reproduced word-for-word from the OT. In view of this it would appear that John was for his own purposes deliberately avoiding clear citation of it.

It is surprising therefore that Trudinger and Vanhoye contend that in his supposed translation of short passages of the Hebrew OT (which they term quotations) John would have employed a literal word-for-word translation strategy. He has not cited the Greek OT, with which he was obviously familiar, word-for-word. Why would he do this for the Hebrew OT? Nevertheless, Trudinger and Vanhoye claim that any close correspondence between tenses and word order of OT "quotations" in Revelation and the OT Hebrew text should be explained by John's dependence upon the Hebrew. The frequent minor departures from the Hebrew are said to be paraphrases of the texts in question, although nowhere do the two scholars seriously consider that John could have been paraphrasing the Greek text, not the Hebrew.

Where deviations are more extensive, Trudinger has claimed that John was citing Targums, the Aramaic paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible used in Jewish worship services. This is difficult to substantiate for several reasons. The Targums in their present form post-date the NT period by several centuries and probably did not exist in a standard form in John's day. In addition, Trudinger does not offer a convincing explanation of how a man living and writing in Asia Minor, a Greek-speaking region, could have possessed a detailed knowledge of these traditions. A simpler way to account for these passages is that John was paraphrasing the Greek Bible.

Both Trudinger and Vanhoye have given special attention to OT allusions in Revelation which contain phrases that are found in the Hebrew OT alone, and not in the Septuagint. Revelation 22:2, which is dependent in part on Ezekiel 47:12, constitutes such an instance. It contains the phrase "yielding its fruit every month," which is close to the Hebrew Bible's "it will bear early fruit according to its months." The Septuagint, having mistranslated "months" (new moons) as "newness," reads "will bring forth the first-fruits of its newness" and does not mention months at all.

On the face of it this evidence seems incontrovertible. If John's Septuagint did not contain the reference to months, then he must have been reading the Hebrew. But such a conclusion rests on the crucial assumption that scholars can know which Greek text of the OT John was using. Trudinger contended that this was indeed possible. Citing the theories on Septuagint origins of Paul Kahle, he asserted that John made use of a standard Christian form of Greek OT which was very close to the Old Greek Septuagint. Any departure from it proved John's dependence on a Hebrew text.

Kahle's proposals, however, have been discredited in recent decades. His view that several independent Greek versions were in circulation in the first century has not successfully challenged the older view that there was only one original version (a proto-Septuagint) of which several recensions (editions with minor corrections) were current in John's day. Major reference works and introductory studies (Jellicoe; Klein) endorse this latter view.

With respect to the question at hand, the existence of Greek recensions means that it is sometimes difficult to know which Greek text of a particular verse John drew upon. This is borne out by the fact that in some cases where Revelation differs from the Septuagint, Origen's six-column OT (the Hexapla) and other ancient witnesses contain alternate readings of the above-mentioned verses. The word "months" for example, is present in a marginal reading of Ezekiel 47:12, labelled Lucianic by Ziegler in his critical edition of that book (52, 322). Since such alternative readings were gathered from available Greek texts and are not corrections based on the Hebrew (in Origen's time the Greek was authoritative for Christians, not the Hebrew) and since the readings antedate later systematic translations, it is entirely possible that they were known to John. H.G. Swete affirmed this view early in this century (clv), as has Adela Collins recently (47-48). Earl Richard also has done detailed work along these lines, although he examined only OT citations in Acts.

The fluid state of Greek OT texts in the time of John thus significantly weakens the claim that John must have been a bilingual Jew who made use of the Hebrew Scriptures. In cases where a measure of dependence upon the OT is probable, departures from the Septuagint are sufficiently infrequent and problematic enough to be otherwise explained.

CONCLUSION

The criticisms that can be directed at the consensus view on the authorship of Revelation call its validity seriously into question. The book therefore should no longer primarily be interpreted in the light of a supposed Jewish background. Moreover, Revelation should not be used as evidence with which to reconstruct the history and theology of early Jewish Christianity. It can, on the other hand, further demonstrate the important role accorded to prophecy and apocalyptic in the religious expression of the early Church. In addition, Revelation serves to raise again the question of why the early Christians as a whole made use of unusual imagery and such an unpolished, biblical-sounding language in their literature and worship.

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LITERARY APPROACHES TO OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES

The Literary Approach to Old Testament Studies

Susan Slater

Literary approaches to the study of Old Testament texts have been prominent in recent times. Much of that effort has been focused on the narrative portions of the OT. The books listed below are representative of this trend.

Daniel Robinson's introductory guide discusses some of the major concerns of narrative criticism such as plot, characters and irony. His opening chapter introduces the subject of "The Bible as Literature." Leonard Thompson covers both testaments in his book. It is an excellent, highly readable survey of the biblical literature from the literary point of view.

Issues of method are dealt with in the volumes of John Barton and Kenneth Gros Louis. The former outlines the progression from older to more recent approaches to OT study. The latter includes a chapter on the implications of the newer methods for the teaching of the bible, among many other essays by various scholars.

The Faculty's own Robert Culley has made a straightforward application of narrative analysis to a number of brief stories found in the OT. His insights are helpful in the study of biblical narrative in general. Robert Alter, a literary critic, has appealed for more literary sensitivity on the part of biblical scholars. He is often critical of them for neglecting the literary dimension of the OT. A difficult but very significant monograph on the subject of narrative has been produced by Meir Sternberg. He considers in detail the historical, ideological and literary aspects of OT texts as well as attempting to explain how these texts communicate to their readers.

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The Literary Approach to New Testament Studies

Robert MacKenzie

Research about the nature of language and text has not been confined to philosophical and literary studies. It has also had a great impact on the way that the Bible is interpreted. The books and articles listed below are representative of the influence that this new direction has had on the field of New Testament Studies.

William Beardslee's book serves as something of a bridge from older literary concerns to newer research interests. It includes a chapter on the much-discussed Synoptic problem, as well as intriguing comments on the combination of orderly and revolutionary-eschatological outlooks in gospel narrative (27-29). Does gospel narrative re-create the world for us? Does it instead announce a new world which destroys what we have formerly known? Or does it accomplish both?

Norman Petersen attempts to describe how the author of Mark creates a world with which the reader of the gospel becomes familiar. He argues that the prophecies in Mark are established as relaible so that when they predict Jesus' resurrection the reader has long since been prepared for it, and is not troubled by its absence in this gospel. This demonstrates that the reading process itself makes a significant contribution to the way a story is understood. R. Culpepper has studied the characters and plot of John's gospel with a view to describing the writer and his intended audience. His work is an example of a newer kind of commentary.

Robert M. Fowler is primarily interested in the response of readers to texts. His essay highlights many of the issues in reader-response criticism: To what extent does a text "control" its readers? Does an interpretive community (scholarly, devotional, dogmatic, etc.) determine what meaning its members will find in a text? What is the reading process like? This essay was not written for newcomers to the field, but features valuable bibliographic references in its footnotes.

The influence that ancient rhetorical strategies had on New Testament texts is the subject of the monograph by classical scholar George Kennedy. He includes a constructive criticism of the way in which Hans-Dieter Betz has employed rhetorical criticism in his recent commentary on Galatians.

Werner Kelber's volume challenges many of the long-held assumptions about the formation of the gospel narratives. He contends that the oral period prior to the writing of the gospel narratives was a time during which units of tradition about Jesus underwent constant change. Stories were condensed, enlarged or entirely forgotten according to the needs and capacities of their hearers. When the stories were written down, Christians often used them in different ways (as mysteries, as law, etc.). The written stories could not now be adapted as readily to their immediate context, the shared world of the speaker and hearer. Kelber asserts that much of the vitality of the Christian faith is lost by a concentration on textuality as opposed to orality. Only by seeing Jesus's story as parable can some of the damage be undone.

Some helpful reflections on the use and abuse of "story" in New Testament studies are contained in the articles by Richard Lischer and Amos Wilder. The former contends that much of what has been claimed about the way gospel parables function is extravagant and unwarranted. Wilder deals with the issue of the way in which stories should be judged. They should not be subjected to the simplistic test of truth or falsehood, which is usually not entirely appropriate. The proper question would thus not be "Is this a true story?" A reader should rather ask "Is this the whole story?"

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DEAN'S DESK

Donna R. Runnalls

The Birks Lecture Series at the end of September was a very stimulating event. professor Will Oxtoby was with us for two days, during which time he presented three lectures on his overall theme of *Language and the World's Religions*: 1. Religion and the Emergence of Writing; 2. Translation as a Problem; and 3. Beyond Language. The audience was very responsive so that the question period was very lively. Professor Oxtoby's willingness to respond both to questions and to criticisms was much appreciated.

After several months of waiting for immigration procedures to be completed Professor Arvind Sharma has joined us as an Associate Professor in Comparative Religion. He arrived in time to be a participant in the discussions with Professor Oxtoby.

Unable to join us this fall was Professor Richard Hayes who has been appointed as an Assistant Professor in comparative religion. Richard has specialized in Indian Buddhism and will strengthen the ability of our Faculty to offer specialized study in the area of Indian religions. Before his appointment Richard had committed himself to a major publication project funded by the National Endownment for the Humanities of the US Government. This project will be completed by the summer of 1988, and he will join us then.

Richard Cooper, who has been managing editor of *ARC* for a number of years, successfully defended his Ph.D. thesis this fall. He is now working as Assistant to the Dean for this academic year.

No appointment has yet been made in the field of New Testament. The position has been re-advertised and consideration of applicants is about to begin.

Dr. Edward J. Furcha has been promoted to full professor rank.

1988 will be the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Faculty. If any of you have pictures or other memorabilia that we might use for displays on this occasion would you please write to me.

COLLEGE REPORTS
MONTREAL DIOCESAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

Anthony Capon
Principal

John McNab and I send warmest greetings to all our alumni/ae and to all other friends of the College who may read these lines. We constantly feel ourselves to be part of a much wider family, which provides mutual support and a shared mission.

I myself returned from sabbatical in August, having visited ten different centres of theological education in four countries to find something of what was going on and what we could learn. I have been sharing insights with the College's Long-Range Planning Committee and Educational Council. I would say that the broadening of horizons has been most helpful; also, I gained the impression that the educational programme we have here is as good as can be encountered anywhere. I am more grateful than I can say to John McNab, and to the support staff, for the great efforts they were prepared to make to ensure that the work of the College went on smoothly during my time away.

At this year's Convocation we awarded degrees and diplomas to George Bruce, james Clark, Ronald Clarke, Anthony Renshaw and Désirée Stedman (L.Th.), Jonathan Gibson, Lance Lyons and Timothy Smart (M.Div.) and Michael Wilson (Dip.Min.). We also had the great pleasure of awarding the degree of Doctor of Divinity, honoris causa, to the Principal of McGill University, Dr. David Johnston, who delivered the Convocation address.

One concern which has been developing at the College--one not unrelated to my own recent sabbatical--is the need to strengthen our whole extension programme. Initially, this is to take two forms. After a period of valuable consolidation, the Reading and Tutorial Course is to be more actively promoted throughout the Anglican Church of Canada. Davena Davis has recently had to resign her position as Administrator of this Course, and has been replaced by Adèle Miles. Secondly, we are working on a much more forward-looking and coordinated programme of lay leadership training. This will be seen in a balanced programme of evening courses, starting in the new year, covering many of the areas of education required in the development of such leadership.

Our numbers have been somewhat trimmed this year. We have 24 students on our list, of whom 7 are women. One is a young priest from Sierra Leone. 4 are on leave. 5 form this year's graduate class (In-Ministry Year). There are currently 37 students working their way through the Reading and Tutorial Course.

Our search continues for a part-time College chaplain; a recently retired person would be ideal.

We continue to be most grateful for the interest, prayers and financial support of all the friends of the College.

PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE REPORT

William Klempa
Principal

ENROLMENT

Thirty-one students are registered at the College and enrolled in the Bachelor of Theology/Master of Divinity and General Assembly programmes leading to ordination. Eleven new students entered in September and of these, six entered the first year, two, the second year and three, the third year of the various programmes. In addition to the thirty-one, two other ministerial candidates have been accepted and they will begin their studies in January, 1988.

COLLEGE RESIDENCE

All rooms in the residence are occupied and again as in past years there has been a long waiting list for residence rooms. Our Senate House Committee continues to explore the possibility of adding a couple of floors to the residence wing. This is architecturally feasible but only possible if the College can obtain government grants or loans. Most of the students in residence are non-theological students, from the various McGill faculties, and they come from all parts of Canada and from the United States. Among them is a refugee student from Ethiopia. The deans of residence this year are Harry and Leanna Athanasiadis.

COLLEGE RETREAT

The annual retreat for students and faculty was held at the McGill Gault Estate, Mont St. Hilaire on Friday and Saturday, September 11 and 12, 1987 with thirty-two students and faculty members in attendance. The retreat speaker was Professor George Johnston of McGill and United Theological College who gave two fine addresses on the pastoral ministry today.

SPECIAL LECTURES

The Very Rev. Professor John McIntyre, Professor of Divinity Emeritus and former Acting Principal of the University of Edinburgh and Mrs. McIntyre were guests of the College for a good part of the week in September. Professor McIntyre delivered two lectures: one on "Faith, Theology and Imagination" at the College and the other on "Faith and the Faiths" at the Faculty of Religious Studies. Dr. McIntyre also preached at a Tri-College Chapel service held in the College Chapel and addressed the students at the luncheon on the subject, "The Shape of Ministry Today." The brief visit and lectures proved to be most stimulating and a splendid way to begin the academic year.

SYMPOSIUM ON PRESBYTERIANISM

Plans for the symposium on the Presbyterian Contribution to Canadian Life and Culture, scheduled for September, 1987 and May, 1988 are proceeding well. This symposium is sponsored jointly by Knox College, Toronto and Presbyterian College. Several persons including Professor Ramsay Cook of York University, Professor John Moir of the University of Toronto, Professor David Marshall of the University of Calgary, Professor Keith Clifford of the University of British Columbia have offered to present papers. George Harper, doctoral candidate in the McGill Faculty of Religious Studies is acting as the symposium co-ordinator.

L.W. ANDERSON LECTURERS

The L.W. Anderson lecturer in 1988 will be Professor Raymond E. Brown of Union Theological Seminary, New York. His three lectures will be given on Wednesday, February 24, 1988 at noon, 4:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. This promises to be an outstanding series.

CONTINUING THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

Two programmes of Continuing Theological Education are planned for the last week of February and the first week of March, 1988. Leaders for these two programmes include Professor Raymond Brown, Professor John Leith of Union Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, Professor Stephen Farris of Knox College, Toronto and Professors J.C. McLelland and Fred Wisse of the McGill Faculty of Religious Studies and Presbyterian College.

THE UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

Ken MacQueen
Acting Principal

Quite a combination of things. To start with the most important: we have a good enrolment of students with whom we are proud to be associated. There are twenty-one students in the three years of the M.Div. programme, six others in S.T.M., M.A., and Ph.D. work along with two "special" students. We have four more enrolled who are doing other things for this academic year (in Ottawa, Roxboro, Toronto and Vancouver), and two more in Arts.

Our in-ministry year students are two: Rosemary Cowan and Heather Kinkaid. They are involved in congregational life, course work, field trips ... and of course the process of integrating this.

Both Pierre Goldberger (Principal) and Bonnie Burnett (Director of Studies) are having some time to pursue (doctoral) studies of some importance ... although it is true that in Bonnie's case this is complicated by her having to pick up some extra work during Pierre's sabbatical. The sabbatical does of course mean that our Principal is absent for the first term, and replaced on a "one day a week" basis. And so on account of both a sense of absence and a sense of discontinuity we look forward to his return in January.

I began by alluding to a combination of things. These include day to day frustrations of many kinds ... struggles, challenges ... usually personal and relational but sometimes material (like floods). But they include also progress, the sense of growth in struggle, the joy in the spiritual refreshment that is our resource ... and the interpersonal linking that we live in.

And we work together on new things. We are likely to see (within a few months) a proposal for the college's involvement in some way in a lay training project that would link us with other partners (for example, the Montreal and Ottawa Conference of the United Church). There is, also forthcoming, a proposal regarding a coordination of training for Ministry in French (including Lay Ministry and Continuing Education). These have not been formalized or dealt with, but do seem to offer interesting prospects.

I would like to offer a personal word as an interim staff person at U.T.C. It is my sense that this college has valuable and varied gifts to offer to the church and to the world. My deepest frustration is the limited time at my disposal to get to know people and to participate more fully in the life of the college--but this frustration is also in a sense my deepest satisfaction (perverse as it may sound), since I know that what I'm missing is very special.

Now moving to that part of our report that focuses on the opening retreat, I wish our friends and readers well.

RETREAT AT NAMASKAR - SEPTEMBER 1987

Russell Daye
President
Student Executive (U.T.C.)

The United Theological College's annual retreat was held from September 11 to 13 at Namaskar, near Rawdon, Québec. Despite inclement weather we were able to enjoy the beautiful surroundings. John Foster, whose portfolio at the United Church of Canada's national office includes human rights, justice, and economic policy, served as our resource person. He led us through a simulation of a small town in British Columbia with its religious, social, economic and political struggles. This exercise proved to be a valuable learning experience. Through worship, common living, sharing personal symbols, summer stories, and recreation, the foundations of a potentially supportive community of faith were laid.

IN-MINISTRY YEAR
JOINT BOARD OF THE THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES

Anthony Capon

I am writing this as Administrative Officer for the year of the In-Ministry Year programme and Chairman of the Academic Council of the Joint Board.

A total of eighteen students is engaged in the In-Ministry Year from the three Colleges. Courses in Preaching and Counselling in Ministry are being taken by students of all three Colleges together, while Education and Leadership, Mission, and Pastoral Care are dealt with jointly by the Anglicans and Presbyterians.

An important concern for the Joint Board this year will be the completion of the self-study for the A.T.S. review of our Master of Divinity programme. Many people representing all three Colleges are involved in various aspects of this study, after which we shall be preparing for the visit of the A.T.S. accreditation team, probably in the spring of 1988.

IN MEMORIAM

ROBERT BALGARNIE YOUNG SCOTT
1899-1987

The Reverend Professor R.B.Y. Scott, known personally to many graduates of the Faculty of Religious Studies, died on Sunday, November 1, 1987.

Born in Toronto, the son of Rev. John McPherson Scott, R.B.Y. Scott was educated at University College of the University of Toronto and Knox College where he completed BA, MA and PhD degrees. He also had the opportunity during the course of his graduate studies to be a visiting student at New College, Edinburgh and Westminster College, Cambridge.

Dr. Scott was ordained to the ministry of the United Church of Canada in 1926, and for two years served as the minister of an Ontario congregation. In 1928 he began his long academic career when he was appointed Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature at Union College in Vancouver. From Vancouver he moved to the United Theological College, Montreal, in 1931 and was a faculty member of this College when it became one of the participating institutions in the establishment of the Faculty of Divinity of McGill University. Dr. Scott served as the first Dean of the Faculty during the year 1948-49. He remained a member of the Faculty of Divinity until 1955 when he became the William H. Danforth Professor in the newly formed department of Religion at Princeton University. He was chairman of the department from 1963 to 1965. On his retirement in 1968 he was appointed emeritus professor.

Dr. Scott was one of the major Canadian contributors to the field of Old Testament scholarship in his generation. He was the author of numerous articles and at least six books, among which *The Relevance of the Prophets* (1944), *The Psalms as Christian Praise* (1958), and *The Way of Wisdom* (1971) gained international recognition. Of the ten hymns which he wrote one was for the Canadian Centenial in 1967. Probably his best known hymn is *O Day of God, Draw Nigh* which is used in more than 20 hymnals in English, French and German and sung around the world.

McGill University was a particular beneficiary of his interest in Near Eastern archaeology. He had been a member of several excavations in Jordan and while there in 1951 he played a role in rescuing fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls which were in the hands of private antiquities dealers in Bethlehem. He bought several important fragments on behalf of McGill University, but these fragments ultimately remained in Jerusalem in the Israel Museum. A personal account of these transactions by Dr. Scott was published in *ARC* under the title "What Ever Happened to McGill's Dead Sea Scrolls." (Vol. IX, No. 1, Autumn 1981). Despite his lack of success in bringing some of the Dead Sea Scrolls to McGill, however, Dr. Scott's particular interest in weights and measures (because of which he carried out the study of the weights found in the Jerusalem excavations directed by Kathleen Kenyon) resulted in his putting together his own antiquities collection. In 1978 the Faculty of Religious Studies acquired this collection and it is housed in the Redpath Museum as the R.B.Y. Scott Collection. It is primarily made up of small items: coins, weights, seals, small pieces of pottery and glass.

In addition to this concrete reminder to Dr. Scott's relationships with McGill, he maintained his ties during his lifetime with visits on several occasions: he was the Birks Lecturer in 1967, and in 1977 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity *honoris causa*.

R.B.Y. Scott's first wife, Kathleen Cordingley, died in 1979. He is survived by his second wife, Ruth Trethewey Secord; a daughter, Mary Poapst of Toronto; two sons, John of Ottawa, and Gavin of Chicago; and 11 grandchildren.

Contributions in memory of R.B.Y. Scott may be sent to the Faculty of Religious Studies, 3520 University Street, Montreal, Quebec, H3A 2A7.

Donna R. Runnalls

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Donna R. Runnalls is Dean of the Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, and Associate Professor of Old Testament and Judaism.

Frederik Wisse, the Editor of this issue of *ARC*, is Associate Professor of New Testament at the Faculty of Religious Studies and one of the editors of the Nag Hammadi Library.

William Harry Shepherd, who is a priest in the Anglican Diocese of Montreal, received his Ph.D. in New Testament at the June 1987 McGill Convocation.

Susan Slater is a Ph.D. candidate in Old Testament in the Faculty of Religious Studies.

Edith Humphrey is a Ph.D. candidate in New Testament and Intertestamental Studies at the Faculty of Religious Studies.

Robert Hill, Robert MacKenzie, and Michael Pettem are all Ph.D. candidates in New Testament at the Faculty of Religious Studies.

The cover design for this issue of *ARC* incorporates a detail from Nag Hammadi Codex III, 120, from the Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices, Codex III (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976).

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Professor Arvind Sharma, who has recently joined the teaching staff of the Faculty, is the Editor of the journal *Religious Traditions*, an annual publication in the area of Comparative Studies. Readers of *ARC* interested in subscribing to *Religious Traditions* should write directly to

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ARC is an attempt to provide a means of maintaining the ties that exist between the academic community and its alumni-alumnae. To aid in this continuing theological education, we are publishing two issues per year which are distributed to almost 1000 graduates and friends of the Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University, its affiliated Colleges (Anglican, Presbyterian and United Church) and the Montreal Institute for Ministry. We are asking for an annual contribution of $5.00 per person in order to offset costs of printing and distribution.

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