

Gerbern S. Oegema and  
James H. Charlesworth



# The Psuedepigrapha and Christian Origins

Essays from the Studiorum  
Novi Testamenti Societas



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Novi Testamenti Societas*

Edited by  
Gerbern S. Oegema  
and  
James H. Charlesworth



NEW YORK • LONDON

2008

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[www.continuumbooks.com](http://www.continuumbooks.com)

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T & T Clark International, 80 Maiden Lane, New York, NY 10038

T & T Clark International, The Tower Building, 11 York Road, London SE1 7NX

T & T Clark International is a Continuum imprint.

Printed in the United States of America on 30% postconsumer waste recycled paper.

### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

The pseudepigrapha and Christian origins : essays from the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas / edited by Gerbern S. Oegema and James H. Charlesworth.

p. cm. - (Jewish and Christian texts in contexts and related studies ; 4)

A seminar chaired from 2000 to 2006 by professors James H. Charlesworth and Gerbern S. Oegema have met five times in various locations.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-567-02719-1 (hardcover : alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-567-02719-8 (hardcover : alk. paper) 1. Apocryphal books --Criticism, interpretation, etc. --Congresses. 2. Christianity --Origin--Congresses. 3. Church history--Primitive and early church, ca. 30-600-- Sources-- Congresses. I. Oegema, Gerbern S., 1958- II. Charlesworth, James H. III. Society for New Testament Studies. IV. Title. V. Series.

BS1700.P74 2008

229'.906 --dc22

2008018921

Dedicated to Hermann Lichtenberger, colleague, mentor, and friend,  
on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday





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## ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
BDAG	W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (3rd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999)
BÉHÉSR	Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études. Sciences religieuses
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
<i>BLE</i>	<i>Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique</i>
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CCSA	Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum
CCWJWCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings from the Jewish and Christian World
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CGTC	Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum</i>
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSA-SE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
<i>DBSup</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément</i> (ed. L. Pirot and A. Robert; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1928–)
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>DSSE</i>	Florentino Garcia Martinez and Eibert Tigchelaar, <i>The Dead Sea Study Edition</i> (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999)
EHS/T	Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 23, Theologie
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
<i>ETR</i>	<i>Etudes théologiques et religieuses</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten and Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
<i>Greg</i>	<i>Gregorianum</i>
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion

HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUAS	Hebrew University Armenian Studies
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i> (editio minor; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1924)
IGA	<i>Inscriptiones graecae Aegypti</i>
JbPT	<i>Jahrbuch für protestantische Theologie</i>
JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JSHRZ	<i>Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
MdB	<i>Le Monde de la Bible</i>
MRTS	Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies
NedTT	<i>Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift</i>
NewDocs	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> (ed. G. H. R. Horsley and S. Llewelyn; North Ryde, N.S.W.: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, 1981–)
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTT	<i>Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
NGWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
OCP	Orientalia Christiana periodica
OGIS	<i>Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> (ed. W. Dittenberger; 2 vols.; Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1903–5)
OTP	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (ed. James H. Charlesworth: 2 vols.; Garden City, NY: 1983, 1985)
PG	Patrologia cursus completus: Series graeca (ed. J.-P. Migne; 162 vols.; Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857–86)
PIBA	Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association
PL	Patrologia cursus completus: Series latina (ed. J.-P. Migne; 217 vols.; Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1844–64)
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
QC	<i>Qumran Chronicle</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumram</i>

<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RSPT</i>	<i>Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques</i>
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SD	Studies and Documents
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i>
<i>SIG</i>	<i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> (ed. W. Dittenberger; 4 vols.; 3rd ed.; Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1915–24)
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTS	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas/Society for New Testament Studies
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPB	Studia Post-Biblica
Str-B	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i> (6 vols.; Munich: Beck, 1922–61)
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
<i>ThR</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> (ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich; trans. G. W. Bromiley; 10 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–76)
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> (ed. G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren; trans. J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green; 8 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–)
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> (ed. G. Krause and G. Müller; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977–)
<i>TRef</i>	<i>Theologia Reformata</i>
<i>TWNT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> (ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1932–79)
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
UGFL	Università di Genova Facoltà di lettere
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft



## PREFACE

The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins Seminar of the *Studiosum Novi Testamenti Societas*, chaired from 2000 to 2006 by Professors James H. Charlesworth (Princeton Theological Seminary) and Gerbern S. Oegema (McGill University), has systematically and intensively discussed the relation between the Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament in a way never seen before. The Pseudepigrapha investigated included those of the Old Testament and those found at Qumran as well as those of the New Testament and those used in the early church. The seminar and its participants, who were all internationally renowned experts from around the world, have focused on the use, adaptation, reinterpretation, and further development of noncanonical traditions (except for Philo, Josephus, the Essenes, and early rabbinic writings) in the canonical writings of early Christianity. The seminar has met in total five times in various locations, while systematically being organized around the following topics: the Pseudepigrapha and the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of John, the Epistles of Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation of John. The following is a list of all the paper presentations of the years 2001 to 2006:

### **I. The Pseudepigrapha and the Synoptic Gospels (Montreal, 2001)**

The first lecture in the new seminar was given by the leading scholar in the field of New Testament Studies and Pseudepigrapha, Marinus J. de Jonge (Rijksuniversiteit Leiden), who in his lecture entitled “The Complex Relationships between the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament and Early Christianity” raised the question of the definition and character of the so-called Old Testament Pseudepigrapha by asking whether they really belonged to the realm of the Hebrew and Greek Bible, as stated by the Tübingen School, or were mostly genuine early Christian writings ascribed to biblical figures, which took up and Christianized early Jewish traditions. (See his article in *Novum Testamentum* 44 (2002): 371–92, as well as his *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature* [SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2003].) The second lecture, by Lorenzo DiTommaso (Concordia University), titled “The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins: An Explosion of International Interest,” referred to the enormous interest in Pseudepigrapha as witnessed by the almost ten thousand titles in his own *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850–1999* (JSPSup 39; Sheffield:

Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), and asked where this interest was leading (see also *JSP* 12 [2001]: 179–207). Finally, Loren T. Stuckenbruck (University of Durham), in his paper “Magic in the Book of Tobit,” discussed the example of the widespread use of magic in the ancient world.

## **II. The Pseudepigrapha and the Gospel of John (Durham, 2002)**

Kingsley Barrett (University of Durham), in his lecture “The Gospel of John and Jewish Literature Contemporaneous with It: Reflections since My Youth,” reported the changes that have taken place in Johannine studies, especially concerning the relation of the Gospel to contemporaneous Jewish writings including those found at Qumran. James H. Charlesworth (Princeton Theological Seminary), in his presentation “The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Gospel of John,” represented the huge leap scholarship has made in proposing that the Gospel of John is much closer to having been influenced by (or even being one of) the Jewish writings than was thought before.

## **III. The Pseudepigrapha and Paul (Bonn, 2003)**

This session focused on the prominent place Adam has in Pauline thinking and how this reflects the importance attributed to Adam in the writings of Jewish authors, as especially witnessed in the pseudepigraphic *Life of Adam and Eve*. Both John R. Levison (Seattle Pacific University) in his contribution titled “Adam and Eve in the Pseudepigrapha and the Letters of Paul” and Johannes Tromp (Rijksuniversiteit Leiden) in his paper “Adam Traditions in the Epistles of Paul and the Christian Version of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*” spoke on this and complemented each other by giving linguistic, tradition-historical, and reception-critical observations on the widespread use of Adamic traditions in Jewish and Christian antiquity (both published in *New Testament Studies* 2004). The paper by Jan Doehorn (Universität Göttingen) on the different recensions of the *Vita Adae et Evae* dealt with some of the textual problems of the Pseudepigraphon itself, whereas James D. G. Dunn (University of Durham) in his closing contribution on “Adam in Paul” discussed the impact that Adamic literature, according to recent scholarly research, has had on Pauline studies.

## **IV. The Pseudepigrapha and Luke-Acts (Barcelona, 2004)**

The complex and often neglected relationship between the Pseudepigrapha and Luke-Acts was highlighted in a paper on Christology in the Gospel of Luke by Petr Pokorný (Charles University Prague) titled “The Pseudepigrapha and the Origins of Christology,” whereas both Craig A. Evans (Acadia Divinity School)



in his paper “Why the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Is Essential in Studying Acts” and Gerbern S. Oegema (McGill University) in his paper “The Coming of the Righteous One in *1 Enoch*, Qumran, and the New Testament” gave examples of the interfaces between some of the more historiographic Pseudepigrapha and certain passages of the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 7 and others).

## V. The Pseudepigrapha and the Revelation of John (Aberdeen, 2006)

The final session of the whole seminar dealt with the last book of the New Testament and the complex relation with Jewish apocalypses at the end of the first century C.E., notably *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*; this was done by David E. Aune (University of Notre Dame) in his paper “The Apocalypse of John and Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses” (see now *Neotestamentica* 2006), whereas James H. Charlesworth (Princeton Theological Seminary) in his contribution entitled “The *Parables of Enoch* and the Apocalypse of John” gave some striking examples of parallels between *1 Enoch* and the Apocalypse of John. The session was concluded by Gerbern S. Oegema (McGill University), who, in his paper titled “The Apocalypse of John and Early Christian Apocrypha,” gave examples of the reception history of apocalyptic thinking in the first centuries of the early church from Tertullian to Augustine together with examples of the vast number of early Christian apocalyptic writings that followed in the footsteps of the book of Revelation, some of which even acquired semi-canonical status for several centuries.

For various reasons, not all contributions of the seminar could be included in this publication, namely, the ones of Marinus J. de Jonge, Kingsley Barrett, Jan Doehorn, and Petr Pokorný, while new ones have been added to it, namely, those of John M. Court, Richard J. Bauckham, David A. deSilva, and Lee M. McDonald. We wish to thank Cambridge University Press for permission to reprint the following articles: John R. Levison, “Adam and Eve in Romans 1.18–25 and the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*,” *New Testament Studies* 50 (2004): 519–34, and Johannes Tromp, “The Story of our Lives: The *qz*-Text of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the Apostle Paul, and the Jewish-Christian Oral Tradition concerning Adam and Eve,” *New Testament Studies* 50 (2004): 205–23. We also thank *Neotestamentica* for permission to reprint the following article: David E. Aune, “The Apocalypse of John and Palestinian Jewish Apocalyptic,” *Neotestamentica* 40 (2006): 1–33. Lastly, many thanks to our graduate student assistants Ryan Bailey, Sara Parks Ricker, and Meredith Warren for their diligent copyediting work. We dedicate this volume to our colleague, mentor, and friend Hermann Lichtenberger on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. He has been our companion and the companion of many colleagues for more than three decades and has shared with us numerous discoveries and insights in the complex but always rewarding interaction between the Pseudepigrapha and Christian origins.



# I

## The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins



# INTRODUCTION

John M. Court

It is indeed an honor to be asked to write the introduction to this important collection of essays on the subject of the Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins. A majority of these essays originated as academic papers presented for discussion at seminars held as part of the proceedings of the annual meeting of the international society *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas* (SNTS or the Society for New Testament Studies). I was myself a grateful participant in this seminar over several years. I had been motivated by a desire to learn more, from those who were actively researching in this field, about the important connections that exist between the large body of texts referred to as the Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament and other early Christian writings.

Shortly before this my attention had been drawn to the separate work of James R. Davila at the University of St. Andrews and his Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Web Page. This was developed in connection with seminar courses for honors students and postgraduates, first taught in 1997. As well as the real seminars, Davila initiated a virtual seminar in the form of an international discussion group on the Internet, in which subscribers (including myself) were able to participate by e-mail. Lively and sometimes heated debates ensued on particular interpretations of the texts, presented in English translations. (See further on the development of this project the essay by Richard Bauckham.)

There are excellent reasons for a volume such as this present one, which could, it seems to me, resemble my own motivation at and participation in all these seminars. It provides a means of knowing more about these texts, and why they are significant, as well as a way of assessing how their relationship is a vital part of our understanding of the context of the earliest Christian texts. The canonical corpus of the New Testament has been studied minutely for centuries. It is an enormous asset to see it in relation to this wider range of texts, which are much less well known (if known at all), and to appreciate the contribution that this larger context can make, in the form of fresh insights into the New Testament and its origins.

In a study such as this it will be necessary to define the term “Pseudepigrapha” quite broadly. Originally the word denoted texts alongside the Old and New Testaments that had literally been written under an assumed name (for example, Adam or Enoch). Nowadays the term “Jewish Pseudepigrapha” encompasses a range of different Jewish texts that have in common the fact that they were written during the last centuries B.C.E. and the first century C.E. It is recognized that

there was vastly more of Jewish writing produced in the centuries following the Hebrew Bible, and within the period of the New Testament, much of which has actually survived, or has been rediscovered since the beginning of the twentieth century.

The term “Jewish Pseudepigrapha” probably merits a footnote at this point. In the early twentieth century two collections were published, one in Germany edited by E. Kautsch (1900, 1921), the other in England edited by R. H. Charles (1913 and reprints), under the title *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. A scholarly version of political correctness intervened subsequently (not unrelated to the use of C.E. and B.C.E. in dating) for two reasons: the Christian nature of the title, and the different viewpoints of Roman Catholics and Protestants on the understanding of “apocrypha.” But the older terminology continued in use, while some debated the accuracy of the term “Jewish,” if some texts were subject to Christian expansion, and others were Christian compositions based on pre-70 C.E. Jewish traditions. Such differences of classification apart, the importance of the collection, in James Charlesworth’s words, is as “essential reading for an understanding of early Judaism (ca. 250 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.) and of Christian origins.”

An English version, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983–85), which was edited by James H. Charlesworth, the co-editor of the present volume, contains more than sixty texts, including, for example, *Jubilees* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. (See the essay by Lorenzo DiTommaso below for information on research subsequent to Charlesworth’s volumes.) The current definition for the present volume becomes broad enough to include as well both those texts found at Qumran, and the Pseudepigrapha of the New Testament among early Christian writings. The focus of the seminar discussions, and therefore of the majority of the essays in this volume, is the use, adaptation, reinterpretation and further development of these noncanonical traditions within the canonical writings of early Christianity. What this book does not cover are the other categories of Jewish literature, including the writings of Philo and Josephus, the specifically Essene texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the early rabbinic works.

The proposal for a seminar at the annual meeting of SNTS on the subject of the Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins was first presented at Pretoria in 1999, and then approved at Tel Aviv in 2000. At this point an earlier seminar focused on the Dead Sea Scrolls was coming to an end. The Society’s committee had also been concerned about a possible overlap with an existing seminar on Early Jewish Writings, which accounts for the distinctions as indicated in the previous paragraph. The seminar then met at five of the Society’s annual meetings, from 2001 in Montreal until 2006 in Aberdeen, with an intermission at the 2005 meeting in Halle. On all occasions it met under the co-chairmanship of Professors James Charlesworth (of Princeton) and Gerbern Oegema (of McGill), the present editors.

The structure of the five meetings of this Seminar had been clearly established in advance, so that each session was focused on the particular relationship

between the Pseudepigrapha and one segment of the New Testament. The five topics were concerned, respectively, with the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of John, the Letters of Paul, other New Testament writings (specifically the Acts of the Apostles together with the Gospel of Luke), and the Revelation of John. These five areas accordingly should have constituted the arrangement of the essays in the present volume. But a range of factors inevitably conspired to affect this even distribution (three essays under each of the seminar/section headings). It has proved possible, however, to reprint some of the original contributions, which had already been published elsewhere, and also to make some substitutions with new material.

Part 1 of the present volume includes an introductory survey from Lorenzo DiTommaso (of Concordia), describing the developments in research since the publication of Charlesworth's two volumes in the 1980s, and the future prospects.

What has evolved . . . is an inclusive corpus of potentially hundreds of texts—ancient and mediaeval, Jewish and Christian, attributive and associative, even (according to some) drawn from the Old Testament and the New—plus hundreds of other traditions, from which scholars can draw at will, according to their own purposes.

These purposes have expanded, but there remains “the capacity of these texts to . . . illuminate the world of the New Testament.”

The first seminar in Montreal in 2001 was designed to focus on themes related to the Synoptic Gospels. Two major and perennial concerns for commentators are the Death of Christ and the tradition of Jesus' miracles. David A. deSilva (from Ashland, Ohio) discusses the issues surrounding the death of Jesus, its significance and the possibilities of reaching toward Jesus' own understanding of his death. He illustrates the contribution that studies of Jewish martyrology in the Second Temple period can make to the clarification of these issues. Loren Stuckenbruck (from Durham) discusses the particular questions related to exorcisms in the ministry of Jesus. He argues that the apocalyptic worldview reflected in the earliest strata of the Jesus traditions can echo the earlier sources of the Enoch tradition. “It becomes more plausible, then, to understand Jesus as a prophet whose claim to disembody unclean spirits makes sense within a Jewish apocalyptic worldview.”

In Bonn in 2003 the subject matter concentrated attention on what is a dominant theme in the primary letters of Paul: the Old Testament figure of Adam seen as a type of Christ. This operates in two respects, both as prototype, or primal man, and as antitype, the one whose vulnerability is swallowed up in the victory of Christ. That Jewish writers also developed the scriptural concern with Adam is natural enough, as reflected for example in the Greek pseudepigraphon the *Life of Adam and Eve*. Questions are raised about the possibility of influence upon Paul. John R. Levison (of Seattle Pacific University) writes in particular about the common themes, how, for example, Adam exchanges the glory of God for divine wrath and mortality, and dominion over the animals for subservience to

creation. And Johannes Tromp (of Leiden) discusses a particular text form of this pseudepigraphon, reckoned to be of Christian origin, and concludes that the various texts of the *Life of Adam and Eve* reflect a living tradition of oral narrative that Jews and Christians have in common.

A third contribution in Bonn came from James D. G. Dunn of Durham, who provides a review of the theology of Adam as found in the letters of Paul. He classifies the New Testament texts as undisputed references, clear allusions, and disputed allusions. He defends his own “minority” view that the Pauline hymn in Philippians 2:6–11 had been constructed as a contrasting parallel between Christ and Adam. In both references and allusions,

Paul’s reflections can be described as variations on the quite extensive reflections on Genesis 1–3 which are still clearly evident in the literature of Second Temple Judaism. . . . Paul evidently saw the characterization of Christ’s death and exaltation in pointed contrast to the sin of Adam and its consequences as a very fruitful way of spelling out some of the most important implications and ramifications of his gospel.

Paul is also of course a major participant in the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, which became a focus for the fourth seminar, in Barcelona in 2004. Craig A. Evans (of Acadia Divinity School in Nova Scotia) poses the straight question fundamental to these studies: Why are the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha essential to a study of Acts? He draws comparisons with the theories that relate the Acts of the Apostles to models in classical literature such as Homer and Virgil. But he concludes:

The literary matrix of Acts is found in the story of ancient Israel, as narrated in the sacred writings that in time would be classified as canonical Scripture, on the one hand, and as books of the Pseudepigrapha and related writings, on the other.

Gerbern S. Oegema, the co-editor of this volume, in the first of his two contributions, takes up the question posed by Craig Evans concerning historiographic texts. He examines two themes, which are focused on Acts 7 and possible parallels in the Pseudepigrapha: the summaries of the history of Israel, and the phrase “the coming of the Righteous One.” After a more general discussion of the relationship between biblical theology and noncanonical writings, his conclusion is that “Jewish and Christian parallels of the period . . . define the Christology of Stephen’s speech . . . [as] more Jewish than Christian . . . [and] a pre-Lukan tradition, one that goes back to the earliest followers of Jesus.”

Ultimately the attention shifted, at Aberdeen in 2006, to further apocalyptic matters, as represented both in the Pseudepigrapha and in the canonical Apocalypse of John. Here David E. Aune (of Notre Dame) considers the relationship between Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses (such as *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, and *1 Enoch* 37–71) and the book of Revelation, and the problems in making any clear categorical distinctions between Jewish and Christian works. He examines a range



of apocalyptic motifs that are shared, concluding with those texts focused on the idea of New Jerusalem.

Another paper in this seminar was by the co-editor James Charlesworth (of Princeton) on the subject of "The *Parables of Enoch* and the Apocalypse of John." This paper has two sections: first, a survey of scholarly work on the Parables of Enoch as a Jewish work, probably of the late first century B.C.E., within the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha; and second, a series of suggestions as to how the author of the Apocalypse could have been influenced by the imagery and symbolic language of the Parables.

At numerous points during these seminars the discussion would focus on issues of reception history; this is hardly surprising in a study of the relationship between texts, where themes are recognizably the same (or similar), while the contexts of receiving communities (writers and audiences) may alter radically with new circumstances. It seemed appropriate therefore to conclude this collection of essays with two contributions on the topic of reception history.

The co-editor Gerbern Oegema contributes a study on "The Reception of the Book of Daniel," a text of maximum influence in both Jewish and Christian circles. Scholars of Daniel, as well as the later Pseudepigraphic texts, have agonized over whether to classify the writings as examples of apocalyptic or wisdom writing, or even in other genres such as history or literature. In Daniel, is the interaction of faith and politics seen by its audience/readership as focused primarily on past history, present situation, or future prediction? The fathers of the early Christian centuries reflected on such a text in the fluctuating contexts of the Roman Empire. It offered a "means to interpret the past in order to find out more about the future."

Finally, Lee Martin McDonald (of Acadia Divinity College, Nova Scotia) provides a guide to questions affecting "Ancient Biblical Manuscripts and the Biblical Canon." This is reception history at the point of authorizing a text as "Scripture." Other early Christian writings, besides what we know as the New Testament, feature in this process. This essay is not specifically on the question of canon definition, which interests modern scholars; instead the concern is wider and more pragmatic. Which are the factors that determine the texts that a particular community chooses to use? Is it a matter of which texts happen to be available, perhaps in translation, or rather a question of relevance, in the selection of a "canon within a canon"?



# THE CONTINUING QUEST FOR THE PROVENANCE OF OLD TESTAMENT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

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For most scholars and students of the New Testament, the most important question about the indefinite category of works generally known as Old Testament Pseudepigrapha is: Which of them are reliable evidence for the Judaism of the late Second Temple period? Since most of them have been preserved only in Christian traditions and in manuscripts dating from centuries after the New Testament period (as well as frequently only in languages other than those in which they were composed), the question has to be asked individually and specifically about each such work. There is a core of such works that is almost universally accepted as composed by non-Christian Jews before the middle of the second century C.E. This includes those of which at least fragments have been found at Qumran (*Jubilees*, all parts of *1 Enoch* except the Parables, and the apocryphal Psalms 151–155), as well as the *Psalms of Solomon*, the *Testament of Moses*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*,<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, the *Letter of Aristeas*, *3 Maccabees*, *4 Maccabees*,<sup>2</sup> and *Sibylline Oracles* book 3. But a much larger range of works,<sup>3</sup> whose date and/or provenance remain debatable, have in the last few decades been treated by many scholars as also of non-Christian Jewish provenance and of sufficiently early date to be relevant to New Testament research: the Parables of Enoch, *3 Baruch*, *2 Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the *Ladder of Jacob*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* (section 1–5 extracted from the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*), *Joseph and Aseneth*, the *Lives of the Prophets*, the *Life of Adam and Eve* (*Apocalypse of Moses*), the *Testament*

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1. Rivka Nir (*The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Idea of Redemption in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* [SBLJL 20; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003]) has argued that *2 Baruch* is a Christian composition, but she seems to have persuaded few scholars. For an argument against her proposal, see James R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian or Other?* (JSJSup 105; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 126–31.

2. *4 Ezra* (in the expanded form *2 Esdras*) usually and *3 Maccabees* and *4 Maccabees* sometimes are included in English editions of the Apocrypha, but are also regularly classified with the Pseudepigrapha.

3. I am excluding here works, such as the *Apocryphon of Ezekiel*, that survive only in small fragments.

of *Job*, 4 *Baruch* (*Paraleipomena Jeremioi*), Pseudo-Phocylides, *Jannes and Jambres*, the *Prayer of Manasseh*, and *Sibylline Oracles* books 1–2 (in part), 4, 5, and 11. Most (though not all) of these works contain some manifestly Christian features, but scholars who treat these works as of Jewish provenance judge the Christian features to be secondary accretions to the original works and no impediment to use of these works as evidence of the Jewish context of the New Testament writings. All or most of them are treated as early Jewish compositions in such standard works as George Nickelsburg's *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (first edition),<sup>4</sup> the *Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* volume on *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*,<sup>5</sup> and the revised version of Schürer's *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*,<sup>6</sup> all published in the 1980s.

### More or Fewer, Sooner or Later, More or Less Jewish?

James Charlesworth's landmark edition of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha in two volumes,<sup>7</sup> also from the 1980s, probably represents the highest point of scholarly optimism as to the number of such works that can be confidently considered Jewish and of sufficiently early date to be relevant to the study of the New Testament. This is the judgment, more or less confidently made, by the authors of the introductions to virtually all of the works I have just listed in Charlesworth's edition. Though it was manifest to most readers that some of the fifty-two works included in the collection, such as the Greek *Apocalypse of Daniel* and the *Odes of Solomon*, were of unequivocally Christian provenance, the collection did foster the impression that all of its contents were in some sense early Jewish and that the Christian dimension of many of these works, whether redactional or interpolated, was a relatively unimportant addition to their substantially Jewish character. After all, Charlesworth's definition of the Pseudepigrapha claimed that these writings "almost always were composed either during the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 200 or, though late, apparently preserve, albeit in an edited form, Jewish tra-

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4. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress; London: SCM, 1981). Of the works I have listed, the *Ladder of Jacob*, the *Lives of the Prophets*, Pseudo-Phocylides, the *Prayer of Manasseh*, *Jannes and Jambres*, and the *Sibyllines* apart from book 3 are not included.

5. Michael E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2/2; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984). Of the works I have listed, only the *Ladder of Jacob* and *Jannes and Jambres* are not included.

6. Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (vols. 3/1 and 3/2; new English ed.; ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986–87). The *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* and the *Ladder of Jacob* are considered dubiously Jewish.

7. James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983, 1985).

ditions that date from that period.”<sup>8</sup> Charlesworth himself admitted that a “few documents now collected in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha are far *too late* for New Testament research,”<sup>9</sup> and listed thirteen such,<sup>10</sup> none of which occur in the list I have given of works treated by many scholars as substantially early Jewish. Few of Charlesworth’s list of thirteen have ever been used as evidence for the Jewish context of the New Testament. Charlesworth also urged considerable caution in the use of the works preserved only in Slavonic (the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the *Ladder of Jacob*, and *2 Enoch*) because of the strong possibility of Bogomil interpolation and redaction of such works.<sup>11</sup> Also to “be used with great circumspection” are works that “are originally Jewish but have received both Christian interpolations and extensive and occasionally imperceptible Christian redaction.”<sup>12</sup> But again, with the exception of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, those Charlesworth mentions as belonging to this category<sup>13</sup> have never been much used by New Testament scholars. Moreover, Charlesworth’s specific discussion of this problem in the case of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* leaves the distinct impression that it is a problem specialists can easily and adequately overcome:

Again we must perceive that the Jewish source or sources behind the Testaments would have looked appreciatively different from the extant Greek version; and that, of course, means that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is not to be read as a Jewish document, like *Jubilees* or *1 Enoch*, that pre-dates Early Christianity. . . . The explicit christological phrases and passages are the result of Christian interpolation and redaction. They must not be used in describing the background of the New Testament. Yet, most specialists can perceive the relatively obvious, and at times quite clear, limits of the Christian addition to the Jewish document.<sup>14</sup>

The kind of approach taken by Charlesworth and many of the contributors to his collection—a confident delimitation of the Christian element in texts that display both ostensibly Christian and ostensibly Jewish features—largely resembles that of R. H. Charles, while extending the approach to many more works than Charles included in his own edition. One of the other great pioneers of the

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8. James H. Charlesworth, “Introduction for the General Readers,” in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:xxv.

9. James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 54; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; repr., Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 32.

10. *3 Enoch*, the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*, the *Latin Vision of Ezra*, the *Questions of Ezra*, the (calendrical) *Revelation of Ezra*, the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*, the *Greek Apocalypse of Daniel*, the *Testament of Isaac*, the *Testament of Jacob*, the *Testament of Solomon*, the *Testament of Adam*, the *History of Joseph*, and *Syriac Menander*.

11. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, 32–36.

12. *Ibid.*, 36.

13. *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, History of the Rechabites, Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah, Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers*.

14. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, 40.

modern study of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, M. R. James, was more inclined to regard such works as simply Christian compositions. A smaller collection of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (containing only twenty-five works), edited by H. F. D Sparks and published contemporaneously with Charlesworth's,<sup>15</sup> followed more in the footsteps of James than of Charles.<sup>16</sup> Though the translations were done by other scholars, Sparks himself wrote the introductions to the works, and he was much more ready than any of the contributors to Charlesworth's collection to leave open the issue of Jewish or Christian provenance. He does this in the case of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Ladder of Jacob*, the *Paraleipomena Jeremiou (4 Baruch)*, and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, while, like James, he considers the *Testament of Job* to be Christian and *3 Baruch* to be a Christian composition using Jewish materials. The *Testaments of the Twelve* in his view, which owes much more to the work of Marinus de Jonge than Charlesworth's approach,<sup>17</sup> is a Christian work, using Jewish sources. Thus, Sparks takes a much more cautious approach to the question of early Jewish provenance than Charlesworth, even taking account of Charlesworth's own exhortations to caution in some cases. Almost all the pseud-epigraphal works that Sparks accepts as unequivocally early Jewish belong to the core of works I indicated as so regarded by almost all scholars: *Jubilees*, the *Assumption* (i.e., *Testament*) of *Moses*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, and *2 Baruch*.<sup>18</sup> In addition, he follows Marc Philonenko in judging the short recension of *Joseph and Aseneth* to be early Jewish, but the longer recensions to be Christian.

At the time it looked as though the mainstream of scholarship on the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha was going with Charlesworth toward a maximal view of early Jewish provenance rather than with Sparks's much more cautious approach.<sup>19</sup> Few would disagree that the great merit of Charlesworth's edition was to bring many hitherto little-known Old Testament Pseudepigrapha to the attention of scholars of early Judaism and the New Testament. Charlesworth urged an expansion of horizons:

The *whole* Pseudepigrapha is to be digested and assessed for its possible assistance in clarifying the characteristics of Early Judaism. That should mean a careful evaluation of all the fifty-two documents and all the excerpts in the

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15. Hedley F. D. Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).

16. For his conscious difference of approach from that of Charles, see Sparks, *Apocryphal Old Testament*, xiii-xvii.

17. De Jonge's work is discussed below.

18. Sparks did not include in his collection works that occur in the English Apocrypha, and so *4 Ezra* is missing. He also understands the term "Apocryphal Old Testament" rather strictly, such that the *Sibylline Oracles* and the *Letter of Aristeas* do not qualify. It is rather surprising that he does not include Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*.

19. Cf. Lorenzo DiTommaso, "A Report on Pseudepigrapha Research since Charlesworth's Old Testament Pseudepigrapha," *JSP* 21 (2001): 179-207, here 189: "one principal characteristic of this period of scholarship is a greater willingness on the part of scholars to use a wider variety of texts and methodologies."

Supplement [i.e. “The Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works”] in the light of all the other Jewish writings we have from the period.<sup>20</sup>

This statement gives the unfortunate impression that Charlesworth’s collection somehow defines what “the whole Pseudepigrapha” is (note the odd use of “Pseudepigrapha” as a singular noun), as though there were not a great many more Old Testament Pseudepigrapha not included in Charlesworth’s collection.<sup>21</sup> Sparks had a more modest approach:

To refer to “*the Pseudepigrapha*,” without further definition or qualification, creates the impression in the popular mind that alongside the “canonical” Old Testament and the “deuterocanonical” Apocrypha there is a third, universally recognized, “trito-canonical” collection of books—when there is not. Any collection of books of this kind, however chosen, is bound to mirror the predilections and the prejudices of its editor(s); and it is well that this should be recognized.<sup>22</sup>

But, aside from this issue of a definitive collection, Charlesworth’s exhortation was reasonable. Many of the works in his edition had been far too little studied for their relevance to the study of early Judaism and the New Testament to be conclusively established. It was only a pity that this was not more clearly recognized in the introductions to many of the works in his edition. So far as relevance to the study of early Judaism and the New Testament is concerned, Charlesworth’s collection should be regarded as heuristic.

Since Charlesworth wrote that exhortation there has, of course, been a great deal of valuable work on individual Pseudepigrapha, and much of it has tended in the maximal direction that Charlesworth himself favored. But there have also been a series of important studies that have argued that the ultimate provenance of some of these works is not at all easy to determine, that the works as we have them must be regarded as Christian compositions and/or of considerably later date than the New Testament period, and that their use of identifiably Jewish traditions, still less of traditions that just look Jewish, does not necessarily make them Jewish compositions. In 1995 David Frankfurter published a study of the Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah* that is exemplary in its detailed attempt to understand the work in its context of composition in third-century Egyptian Christianity.<sup>23</sup> Frankfurter rejected any attempt to identify a Jewish *Grundschrift* for this work, while acknowledging that its Christian writer must have drawn on (in his judgment, oral) sources in the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic tradition.

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20. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, 28.

21. James Davila and I are currently editing a large collection of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha that were not included in Charlesworth’s edition: see <http://www.standrews.ac.uk/academic/divinity/MOTP/index-motp.html>.

22. Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, xvii.

23. David Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt: The Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993). See my review in *JEH* 46 (1995): 488–90.

In 1995 David Satran published his study of the *Lives of the Prophets*, arguing that this work as we have it in the earliest identifiable recension is “in the fullest sense a text of early Byzantine Christianity,” however much it may be dependent on earlier Jewish traditions.<sup>24</sup> Like Frankfurter’s work, this is a carefully contextualized study of an Old Testament pseudepigraphon as a Christian composition that must be appreciated as such and cannot simply be mined for early Jewish material. Ross Kraemer’s book on *Joseph and Aseneth*, published in 1998,<sup>25</sup> issued a strong challenge to the consensus that dates this work in the first century B.C.E. or the first century C.E., locates it in Egypt, and attributes it to purely Jewish authorship. Kraemer dated it in the third or fourth century C.E. and judged the evidence inadequate either to locate it or to attribute it to Jewish, Christian, “Godfearer,” or even Samaritan authorship.<sup>26</sup> Differently from Frankfurter and Satran, Kraemer’s work offers not a specific historical contextualization of this pseudepigraphon but a challenge to the accepted one by opening up a wide range of parallels, connections, and possibilities. Daniel Harlow’s work on *3 Baruch* is also of interest in this connection. In his monograph, published in 1996, he argued that the original work was a Jewish composition from the decades following 70 C.E., though he notably also included a study of the work as a Christian text in order to account for the Christian interest in and redaction of this work.<sup>27</sup> But in a paper to an SNTS seminar devoted to the topic of the Christianization of Jewish texts,<sup>28</sup> subsequently published in 2001,<sup>29</sup> he revised his view. While maintaining that the explicitly Christian features of the text are not original, he leaves it open whether the original work was of Jewish or Christian provenance.

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24. David Satran, *Biblical Prophets in Byzantine Palestine: Reassessing the Lives of the Prophets* (SVTP 11; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 120. But for restatements of the view that the *Lives of the Prophets* is a Jewish composition of the first century C.E., with only very limited Christian interpolation, see A. M. Schwemer, *Studien zu frühjüdischen Prophetenlegenden Vitae Prophetarum* (2 vols.: TSAJ 49–50; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995, 1996); Pieter W. van der Horst, “The Tombs of the Prophets in Early Judaism,” in idem, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem: Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 119–38.

25. Ross Shepard Kraemer, *When Joseph Met Aseneth: A Late Antique Tale of the Biblical Patriarch and His Egyptian Wife, Reconsidered* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). See my review in *JTS* 51 (2000): 226–28, where I suggest that the possibilities for reading *Joseph and Aseneth* as embodying Christian theological allegory are greater than Kraemer has recognized. On the other hand, John J. Collins (“*Joseph and Aseneth*: Jewish or Christian?,” *JSP* 14 [2005]: 97–112), reaffirms, against Kraemer, the early date and Jewish provenance accepted by most recent scholars.

26. See also Ross S. Kraemer, “Could *Aseneth* be Samaritan?” in *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* (ed. Benjamin G. Wright; Homage Series 24; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 149–65.

27. Daniel C. Harlow, *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch) in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity* (SVTP 12; Leiden: Brill, 1996).

28. This was the seminar on Early Jewish Writings and the New Testament meeting during the SNTS conference in Tel Aviv in 2000. Other papers from these sessions were also published in *JSJ* 32, no. 4 (2001).

29. Daniel C. Harlow, “The Christianization of Early Jewish Pseudepigrapha: The Case of *3 Baruch*,” *JSJ* 32 (2001): 416–44.



The works just surveyed all date from the 1990s, but they cohere closely with the work that Marinus de Jonge has done on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* over fifty years, beginning with his dissertation, published in 1953.<sup>30</sup> It is not surprising that he writes warmly of the work of Satran, Kraemer, and Harlow.<sup>31</sup> De Jonge has consistently maintained that the *Testaments* as we have them are Christian works and, although there is evidence of some Jewish sources, there is no reason to suppose, as many scholars do, that the *Testaments* are a Jewish work to which some Christian interpolations have been added. On the contrary, he has argued that the content of the *Testaments* coheres well with ideas to be found in such early Christian authors as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus. More recently he has extended his approach to the *Life of Adam and Eve*, arguing that, while the earliest Greek recension has hardly any features that can be regarded as distinctively Jewish or distinctively Christian, the content fits well into mainstream Christianity of the patristic period and there is no reason not to attribute the work to a Christian author.<sup>32</sup> In the course of his work, de Jonge has formulated some methodological principles for the study of pseudepigrapha transmitted by Christians that have also been proposed by Robert Kraft. Since Kraft's work in this respect has probably been more influential, we shall shortly consider these principles as he has propounded them.

Also noteworthy is the complete abandonment, since 1983, by scholars working on the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, of the theory that a Jewish source, the so-called *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, can be extracted from its Christian redaction in chs. 1–5 of the *Martyrdom and Ascension*.<sup>33</sup> As in other cases just mentioned, the plausibility of the incorporation of Jewish traditions by a Christian author has

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30. Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of their Text, Composition and Origin* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953); see also Marinus de Jonge, ed., *Studies of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (SVTP 3; Leiden: Brill, 1975); H. W. Hollander and Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985); Marinus de Jonge, *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (NovTSup 63; Leiden: Brill, 1991); idem, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature* (SVTP 18; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

31. De Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha*, 43–48, 56–58, 61–62.

32. Ibid., chs. 11–13; Marinus de Jonge and Johannes Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), ch. 4. Note also his questioning of the claim that the *Paraleipomena Jeremiou* was originally a Jewish work: Marinus de Jonge, "Remarks in the Margin of the Paper, 'The Figure of Jeremiah in the Paralipomena Jeremiae,'" *JSP* 22 (2000): 45–49; de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha*, 52–56. The Christian origin of the *Paraleipomena Jeremiou* is also maintained by Pierluigi Piovanelli, "In Praise of 'The Default Position,' or Reassessing the Christian Reception of the Jewish Pseudepigraphal Heritage," *NTT* 61 (2007): 233–50, here 241–49.

33. The case against this view was first made by Mauro Pesce, "Presupposti per l'utilizzazione storica dell'*Ascensione di Isaia*," in *Isaia, il Diletto e la Chiesa: Visione e esegesi profetica cristiano-primitiva nell'Ascensione di Isaia* (ed. Mauro Pesce; Texte e Ricerche di Scienze Religiose 20; Brescia: Paideia, 1983), 40–45; idem, *Il "Martirio di Isaia" Non Esiste: L'Ascensione di Isaia e le Tradizioni Giudaiche sull'Uccisione del Profeta* (Bologna: Centro Stampa Baiesi, 1984). Cf. Jonathan M. Knight, *Disciples of the Beloved One: The Christology, Social Setting and Theological Context of the Ascension of Isaiah* (JSPSup 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 28–32.

to be distinguished from the identification of a Jewish text from which Christian redaction can easily be distinguished. The extensive work of a mainly Italian research group on the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah* has shown that at least each of the two sections of the work (chs. 1–5 and 6–11) is a thoroughly coherent Christian composition that does not require source criticism.<sup>34</sup>

A significant sign of the growing ascendancy of the trend we have been tracing is the second edition of George Nickelsburg's *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, published in 2005.<sup>35</sup> In this edition, some works that were treated as early Jewish in the first edition have been omitted altogether (*Martyrdom of Isaiah*, *3 Baruch*, *Paraleipomena Jeremiou*), while five others are treated as "of disputed provenance" (*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Testament of Job*, *Testament of Abraham*, *Life of Adam and Eve*, *Joseph and Aseneth*).

## Robert Kraft: Methodological Proposals

In a paper first presented in 1976 and finally published in 1994,<sup>36</sup> a paper that Ben Wright called "perhaps the most well-known unpublished paper in the field of Pseudepigrapha studies,"<sup>37</sup> Robert Kraft addressed the methodological issues involved in determining the provenance of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. He rightly observed that many scholars have approached the issue of distinguishing between Jewish and Christian materials among Old Testament Pseudepigrapha with too little methodological rigour.<sup>38</sup> He returned to the same concerns, developing his proposals a little further, in a paper for the already-mentioned SNTS seminar on the Christianization of Jewish texts.<sup>39</sup> While he himself has not published studies of particular pseudepigraphal texts deploying the kind of methodology he proposes, Kraft's work has influenced some American scholars, such as Kraemer and Harlow (in the works mentioned above)<sup>40</sup> and James Davila (whose work will be discussed below), who have questioned the confidence with

34. Especially, Enrico Norelli, ed., *Ascensio Isaiae Commentarius* (CCSA 8; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995). Cf. also Richard Bauckham, "The Ascension of Isaiah: Genre, Unity and Date," in idem, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (NovTSup 93; Leiden; Brill, 1998), 363–90.

35. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (rev. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), esp. 301–44, 412–23. I have not had access to this edition, and the information I give about it derives from Piovanelli, "In Praise of 'The Default Position,'" 234–39.

36. Robert A. Kraft, "The Pseudepigrapha in Christianity," in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (ed. John C. Reeves; SBLEJL 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 55–86.

37. Benjamin G. Wright, "Introduction," in idem, *A Multiform Heritage*, xvii.

38. In "Pseudepigrapha," 56, he speaks of "the relatively uncontrolled and hasty approach pursued by most scholars sifting these materials for clues regarding Judaism."

39. Robert A. Kraft, "Setting the Stage and Framing Some Central Questions," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 370–95. A slightly different version is available online at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/publics/pseudepig/sntsnew.html>.

40. Also the Israeli scholar David Satran: see Satran, *Biblical Prophets*, 31–32.

which some pseudepigraphal works have in recent decades been treated as Jewish rather than Christian.<sup>41</sup>

Two methodological principles of particular importance emerge from Kraft's work. The first is that, when we know a work only as preserved by Christians, as is the case with most Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, the starting point for study of the work must be its Christian context: "when the evidence is clear that only Christians preserved the material, the Christianity of it is the given, it is the setting, it is the starting point for delving more deeply into this literature to determine what, if anything, may be safely identified as originally Jewish."<sup>42</sup> On this basis, he maintains that "the default position" must be that "sources transmitted by way of Christian communities are 'Christian,' whatever else they may prove to be." That such works are Christian does not need to be proved. The burden of proof lies with claims that they are originally Jewish or incorporate material of originally Jewish provenance.<sup>43</sup>

The second key methodological principle to emerge from Kraft's work is that the absence of any distinctively Christian features in a text does not prove it is Jewish. It is possible that "self-consciously Christian authors," adopting the perspective of the Old Testament Scriptures and other Jewish literature they knew and valued, wrote works that had an Old Testament setting and no explicitly Christian references.<sup>44</sup> After all, much that is Jewish is also Christian. As Kraft noted, Sparks had also made this point,<sup>45</sup> but it challenges directly the opposite principle, espoused by, for example, many of the contributors to Charlesworth's edition, that "Whatever is not clearly Christian is Jewish."<sup>46</sup> But if Kraft and Sparks are right, how will it be possible to distinguish a Jewish composition from a Christian one of the type we call Old Testament Pseudepigrapha? Given that some Jewish compositions of this type undoubtedly were faithfully preserved by Christians (for example, *Jubilees* and those parts of *1 Enoch* of which we have texts from Qumran), careful reflection on the possible criteria that could enable us to make that distinction seems to be needed.

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41. De Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha*, ch. 3, provides an approving overview of Kraft's approach to the Pseudepigrapha.

42. Kraft, "Pseudepigrapha," 75.

43. Kraft, "Setting the Stage," 372–73; cf. 386.

44. Kraft, "Pseudepigrapha," 74; idem, "Setting the Stage," 389–91.

45. Sparks, *Apocryphal Old Testament*, xiv–xv. It is recognized also by Michael E. Stone, "The Study of the Armenian Apocrypha," in Wright, *Multiform Heritage*, 139–48, here 140–41; Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (SBLJL 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 57–58; de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha*, 28; and William Adler, "Introduction" in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (ed. James C. VanderKam and William Adler; CRINT 3/4; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1996), 1–31, here 27.

46. Kraft ("Pseudepigrapha," 62), cites this formulation from Adolf von Harnack. The principle is also challenged by Michael E. Stone, "Categorization and Classification of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies: Collected Papers* (2 vols.; Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 144–45; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 1:3–13, here 7 (this article was first published in 1986).

## James Davila: Methodology in Action

James Davila's important book, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish Christian, or Other?*,<sup>47</sup> has taken up that challenge. He offers a fairly detailed and precise methodology for identifying the provenance of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. The "Other" in the book's title is significant because Davila maintains that we must take account of all the kinds of persons or groups that could have authored Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, not simply "Jews" and "Christians." So, in addition to ethnic Jews and proselytes,<sup>48</sup> we must take account of Gentile "God-fearers," Gentile sympathizers, non-Jewish Israelites (Samaritans), syncretistic Jews, Jewish (i.e., Torah-observant) Christians, Judaizing Gentile Christians, and other Gentile Christians.<sup>49</sup> This wide range of possibilities means that he often finds it impossible to narrow the possible authorship of a work to only one of these categories. Moreover, this range of possible communities and individuals highlights the fact that there was a good deal of continuity between Judaism and non-Christian Gentiles, and between Judaism and Christianity. When we try to make distinctions in assigning provenance, the works we are most likely to be able to identify will be those deriving from "boundary-maintaining" Jews or Christians, those who themselves made sharp distinctions and who only later, in Davila's view, became the mainstream.<sup>50</sup>

Davila works with the two methodological principles that I have isolated from Kraft's work. Moreover, he provides a much more adequate grounding for the second of these. He demonstrates that it was possible for a Christian in the patristic period to write about an "Old Testament" period, person, or topic without what he calls Christian signature features, or with only few or peripheral ones. He does so by providing examples of texts or substantial parts of texts that are securely known to have been authored by Christian writers. Two sermons of John Chrysostom on Genesis and one of Augustine on Micah and Psalm 72 have very few Christian signature features, while the Heptateuch of Pseudo-Cyprian and sections of Ephrem the Syrian's commentaries on Genesis and Exodus arguably have none.<sup>51</sup> These examples provide evidence not only against the assumption that a work with no Christian signature features must be Jewish, but also against the frequent claim that, even if there are a few explicitly Christian features or passages, if these can be removed without damage to the integrity of the work, it is to be considered Jewish. Davila's demonstration that such claims and assumptions are unjustified is one of the most valuable features of the book.

Davila only briefly indicates what Christian signature features might be,<sup>52</sup>

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47. James Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish Christian, or Other?* (JSJSup 105; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

48. Davila rightly thinks it is unlikely to be possible to distinguish a work by a born Jew from one by a proselyte.

49. Davila, *Provenance*, 23–59.

50. *Ibid.*, 59–61.

51. *Ibid.*, 84–111.

52. *Ibid.*, 64 n. 109.

though he often refers to such. He does, however, draw up a considered list of eight Jewish signature features drawn from undoubtedly Jewish literature of the period. He treats these as a “polythetic” description of the common Judaism of the late Second Temple period, meaning that all forms of Judaism have at least some of these features, but no single feature is a *sine qua non*, necessarily to be found in every form of Judaism.<sup>53</sup> While I agree with him that “different forms of Judaism will emphasize different elements in different ways, and some forms of Judaism may emphasize features that are not characteristic of ‘common Judaism,’”<sup>54</sup> I would be much more inclined to treat several of them as common to all forms of Judaism in the period and to specify the Torah of Moses as authoritative Scripture for all such forms,<sup>55</sup> but this is not a major issue for our present purposes. The ways in which Davila uses these criteria of Jewishness are complex and nuanced and cannot be detailed here.<sup>56</sup> In general, however, they enable Davila to proceed with identifying works of Jewish provenance with positive criteria rather than the commonly used negative criterion of absence of Christian signature features. He asserts that “positive criteria may isolate texts more likely to be Jewish in origin, but negative criteria (such as a lack of Christian signature features) have much less, if any weight.”<sup>57</sup> This may be an overstatement of his case, since, for the identification of the work as Jewish, there must surely *also* be a lack of pervasive or integral Christian features. The latter is not a sufficient criterion (since Christians could write works without Christian signature features), but it is surely a necessary condition. I suspect that Davila neglects this point because the works he considers candidates to be tested for Jewish origin are those that scholars have already identified as having no or easily dispensable Christian features.

Davila admits one weakness of his methodology:

Of Old Testament pseudepigrapha transmitted solely by Christians, those texts that we can label with confidence as “Jewish” are mostly the ones strongly concerned with boundary maintenance, and it will thus be these that make the main contribution toward reconstructing ancient Judaism. This is an unfortunate fact, but it arises inevitably from the nature of our evidence: if we start with the Christian manuscripts in which these works are now preserved and only work backwards to a Jewish origin as the evidence requires, Jewish works superficially congenial to Christianity, at least in their surviving forms, will be largely undetectable. We may suspect that some works of this kind are Jewish

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53. *Ibid.*, 15–20. The eight characteristics are: (a) worship of the God of Israel alone; (b) the acceptance of certain books as Jewish Scriptures given as revelation by this God; (c) the acceptance of a historical narrative drawn from those Scriptures; (d) the following of the customs, laws, and rituals mandated in those Scriptures; (e) participation in or support of the temple cult in Jerusalem; (f) self-identification as Jews; (g) membership in and acceptance by a particular Jewish community; and (h) acceptance of Palestine as the Holy Land.

54. *Ibid.*, 20.

55. Davila follows Gabriele Boccaccini in postulating an “Enochic Judaism” that did not acknowledge the Mosaic Torah.

56. Davila, *Provenance*, 59–71.

57. *Ibid.*, 63.

but we cannot be confident that they are, and so, at best, we should pigeonhole them in a “possible” or “doubtful” category.<sup>58</sup>

But may it not be possible to refine and extend the methodology in order to make some progress even with this group of works? It is, after all, a group we might expect to be quite numerous, since such works would be *prima facie* more congenial to Christian use and more likely to have been preserved by Christians than those with obtrusively Jewish features.

Armed with a relatively rigorous methodology, Davila proposes to “accept particular works as Jewish only when this is established beyond reasonable doubt on the basis of positive evidence.”<sup>59</sup> He establishes this in the cases of eight Old Testament Pseudepigrapha that are almost universally accepted as Jewish and that were mentioned as such at the beginning of this essay (*Letter of Aristeas*, *2 Baruch*, *4 Ezra*, *3 Maccabees*, *4 Maccabees*, the *Testament of Moses*, Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, and the *Psalms of Solomon*).<sup>60</sup> In the same category he includes also the Similitudes of Enoch,<sup>61</sup> whose Jewishness and early date have sometimes been doubted. He is confident that all of these works were in existence by the beginning of the second century C.E., with the possible exceptions of the Similitudes of Enoch and *3* and *4 Maccabees*, which could be later. Along with those Pseudepigrapha (and Apocrypha) for which there is manuscript evidence from Qumran, these are the works “that are likely to give New Testament scholars the best information about Judaism in the time of Jesus and the formative years of early Christianity.”<sup>62</sup> In the case of these works, therefore, Davila’s more rigorous methodology has confirmed the general view of scholars.

However, in the cases of several other Pseudepigrapha his verdict as to their Jewish provenance is more negative, though in none of these cases does he think Jewish provenance impossible. Book 3 of the *Sibylline Oracles*, widely accepted as Jewish, turns out to have been “written either by a highly Hellenized Jew or by a gentile who was much taken with or influenced by Judaism in the second or first centuries B.C.E.,”<sup>63</sup> while for the fifth book, also generally regarded as Jewish with only minor Christian interpolation, Davila offers three possible authorships, all in the period 70–132 C.E.: Jewish, Jewish-Christian, or Gentile God-fearer: “I do not believe that any of these possibilities can either be proven or dismissed.”<sup>64</sup> For *Joseph and Aseneth*, there are four possibilities: a Christian work of late antiquity, a Jewish work (possibly from Leontopolis), the work of a God-fearer, or a Samaritan work: “The first involves the least extrapolation from the earliest physical evidence for the document [i.e., the earliest manuscripts, from ca.

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58. *Ibid.*, 70–71; cf. 232: “it is by nature extremely difficult to confirm that a work transmitted only by Christians is Jewish unless that work represents boundary-maintaining Judaism.”

59. *Ibid.*, 8.

60. *Ibid.*, ch. 3.

61. *Ibid.*, 132–37.

62. *Ibid.*, 164.

63. *Ibid.*, 186.

64. *Ibid.*, 189.

600 C.E.] and should perhaps be our working hypothesis for the present, but none of the other possibilities should be dismissed.”<sup>65</sup> In the case of the *Testament of Job*, “although composition by a Jew, or for that matter a God-fearer, cannot be ruled out, if we start from the manuscript evidence and move backward only as needed, no positive evidence compels us to move beyond a Greek work written in Christian, perhaps Egyptian, circles by the early fifth century C.E.”<sup>66</sup> The *Testament of Abraham* is a particularly interesting case for exemplifying Davila’s methodology. It offers real difficulties, which Davila admits, for ascribing it to Christian authorship, but Davila here deploys the principle that Christians, who alone preserved the text, must have found it acceptable, and if they could read it in a way acceptable to Christians, why should they not have written it? Composition of an Ur-text by a Jew or a Gentile God-fearer cannot be ruled out, but identifying such an Ur-text is virtually impossible and not required for a satisfactory explanation of the work. In other words, we are not compelled to go beyond the “default position” that Davila shares with Kraft. The case of the *Story of Zosimus*, including its two main sources, he finds easier to resolve: it fits the context of Christian monasticism in late antiquity, and nothing suggests a Jewish provenance.<sup>67</sup>

Finally Davila examines two works conventionally classified among the Apocrypha or deuterocanonical works of the Old Testament: Baruch (1 Baruch) and the Wisdom of Solomon. In the case of Baruch, the Jewish signature features, though few, are such as to make Christian provenance unlikely, but Davila cannot decide between composition by a Jew or by a Gentile God-fearer.<sup>68</sup> His treatment of the Wisdom of Solomon is the case that will occasion the most surprise. He is not actually the first scholar to suggest Christian authorship of this work, but the suggestion does not seem to have been made for well over a century.<sup>69</sup> Davila finds its use in *1 Clement* to be the earliest evidence of the existence of the work and finds no compelling reason to move back from this earliest known context of use to a different context of origin. He “would by no means rule out the possibility of composition by a Hellenistic Jew, a God-fearer, or a Jewish-Christian any time in the Hellenistic period up to the second half of the first century [C.E.],” but “finds nothing in the work that prohibits or even renders unlikely its having been written by a gentile Christian in the second half of the first century C.E.”<sup>70</sup> This is

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65. *Ibid.*, 195.

66. *Ibid.*, 199.

67. Among Pseudepigrapha he does not discuss, Davila indicates that he “concur[s] with the doubts expressed in recent publications about the alleged Jewish origins of the *Lives of the Prophets*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Life of Adam and Eve*” (referring to the work of David Satran and Marinus de Jonge).

68. Davila, *Provenance*, 227.

69. For references to scholars who argued for Christian authorship, see Joseph Reider, ed., *The Book of Wisdom* (Jewish Apocryphal Literature; New York: Harper, 1957), 16–17 n. 74; William Horbury, “The Christian Use and the Jewish Origins of the Wisdom of Solomon,” in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J. A. Emerton* (ed. John Day, Robert P. Gordon, and Hugh G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 182–96, here 182 n. 2.

70. Davila, *Provenance*, 225.

the most striking example of the way Davila's methodology shifts the burden of proof to those who wish to argue for the Jewish provenance of a work only known to have been transmitted by Christians.

### **Comments: On Starting Points and Default Settings**

Kraft and Davila both maintain that the starting point for understanding a pseudepigraphon transmitted only by Christians should be "the social context" of our earliest manuscripts (or the earliest quotations of the work).<sup>71</sup> Michael Stone also makes the point: "before the Pseudepigrapha are used as evidence for that more ancient period [the Second Temple period], they must be examined in the Christian context in which they were transmitted and utilized."<sup>72</sup> There is obvious sense in this principle. That context is the earliest one in which we undoubtedly *know* that the work in question existed (though how much we know about that context varies enormously). Davila maintains that, if the work fits comfortably into that social context, "we may take note of other possible origins, but our working hypothesis should be that it is a Christian composition of roughly that milieu." Only if it does not fit comfortably do we have "positive evidence that we need to work backwards from the context of the earliest manuscript, and presumably we will also have some idea of what kind of original context to look for."<sup>73</sup>

It is perhaps surprising that Davila actually does so little in his book by way of understanding the texts in the social context of the earliest manuscripts or quotations of them. In the case of the *Testament of Job*, for example, he argues that it fits comfortably into "Christian circles in Egypt" in the early fifth century at the latest, but takes only a dozen lines to establish this point, referring only to works from the Nag Hammadi library and Coptic magical texts.<sup>74</sup> Might not Job's conflict with a vividly imagined figure of Satan correspond rather well to the spirituality of the Desert Fathers, who retreated to the desert in order to do battle with Satan? The point would seem to be at least worth pursuing, and experts in early Egyptian Christianity could probably suggest other avenues to pursue. Davila might justifiably claim that in the context of his book he cannot be expected to do more than sketch the kind of argument required, but he offers no indication that the *Testament of Job's* relationship to a fifth-century Egyptian context really needs further exploration in detail, and he moves with remarkable assurance to the conclusion that there is no compelling reason to move backwards from that context to an earlier one.<sup>75</sup> Naturally there is also the question of how much a single scholar can be expected to know about all the various contexts

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71. Reference to quotations is a point Davila (*Provenance*, 238) adds to Kraft's proposal.

72. Stone, "Categorization," 9.

73. James R. Davila, "The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha as Background to the New Testament," *ExpT* 117 (2005): 53–57, here 55.

74. Davila, *Provenance*, 197–98.

75. *Ibid.*, 198.



in which Old Testament Pseudepigrapha were transmitted (and for this reason Davila avoids any discussion of the Pseudepigrapha preserved in Old Slavonic), but the field is therefore one requiring a great deal of interdisciplinary collaboration among scholars of many disciplines. A weakness of Davila's work may be that he makes it all seem too easy.

Davila follows Kraft in that, in the context of the earliest manuscripts or quotations, a pseudepigraphon "functioned as a Christian work," since it presumably meant something to the Christians who preserved and copied it.<sup>76</sup> Up to a point this is valid, but it is worth remembering that we have most of the literature of Greek and Roman antiquity only in very late manuscripts, typically of the ninth to the fifteenth centuries.<sup>77</sup> In this respect, there is nothing unusual about the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (though the fact that they so often survive only in translations into such languages as Ethiopic and Armenian is relatively more unusual). The Greek and Latin classics were preserved by Christians, often in communities of monks dedicated to the rigorous practice of Christianity. Does that mean that they "functioned as Christian works"? The fact is that, in the Latin West and the Byzantine East, all sorts of works from antiquity were preserved for a wide variety of reasons, including literary quality and antiquarian interest. We need to consider more carefully the reasons why Old Testament Pseudepigrapha were preserved in specific cases and contexts before we can be clear what it means to say that they functioned as Christian works.

Is it not the case that in most of the contexts in which our earliest manuscripts of the pseudepigrapha are found, most other manuscripts were of literature composed long before? The probability must be that a pseudepigraphon did not originate in the immediate context of our earliest manuscript, but long before. The context of the earliest manuscript may be the earliest context of the pseudepigraphon that we can be sure of, but we should also admit that, in most cases, if we cannot find positive evidence for an earlier context of origin, then we simply do not know its provenance.

These considerations make me dubious about the "default position" that works transmitted only in a Christian context should be considered Christian unless positive evidence for a Jewish provenance can be advanced. If our earliest evidence for an Old Testament pseudepigraphon is, for example, an eleventh-century Byzantine manuscript, I think it is more likely than not to have been composed at an earlier time, and I do not see that we have reason to think it more likely to be of Christian than of Jewish provenance. But why should we need a "default position"? If we have nothing more to go on than such general probabilities, then we had better say simply that we do not know whether it was of originally Jewish or Christian provenance (or of any of the various possible combinations of the two). What we need is to build up a body of considerations that enable us to go beyond such very general probabilities. These could include not only those employed by Davila but

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76. *Ibid.*, 7.

77. For the Latin classics, full information is readily available in Leighton D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983).

also some idea as to whether in various different Christian contexts works of this type were composed as well as preserved, or only preserved, and whether in various different contexts such works tended to be preserved fairly faithfully or were commonly redacted and expanded.

### Comments: On Purposes and Uses

A point of fundamental importance is that the reasons for which a work is valued, preserved, and used do not have to be the purpose for which it was composed. Seldom do I read Old Testament Pseudepigrapha for the purposes for which they were composed, and this may well be true also of many who read them in the past.

A pertinent example is Daniel Harlow's study of the reception history of *3 Baruch*. There is little direct evidence available, but one approach that Harlow pursues is to observe the other works that accompany *3 Baruch* in the manuscripts. In the Slavonic tradition these are quite varied, but *3 Baruch* appears most often, as we might expect, along with other apocalypses and eschatological works. Harlow deduces:

[T]he contents of the Slavonic manuscripts point to no single rationale for the inclusion of *3 Baruch*. That our apocalypse most often appears in the company of historical-type apocalypses and other eschatological works, however, does suggest that it was valued in the Slavic tradition above all for its cosmology and eschatology, that is, for what it offers by way of pseudo-information about the heavenly realm and the post-mortem fate of human beings.<sup>78</sup>

However, from the manuscript tradition of the Greek version of *3 Baruch* we gain a quite different impression of the use to which it was put. Here the contents of the two manuscripts in which it is found suggest

. . . that in the Greek tradition *3 Baruch* was valued as a work of hagiography, the apocalypse having been received as a kind of autobiographical installment [*sic*] narrating a noteworthy episode in the life [of] a figure who had come to be venerated as a saint in the Christian East. The institutional framework for the reception of *3 Baruch* was provided by the liturgical calendar of the Eastern churches, which commemorated Old Testament notables right alongside Christian martyrs and saints.<sup>79</sup>

What is important here for my argument is not only that *3 Baruch* was evidently valued for quite different reasons in different Christian contexts,<sup>80</sup> but also

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78. Harlow, "Christianization," 435. The material is presented in more detail in Harlow, *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*, 175–77.

79. Harlow, "Christianization," 436. The material is presented in more detail in Harlow, *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*, 178–81.

80. Harlow continues with evidence for yet more possible reasons why Christians may have valued this work.

that the use suggested by the Greek manuscripts cannot be the purpose for which the work was written. While it is understandable that 3 *Baruch*, once it existed and was transmitted, could be put to hagiographical use, it is very unlikely that it could have been written as hagiography. Therefore, even if we knew only the Greek tradition of 3 *Baruch*, we could be fairly certain that the work did not originate in the earliest context in which we actually find it. The discussion of the original provenance of the work can therefore move to consideration of the work's original purpose. In his book Harlow's reading of this purpose understands it as a specifically Diaspora Jewish response to the specifically Jewish situation following the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple.<sup>81</sup> In his later article he allows the possibility of a different construal of the work's purpose, suggested by Martha Himmelfarb, which would make Christian authorship conceivable.<sup>82</sup> My own proposal for understanding the overall message of the book, different from both Harlow's and Himmelfarb's, would, if correct, require a Jewish rather than Christian provenance.<sup>83</sup>

This example illustrates that determining the purpose of a pseudepigraphon may not be easy, but it also shows that it is closely related to the search for a work's original provenance. We certainly cannot simply conclude that, because a work was evidently valued and used in a particular Christian context, it could have been written in that context. We need to inquire carefully into the kinds of reasons for which the work was valued and used as well as whether those reasons could explain the origin of the composition. It seems to me that Davila gives too little attention to determining the purpose of a work. A mismatch between the purpose of a work and the reasons for its use by the Christians who transmitted it is one way in which a pseudepigraphon may not "fit comfortably" (in Davila's phrase) in the social context of the earliest manuscripts we have of it and may therefore require that we postulate a different context of origin for it.

There is a great deal we do not yet know about the reception history of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha<sup>84</sup> and the uses to which they were put in their Christian contexts of transmission.<sup>85</sup> Probably most Christians who have valued such works in some way have not regarded them in the same way as they did the

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81. Harlow, *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*, chs. 2–3; cf. idem, "Christianization," 427–29.

82. Harlow, "Christianization," 429–30.

83. Richard Bauckham, "Apocalypses," in *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, vol. 1, *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism* (ed. Donald A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien, and Mark A. Scifrid; WUNT 2/140; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 135–87, here 182–85.

84. An example of what can be done is the reception history of the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah* by Antonio Acerbi: *Serra Lignea: Studi sulla Fortuna della Ascensione di Isaia* (Rome: A. V. E., 1984).

85. Cf. Michael E. Stone, "The Study of the Armenian Apocrypha," in Wright, *Multiform Heritage*, 139–48, here 141: "The study of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is still in its infancy and so far little attention has yet been paid to the history of their reception in the cultures which preserved and transmitted them." Anke Holdenried, *The Sibyl and Her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina c. 1050–1500* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) is a fine example of what can be done, given the right sources. Whereas previous scholars have thought the popularity of the Tiburtine Sibyl (translated from Greek in the eleventh century) in the late medieval West was for the sake of its political apocalyptic, Holdenried is able to show, partly from the manuscripts,

canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament (though a few Pseudepigrapha have been reckoned canonical in some Christian traditions, such as the Ethiopian). This is clear enough from the fact that the texts were not preserved with the care accorded to Scripture, but were frequently abbreviated, interpolated, extended, and redacted in various ways. This means that Christian readers of these works could have been interested in them without approving of or agreeing with everything in them. In many cases it may be that the stories rather than the teaching were what attracted them. This would have been true at a popular level, but we should also not forget that from as early as Julius Africanus in the third century<sup>86</sup> there were Christian scholars with antiquarian interests, especially in the kind of ancient history about which such works as *Jubilees* and the Enoch literature could inform them. Much material from Old Testament Pseudepigrapha has been preserved in the works of the later Christian chronographers such as George Syncellus and Jacob of Edessa.<sup>87</sup> Modern scholars tend to be interested in the teaching or message of a work, but this is not necessarily what interested Christian readers or even what they noticed. They preserved these works for all sorts of reasons that may not correspond at all well to the purposes for which the works were written.

### Comments: On Jews, Gentiles, and Jewish Christians

An interesting feature of Davila's work is that he takes seriously the possibility that Old Testament Pseudepigrapha could have been written not only by Jews (born or proselytes) or Christians (Jewish or Gentile), but also by God-fearers, that is, Gentiles who did not convert to Judaism but were attracted to it, worshiped the God of Israel, observed some Jewish rituals, and took a very positive view of the Jewish people.<sup>88</sup> Some of the works for which Davila thinks such a provenance to be possible seem to me to belong, in some respects, to the same category, despite their generic and other differences: *Sibylline Oracles* books 3 and 5, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and *Pseudo-Phocylides*.<sup>89</sup> In all these cases, Davila observes some Jewish signature features, but also notes, despite their

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that this was by no means the only factor. Many who read it were more concerned with personal eschatology or with the Sibyl as a prophet of Christ.

86. On Africanus as a polymath, see William Adler, "Julius Africanus and Judaism in the Third Century," in Wright, *Multiform Heritage*, 123-38.

87. See William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1989); idem, "Jacob of Edessa and the Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Syriac Chronography," in Reeves, *Tracing the Threads*, 143-71. Note also the learned interest in matters Jewish in the Armenian tradition, noted by Stone, "Study," 146-48.

88. See Davila's definition (*Provenance*, 28-29).

89. Davila discusses these in *Provenance*, 181-86, 186-89, 219-25, 36-37. That *Pseudo-Phocylides* was written by a Gentile God-fearer is one of four possibilities discussed by Piet W. van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* (SVTP 4; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 76, but it is a

paraenetic character, a lack of reference to such Jewish distinctives as circumcision, Sabbath, and dietary laws. He makes the point most fully in relation to *Sibylline Oracles* book 3:

It is pro-Jewish, pro-temple, pro-sacrifice, and sings the praises of the Jewish Law. . . . Although the work repeatedly refers to the Law and advocates obeying it, when the contents of the Law are specified they seem mainly to involve proper worship of God, as opposed to idolatry, and sexual morality. Circumcision, the dietary laws, the Sabbath, and the Jewish festivals are ignored. This viewpoint could reflect a liberal Judaism that was highly assimilated to its surrounding Hellenistic environment . . . , but it could also reflect the perspective of a gentile God-fearer who was quite familiar with Judaism but who picked and chose what was appealing for his or her own religion. Such a writer might well have subsumed the Mosaic Law into natural law, considered the Jerusalem temple to be the central locus for the worship of God, and yet cheerfully ignored any ritual practices that seemed primitive or unsophisticated.<sup>90</sup>

What I think may be wrong here is a failure to consider that a mainstream Jewish writer—not necessarily “liberal”—might distinguish between what God required of Jews and what God required of Gentiles, just as later rabbis thought Gentiles were subject to the Noachic laws and only Israel to the Mosaic Torah. All four of the works we are considering are ostensibly addressed to Gentiles.<sup>91</sup> We can assume this in the case of Pseudo-Phocylides because of the pseudonymous attribution to the pagan philosopher Phocylides. In the book of Wisdom, Solomon addresses his fellow rulers (Wis 1:1; 6:1), a literary convention that implies a general, not an Israelite, audience. The Sibyls were ancient pagan prophetesses. There are a variety of views on whether these works were seriously intended to reach pagan readers. I am inclined to think they were, since this is the most obvious reason for their elaborately maintained pseudonymous attributions (even Solomon had an international reputation for wisdom). If, as seems probable, Virgil knew the third book of the *Sibyllines* (*Ecl.* 4.21–25), then this book at least reached pagan readers who did not recognize its Jewish provenance. In any case, what these books depict as God’s requirements for Gentiles are abandonment of idolatry<sup>92</sup> and worship of the one God, to whom sacrifice should be made in the temple in Jerusalem, together with adherence to moral norms, especially sexual. When judgment is threatened or pronounced on Gentiles, it is for idolatry and sexual immorality (both characteristic of Gentile society, in a Jewish view). This is evidently what “the law”—given to Israel in order to be spread to the Gentiles (Wis 18:4)—means for Gentiles. It is the cultic and moral essence of the Torah, identified with nature or a common law of humanity, and, according to

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possibility that, ten years later, he discounted: van der Horst, “Pseudo-Phocylides Revisited,” *JSP* 3 (1998): 3–30, here 16.

90. Davila, *Provenance*, 184–85.

91. In *Sib. Or.* 3:266–94, the Sibyl addresses Israel, much as in other oracles she addresses Egypt, Rome, Greece, and so forth.

92. A critique of idolatry is surprisingly absent from Pseudo-Phocylides.

the *Sibyllines*, in the future the nations will turn to the God of Israel and observe his laws. There is here both an approximation of the Torah to Hellenistic ideas of natural law and also strong inspiration from the hope for the conversion of the nations to be found in the postexilic prophets. None of this means that these writers exempted Jews themselves from the more particularly Jewish aspects of Torah. It is true that, in book 3 of the *Sibyllines* particularly, the Jews' own way of life is depicted without emphasis on the Jewish distinctives, but it is being held up as an example for Gentiles to emulate and so we should not expect such an emphasis. Understood in this way, these books do not seem to me to require, if their provenance is Jewish, that they represent an especially "liberal" or "highly assimilated" kind of Judaism. Such attitudes to Gentiles may be "liberal" by comparison with, for example, *Jubilees* and *4 Ezra*, but they nevertheless entail severe condemnation of most current Gentile life, while the openness to Gentile worship of the God of Israel featured in the Jerusalem temple itself in the permission for Gentiles to offer sacrifice there, which obtained until the Jewish revolt. Further, the expectation of the future conversion of the nations is found, *inter alia*, in Tobit, the Book of Watchers, and the Enochic Animal Apocalypse.<sup>93</sup>

I have characterized a somewhat diverse group of books in rather too generalized terms, but the purpose is to show that they are broadly similar in relating the Torah to Gentiles in a way that leaves aside the Jewish particularities of circumcision, dietary laws, Sabbath, and so forth, without any necessary implication that Jews are not bound to observe the particularities of the law as given to Israel. This attitude will have enabled many Jews to be encouraging and welcoming to Gentile God-fearers without necessarily expecting them to become proselytes. Consequently, a pseudepigraphon maintaining this attitude might derive as well from a Jewish author representative of this widespread Jewish view of Gentiles as from a God-fearer who had learned the same approach from just such Jews.

What of the two cases in which Davila leaves open the possibility of Jewish Christian authorship: *Sibylline Oracles* book 5 and the *Wisdom of Solomon*? In the former case, an obstacle that Davila negotiates much too easily<sup>94</sup> is the book's attitude to the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by the Romans (especially Nero, who is here blamed for it), a prominent topic in this book of the *Sibyllines* (5:150–51, 397–413). The event is treated as a tragedy visited on the blameless Jews, whereas throughout early Christian literature (as in some Jewish literature) it is understood as a divine judgment. There is no evidence that Jewish Christians thought differently about this.<sup>95</sup> Jesus' prophecies of the

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93. My account in this paragraph broadly agrees with Terence L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles: Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 60–74; E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM, 1992), 267–70; John J. Collins, "A Symbol of Otherness: Circumcision and Salvation in the First Century," in idem, *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 211–35.

94. Davila, *Provenance*, 189: "a Jewish-Christian who was outraged by the Roman destruction of Jerusalem."

95. Harlow (*Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*, 107–8), after a survey of the evidence, concludes: "Virtually nowhere in the literature of early Christianity or Jewish Christianity do we find evidence of regret over Jerusalem's loss or interest in the Temple's restoration." Cf. also Geoffrey W. H.

destruction of the temple are too widespread in the Gospel traditions to have been unknown to them.<sup>96</sup> As for the Wisdom of Solomon, although there may be no specific statement in it that could not have been written by a Christian (Jewish or Gentile) placing himself in Solomon's pre-Christian context, we must ask: Why should a Christian in the second half of the first century C.E. have wanted to write such a work? The Christian literature that we have from this early period of the Christian movement is overwhelmingly concerned with the specific Christian message about Jesus and its implications. Interestingly, this is also true of the earliest Old Testament Pseudepigrapha that are indisputably Christian: the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, *5 Ezra*,<sup>97</sup> book 8 of the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the *Odes of Solomon* (if this counts as an Old Testament pseudepigraphon).<sup>98</sup> While we need to be aware of the danger of circular argumentation, it may be that study of those Old Testament Pseudepigrapha we know to be Christian could assist our attempts to identify others.

## Conclusion

These comments should not detract at all from the importance of *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*. Davila's work achieves a major advance in the quest for the provenance of Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and opens a new stage of discussion to which, I hope, this essay has contributed.

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Lampe, "A.D. 70 in Christian Reflection," in *Jesus and the Politics of His Day* (ed. Ernst Bammel and Charles F. D. Moule; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 153–71.

96. In the *Gospel of the Ebionites*, there is even a saying of Jesus: "I came to abolish sacrifices, and if you do not cease from sacrificing, the wrath will not cease from you" (frag. 6), while the probably Ebionite source of Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* 1.27–71 also sees the destruction of Jerusalem as the divine response to the refusal of the Jews to obey Jesus' command that they abandon sacrifice. See also Richard Bauckham, "The Origin of the Ebionites," in *The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature* (ed. Peter J. Tomson and Doris Lambers-Petry; WUNT 158; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 162–81, here 167–68.

97. A vision of the exalted Christ is the climax of this work.

98. It seems to me probable that the ascription to Solomon was not original.

# PSEUDEPIGRAPHA RESEARCH AND CHRISTIAN ORIGINS AFTER THE *OTP*

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For most of the twentieth century the corpus of the Pseudepigrapha was significantly smaller than it is today. As late as the 1970s, the standard collections of translations remained the thirteen texts in Kautzsch (1900, 1921) and the seventeen in Charles (1913).<sup>1</sup> But by that time the reawakening of interest in the Pseudepigrapha was already well under way. Its results were announced to the field of biblical studies via several collections of fresh translations,<sup>2</sup> the most influential of which was, and remains, James Charlesworth's *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, whose two volumes appeared in 1983 and 1985.<sup>3</sup> From every perspective the *OTP* represented a landmark. Produced by an international group of experts,

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This paper is so completely a revision of "A Report on Pseudepigrapha Research after Charlesworth's *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*," *JSP* 12 (2001): 179–207 as to be in effect a new study. I thank the volume editors for their initial invitation to present my research at the SNTS, which served as the basis of the *JSP* paper, and for their subsequent invitation to compose this paper. I also reiterate my gratitude to Professors M. de Jonge and M. E. Stone, each of whom in 2001 kindly provided valuable insights regarding an aspect of the subject under review.

1. E. Kautzsch, ed., *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1900; 2nd ed., 1921); R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913).

2. See A. Díez Macho, ed., *Apócrifos del Antiguo Testamento* (5 vols.; Madrid: Cristiandad, 1984–87); A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko, eds., *La Bible: Écrits intertestamentaires* (La Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 337; Paris: Gallimard, 1987); M. de Jonge, ed., *Outside the Old Testament* (CCWJWC 4; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); P. Sacchi, ed., *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento* (2 vols.; Classici delle religioni 38; Torino: UTET, 1981–89); H. D. F. Sparks, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984); and the original series of the "Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit" (Gütersloh), the first *Lieferung* of which appeared in 1973. In 1973, too, S. Agourides published his collection of texts in modern Greek translation, *Ta apokryphen tēs Palaias Diathēkēs* (Athens). J. Bonsirven, ed., *La bible apocryphe en marge de l'Ancien Testament* was reprinted in 1975, and P. Ricbler, ed., *Altjüdisches Schrifttum außerhalb der Bibel* for the fifth time in 1984.

3. J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983); idem, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, *Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985).



and in the main reflecting a heightened sensitivity to the manuscript evidence, the *OTP* furnished English translations for over five dozen texts, many of which were effectively unknown at the time, even to specialists.<sup>4</sup> They ranged from *Ahikar*, fragments of which were integrated into the Jewish tradition as early as the fifth century B.C.E., to the *Diġġesis Daniġlis*, a Byzantine Christian apocalyptic oracle from the eighth century C.E. The reintroduction of these texts to the scholarly world had a profound effect. Among other things, it prompted the reexamination of old texts and the pursuit of new ones, facilitated the formation of novel theories regarding the multiple, often overlapping subcategories that were revealed by the *OTP*'s massive scope, and, in conjunction with the manuscripts discovered in the desert of Judea, shed new light on the cradle of Christianity.

This paper describes the contours of Pseudepigrapha research as they have evolved in the two decades since the publication of the *OTP*,<sup>5</sup> and addresses aspects of the related subject of the Pseudepigrapha and Christian origins.

## **Pseudepigrapha Research, 1985–2007**

In retrospect, it was the publication and widespread distribution of the *OTP* and its analogues in other languages that, in concert with other factors, including the long-awaited dissemination of the texts from Qumran Cave 4 and a renewed interest in ancient apocalypses and apocalypticism, promoted the study of Second Temple Judaism to the vanguard of biblical scholarship. Specifically, the *OTP* revived Pseudepigrapha research in established academic circles, stimulated it elsewhere, and, most critically, provided the next generation of scholars with a fresh perspective on a corpus of texts whose inherent theological and literary qualities had long been neglected. As a result, these scholars no longer need to justify the relevance of the Pseudepigrapha, either in an intrinsic sense, as literature worthy of advanced study, or as integral products of early Judaism or Christianity.

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4. This had not always been the case. For an idea of the corpus of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholarship, see J. A. Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti: Collectus castigatus, testimoniisque, censuris et animadversionibus illustratus* (2 vols.; Hamburg: T. C. Felinger, 1722–23); J.-P. Migne, ed., *Dictionnaire des apocryphes, ou Collection de tous les livres apocryphes relatifs à l'Ancien et au Nouveau Testament* (2 vols.; Encyclopédie théologique 3.23–24; Paris: Migne-Ateliers Catholiques, 1856, 1858); and the work of M. R. James, including *Apocrypha Anecdota* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893, 1897), *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (London: SPCK, 1920), and his manuscript catalogues, in which he devoted careful attention to biblical apocrypha. See also L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (trans. H. Szold and P. Radin; 6 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1909–38) (repr., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, with an index [vol. 7] by B. Cohen).

5. Thorough reviews of the history of the scholarship prior to this period will be found in J. H. Charlesworth, "A History of Pseudepigrapha Research: The Re-Emerging Importance of the Pseudepigrapha," *ANRW* II.19.1 (1979): 54–88, and idem, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament: Prolegomena for the Study of Christian Origins* (SNTSMS 54; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 6–26.

After a quiet period in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the German series *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* published the *Lieferungen* necessary to complete the five *Bände* of the original series,<sup>6</sup> along with supplemental volumes in a sixth.<sup>7</sup> The current editors, Hermann Lichtenberger and Gerbern Oegema, have since instituted a new series consisting of two *Bände*, “Apokalypsen und Testamente,” and “Weisheitliche, magische und legendarische Erzählungen.” Four of its scheduled twenty *Lieferungen* are now in print.<sup>8</sup> In addition, scholars can expect regular installments of a supplement series, the *JSHRZ-Studien*.<sup>9</sup>

The most significant publication from the Anglophone world is the “Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature,” a new set of critical editions published by Walter de Gruyter and prepared by an international group of scholars under the general editorship of Loren Stuckenbruck. The CEJL covers Jewish writings, including those in the Apocrypha, whose composition or central ideas can be traced to the period between the third century B.C.E. and the first half of the second century C.E. Each edition is accompanied by a thorough commentary and discussion of the central debates. To date, four of an expected total of fifty-eight volumes have been published, and their uniformly high quality suggests that the CEJL will become the first choice of editions for scholars.<sup>10</sup> Partial translations and commentaries on many of the Pseudepigrapha also will be included in the forthcoming JPS volume, *The Lost Bible*.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the issue of further volumes in the useful introductory series, “Guides to the Apocrypha and Pseud-

6. On the *Vita Adae et Evae*, 4 *Baruch*, 2 *Enoch*, the *Lives of the Prophets*, and the *Sibylline Oracles*. In addition, the series published new translations of certain books of the Apocrypha, such as B. Ego’s volume on Tobit (*JSHRZ* 2.6; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999).

7. H. Lichtenberger et al., *Einführung zu den Jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (*JSHRZ* 6.1–5; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2000–2005); A. Lehnardt, *Bibliographie zu den Jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (*JSHRZ* 6.2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999).

8. *Band 1*: 1. *Pseudepigrapha in Qumran* (H. Lichtenberger); 2. *Apocalypse Adams* (E. Grypcou); 3. *Testament Adams* (W. Nebc); 4. *\*Syrische Danielapokalypse* (M. Hcnze); *\*Fragen Esras* (J. Leonhardt-Balzer); 6. *Leiter Jakobs* (C. Böttrich); 7. *Testament Jakobs* (J. Dochhorn); and 8. *Testament Isaaks* (J. Dochhorn). *Band 2*: 1. *Geschichte Melchisedeks* (C. Böttrich); 2. *\*Aramäischer Ahikar* (H. Nicht); 3. *Gebet Jakobs* (P. W. van der Horst); 4. *Jannes und Jambres* (A. Pietersma); 5. *Die Geschichte Josephs* (A. Klostergaard Petersen); 6. *Sprüche Menanders* (T. Baarda); 7. *Geschichte des Zosimus* (J. Dochhorn); 8. *Oden Salomos* (J. H. Charlesworth) 9. *\*Die Schrift des Sem* (J. H. Charlesworth); 10. *Testament Salomos* (P. Alexander); 11. *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* (N. Walter); and 12. *\*Bundesbuch* (D. Lührmann). Volumes in print (as of early 2007) are indicated by the asterisk.

9. H. Lichtenberger and G. S. Oegema, eds., *Jüdische Schriften in ihrem antik-jüdischen und urchristlichen Kontext* (*JSHRZ-Studien* 1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002); I. Henderson and G. S. Oegema, eds., *The Changing Face of Judaism, Christianity and Other Religions in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (*JSHRZ-Studien* 2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2006).

10. D. C. Allison, *Testament of Abraham* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003); J. A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003); W. T. Wilson, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005); L. T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007).

11. L. H. Feldman, J. Kugel, and L. Schiffman, eds., *The Lost Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Outside of Scripture*, forthcoming.

epigrapha,” seems to have stalled.<sup>12</sup> Broadband anthologies such as W. Barnstone’s *The Other Bible*<sup>13</sup> are more a barometer of the current public fascination with hidden texts, secret wisdom, and suppressed traditions; their utility varies with the breadth of the collection and quality of translations. Anthologies whose scope is better defined are less common but in general more practical.<sup>14</sup>

After a long hiatus, the Italian series *Apocrifi dell’Antico Testamento* resurfaced in the late 1990s with the publication of three additional volumes.<sup>15</sup> The standard Spanish series, *Apócrifos del Antiguo Testamento*, has been reissued by the publisher,<sup>16</sup> while an anthology of Christian apocrypha has materialized in Spanish translation.<sup>17</sup> A series of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in modern Hebrew translation, with introductions and commentaries, is under way at the Ben Zvi Institute.<sup>18</sup> In addition, collections of translations have appeared in Arabic,<sup>19</sup> Macedonian,<sup>20</sup> Polish,<sup>21</sup> Czech,<sup>22</sup> and, most notably, Russian.

The panoply of work in Russian and the languages of Eastern Europe underscores the superb work on Slavonic apocrypha published since the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the rekindling of the spirit of the academy. As with

12. Volumes published to date include: M. de Jonge and J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); J. R. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); R. Coggins, *Sirach* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); E. M. Humphrey, *Joseph and Aseneth* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); R. Kugler, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); and B. Otzen, *Tobit and Judith* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

13. W. Barnstone, *The Other Bible: Jewish Pseudepigrapha, Christian Apocrypha, Gnostic Scriptures, Kabbalah, Dead Sea Scrolls* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005).

14. For example, L. Bombelli, ed., *I frammenti degli storici giudaico-ellenistici* (UGFL 103; Genoa: University of Genoa, 1986); and L. M. Wills, ed., *Ancient Jewish Novels: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

15. P. Sacchi et al., eds., *Apocrifi dell’Antico Testamento* (3 vols.; Testi e studi 5, 7–8; Brescia: Paideia, 1997–2000).

16. See n. 2 above. In private correspondence, Jesús Caballero of Ediciones Cristianidad reports that the reissue is of the first edition, with the exception of the second volume, which has been augmented and revised by A. Piñero.

17. J. P. Monferrer Sala, *Textos apócrifos árabes cristianos: introducción, traducción y notas* (Pliegos de oriente; Madrid: Trotta, 2003).

18. V. Noam, *Megillat Ta’anit* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitshak Ben-Tsevi, 2004); U. Rappaport, *The First Book of Maccabees: Introduction, Hebrew Translation and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitshak Ben-Tsevi, 2004); D. Schwartz, *The Second Book of Maccabees: Introduction, Hebrew Translation and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitshak Ben-Tsevi, 2004). In private correspondence, Michael Glatzer of the Ben Zvi Institute reports that volumes in preparation or planned include the *Vita of Josephus*, *3 Maccabees*, *4 Maccabees*, and *Jubilees*.

19. A. Dupont-Sommer, M. Philonenko, and M. Dib Khuri, *Al-Tawrah: Makhtutaṭ Qumran, al-Bahr al-Mayyit Kitabat mabayna al-’Ahdayn* (3 vols.; Damascus: Dar al-Tali’ah al-Jadida, 1998–99), which is based on the French collection, *La Bible: Écrits intertestamentaires* (see n. 2 above). In Lebanon, B. Faghali is responsible for an ongoing series of Arabic translations in the series ‘Alá hamish al-Kitab, of which thirteen volumes have been published to date.

20. V. Stojčevska-Antić, *Apokrifi* (Skopje: Tabernakul, 1996).

21. R. Rubinkiewicz, ed., *Apokryfy Starego Testamentu* (Warsaw: Vocatio, 1999).

22. Z. Soušek, ed., *Knihy tajemství a moudrosti* (3 vols.; Prague: Vyschrad, 1998).

Pseudepigrapha scholarship in general—and often for identical reasons, including its service to a highly competitive nationalistic philology that occasionally biased the interpretation of the evidence—the study of Slavonic apocrypha flourished in the Russian Empire in the latter half of the nineteenth century. By the end of the First World War, however, a combination of changes in the political and academic climate effectively removed these texts from the horizon of Western scholarship. Charlesworth, well aware of the potential significance of these texts, remarked in 1985 that the Pseudepigrapha preserved in Slavic versions would require careful study by scholars proficient in the Slavonic languages and experts in the New Testament and early Christianity.<sup>23</sup> This requirement has been fulfilled. Editions and translations abound,<sup>24</sup> and new secondary studies appear with regularity—and not just on the better-known texts.<sup>25</sup>

The Slavonic Pseudepigrapha have not been the only beneficiary of recent research directed toward apocryphal literature distinctive to an ancient or medieval language. Among the examples of this line of enquiry,<sup>26</sup> attention must be drawn to the sheer volume of high-quality work pertaining to the insular apocryphal traditions. Although properly separate, the investigations of Irish and Anglo-Saxon apocrypha share several characteristics. With notable exceptions, both are conducted principally by medievalists, both proceed from philological or historical concerns as much as theological or religious-studies imperatives, and both tend not to distinguish sharply between Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and New Testament Apocrypha. The subject of several studies in the 1970s,<sup>27</sup> the

23. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, 32–36.

24. Note, among others, V. Tupkova-Zaimova and A. Miltenova, *Istoriko-apokaliptičnata knižnina vuv Vizantiia i v srednoviekovna Bulgariia* (Sofia: Universitetsko izd-vo “Sv. Kliment Ohridski,” 1996); V. V. Milkov, *Apokrify drevnei rusi* (Moscow: Nauka, 1997); idem, *Drevnerusskie apocriphy* (Saint Petersburg: Izd-vo Russkogo khristianskogo gumanianogo in-ta, 1999); M. N. Gromov and V. V. Milkov, *Filosofskie i bogoslovskie idei v pamiatnikakh drevnerusskoi mysli* (Moscow: Nauka, 2000); M. Vitkovskaia and V. Vitkovskii, *Apokrificheskie apocalipsisy* (Saint Petersburg: Izd-vo Aleciia, 2000); M. V. Rozhdestvenskaia, *Apokrify drevnei rusi* (Saint Petersburg: Amfora, 2002); idem, *Bibleiskie apokrify v literature i knizhnosti Drevnei Rusi* (Saint Petersburg: SPGU, 2004).

25. See F. J. Thomson, “‘Made in Russia’: A Survey of the Translations Allegedly Made in Kievan Russia,” in *The Reception of Byzantine Culture in Mediaeval Russia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 295–354; A. Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkavah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (JSJSup 114; Leiden: Brill, 2007); and L. DiTommaso and C. Böttrich, eds., *The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition*, forthcoming.

26. Thus, M. E. Stone, *Texts and Concordances of the Armenian Adam Literature*, vol. 1, *Genesis 1–4, Penitence of Adam, Book of Adam* (SBLJL 12; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996); C. Calzolari Bouvier, J.-D. Kaestli, and B. Outtier, eds., *Apocryphes arméniens, transmission, traduction, création, iconographie: Actes du colloque international sur la littérature apocryphe en langue arménienne, Genève, 18–20 septembre, 1997* (Publications de l’Institut romand des sciences bibliques 1; Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 1999); M. E. Stone, *A Concordance of the Armenian Apocryphal Adam Books* (HUAS 1; Louvain: Peeters, 2001); M. Debić et al., eds., *Les apocryphes syriaques* (Études syriaques 2; Paris: Geuthner, 2005); J. C. Reeves, *Trajectories in Near Eastern Apocalyptic: A Postbiblical Jewish Reader* (SBLRBS 45; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

27. D. Dumville, “Biblical Apocrypha and the Early Irish: A Preliminary Investigation,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 71 (1973): 299–338; M. McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975); D. Greene and F. Kelly, *The Irish*

major Irish Apocrypha appear in a valuable 1989 collection of translations<sup>28</sup> and in an authoritative two-volume edition in the “Corpus Christianorum” series, published in 2001.<sup>29</sup> As for the study of Anglo-Saxon apocrypha, whose roots reside in a nineteenth-century philological inquiry that sought to uncover the early *monumenta* of English literature, it proceeds from strength to strength. A major accomplishment was the publication of a preliminary version of the *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* in 1990, which incorporated a long, comprehensive entry on “Apocrypha.”<sup>30</sup> Since then, numerous other fine works have appeared.<sup>31</sup>

The past two decades have witnessed an eruption of critical editions and secondary studies on the Pseudepigrapha, to the point where any meaningful roster would extend this paper beyond reasonable length.<sup>32</sup> Augmenting this tally are works devoted to the pseudonymous writings of Qumran Cave 4, which are attributed to figures like Abraham, Amram, Moses, Joshua, Joseph, Daniel, and Ezra, and which for the most part were made public only after 1990. Although certain compositions naturally garner more attention than others, even the minor Pseudepigrapha have received at least some measure of scholarly attention over the past twenty years. In other words, there is no sense that the scholarly focus is disproportionately directed toward the traditional nucleus of texts such as *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *4 Ezra*, and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In addition, whereas the relative newness of many Pseudepigrapha ensures that a certain amount of research must be text-critical, their study on the whole continues to function as a proving ground for newer methodologies.

More limited is the number of survey studies, bibliographies, and reference works. Pride of place belongs to A.-M. Denis’ magisterial *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*, which, after the death of Denis, was

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*Adam and Eve Story from Saltair na Rann* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976); and M. McNamara, ed., *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution. Papers Read at the Annual General Meeting of the Irish Biblical Association, April 1974* (PIBA 1; Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1976).

28. M. Herbert and M. McNamara, *Irish Biblical Apocrypha. Selected Texts in Translation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989).

29. M. McNamara et al., *Apocrypha Hiberniae* (CCSA 13–14; Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).

30. F. M. Biggs et al., eds., *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version* (MRTS 74; Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1990).

31. See, among others, A. Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995); R. Færber, *Salomon et Saturne: Quatre dialogues en vieil anglais* (Apocryphes 6; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995); J. E. Cross, *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Source: The Gospel of Nicodemus and the Avenging of the Saviour* (CSA-SE 19; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); M. Clayton, *The Apocryphal Gospels of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (CSA-SE 26; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); K. Powell and D. Scragg, eds., *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003); and F. Biggs, ed., *Apocrypha in Anglo-Saxon England*, forthcoming.

32. Those that were published before 2001 are listed in DiTommaso, “Report on Pseudepigrapha Research.” The majority of texts highlighted as specifically requiring attention—the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Testament of Solomon*, the *Exagogue of Ezekiel*, the *Sibylla Tiburtina*, to list just a few—have since been the subject of editions or studies clarifying their textual situation.

carried to print by J.-C. Haelewyck.<sup>33</sup> Haelewyck's own reference work, *Clavis apocryphorum VT*, published in 1998, is an invaluable checklist of the contents of the corpus rather than an exhaustive bibliography.<sup>34</sup> Since several of the most visible constituents of this corpus are now considered part of the New Testament Apocrypha, M. Geerard's 1992 *Clavis apocryphorum Noui Testamenti* should also be consulted.<sup>35</sup> There is no dearth of good concordances, indexes, and other scholarly aids to the Pseudepigrapha.<sup>36</sup>

Older bibliographies of the Pseudepigrapha tended to be language-specific.<sup>37</sup> One of the first comprehensive study aids was Charlesworth's *Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*.<sup>38</sup> In its own way, this slim book was as influential to the field as the *OTP*, which it preceded by nearly a decade, since it supplied many scholars with their first glimpse of the treasures that had rested, in most cases untouched for decades, beyond the taxonomical bounds implied by the collec-

33. A.-M. Denis, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000). Its two volumes are a massive update and expansion of his earlier *Introduction aux pseudépigraphiques grecs d'Ancien Testament* (SVTP 1; Leiden: Brill, 1970).

34. J.-C. Haelewyck, *Clavis apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti* (CCSA; Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

35. M. Geerard, *Clavis apocryphorum Noui Testamenti* (CCSA; Turnhout: Brepols, 1992)

36. A.-M. Denis with Y. Janssens, *Concordance grecque des pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament: Concordance, corpus des textes, indices* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut orientaliste, 1987); W. Strothmann, *Wörterverzeichnis der apokryphen-deuterokanonischen Schriften des Alten testaments in der Peschitta* (Göttinger Orientforschung, Syriaca 27; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988); W. Lechner-Schmidt, *Wortindex der lateinisch erhaltenen Pseudepigraphen zum Alten Testament* (TANZ 3; Tübingen: Francke, 1990); A.-M. Denis, *Concordance latine des pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament: Concordance, corpus des textes, indices* (Corpus christianorum, Thesaurus patrum latinorum, Supplementum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1993); J. Verheyden, "Les pseudépigraphes d'Ancien Testament: Texts latines, À propos d'une concordance," *ETL* 71 (1995): 383–420; S. Delamarier, *A Scripture Index to Charlesworth's The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002); J. D. Thompson, *A Critical Concordance to the Apocrypha: 3 Maccabees* (Computer Bible 100; Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 2002); idem, *A Critical Concordance to the Apocrypha: 4 Maccabees* (Computer Bible 101.1–2; Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 2002).

37. E. Kozak, "Bibliographische Uebersicht der biblisch-apokryphen Literatur bei den Slaven," *JbPT* 18 (1892): 127–58; N. Bonwetsch, "Die christliche vornicänische Literatur (mit Einschluss der jüdisch-hellenistischen und apokalyptischen) in altslavischen Handschriften," in *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius I: Der Überlieferung und der Bestand* (ed. A. Harnack; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1893), 886–917; C. Schmidt, "Übersicht über die vornicänische Literatur (einschliesslich der Apokryphen) in koptischer Sprache," in Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 918–24; M. McNamara, *Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975); T. Orlandi, "Gli apocrifi copti," *Augustin* 23 (1983): 58–71; M. van Esbroeck, "Gli apocrifi georgiani," *Augustin* 23 (1983): 145–59; S. J. Voicu, "Gli apocrifi armeni," *Augustin* 23 (1983): 161–80; and D. Bundy, "Pseudepigrapha in Syriac Literature," *SBL Seminar Papers*, 1991 (ed. E. H. Lovering, Jr.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 745–65.

38. J. H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research* (SCS 7; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976) (revised with a supplement, SCS 7S; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1981). The other major bibliography of the era was G. Dellling, *Bibliographie zur jüdisch-hellenistischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur 1900–1965* (TU 106; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969), revised as *Bibliographie zur jüdisch-hellenistischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur 1900–1970* (with M. Maser; 2nd ed., TU 106; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975).

tions of Kautzsch and Charles. Now thirty years old, the book has since been supplemented by two new comprehensive bibliographies: Andreas Lehnardt's *Bibliographie zu den JSHRZ*, published in 1999,<sup>39</sup> and the *Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research, 1850–1999*, published in 2001.<sup>40</sup> The former work addresses the texts included in the series JSHRZ (up to 1999), and so contains bibliographies for most of the Apocrypha as well. The latter is conceptually based on the range of texts presented in the *OTP* and was designed to update *Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, and thus omits the Apocrypha but concentrates more on texts that fall outside the chronological scope of the JSHRZ. Bibliographies of a specialized or thematic nature are plentiful,<sup>41</sup> while the volumes of the CEJL and JSHRZ (n.F.) series normally include very good bibliographic sections.

In the area of encyclopedia articles and other short-format scholarship, the notable major publications of the 1990s are the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*<sup>42</sup> and the third edition of the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*.<sup>43</sup> Both are quite familiar to scholars and contain valuable (if now perhaps a bit dated) entries on most of the Pseudepigrapha and related literature. Their twenty-first-century alternates are already at hand. Volumes of the *New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* are presently published or in preparation, while the forthcoming *Dictionary of Early Judaism*, edited by John J. Collins and Daniel Harlow, will contain entries on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha of the Second Temple era.

At present, one serial is dedicated to the study of Pseudepigrapha and related literature: the *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha and Related Literature*. At the same time, specialized serials such as *Henoch*, *Revue de Qumrân*,

39. See n. 7 above.

40. L. DiTommaso, *Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research, 1850–1999* (JSPSup [now LSTS] 39; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001). A second edition of the *Bibliography* is not anticipated in the near future. Instead, portions of it will continue to be updated either through the "Pseudepigrapha Notes" series of articles (see nn. 57 and 65 below) or in books dedicated to other topics, e.g., the *Apocryphal Daniel Literature*, which has a full bibliography (see the following note), and a volume in progress on historical apocalypticism of the postbiblical period, which will contain a bibliography of the ancient and medieval *Sibylline* corpora.

41. See F. I. Andersen, "Pseudepigrapha Studies in Bulgaria," *JSP* 1 (1987): 41–55; N. A. Meshcherskii, "Les apocryphes de l'ancien Testament dans la littérature slave ancien," *Bulletin d'études Karaites* 2 (1989): 47–64; L. Rosso Ubigli, "Gli apocrifi (o pseudepigraphi) dell'Antico Testamento bibliografia 1979–1989," *Henoch* 12 (1990): 259–321; C. A. Evans, *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1992); G. Boccacini, "Middle Judaism and Its Contemporary Interpreters (1986–1992): Methodological Foundations for the Study of Judaisms, 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.," *Henoch* 15 (1993): 207–34; H. J. de Bic, "Nieuwe literatuur over de intertestamentaire periode," *TRef* 35 (1995): 202–6; S. Medala, "A Review of Polish Research on Intertestamental Literature in the Last Ten Years (1986–1995)," *QC* 6 (1996): 17–38; B. Schaller, "Paralipomena Jeremiou: Annotated Bibliography in Historical Order," *JSP* 22 (2001): 91–118; L. DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature* (SVTP 20; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 316–508; M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch in Recent Research* (Friends of Dr. Williams's Library Lecture 58; London: Dr. Williams's Trust, 2005).

42. D. N. Freedman, ed., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992).

43. W. Kasper et al., eds., *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (3rd ed.; Freiburg: Herder, 1993–2001).

the *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, and *Dead Sea Discoveries*, as well as many first-rank serials of a broader compass, such as the *Journal of Biblical Literature* and the *Journal of Jewish Studies*, regularly contain articles on the subject. Monograph series that stress or incorporate studies on the Pseudepigrapha have become international in scope and are too numerous to list individually.<sup>44</sup> Two of the oldest and best series committed completely to the subject are from Brill: *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece* (PVTG) and *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* (SVTP). Books on the Pseudepigrapha and related literature appear regularly in *Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum* (TSAJ) from Mohr Siebeck, and, according to a different rationale, in *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* (CCSA) from Brepols. *Early Judaism and Its Literature* (SBLEJL, *olim* "Texts and Translations") and *Writings from the Greco-Roman World* (WGRW) are the chief SBL series for Pseudepigrapha studies. The *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* Supplement Series (JSPSup), formerly published by Sheffield Academic Press, is continued by the Library of Second Temple Studies (LSTS) under the T&T Clark impression.

One of the most exciting recent developments is the increasing use of electronic media in service of Pseudepigrapha research. An early pioneer was (and remains) Robert Kraft, whose notes from his University of Pennsylvania graduate seminars and other documents related to the Pseudepigrapha were uploaded to Web sites accessible to all scholars freely.<sup>45</sup> Since the late 1990s, electronic resources have come to form an essential component of the research tools available to the Pseudepigrapha scholar. Web sites for organizations such as the Society of Biblical Literature and the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls support an array of ancillary resources, which are supplemented fivefold by electronically accessible bibliographic databases such as *Old/New Testament Abstracts*, *Religious & Theological Abstracts*, and *RAMBI*, and twentyfold by the personal Web sites of individual scholars.<sup>46</sup> Some scholars even maintain their own Web-logs, or "blogs," where journal-style entries are continually composed, uploaded, and presented in reverse chronological order on a site dedicated to a specialized subject. The most useful of these is "PaleoJudaica," which is maintained by James Davila and provides virtually real-time information on publications and events relevant to the scholarly investigation of the Pseudepigrapha and associated topics.<sup>47</sup> In late 2006, Tony Chartrand-Burke opened a new academic blog, "Apocryphicity," that is designed to keep scholars abreast of developments concerning the study of Christian Apocrypha.<sup>48</sup>

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44. Although attributable to the increased popularity of the Pseudepigrapha specifically and early Judaism and Christianity generally, this is also a function of a more global change in academic publication.

45. <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak>.

46. J. Davila's "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Web site" ([http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www\\_sd/otpseud.html](http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www_sd/otpseud.html)) and T. Knittel's "Arbeitshilfen für das Studium der Pseudepigraphen" (<http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~nt/asp/index.htm>) are two of the most specialized Web sites.

47. <http://www.palco-judaica.com>.

48. <http://www.tonychartrand-burke.com/apocryphicity>. This blog is distinguished by its attention to the full range of the biblical Apocrypha that were composed or preserved in Christian



The most ambitious electronic enterprise, and the one that potentially provides the greatest service to scholarship, is the Online Critical Pseudepigrapha.<sup>49</sup> The site, edited by a Canadian team consisting of David Miller, Ken Penner, and Ian Scott, and presently hosted by the Acadia Divinity School, aims “to develop and publish electronic editions of the best critical texts of the ‘Old Testament’ Pseudepigrapha and related literature.” Although not yet a substitute for a full critical examination of a text, the OCP represents an instantly accessible portal for serious scholars seeking to approach any of the Pseudepigrapha at a level beyond that which is normally provided by online translations reproduced from sources whose copyright has expired. On the issue of the accessibility of texts through the Internet, a limited number of libraries and institutions now make available electronic copies of their manuscript catalogues,<sup>50</sup> and, in some cases, permit online access to digital reproductions of the manuscript folia themselves.<sup>51</sup>

## **The Future Is Now: Expanding and Understanding the Corpus<sup>52</sup>**

It might appear that Pseudepigrapha research has arrived at a crossroads. Current series such as the JSRZ (n.F.) and the CEJL maintain the impulse to restrain the category to Jewish texts written in the period between the death of Alexander the Great and the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, along with some writings that, while late and/or Christian, nevertheless contain central themes traceable to Second Temple Judaism. On the other hand, two new publications, *More Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (MOTP)* and *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, reflect in their own fashion the radical expansion of the corpus and in so doing illuminate the new paths upon which Pseudepigrapha research currently travels. Naturally,

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circles, which includes many of the classic Pseudepigrapha, as opposed to those blogs which concentrate on a category of New Testament Apocrypha, such as April DeConick’s “Forbidden Gospels Blog” (<http://forbiddengospels.blogspot.com>).

49. <http://ocp.acadiau.ca>.

50. On the Web sites of the libraries of St. John’s College and Trinity College at Cambridge, for instance, scholars can access electronic versions of pages from M. R. James’s manuscript catalogues. In addition, each page is frequently updated by data on publications since James.

51. The *OTP* appeared before the digital revolution, when manuscript books that could not be consulted *in situ* had to be obtained through photographic means, normally in microform format. (Even this was a relative luxury; one recalls Robert Grosseteste’s efforts to acquire manuscripts of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and other Greek texts from sources in Athens, or James Bruce’s recovery of the *Ethiopic Enoch* manuscripts.) However, many of the major libraries and institutions now have departments of reproduction services through which digital copies of manuscript folia may be purchased and received electronically. The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University is one institution where digital copies of portions of manuscripts are freely accessible online.

52. Portions of this section are adapted from “Jewish Pseudepigrapha and Christian Apocrypha: Definitions, Boundaries, and Points of Contact,” forthcoming in a volume edited by P. Piovaneli from the papers from a recent workshop, “Christian Apocryphal Texts for the New Millennium: Achievements, Prospects, and Challenges.”

each perspective assumes a certain integral relationship between the corpus and the concept of *apocryphité*, a relationship that additionally freights ideas germane to the principal functions of the category.

As its title suggests, *MOTP* intends to supply scholars with translations of an additional body of Jewish and Christian compositions. Its approximate *terminus ante quem* is 600 C.E., before the rise of Islam. Its general editors, Richard Bauckham and James Davila, have assembled an international group of scholars, and their collection addresses a remarkably large number of diverse works.<sup>53</sup> Besides complete or substantially complete texts, which alone number many dozens, the anticipated total includes both manuscript fragments and quotations embedded in a variety of sources. Like the *OTP* before it, the *MOTP* epitomizes the spirit of its generation, in this case, one that is characterized by an intensive search for fresh primary data via new sources, new manuscripts, and new texts, the last obtained by means intrinsic or extrinsic to the existing taxonomies. I will discuss each of these venues in turn.

The editorial decision to admit quotations of apocryphal sayings in *MOTP* represents a return to the fully inclusive approach to biblical apocrypha typical of the volumes of Fabricius and Migne in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively,<sup>54</sup> and of the scholarship of M. R. James and L. Ginzberg in the early part of the twentieth century.<sup>55</sup> In a 2003 essay, Kraft called for an update to James's classic little handbook, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament*,<sup>56</sup> a model for this type of approach. Inclusivity can mean several things, as we shall see. In the present sense, Kraft advocates a resumption of the quest for data regarding apocryphal traditions about biblical figures in media besides the Pseudepigrapha themselves. To my mind, a comprehensive list of these media would circumscribe the following items. Manuscript illustration, to take one example, is a significant vehicle for the transmission of apocryphal traditions, and the fact that the extant manuscript books are almost always medieval does not obviate the possibility that an illumination portrays an ancient or late antique apocryphal tradition. I suspect that the same may be said for other forms of visual religious representation in late mediaeval Europe or *quattrocento* Italy. Minor texts or fragmentary writings<sup>57</sup> that have been scribbled on manuscript paste-downs, fly-

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53. A provisional list is available at [http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www\\_sd/MOTP/index-motp.html](http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~www_sd/MOTP/index-motp.html).

54. J. A. Fabricius, ed., *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* (Hamburg: T. C. Felgincr, 1722–23); J.-P. Migne, ed., *Dictionnaire des apocryphes, ou Collection de tous les livres apocryphes relatifs à l'Ancien et au Nouveau Testament* (2 vols.; Encyclopédic théologique 3.23–24; Paris: Migne-Ateliers Catholiques, 1856–58).

55. M. R. James, *Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (London: SPCK, 1920); L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (sec n. 4 above).

56. For James, see the previous note. See also R. A. Kraft, "Reviving (and Refurbishing) the *Lost Apocrypha* of M. R. James," in *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Satran, and R. A. Clements; JSJSup 89; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 37–51.

57. Several examples will be found in L. DiTommaso, "Pseudepigrapha Notes II: 3. The Contribution of the Manuscript Catalogues of M.R. James," forthcoming.

sheets, margins, or binding matter are not always covered in detail in older catalogues, while incunabula may preserve printed versions of apocrypha for which the manuscript evidence no longer exists. In addition to the patristic and rabbinic testimonia, possible alternate literary sources of apocryphal traditions include citations in stichometries and lists of forbidden books; homilies and sermons (an already proven lode of Anglo-Saxon apocrypha); prayers and devotional material; lectionaries, synaxaria, and menologia; late antique and medieval catenae and florilegia; postilla, commentaries, and related genres; early dramatic compositions; references in world or biblical chronicles; and the miscellaneous writings that accompany whole or parts of Bibles in manuscript, such as alphabetical dictionaries of biblical figures, the prologues to the biblical books, and, sometimes the most obscure and tantalizing of all, interlinear or marginal notes and glosses.

The inclusion of manuscript fragments in the *MOTP*, which I take to refer to passages of apocryphal material embedded in manuscript books but not part of an identifiable text surviving in other copies, highlights the ongoing (and increasing) influence of autoptic manuscript investigation to Pseudepigrapha research.<sup>58</sup> It is still the case that the holdings of the world's great libraries and institutions remain the principal destination for any Pseudepigrapha scholar determined to recover new texts. Sometimes this is because their manuscript catalogues are so incomplete or obsolete that they overlook the riches of the collection. Other times the catalogues are first-rate but the treasures that they do record have yet to be mined fully.<sup>59</sup> There is a limit, too, to the amount of work that can be accomplished by a finite number of professional academics: Larry Hurtado estimates that only 1 percent of the five hundred thousand known manuscripts dating from the early Christian period have actually been published.<sup>60</sup>

Beyond the traditional manuscript repositories are other, relatively unmined veins of great potential richness. These include the Genizah of the Ben-Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo, which, over a century ago, revealed medieval manuscript copies of the ancient compositions of Sirach and the *Damascus Document*. The bulk of the recovered material now resides in the Cambridge University Library. Catalogues of these items, which number in excess of two hundred thousand,<sup>61</sup>

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58. The "Report on Pseudepigrapha Research" announced the potential discovery of a Slavonic version of the *Testament of Moses*. More than a few scholars have since pressed for details, but I had promised not to reveal anything until the claimant published his findings, which, as I was led to believe, would occur in a timely fashion. Years later, with no further contact and nothing appearing in print, it seems appropriate to add that the manuscript in question is supposed to reside in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Wien, although its specific class-mark was never disclosed. In my opinion, it is more likely that the text will prove to be a copy of a Slavonic *Life of Moses* than a Slavonic copy of the *Testament of Moses*; perhaps an expert in Slavonic apocrypha might one day verify the matter.

59. See further, e.g., DiTommaso, "The MS Catalogues of M. R. James."

60. L. W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 25.

61. S. C. Reif, "The Cairo Genizah," in J. Barton, ed., *The Biblical World* (2 vols.; London: Routledge, 2002), 1:287-304, at 289.

appear regularly. The vast majority of the texts are Jewish and medieval, but Greek and Syriac Christian writings, dating from as early as the fifth or sixth century and preserved as under-texts in palimpsests, are not unknown. Another prospective font of Pseudepigrapha is the extraordinarily large corpus of medieval Arabic manuscripts, not all of which are Islamic. Most of these texts have yet to be catalogued, or have been catalogued in no great detail, so that even a cursory search will reveal much.<sup>62</sup> Finally, there are the manuscript collections of libraries in Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe. This group includes not only Apocrypha preserved or composed in Slavonic (discussed above under “Pseudepigrapha Research, 1985–2007”), but also manuscripts in Greek, Latin, and other languages, which were amassed by the scholars and curators of the Tsarist era but whose influence on scholarship, until recently, has been relatively minimal. While catalogues of this material are not always easy to obtain, they do exist.

One area in which the *MOTP* differs from the *OTP*—and it is a substantive difference, I believe—is in its arrangement. The *OTP* secerns texts in two types and provides each with its own volume: apocalyptic literature and testaments in the first volume, and legends, wisdom and philosophical material, odes, prayers, psalms, and the fragments from the Judeo-Hellenistic authors in the second. In contrast, the texts of the *MOTP* are aligned according to the names of the biblical figures to which they are attributed or with which they are associated. Whether this arrangement is deliberate or will be retained is unclear. What is important is that it reflects a hallmark of current Pseudepigrapha research in its concentration on tracing the trajectories of the reception and interpretation of a biblical figure throughout the ancient, late antique, and even early medieval eras.<sup>63</sup> The approach allows the identification and evaluation of a diverse group of texts, which are important tasks in themselves, while facilitating the discussion of broader questions related to the issue of authority, such as the reasons why specific texts were ascribed to certain figures, the nature of the exegetical methods by which these figures underwent a transformation of character or attribute, and the needs and expectations of the communities responsible for these transformations. The expansion of the corpus of the Pseudepigrapha that was effected by the recovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the publication of the *OTP* and its sister collections radically increased the number of texts associated with a given biblical figure—in some cases two- or even threefold.<sup>64</sup> Since then, figure after figure from the ancient Jewish Scriptures has been subjected to intense critical enquiry,

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62. See, as one example out of many, the list of texts attributed to biblical figures in P. Spath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits* (3 vols.; Cairo: H. Friedrich, 1928–34).

63. Although Fabricius and Migne arrange their material according to the names of the biblical figures, their chief aim is presentation, not analysis. Ginzberg’s *Legends*, too, offers more in the way of synthetic narration than systematic analysis.

64. Several studies were products of a slightly earlier period, however: G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (SPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961); A. F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic Literature* (NovTSup 46; Leiden: Brill, 1977); R. A. Kraft, “‘Ezra’ Materials in Judaism and Christianity,” *ANRW* 11.19.1 (1979): 119–36; and M. E. Stone, “The Metamorphosis of Ezra: Jewish Apocalypse and Medieval Vision,” *JTS* 33 (1982): 1–18.

with Adam, Balaam, Baruch, Daniel, Enoch, Ezekiel, Joseph, Moses, and Solomon Apocrypha each the subject of at least one major monograph.<sup>65</sup> In a classic example of the beneficial effects of a critical mass of focused investigation, the studies themselves have further expanded these corpora, uncovering new terrain that others might explore.

The other important recent publication so noted is the two-volume collection of translations, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*.<sup>66</sup> Over the past two decades, specialists of biblical Apocrypha have engaged in a discussion centering on issues of categories and definitions, and in particular whether the traditional taxonomic hierarchies or classifications of the corpora remain useful or even valid. A curious aspect of the discussion is that it has proceeded along two distinct trajectories, one of which involves scholars who specialize in Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, the other those whose study New Testament Apocrypha, although the trajectories in fact braid at various points. Another curious aspect is that, notwithstanding the conclusions premised upon the variables unique to each, both discussions seem to have arrived at some similar conclusions.

Within Pseudepigrapha circles, the work of both Kraft and Marinus de Jonge has proceeded from the recognition that much of the corpus was transmitted in Christian contexts.<sup>67</sup> No one, of course, disputes that the *OTP* contains Christian compositions, or that the best-known forms of other texts were products of late antiquity and/or Christian redaction. The issue, however, is whether in their earliest manuscript forms some of the texts actually can be considered Jewish writings.<sup>68</sup> If not, then the starting point for their discussion, so it is argued, ought to be the Christian “default” setting that is connoted by the extant manuscripts, rather than the original Jewish forms, if indeed these are always recoverable by

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65. A roster of the studies devoted to these and other figures will be found in L. DiTommaso, “Pseudepigrapha Notes I: 1. *Lunationes Danielis*. 2. Biblical Figures outside the Bible,” *JSP* 15 (2006): 39–64.

66. F. Bovon and P. Geoltrain, eds., *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens I* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442; Paris: Gallimard, 1997); P. Geoltrain and J.-R. Kaestli, eds., *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens II* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 516; Paris: Gallimard, 2005).

67. R. A. Kraft, “The Multiform Jewish Heritage of Early Christianity,” in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (ed. J. Neusner; 4 vols.; SJLA 12; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 3:174–99; idem, “Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures: A Methodological Probe,” in A. Benoît, ed., *Paganisme, judaïsme, christianisme: mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1978), 207–26; idem, “The Pseudepigrapha in Christianity,” in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. C. Reecves; SBLJL 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994) 55–86; idem, “Setting the Stage and Framing Some Central Questions,” *JSJ* 32 (2001): 371–95; M. de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature: The Case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (SVTP 18; Leiden: Brill, 2003), which collects a series of previously published and new essays on the issue.

68. See, e.g., the other relevant essays in *JSJ* 32, no. 4 (2001) besides Kraft, “Setting the Stage”: J. W. van Henten and B. Schaller, “Christianization of Ancient Jewish Writings,” 369–70; M. A. Knibb, “Christian Adoption and Transmission of Jewish Pseudepigrapha: The Case of *1 Enoch*,” 396–415; and D. C. Harlow, “The Christianization of Early Jewish Pseudepigrapha: The Case of *3 Baruch*,” 416–44. De Jonge has been championing the view of the Christian nature of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* for over half a century.

merely deleting readily identifiable Christian elements. Over time, candidates for reconsideration came to include the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, *3 Baruch*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, *Paraleipomena Ieremiou*, the *Lives of the Prophets*, the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Greek Life of Adam and Eve*, and *5–6 Ezra*.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, several of these texts are included in *ÉAC*, or otherwise have become part of the category that now carries the label “Early Christian Literature.”<sup>70</sup>

This line of inquiry already has had profound effects. It influences our conception of what was “Jewish” and what was “Christian”—and what might have been “in between,”<sup>71</sup> if we are to impose cardboard categories on what in reality was a nuanced, dynamic system. The process of reconsideration, moreover, need not be unidirectional: Esther Chazon in a recent article argues for the Jewish roots of a prayer in the *Apostolic Constitutions*,<sup>72</sup> while Jewish back-borrowing from Christians is attested in post-Mishnaic literature involving both Enoch and Daniel.<sup>73</sup>

An inclination to focus on the text as it is represented by the earliest manuscript evidence also extends the chronological boundary of the category. Implicit in the limited collections of Kautzsch and Charles was a view of the Pseudepigrapha in terms of the Apocrypha, which it resembled in its number of texts, apparent internal coherence,<sup>74</sup> and, given the contemporary views on the provenance and date of their texts, general *Sitz im Leben*. This perspective partially derived from the expectation that these texts would illuminate the proximate background of the New Testament. In the *OTP*, Charlesworth reset the *terminus ante quem* to accommodate texts composed in the period to 200 C.E.,<sup>75</sup> as well as selections from those that were written afterwards, as long as they preserved older Jewish traditions. This had the additional effect of further distinguishing the category Pseudepigrapha from that of the Apocrypha. Now, with the inclusion of the texts in *ÉAC* and *MOTP*, and, at least in some circles, with the seismic shift in focus to the period occupied by the early Christian manuscript sources, the chronological limits have been extended once again.

69. De Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the OT*, 39–68.

70. See, most importantly, P. Bettolo, A. Giambelluca Kossova, C. Leonardi, E. Norelli, and L. Perrone, *Ascensio Isaiae: Textus* (CCSA 7; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995); and E. Norelli, *Ascensio Isaiae: Commentarius* (CCSA 8; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995).

71. For example, J. R. Davila in a new book attempts to isolate signature features that might assist in determining whether an apocryphon derives from Jewish or Christian *terroir* (*The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?* [JSJSup 105; Leiden: Brill, 2005]).

72. E. Chazon, “A ‘Prayer Alleged to be Jewish’ in the *Apostolic Constitutions*,” in Chazon et al., *Things Revealed*, 261–77. The paper reverses a trend that since 1985 tended to minimize the Jewish origins of these prayers.

73. A. Y. Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); DiTommaso, *Apocryphal Daniel Literature*.

74. While no one actually claimed this coherence, over time the Pseudepigrapha of Kautzsch and especially that of Charles acquired a quasi-canonical status, as did, later on, the Pseudepigrapha of Charlesworth. Such a thing is perhaps inevitable.

75. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, I:xxv.

Yet even these limits soon may be under review. In my opinion, a fairly solid boundary still separates scholars who work principally with ancient or late antique texts from those whose interests reside with medieval apocrypha. I have noted that specialists of the insular Apocrypha tend to approach Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and New Testament Apocrypha with equal vigor; *mutatis mutandis*, this is true for medievalists as a class. Medievalists also work mainly with texts lacking a relatively pellucid tradition history, texts that instead exhibit a textual fluidity typical to the composition pattern of so many postbiblical literary complexes, such as the Hekhalot tractates, the Secondary Adam literature, and the Daniel/Methodius apocalyptic, as well as the complicated, interrelated cycle of texts about Mary and Pilate that stem from the *Proteuangelium Iacobi*, the *Euangelium Pseudo-Matthaei*, and *De natiuitate Mariae*. Gradually and in piecemeal fashion, these complicated constellations of related texts, which were composed mainly in the millennium from Justinian to Lepanto, are coming within the purview of the Pseudepigrapha scholar.

The *ÉAC* also represents the culmination of a collinear taxonomical investigation designed to re-evaluate the definition and parameters—and thus the contents—of the traditional category of New Testament Apocrypha.<sup>76</sup> The investigation, which in its critical, formative stage was associated mostly with the work of Éric Junod and Jean-Claude Picard,<sup>77</sup> is still active, having reached a nexus of sorts in the concept of *apocryphité*.<sup>78</sup> This paper is not the vehicle for a full discussion of its history and results, which, while conducted chiefly in the domain of early Christian literature, informs the field of biblical Apocrypha

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76. An approximately commensurable debate occurred in Pseudepigrapha circles. See S. P. Brock, review of Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Volume 1*, *JJS* 35 (1984): 200–209; M. E. Stone, “Categorization and Classification of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” *Abr-Nahrain* 24 (1986): 167–77; and M. de Jonge, “The So-Called Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament and Early Christianity,” in *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism* (ed. P. Borgen and S. Giverson; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 59–71.

77. É. Junod, “Apocryphes du NT ou apocryphes chrétiens anciens? Remarques sur la désignation d’un corpus et indications bibliographiques sur les instruments de travail récents,” *ÉTR* 58 (1983): 409–21, esp. 411–12; idem, “La littérature apocryphe chrétienne constitue-t-elle un objet d’études?” *Revue des études anciennes* 93 (1991): 397–414; idem, “Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament: une appellation erronée et une collection artificielle: Discussion de la nouvelle définition proposée par W. Schneemelcher,” *Apocrypha* 3 (1992): 17–46; J.-C. Picard, “L’Apocrypha à l’étroit: Notes historiographiques sur les corpus d’apocryphes bibliques,” *Apocrypha* 1 (1990): 69–117. Picard’s essay is reprinted in his *Le continent apocryphe: Essai sur les littératures apocryphes juive et chrétienne* (Instrumenta patristica 36; Steenbrugis: Brepols, 1999), 13–51, which also contains the previously unpublished, “Comment découvrir pratiquement l’existence et certains caractères du continent apocryphe,” 7–10.

78. See, e.g., J.-D. Kaestli and D. Marguerat, eds., *Le mystère apocryphe: Introduction à une littérature méconnue* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1995); I. Ullern-Wcité, “Pour une compréhension de la signification apocryphe dans le continent scripturaire,” *Apocrypha* 6 (1995): 235–78; P. Giscl, “Apocryphes et canon: leurs rapports et leurs statuts respectifs: Un questionnement théologique,” *Apocrypha* 7 (1996): 225–34; S. C. Mimouni, ed., *Apocryphité: histoire d’un concept transversal aux religions du livre en hommage à Pierre Geoltrain* (BÉHÉSIR 113; Turnhout: Brepols, 2002); P. Piovanelli, “What Is a Christian Apocryphal Text and How Does It Work? Some Observations on Apocryphal Hermeneutics,” *NedTT* 59 (2005): 31–40.

in its entirety. For our purposes, three conclusions, which are presented here in a highly synthetic version, are important: (1) there is no intrinsic difference between apocryphal texts and canonical texts; (2) inclusion in the canon was an essentially theological and ecclesiastical decision; and (3) the notion of *apocryphité* cannot be chronologically confined to the period before the second century C.E., or the rise of Islam, or by any other arbitrary interrupt. In my view, all three conclusions have much merit but cannot be accepted without modification.

Let us return to the issue raised at the beginning of this section. Based on the recent changes to the field and the challenges to the category, it might appear that Pseudepigrapha scholars are being forced to decide whether they are Second Temple experts who specialize in the literature of the period, a great portion of which naturally consists of the Pseudepigrapha (and all the more if we factor the relevant Dead Sea texts in the equation), or whether they are experts in the much broader field of biblical Apocrypha, in which case a specialization restricted to texts composed by Second Temple Jews is entirely arbitrary. My sense, however, is that such a crossroads, if ever it existed, was arrived at and passed long ago by the *OTP*, which by no stretch of the imagination could be said to have been restricted exclusively to Second Temple texts. Not only did Charlesworth's own definition admit writings up to the start of third century, but, as we have seen, texts such as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* represent forms of a tradition that were both late and Christian, while those such as the *Diēgēsis Daniēlis* were texts that actually were both late and Christian. The recent and future Pseudepigrapha research only confirms the viability of this new direction. While unmistakably reflecting the scholarly perspectives of the current generation, both the *MOTP* and *ÉAC* embody in their own fashion the worthy goal that underwrote the compilation of the *OTP*: to discover and present new texts and to reinvestigate old ones in the light of these discoveries.

As a category, the Pseudepigrapha of Kautzsch and Charles is extinct, and so much the better, since its formulation, as I have intimated, nearly single-mindedly served to bring the New Testament into sharper relief. What has evolved instead is an inclusive corpus of potentially hundreds of texts—ancient and medieval, Jewish and Christian, attributive and associative, even (according to some) drawn from the Old Testament and the New—plus hundreds of other traditions, from which scholars can draw at will, according to their own purposes.<sup>79</sup> These purposes, moreover, have undergone a complementary evolution and expansion. Let me be clear: the impact of the recent research regarding the constitution of the Pseudepigrapha does not affect the capacity of these texts to continue to illuminate the world of the New Testament. In fact, the traditional points of contact continue to be focal points for study today.<sup>80</sup> Of course, a familiarity with new texts or ways of thinking does not immediately precipitate results, and it was a

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79. In the end we are forced to make a consensual distinction between useful categories and perfect ones; on the subject, see J. H. Charlesworth, "The JSRZ and OTP: A Celebration," in Lichtenberger and Oegema, *Jüdische Schriften*, 11–34, at 22.

80. Major topics are outlined in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, 94–114.



long time before many New Testament scholars would transcend the traditional conceptions of the Pseudepigrapha. One result was the neglect of the Pseudepigrapha in many introductions to the New Testament published since the *OTP*.<sup>81</sup> There are many exceptions to this rule,<sup>82</sup> but it is not unfair to say that even among recent exemplars the tendency holds true.<sup>83</sup> A second result, as Charlesworth observed, was a basically cosmetic knowledge of the corpus that suggested a lack of integration and a sense of the insights these texts could convey.<sup>84</sup> The major change, however, is that the category no longer overwhelmingly determines its function; rather, it is able simultaneously to engage multiple functions. In my view, this is arguably the most significant contribution of the *OTP* and the subsequent two decades of Pseudepigrapha research.

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81. E.g., R. Pregeant, *Engaging the New Testament: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995); J. Dranc, *Introducing the New Testament* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986); and E. D. Freed, *The New Testament: A Critical Introduction* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1986), do not contain a reference to the Pseudepigrapha in their indexes, while the volume of D. Duling and N. Perrin, *The New Testament: Proclamation and Parenthesis, Myth and History* (3rd ed.; Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1994), contains a scant handful of references to *1 Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, and the *Sibylline Oracles*.

82. E.g., R. E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997); C. A. Evans and S. E. Porter, eds., *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2000); and P. J. Achtemeier et al., *Introducing the New Testament: Its Literature and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001). Evans's *Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1992) contains long sections on most of the Pseudepigrapha, among other sources that might shed light on early Christianity. Evans's purpose is explicit: "If one is to do competent NT exegesis, one must know something of these writings and of their relevance for the NT."

83. See, e.g., B. D. Ehrman, *The New Testament and Other Early Christian Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), which does not contain even the Christian-authored or -redacted Pseudepigrapha; and idem, *The New Testament: A Historical Introduction to the Early Christian Writings* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), which contains three references to *1 Enoch*, two to *4 Ezra*, and one to *2 Baruch*, with a chapter on pseudonymity that mentions none of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. However, these are only a few examples of what is a common phenomenon.

84. "It is disheartening to pick up book after book, published by New Testament scholars, and find neatly separated out for scrutiny the use of a pertinent theme in 'The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.' Tables of contents disclose that these sections customarily appear in the beginnings of books and cover less than four pages. These documents . . . are not only treated cavalierly, but they are also isolated and not integrated into the discussion" (Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, 49–50).



## **II**

### **The Pseudepigrapha and the Synoptic Gospels**



# JEWISH MARTYROLOGY AND THE DEATH OF JESUS

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Whether one approaches the subject matter as a historian investigating Jesus or as a theologian seeking the roots of the church's confession(s) about Jesus, a perennially important set of questions focuses on Jesus' own understanding of his death and its significance. Did he indeed "see it coming" and, if so, on what basis? If he understood that his ministry would end in a violent death, how did that shape his understanding of that ministry and, indeed, his role in the story of God's interventions in the life of God's people? And then, of course, what is the relationship between Jesus' self-understanding in this regard and the interpretations of his death and its significance expressed and developed in the literary witnesses to early Christian proclamation?

The study of the development of Jewish martyrology during the Second Temple period has proven immensely important in the discussion of these questions, taking the conversation to a much more nuanced level than, for example, attempting to discern to what extent the Suffering Servant song of Isaiah influenced the historical Jesus and trying to decide these questions on that basis. A landmark work in this regard was Sam K. Williams's dissertation, which claimed that familiarity with the traditions of the Maccabean martyrs provided the essential resource by which the early church (not Jesus himself) began to interpret Jesus' death as an act that brought benefit to others.<sup>1</sup> More recently, Jan Willem van Henten conducted a major study of the accounts of the Maccabean martyrs in 2 Maccabees 6–7 and 4 Maccabees in the larger context of martyrdom and voluntary death in the Greco-Roman world, drawing out both the political and theological significance attributed to the willing deaths of the obedient, righteous persons in the context of the covenant.<sup>2</sup> He has also been keenly sensitive to the implications of these texts for the development of early Christian soteriology.<sup>3</sup> Daniel Bailey has similarly used both Jewish martyrological texts and a wider

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1. S. K. Williams, *Jesus' Death As Saving Event: The Background and Origin of a Concept* (HDR 2; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975).

2. J. W. van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 & 4 Maccabees* (JSJSup 57; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

3. J. W. van Henten, "The Tradition-Historical Background of Romans 3:25: A Search for

sampling of texts from the Hellenistic and Roman period to illumine the meaning of ἱλαστήριον, a term that has played an important role in the discussion of early Christian theology.<sup>4</sup> Several recent, noteworthy studies on the self-understanding of the historical Jesus have delved into the traditions of the deaths of the prophets and the deaths of the Jewish martyrs as the means by which to construct historically plausible descriptions of Jesus' expectations of death and the significance he assigned to his death.<sup>5</sup>

The work of these scholars continues to bear witness to the importance of the texts collected in the Old Testament Apocrypha and Old Testament Pseudepigrapha as the matrix within which, and the foundations upon which, early Christian reflection on the death of Jesus took shape--- including Jesus' own understanding of his death. In this essay, I will first review the two principal backgrounds documented in these texts (the deaths of the righteous martyrs and the deaths of the prophets) and then explore the significance of these backgrounds for the interpretation of Jesus' death, beginning with Jesus' own understanding.<sup>6</sup>

## **Early Jewish Martyrs and the Significance of Their Deaths**

The term "martyr" usually designates a person who chooses to accept death rather than violate his or her allegiance to a higher cause. In religious settings, this tends to involve refusing to compromise one's performance of one's obligations to God and the values or behaviors prescribed by God as delineated by the particular religious tradition to which one adheres. The word, which also appears in legal contexts in Greco-Roman society to describe someone who bears testimony relevant to a case, highlights the public nature of this renunciation of life for the sake of piety, and hence the "testimony" that the witness bears (increasingly in forensic settings where the martyrs are put on trial) to the supreme value of fidelity to God. There is a "message" associated with this death, even if the message is as general as "our way of life is worth dying for."

Although martyrs would be far more commonly and broadly celebrated in

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Pagan and Jewish Parallels," in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology* (ed. M. C. de Boer; JSNTSup 84; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 101-28.

4. Daniel P. Bailey, "Jesus as the Mercy Seat: The Semantics and Theology of Paul's Use of *Hilasterion* in Romans 3:25" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1999); forthcoming as *Jesus as the Mercy Seat: Paul's Use of Hilasterion in Romans 3:25 with an Analysis of 4 Maccabees 17:22 and Patristic Interpretation* (WUNT; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).

5. Marinus de Jonge, *Jesus, the Servant Messiah* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 32-54; idem, *God's Final Envoy: Early Christology and Jesus' Own View of His Mission* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 12-33; James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (Christology in the Making I; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 784-824.

6. Large portions of this essay were previously published in the entry, "Martyrs and Martyrdom in Jewish Late Antiquity," written for *The Encyclopedia of the Historical Jesus* (ed. Craig A. Evans; London: Routledge, 2008). The author is grateful to the publisher and editor for permission to re-present this material here.

Christian literature and experience, the Western tradition of the religious martyr is chiefly rooted in Second Temple Judaism. While there are examples of martyrs earlier in Jewish literature, the martyr rises to prominence for the first time in texts written in the shadow of the Hellenizing reform and Maccabean revolution. The Jerusalem elites, led first by the high priest Jason and then by his usurper, Menelaus, sought to refound Jerusalem as a Greek city with a Greek constitution, initiatives that were welcomed by the Seleucid king Antiochus IV, who saw this as a means to a more unified kingdom (and welcomed the additional funds being promised for the privileges). Local in-fighting among Jason, Menelaus, and other parties led Antiochus to support harsh, repressive measures against continued observance of the Judean's ancestral customs. The value of these customs became an essential rallying point for resistance.<sup>7</sup>

Despite the coercive measures employed, Jews were remembered to have resisted by persevering in their ancestral ways and distinctive practices, even though this directly resulted in their deaths. The author of 1 Maccabees mentions that those who preserved copies of Torah were put to death, and he tells briefly of the execution, together with their infants, of Jewish mothers who had circumcised their babies. He also relates that many "chose to die rather than to be defiled by food or to profane the holy covenant" (1 Macc 1:60–64). No particular value, however, is attached to their deaths except as a mark of their fidelity to their ancestral way of life.

The author of 2 Maccabees, however, a text generally held to have been written in the late second or early first century B.C.E.,<sup>8</sup> offers dramatically expanded narration of those who refused to eat defiling foods as a sign of their acquiescence to apostasy, telling in detail of the martyrdoms of the aged priest Eleazar, seven brothers, and the mother of the seven (6:18–7:42). The author sets these martyrdoms within an interpretative frame. On the one hand, he presents their torments, in keeping with the Deuteronomistic view of Israel's rising and falling fortune, as a manifestation of God's chastisement of Israel, which has been unfaithful to the covenant, particularly in the persons of its Hellenizing high priest and aristocracy. It is a sign of God's mercy to punish God's people before their sins have reached the point of no return (2 Macc 6:12–17). The seventh brother, the final martyr to receive the author's detailed attention, voices a more nuanced hope in this context, however, namely, that God would "soon show mercy" toward the rest of the nation" (2 Macc 7:37) and, indeed, that their deaths would "bring an

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7. For brief, synthetic reconstructions of this period, see John H. Hayes and Sara R. Mandell, *The Jewish People in Classical Antiquity: From Alexander to Bar Kochba* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 38–59; David A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 45–52. Landmark studies of the Hellenization crisis and its causes include Viktor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1961), 117–203; Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 255–309; Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* (2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 1:221–85.

8. On the date of 2 Maccabees, see the recent discussions in van Henten, *Jewish Martyrs*, 50–56; deSilva, *Apocrypha*, 268–70.

end to the wrath of the Almighty” against the nation (2 Macc 7:38). The martyrs offer their lives, thus, to hasten the “reconciliation” with God that they expect would follow the period of chastisement (2 Macc 7:33).<sup>9</sup>

It is noteworthy that the martyrs die out of a *refusal* to break God’s laws (2 Macc 6:19–20, 30; 7:2), not as a consequence of their own participation in apostasy (i.e., as a punishment that justly falls on them as individual transgressors). While they suffer “justly” as part of the disobedient nation, they are also in a position to offer their lives to God out of innocence and obedience as a plea that God would act favorably toward the disobedient nation. Within the narrative frame, the author suggests that God has accepted the martyrs’ plea, for in the immediately following scene Judas and his armies enjoy their initial successes, “for the wrath of the Lord had turned to mercy” (2 Macc 8:5). The martyrs thus stand in the tradition of Moses and David, who, as it is related in *Mek. Pisha* 1.103–13, offered their lives on behalf of a disobedient nation that had provoked God’s wrath.

The date and provenance of 2 Maccabees both support the thesis that such reflection on the significance of the voluntary death of righteous, obedient martyrs as one finds therein would have been available to Jesus. It is not necessary, of course, to maintain that the actual martyrs (the historicity of these narratives being rather problematic) had viewed their deaths this way, but only that the author of 2 Maccabees joins the foregoing interpretation to the paradigm of the martyr’s death in such a way that future martyrs could think of their own deaths in terms of bringing benefit to a larger group of people, particularly in regard to restoring God’s favor toward a disobedient people by an exemplary act of obedience and covenant loyalty. The martyrs in 2 Maccabees also give frequent and prominent expression to the expectation of vindication by God through resurrection (2 Macc 7:9, 11, 14, 23, 29, 36) or, in other texts (such as 4 Maccabees and Wisdom 1–5), to some other form of life beyond death, suggesting that this was an integral part of this paradigm, even as it appears to be an integral part of the passion predictions in some form.<sup>10</sup>

A later text, 4 Maccabees, returns to the stories of Eleazar, the seven brothers, and their mother found in 2 Maccabees 6–7, using them as the focal examples that provide the climactic proof that “devout reason,” that is to say, the rational faculty that has been trained by following the Jewish Torah, can master the passions (4 Macc 1:1, 7–9) and thus achieve the moral ideal of the Greco-Roman sages. 4 Maccabees is a Jewish text written in Greek somewhere between Syrian Antioch and Cilicia, sometime in the mid to late first century C.E.<sup>11</sup> While this text

9. Van Henten, *Jewish Martyrs*, 155.

10. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, 821–24. Dunn argues quite plausibly, however, that Jesus’ hope of resurrection would probably have meant his taking part in the general “resurrection to life,” not a special act of God long prior to the general resurrection.

11. The most compelling argument for provenance thus far has been put forward by Jan Willem van Henten, “A Jewish Epitaph in a Literary Text: 4 Macc 17:8–10,” in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (ed. J. W. van Henten and P. W. van der Horst; AGJU 21; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 44–69. On the various arguments concerning the date of 4 Maccabees, see David A. deSilva, *4 Maccabees*:



is too far removed in time and geography to be said to have exerted any influence on the historical Jesus,<sup>12</sup> it is valuable as a witness to Jewish reflection on the significance of the death of the righteous martyr as a parallel, and perhaps mutually informing, development to early Christian interpretations of the significance of the death of Jesus.

The author of 4 Maccabees attests to a much more highly developed theology of the efficacy of the death of the righteous person than its source, 2 Maccabees. Both continue to view these deaths as appeals to God for “mercy” (2 Macc 7:37; 4 Macc 6:28), and both view reconciliation—and, therefore, God’s saving intervention in the affairs of the nation—as the result of these deaths (2 Macc 7:33, 38; 8:5; 4 Macc 17:22b). In two passages, however, the author of 4 Maccabees uses much more explicitly sacrificial and cultic imagery to describe the efficacy of the martyrs’ death. On the basis of his voluntary obedience to the point of death, Eleazar prays: “Be merciful to your people, and let our punishment suffice for them. Make my blood their purification, and take my life in exchange (ἀντίψυχον) for theirs” (6:28–29). After the martyrdoms of all nine figures, the author elaborates on their achievement in cultic terms: “the tyrant was punished, and the homeland purified—they having become, as it were, a ransom (ἀντίψυχον) for the sin of our nation. And through the blood of those devout ones and their death as a propitiatory sacrifice (ἱλαστήριον), divine Providence preserved Israel that previously had been mistreated” (17:21–22). The author twice uses the language of “cleansing” or “purification” to speak of the political results of the resistance spawned by the martyrs’ dedication (1:11; 17:21), by which he means the expulsion of Antiochus and his forces.

The connection between the violent shedding of blood (6:29; 17:22) and the exchange of a life for the life of another (ἀντίψυχον) resonates with the fundamental principle undergirding the Levitical sacrificial system, namely, that the blood of sacrificial victims was provided by God for the sake of making atonement between God and God’s people: “as life, it is blood that atones for a life” (ἀντί τῆς ψυχῆς [Lev 17:11]). Moreover, the term ἱλαστήριον (17:22) is related to the verb used throughout the Septuagint for “propitiate,” “atone,” or “reconcile,” and is itself used to describe the cover of the ark of the covenant, the place where atonement is made on Israel’s behalf. While a human sacrifice is nowhere prescribed by Torah, in the absence of a functioning sacrificial system (as was the case during the period of these martyrs) the voluntary self-sacrifice of a righteous person is seen to function *as would* a sin offering (and can come to be regarded as a superior one, as in Heb 9:11–14 reflecting on the death of Jesus). The martyrs’ deaths have two important results: God now acts favorably toward God’s people to deliver them; covenant obedience among God’s people is revived (17:22; 18:4).

This introduction to the development of Jewish martyrology would be

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*Introduction and Commentary on the Text of Codex Sinaiticus* (Septuagint Commentary Series; Leiden: Brill, 2006), xiv–xvii.

12. Even Williams, who dates the work as early as one possibly could (*Saving Event*, 197–202), only affirms its influence on the post-Easter Antiochene Christian community (pp. 248–54).

incomplete without looking at several prominent precursors. 4 Maccabees explicitly connects the martyrs' predicament with the stories of Isaac, Daniel, and the three youths in Assyria (4 Macc 16:16–23; 18:10–19; see Genesis 22; Daniel 3; 6), who are seen as important prototypes of the martyrs. Second Temple–period developments of the tradition of the binding of Isaac emphasized his voluntary consent to die in obedience to God's command (*Tg. Neof.* 22:10; Josephus, *A.J.* 1.232; Pseudo-Philo, *L.A.B.* 32.2–3). More significantly, Isaac's near-sacrifice is believed to have beneficial effects for the people of Israel in their relationship with God. The merits of this obedient death result in the election of Israel (Pseudo-Philo, *L.A.B.* 18.5), are recalled before God in the Levitical sacrifices (*Lev. Rab.* on Lev 1:5, 10; *Tg. Neof.* Lev 22:27), prefigure the Passover sacrifices (*Jub.* 17:15), and remain in God's memory to assure the favorable hearing of the prayers of Israel when in distress (*Tg. Neof.* Gen 22:14).<sup>13</sup>

The tales in Daniel 3 and 6 gained currency in the Antiochene persecution, when the visions of Daniel were composed. The story of the three youths who braved the fiery furnace rather than yield to the king's command to bow down before an idol anticipates the forensic situation in which the martyrs would find themselves. The developments of this tale in Greek Daniel move in the direction of interpreting the obedient death of the righteous as an act that reconciles the people to God. Prayer of Azariah 15–17 could indeed be read as a petition offered by Azariah that the willing, obedient deaths of himself and his two companions would be accepted by God and have the effect of properly offered burnt offerings, and that their sacrifice would have an expiatory effect for the sins of the people that led to Gentile domination in the first place.<sup>14</sup> Up to the point of their miraculous deliverance, Daniel 3 is essentially a martyr text.

The emphasis in these texts falls on the obedience of the martyr as effective for the relationship between God and God's people, not the shedding of blood per se.<sup>15</sup> Sacrificial imagery is interpretive. As such, martyr ideology is a development of the covenant theology of Deuteronomy, according to which the people's return to obedience effects the reversal of the covenant curses (Deut 30:1–5), using the imagery of the Levitical sacrificial system (both because it provides a means for describing reconciliation with God and because of the similarities between the ritual violence of sacrifice and the fate of Jewish martyrs). The signal difference is that now it is the *representative* obedience of the martyrs that brings a return of covenant blessings to the larger, disobedient nation.

A second, closely related background is the development of the tradition of the deaths of the prophets. The earliest witness to this tradition appears to be Neh 9:26. Describing the period of the divided monarchy, the author writes that the people “cast your law behind their backs and killed your prophets who had rebuked them so that they might return to you.” While the historical books,

13. These developments are extensively documented in Robert J. Daly, “The Soteriological Significance of the Sacrifice of Isaac,” *CBQ* 39 (1988): 45–75.

14. This dimension of the Prayer of Azariah in its literary context is brought out clearly in Craig A. Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20* (WBC 34B; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001), 122.

15. Williams, *Saving Event*, 169.

together with the prophetic books, of the Hebrew Bible give ample attention to the witness of these prophets, they are rather lacking in regard to details concerning their violent deaths (save for the stoning of Zechariah, 2 Chr 24:17–22). The first-century C.E. collection of *Lives of the Prophets* provides a bridge between the scriptural tradition of the prophets as obedient witnesses to the requirements of God's covenant and the traditions of the prophets as martyrs, which is attested as a "given" of Jewish cultural knowledge in several early Christian texts (Matt 23:29–36//Luke 11:47–51; Acts 7:52).<sup>16</sup> Expanding the biblical tradition, the *Lives of the Prophets* tells of the deaths of Isaiah (*Vit. Proph.* 1.1), Jeremiah (2.1), Ezekiel (3.1–2), Micah (6.1–2), Amos (7.1–3), and Zechariah (23.1) on account of their bearing witness to the word of the Lord, confronting the covenant infidelity of Israel and its rulers. Another text, the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, a work that in its present form has clearly been heavily edited by Christian scribes but derives from a Jewish original, describes the persecution and martyrdom of Isaiah in detail, fully combining the prophetic and martyrological traditions.<sup>17</sup> This is not to say that every prophet was remembered to have died a martyr's death on account of their witness to the righteous demands of God's covenant. Within the *Lives of the Prophets*, the majority still die peacefully. Nonetheless, the traditions about the violent deaths of prophets about which the Jewish Scriptures are silent have multiplied significantly by the time of Jesus, who is thus well poised to regard himself standing in line with this tradition (perhaps even as the climax of this tradition, as the parable of the wicked tenants suggests).<sup>18</sup>

Examples of Jewish martyrs from the Maccabean period on could be multiplied. In 1 Macc 2:29–38, large numbers of Jews are reported to have refused to defend themselves when attacked on the Sabbath, so as not to violate the Sabbath. Philo relates in his *In Flaccum* how, during the anti-Jewish riots in Alexandria, many Jews repeated the bravery of the martyrs celebrated in 2 Maccabees 6–7, refusing to deny their way of life by eating pork to escape physical abuse and even lynching. The figure of Razis (2 Macc 14:37–46) is often identified as a martyr (committing suicide so as to avoid the degradation of torture), as are the literary characters of Taxo and his sons, who commit to fast for three days and depart to a cave in the desert to die rather than participate in apostasy (*T. Mos.* 9:1–7). Only in the latter case is there some minor interpretative significance ascribed to the death of the martyr (Taxo hopes to provoke God to avenge the deaths of his faithful ones by voluntarily adding to their number), aside from seeing in their deaths a testimony to their own steadfastness and virtue.

16. D. R. A. Hare presents a cogent series of arguments in favor of a date early in the first century C.E. ("The Lives of the Prophets," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* [ed. James H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983, 1985], 2:379–99, especially 380–81).

17. Michael A. Knibb identifies *Mart. Isa.* 1:1–3:12; 5:1–16 as the oldest stratum, dating perhaps from as early as the second century B.C.E. ("Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2:143–76, especially 143, 149).

18. James H. Charlesworth, *Jesus within Judaism: New Light from Exciting Archaeological Discoveries* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1988), 142; de Jonge, *God's Final Envoy*, 16.

## Jewish Martyrology and Early Christian Interpretations of Jesus' Death

The recovery of Jesus' understanding of his own ministry is vexed by numerous points, from the question of the authenticity of key sayings and traditions to the question of the adequacy of the materials deemed authentic to provide a sufficient basis for discerning how Jesus understood his own impending death. The background of the martyrological tradition, including the deaths of the prophets, provides adequate ground for suggesting that Jesus would have had the necessary traditional resources at his disposal both to foresee that his own prophetic witness could lead to his death if he persisted, and to embrace this end as an act that would bring benefit to others in their experience of God's favor.<sup>19</sup>

The Jesus tradition strongly attests Jesus' expectation that his ministry would end in a violent death at the hands of those whom he opposed. This is most apparent from the celebrated triple "passion predictions," which call special attention to this foreknowledge by their repeated occurrence:

It is necessary for the Son of Man to suffer many things and to be rejected by the elders and the chief priests and the scribes and to be killed, and after three days to rise up. (Mark 8:31; cf. Matt 16:21; Luke 9:22)

The Son of Man will be handed over into the hands of people, and they will kill him, and having been killed, after three days he will rise up. (Mark 9:31; cf. Matt 17:22; Luke 9:44)

Look! We are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be handed over to the chief priests and to the scribes, and they will condemn him to death and hand him over to the Gentiles, and they will mock him, and spit upon him, and whip him, and kill him, and after three days he will rise up. (Mark 10:33-34; cf. Matt 20:18-19; Luke 18:31-33)

While the third especially could be viewed as a saying adapted to the known course of events, Dunn has helpfully pointed out that the second passion prediction (Mark 9:31 parr.) is not very much developed and displays a remarkable lack of specificity about mode of execution.<sup>20</sup> Hence, the tradition cannot entirely be dismissed as part of a tendency to articulate an *apologia* for the crucifixion. The Synoptic Gospels preserve Jesus traditions that articulate less fully developed expressions of this sense of impending martyrdom:

And how is it written of the Son of Man, that he should suffer many things and be despised? (Mark 9:12; cf. Matt 17:12)

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19. Thus, rightly, de Jonge, *God's Final Envoy*, 18; W. J. Moulder, "The Old Testament Background and the Interpretation of Mark X.45," *NTS* 24 (1977): 120-27, esp. p. 124.

20. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, 801.

Are you able to drink the cup that I will drink, and to be baptized with the baptism with which I am being baptized? (Mark 10:38; cf. Matt 20:22)

The Son of Man came not to be served, but to serve and to give his life a ransom for many. (Mark 10:45; cf. Matt 20:28)

You know that after two days the Passover takes place, and the Son of Man will be handed over in order to be crucified. (Matt 26:2)

Take; this is my body. . . . This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out on behalf of many. (Mark 14:22, 24; cf. Matt 26:26-28; Luke 22:19-20)

And this is to leave entirely aside the numerous Johannine attestations to the same.

According to Sydney Page, the historicity of the claim that Jesus expected to die a violent (martyr's) death is virtually assured by the number of sayings to that effect in the Jesus tradition.<sup>21</sup> This topic is attested in multiple streams of tradition, in multiple forms, and often obliquely or subtly, the last point suggesting authenticity because secondary commentary would tend to be more explicit. While it remains likely that many of the discrete sayings underwent development in the history of transmission, the central premise that Jesus spoke in advance about his death as the outcome of his activity should be received as a solid *datum*.

The tradition of the deaths of the prophets provides added plausibility to this claim, a tradition made poignantly pertinent by the arrest and execution of Jesus' cousin and, perhaps, mentor, John the Baptist, who clearly identified himself with the prophetic tradition. Jesus' predictions of his death need not be doubted on the basis of the reluctance of historians to believe that the future can be foreseen: Jesus had ample precedent for expecting his own demise without any recourse to the prophetic gift.<sup>22</sup>

The Q tradition particularly gives prominence to Jesus' consciousness of standing within this tradition of the prophets.<sup>23</sup> Jesus assumes that the line of prophets constituted a line of martyrs from Abel to Zechariah: "On this account, the Wisdom of God says, 'I will send them prophets and apostles, and some of them they will kill and persecute, in order that the blood of all the prophets slain from the foundation of the world up to this generation, from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah, killed between the altar and the sanctuary, may be demanded of this generation'" (Luke 11:47-51, esp. vv. 49-51a; cf. Matt

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21. S. H. T. Page, "The Authenticity of the Ransom Logion (Mark 10:45b)," in *Gospel Perspectives*, vol. 1, *Studies of History and Tradition in the Four Gospels* (ed. R. T. France and David Wenham; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), 137-61, esp. 144-45.

22. In addition to the classical prophets and John the Baptist, the fate of Honi the Circle-Drawer also provided a fairly recent and reinforcing historical precedent for Jesus' concern. See Charlesworth, *Jesus within Judaism*, 145.

23. De Jonge (*God's Final Envoy*, 15-18) and Dunn (*Jesus Remembered*, 797) have both recently redirected attention to the importance of this tradition of the persecuted prophets.

23:29–36). Q shows Jesus preparing his followers for such resistance to their prophetic witness (Luke 12:4–5//Matt 10:28), and denouncing Jerusalem chiefly for its murder of the prophets, who witnessed to the city’s disloyalty to the covenant and called for repentance (Luke 13:34//Matt 23:37). Jerusalem is here particularly linked in the Jesus tradition with this tradition of the deaths of the prophets. In a saying peculiar to Luke in this context (Luke 13:33), Jesus intimates that he goes to Jerusalem to meet a prophet’s end: “the next day I must be on my way, because it is not possible for a prophet to be killed outside of Jerusalem.”

The parable of the wicked tenants, of course, places Jesus at the pinnacle of this tradition of martyred prophets (Mark 12:1–12; cf. Matt 21:33–44; Luke 20:9–19). The Marcan form conflicts with known details concerning the death of Jesus, details that Matthew and Luke both “correct” in order to conform the fate of the son in the parable with the fate of Jesus, the Son of the church’s confession (compare Mark 12:8 with Matt 21:39 and Luke 20:15): “Jesus was *not* killed *within* the city, Jerusalem. His body was *not* cast out of the city.”<sup>24</sup> Based on this observation, Charlesworth reasons cogently that the parable probably *did* originate with the historical Jesus, thus adding another witness to his consciousness of standing in the long line of rejected, murdered prophets, and that the Marcan form preserves this original form more closely than the other Synoptic Gospels (apart from additions like the description of the “son” and “beloved,” Mark 12:6).<sup>25</sup>

In Matthew’s presentation of Jesus’ activity in Jerusalem, Jesus’ contemporaries popularly regard him as a prophet (21:11, 46) and so give evidence that they found Jesus’ activity congenial to the paradigm of the prophet who confronted the “powers that be” at great risk to himself. Jesus’ contemporaries are portrayed in Luke’s Gospel as continuing to use the paradigm of the martyred prophet after the crucifixion to make sense of the outcome, prior to their experience of the resurrection (Luke 24:19–20). Indeed, even after the experience of the resurrected Jesus, the paradigm of the “prophet like Moses,” whom the people handed over to be killed, remains prominent (Acts 3:22–26).<sup>26</sup>

A more vexed question concerns whether Jesus ascribed value to his death in terms of having beneficial effects on the relationship between God and other people. Within the Jesus tradition, two texts principally attest to this possibility. The first is Mark 10:45//Matt 20:28, where Jesus says: “The Son of Man came not

24. Charlesworth, *Jesus within Judaism*, 141.

25. *Ibid.*, 142. De Jonge (*God’s Final Envoy*, 16–17) observes that the parable itself contains no expectation of vindication through resurrection (excluding the quotation of Ps 118:22–23 as part of the original parable), but rather through “impending judgment on Israel.” There is, in this parable, no positive meaning attached to the death itself of the prophets or of Jesus. This could also signal the authenticity of the parable, as it speaks of Jesus’ death apart from the complex of interpretive motifs (sacrifice, beneficial death) and creed (linking death with resurrection as the specific form of vindication) that would have been of interest to the early church.

26. Acts 7:52 is also significant in this regard, presenting the handing over of Jesus, “the Righteous One,” as the natural climax of the Judeans’ persecution of the prophets who, according to the speaker, foretold the coming of the Righteous One.

to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.”<sup>27</sup> The second is found in the context of the Last Supper (Mark 14:22–24//Matt 26:26–28//Luke 22:19–20). The recovery of the original wording is a matter of considerable debate, but there is general agreement that, in the “cup word,” Jesus spoke of his blood being “poured out for many” and described the cup as “the blood of the covenant.”<sup>28</sup> The fracturing and distributing of the bread as “my body” is also performative of the interpretation of his death as undertaken on behalf of others.

For this background, one must look beyond the tradition of the persecuted prophets to the interpretations of the deaths of the martyrs. 2 Maccabees 7:37–38 and 8:5 presents the deaths of the covenant-loyal martyrs as beneficial deaths for others within the framework of God’s covenant, providing a significant precedent for the interpretation of the death of Jesus. Indeed, it may well have informed his own understanding of his impending death as reflected in these two sayings. It was a tradition available to Jesus in his time and location, and likely to have received regular attention in the annual celebration of Hanukkah. It was also a living, growing tradition, as the developments in 4 Maccabees show. Indeed, Jesus’ statements about his own death are a rather remarkable development of the same tradition in the same direction as one observes in the statements placed on Eleazar’s lips in 4 Macc 6:28–29 and offered by the author in 4 Macc 17:21–22 about the martyrs’ deaths. The ransom saying attributed to Jesus (Mark 10:45//Matt 20:28) resonates linguistically and conceptually with the interpretation of the martyrs’ deaths as an ἀντίψυχον, a “life given in exchange for others,” in 4 Macc 6:29; 17:22: “The Son of Man came . . . to give his life a ransom for many” (δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν . . . ἀντὶ πολλῶν). Moreover, Jesus’ emphasis on his “blood poured out” for others in the cup word at the Last Supper resonates with Eleazar’s prayer that his blood, shed in obedience to God, should effect the purification of his fellow Jews (and the restoration of the covenant relationship between God and the nation [4 Macc 6:28–29]). The fact of translation aside (Jesus’ Aramaic being rendered into Greek by the evangelists or the oral tradition on which they draw), the language attributed to Jesus stands significantly close to the language used in the martyrological texts.

Postmortem vindication was a firmly fixed facet of Jewish martyr ideology.<sup>29</sup> This comes to expression most forcefully in 2 Maccabees 7 (esp. vv. 9, 11, 14, 23, 29, 36), which specifically and explicitly envisions this vindication in the form of resurrection, the reconstitution of the physical body, but is also evident in Dan 12:1–3. 4 Maccabees has conformed this expectation to the doctrine of

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27. Evans (*Mark 8:27–16:20*, 123) insightfully observes how Jesus redefines the Danielic “Son of Man” by blending it with the paradigm of the Suffering Servant, notably in the context of the disciples’ request for seats of power in the anticipated kingdom. The Danielic model grated against Jesus’ understanding of power in God’s kingdom.

28. Maurice Casey, “The Original Aramaic Form of Jesus’ Interpretation of the Cup,” *JTS* 41 (1990): 1–12; Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1966), 193–96, 201–3.

29. De Jonge, *God’s Final Envoy*, 28.

the immortality of the soul, which also appears as the vehicle for postmortem vindication in the story of the “righteous person” who is tortured and killed in Wisdom 2–5. The expectation of vindication was therefore quite plausibly part of Jesus’ own expectation for the sequel to his own death as a righteous person, though Dunn is probably correct to suggest this in terms of Jesus’ expectation that he would take part in the general resurrection rather than enjoy a special intervention by God on his behalf, and his alone, millennia before any general resurrection.<sup>30</sup>

At this point, however, it becomes necessary to consider another “martyrological” tradition in the Hebrew Bible, namely, the Suffering Servant of Isa 52:13–53:12.<sup>31</sup> Scholars have generally insisted that the Jesus traditions about a death on behalf of others must be derived *either* from the Maccabean martyrs *or* from the Servant Song of Isaiah.<sup>32</sup> Page provides such an example of (three-way) either/or thinking: In addition to Isaiah 53, “the main alternatives are that Jesus’ conceptions were formed on the basis of either the martyr theology of late Judaism, or the Son of man prophecy in Daniel 7,” and then proceeds by process of elimination to promote Isaiah 53 as the most plausible background. The fact

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30. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, 822–24.

31. The question of whether Jesus read Isaiah 53 as a paradigm that he would himself enact is a matter of significant debate, as is, indeed, the question of the extent to which it was even present in the minds of the Gospel writers (though one must concede that the case is very strong in the instance of Luke—in part owing to the indisputable evidence of Acts 8). For arguments in favor of this text as background, one may consult Jeremias, “Παῖς Θεοῦ,” *TWNT* 5 (1954): 676–713 (*TDNT* 5 [1967]: 677–717); Oscar Cullmann, *Die Christologie des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1957), 50–81; Martin Hengel, *The Atonement: The Origins of the Doctrine in the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1981), 59; Rikk E. Watts, “Jesus’ Death, Isaiah 53, and Mark 10:45: A Cruc Revisited,” in *Jesus and the Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 and Christian Origins* (ed. W. H. Bellinger and W. R. Farmer; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 125–51; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, Jr., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (3 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–97), 3:95–96, 465, 474; Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, 121. Watts, Davies and Allison, and Evans all bring a greater degree of nuance to the conversation as they rely on more refined models of intertextuality than merely verbal echo or lexical correspondence, concluding that Mark 10:45, for example, provides not a translation of any part of Isaiah 53 but “a summary which describes the *‘ebed* who gives his life as a sin offering for many” (Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:96). Summary (or abbreviation) is a basic intertextual device set alongside recitation by Vernon K. Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-rhetorical Interpretation* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1996), 45. It is, moreover, a literary exercise commonly practiced by students following the curriculum of the first-century C.E. *Progymnasmata* of Theon of Alexandria.

For arguments against the presence of Isaiah 53 as an evident background, see C. K. Barrett, “The Background of Mark 10:45,” in *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson* (ed. A. J. B. Higgins; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 1–18 (though he does regard 2 Maccabees as a significant precedent [pp. 12–13]); Morna D. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 1959); eadem, “Did the Use of Isaiah 53 to Interpret His Mission Begin with Jesus,” in Bellinger and Farmer, *Jesus and the Suffering Servant*, 70–87. De Jonge (*Jesus*, 33) and Ulrich Luz (*Matthew: A Commentary* [Hermencia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989], 3:381) also both find the evidence too slight to suggest dependence.

32. Page, “Ransom Logion,” 147.



that scholars are able to marshal so much evidence in favor of both the Suffering Servant and the martyr backgrounds strongly suggests that we should look to the *blending* of these two traditions behind the early church's interpretation of Jesus' death, perhaps beginning with Jesus himself (who is also commonly credited with blending the figures of the Danielic Son of Man and the Isaianic Suffering Servant in Mark 10:45, a blend also observed in such texts as 11QMelch and the Parables of Enoch).

This is all the more the case as the Suffering Servant paradigm may already have significantly influenced the presentation of the effective deaths of the martyrs. The Suffering Servant song, though perhaps originally meant to speak of the redemptive effects of Israel's sufferings on behalf of the Gentiles, or the suffering of a remnant within Israel on behalf of the sinful nation as a whole, could be read in a new light in the wake of the martyrdoms celebrated from the Maccabean period, and might indeed have fueled the author of 4 Maccabees' reflection on the significance of those deaths. The Servant becomes now a particular righteous person whose sufferings and death become (by the Servant's own self-offering [53:10b] and by God's action [53:6b]) the functional equivalent of an offering for the sins of the nation. The Servant's mutilation and torment (Isa 52:14 and 53:3), his voluntary offering of himself having atoning efficacy (Isa 53:4–6, 8, 10, 12b), the narrator's affirmation that the death had this effect (Isa 53:10b–11), and the concluding celebration of the Servant's virtue and achievement (Isa 53:12a) all parallel the author of 4 Maccabees' treatment of the Jewish martyrs.<sup>33</sup>

In the case of the Jesus tradition, the phrase "for many" in the two sayings in which Jesus interprets his own death as an act bringing benefit to others (placed at two critical junctures in the Marcan narrative: Mark 10:45; 14:22) echoes the prominence of the "many" who benefit from the Servant's sufferings in Isa 53:11–12. His intent to "give his life" (Mark 10:45) could be heard as an abbreviated paraphrase of Isa 53:10 ("when you make his life an offering for sin"). The "ransom saying" concerning the "Son of Man who came . . . to serve and give his life as a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45; cf. Matt 20:28) can be regarded as an appropriate summary of the career of the Servant of Isa 53:4–12, who offered his life as a substitute for the many.

Moreover, other sayings attributed to Jesus regarding his own suffering point to the paradigm of Isaiah 53, for example, the assumption that the Scriptures speak about the Son of man "suffering many things and being treated with contempt" (Mark 9:12), which, as Rikk Watts observes, resonates conceptually and even linguistically with the terms "suffer" in Isa 53:3, 4, 10 and "treat with contempt" in the non-Septuagintal Greek versions of Isaiah 53:3.<sup>34</sup> The paradigm of the Maccabean martyrs, especially as developed in the trajectory leading from 2 Maccabees toward 4 Maccabees, reinforces such a reading of Isa 53 as the

33. See deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, 148.

34. Rikk E. Watts, "Jesus' Death, Isaiah 53, and Mark 10:45: A Crux Revisited," in Bellinger and Farmer, *Jesus and the Suffering Servant*, 125–51, esp. 131–34.

divine appointment of a righteous individual's death to be suffered on behalf of the people.

The words of Jesus at the Last Supper continue to be informed by the paradigm of the Suffering Servant, as observed above. These words, however, move explicitly sacrificial and cultic imagery to the foreground in the interpretation of Jesus' death. As Joachim Jeremias observed, the separate attention given to the "body" and the "blood" in the words and acts at the Last Supper in itself recalls the Levitical sacrifices, in which blood is separated from the sacrificial animal's body and poured out as a separate act from the ritual handling of the flesh ("body") of the victim.<sup>35</sup>

Sacrificial imagery is not foreign to Isaiah 53. The phrase "poured out for many" (Mark 14:24; cf. Luke 22:20: "pour out for you"), suggestive of the sacrificial disposition of the blood of the victim, echoes Isa 53:12 ("he poured out himself to death"), and the servant's life is made by God "an offering for sin" (Isa 53:10), bearing "the sins of many" (Isa 53:12).<sup>36</sup> Jewish martyrological texts, however, are even more explicit about the death of a righteous person (indeed, specific, named righteous persons) functioning as a propitiatory or expiatory sacrifice, as in the Prayer of Azariah and most explicitly in 4 Maccabees, down to the mention of the martyrs "blood" as a purificatory agent (6:29) and their deaths as "propitiatory offerings" (17:22). In the Jesus tradition, Jesus appears to combine the image of the sacrifice of atonement (blood "poured out for many," resonating with the restorative effects of the deaths of the martyrs and the Suffering Servant on the divine-human relationship injured by transgressions of the covenant) and the sacrifice of covenant inauguration (the "blood of the covenant," specifically recontextualizing a phrase from Exod 24:8, the original covenant-inauguration rite). Peter Stuhlmacher has observed how these two rites are already blended in *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Yer.* I Exod 24:8, where the "blood of the covenant" is sprinkled on the altar "to make atonement for the people."<sup>37</sup>

The extent to which these texts represent Jesus' self-understanding in regard to his own death depends on one's assessment of their authenticity. A significant case has been made affirming the authenticity of these sayings (allowing for the problem of recovering the Aramaic original) and proponents of the view are prepared to see in them a genuine reflection of Jesus' own approach to his death.<sup>38</sup>

35. Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 221–22.

36. *Ibid.*, 226.

37. Peter Stuhlmacher, "Jesus' Readiness to Suffer and His Understanding of His Death," in *The Historical Jesus in Recent Research* (ed. J. D. G. Dunn and Scot McKnight; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 392–412, esp. pp. 405–6.

38. On the *Kelchwort*, see Casey, "Original Aramaic Form"; Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 193–96, 201–3; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel According to Luke* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 801. Jeremias (*Eucharistic Words*, 203) makes the interesting case that liturgical usage actually enhances the reliability/authenticity of the essence of the saying, preserving wording more closely through widespread public knowledge and repetition that serves as a "check" against adaptation.

In regard to Mark 10:45//Matt 20:28, a particular sticking point concerns the authenticity of the final part of the verse, "to give his life as a ransom for many." Since this element is absent from

Jesus, then, would be seen to be influenced deeply by the tradition of Jewish martyrology (both the deaths of the prophets and the obedient deaths of the martyrs who gave their lives for the sake of securing divine benefits for the nation), understood within the framework of covenant renewal (or even inauguration).

Jesus' contemporaries—at least those who were favorably disposed toward him and his ministry—were certainly poised to interpret his death in terms of these traditions, as seen throughout the literary reflections on his death left by his followers. Many of these followers, moreover, understood themselves to continue in that tradition, anticipating that their calling involved not only “serving” as the Servant of the Lord came to serve, but also “giving their lives” in obedient witness to God as did Jesus (compare Mark 10:38–39 with 10:45).

This understanding extended to the establishment of the new covenant promised by Jeremiah (31:31–34),<sup>39</sup> seen in the additions to Jesus' original words of institution in Luke (“the *new* covenant in my blood” [Luke 22:19]) and in Matthew (“poured out *for the forgiveness of sins*” [Matt 26:28]). This emphasis on the “forgiveness of sins,” the hallmark of Jeremiah's “*new covenant*” (Jer 31:31) appears also in the naming of Jesus (Matt 1:18), Jesus' first declaration about the purpose of his mission (“to forgive sins” [Matt 9:2, 6//Mark 2:5, 10//Luke 5:20,

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the Lucan parallel (Luke 22:25–27) an inexact parallel in several ways, to be sure—the possibility that it is an interpretive expansion on what it means for the “Son of Man” to “serve” looms even larger, although the counterargument has also been made that Mark's version is more Semitic, and therefore likely to be more original (Page, “Ransom Logion,” 148; Jeremias, *Eucharist Words*, 189–91; Marshall, *Luke*, 800). C. E. B Cranfield (*The Gospel According to Saint Mark* [CGTC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959], 343–44) provided a cogent summary of the four principal arguments “against” authenticity (though he himself favored the authenticity of the verse). One may also see the arguments against authenticity in Eduard Lohse, *Martyrer und Gottesknecht: Untersuchungen zur urchristlichen Verkündigung vom Sühntod Jesu Christi* (2nd ed.; FRLANT 46; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 117–22. Each of these four points has been painstakingly answered seriatim by Page (“Ransom-Logion,” 139–54). The authenticity of the whole verse is favored also by Stuhlmacher (“Jesus' Readiness,” 395) and Moulder (“Old Testament Background,” 124) in part on account of their conclusion that Jesus could readily have derived this self-understanding from Isaiah 53 or from other early Jewish texts and streams of tradition (most notably, the martyrology of 2 Maccabees, and the martyr ideology that would come to be articulated in 4 Maccabees). Watts (“Jesus' Death,” 150) suggests that the lack of more explicit resonances with Isaiah 53 may actually bear witness to the early church's care in preserving Jesus' wording—not conforming his self-interpreting speech more closely to the language of Isaiah 53—and hence he argues also in favor of authenticity. On the broader question of the authenticity of the passion sayings, see also Vincent Taylor's challenging presidential address to the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, “The Origin of the Markan Passion-Sayings,” *NTS* 1 (1954–55): 159–67; also idem, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1957), 445–46. Max Wilcox has argued in favor of the authenticity of the ransom logion from a distinctively “political” angle. Jesus gave himself up to secure the safety of his followers, or possibly even the larger Jewish community (John 11:47–48), from punitive actions (John 18:8–9) in the wake of recent disturbances. The saying has thus a plausible setting in the life of Jesus, corroborated by other evidence from the Gospel tradition, that does not depend on post-Easter theological interpretation of the events of his death (“On the Ransom-Saying in Mark 10:45c, Matt 20:28c,” in *Geschichte Tradition – Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* [ed. Hubert Cancik, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Peter Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996], 173–86, esp. 179–82).

39. So, rightly, e.g., Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words*, 226; Stuhlmacher, “Jesus' Readiness,” 410.

24]), and the proclamation of forgiveness in Jesus' name after his passion (Luke 24:46–47; John 20:23; Acts 2:38; 10:43; 13:38–39), reaching its pinnacle, of course, in the central argumentative section of the Epistle to the Hebrews (8:1–10:18). It is entirely plausible, however, that Jesus would have regarded this “new covenant” differently from the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, for example, who sees in it the abrogation of the Torah as the “document” that defines the relationship between God and God's people. Jesus may have understood his death more in keeping with the view attributed to the martyrs in both 2 and 4 Maccabees, namely, that it was an act of covenant maintenance, *renewing* obedience on the part of the people and a favorable disposition on the part of God.

Early Christian literature outside the Gospels shows just how fruitful—and pervasive—the interpretation of Jesus' death in line with the martyrological tradition was among Jesus' contemporaries and the succeeding generation. The martyrs themselves are used as moral examples of the virtue of faithfulness (πίστις) toward God and God's promises (Heb 11:35b), and the example of Jesus, “who endured a cross, despising shame” (ὑπέμεινεν σταυρὸν αἰσχύνῃς καταφρονήσας [Heb 12:2]), is portrayed in martyrological language, recalling Eleazar's bold stance as he “endured the pains and scorned the compulsions” (ὁ δὲ ὑπέμεινε τοὺς πόνους καὶ περιφρόνει τῆς ἀνάγκας [4 Macc 6:9]).<sup>40</sup> These early Christian authors often use language to interpret the significance of Jesus' violent death similar to the language used by the author of 4 Maccabees to interpret the violent deaths of the martyrs. Just as Eleazar's blood was seen to have purificatory efficacy (4 Macc 6:29; 17:22), so Jesus' blood is said to be a purifying or atoning agent (Rom 3:25; 5:10; Eph 1:7; Heb 9:12–14; 13:12; 1 Pet 1:2, 19; 1 John 1:7; Rev 7:14). Like the Maccabean martyrs, Jesus is set forward as a “propitiatory sacrifice,” an offering that propitiates the deity who has been alienated by human sinfulness (ἱλαστήριον [4 Macc 17:22; Rom 3:25]).<sup>41</sup> Although the word ἀντίψυχον recedes before terms more explicitly connected with “ransoming” (ἀντίλυτρον), the notion of Jesus' life being given in exchange for others remains prominent under this new term (1 Tim 2:6; see also Rom 3:24; Titus 2:14; 1 Pet 1:19) or in terms of dying “on behalf of” others (ὑπὲρ; Rom 5:6, 8; Gal 2:20; Eph 5:2; 1 Thess 5:10; 1 Tim 2:6; Titus 2:14), often specifically “on account of” the sins of “many” or “all” (ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν [1 Cor 15:3; Gal 1:4]), so that these sins are “passed over” by God (Rom 3:25), resonating with the deaths of the martyrs “as a ransom for the sins of the nation” (4 Macc 17:21).

This “reconciliation” between God and God's people (“his own servants”), and the turning away of God's “wrath,” was promoted by the martyrs' deaths in 2 Maccabees (7:33, 37–38; 8:5); “reconciliation” becomes a key term describing the results of Jesus' death for the divine–human relationship (Rom 5:10–11; 2 Cor 5:18–20), which also involves the removal of people from the sphere of God's “wrath” (Rom 5:9). The sacrificial language never obscures the fact that

40. On possible points of connection between Hebrews and 4 Maccabees, see deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, xxxiii–xxxiv.

41. See further van Henten, “Tradition-Historical Background”; Bailey, *Jesus as the Mercy Seat*; deSilva, *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary*, 250–52.

it was Jesus' *obedience* unto death, like the obedience of the martyrs (4 Macc 6:27–28), that was the essential component for God's acceptance of his offering as an act that would reconcile God's self to sinful people (Phil 2:5–11; Rom 5:19).<sup>42</sup> The scope of that reconciliation, of course, is seen to be much broader in the case of early Christian reflection on the death of Jesus, transcending ethnic boundaries (2 Cor 5:14; Rom 3:29–30; 5:1).

In both the paradigm of the martyrs and the case of Jesus, reconciliation between God and the disobedient people is only one facet of the achievement of those who were obedient unto death. Just as the exemplary deaths of the martyrs revived covenant obedience among the people (4 Macc 18:1–2, 4), the death of Jesus also results in a return to obedience among the community of the reconciled (Rom 8:2–4, 7–8) and, thereby, the enjoyment of peace with God and the restoration of God's favor. It is highly probably that 4 Maccabees was written later than many of the New Testament documents. Nevertheless, the conceptual and linguistic parallelism between early Christian reflection on Jesus' death and early Jewish reflection on the deaths of martyrs suggests strongly that the developments in the Jewish martyrological tradition reflected in the former deeply informed the latter.<sup>43</sup>

## Conclusion

While study of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha will not by itself *solve* the important questions about the historical Jesus raised in this essay, familiarity with this literature—particularly the traditions about the deaths of the prophets and the significance of the deaths of the righteous martyrs—does provide evidence in support of several key premises. First, Jesus had access to the traditional resources that would have allowed him to anticipate his death as a result of his confronting the authorities in Jerusalem. Second, whether or not Jesus interpreted Isaiah 53 as a messianic paradigm, and one that he would himself enact, the traditions concerning the deaths of the martyrs provided him with the precedent for viewing his own death as an offering of covenant loyalty to God that would positively affect God's relationship with the people as a whole, or with his disciples in particular. Texts such as 2 and 4 Maccabees, moreover, richly inform the early church's reflection on the significance of Jesus' death, providing a bridge to its reading of texts such as Isaiah 53 as a prophecy of the redemptive death of the Messiah, as well as the church's reflection on its own calling to bear witness, showing faithfulness unto death.

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42. Williams, *Saving Event*, 169.

43. The martyrological tradition has left its mark in other significant ways as well. Notably, for example, Acts portrays the apostles in the role of the martyrs who boldly confront the "powers that be," refusing to be cowed into disobedience to God's commission by threats from human authorities (see Acts 4:19–20, 29, 31; 5:27–29, 40–42; 20:20–24).

# JESUS' APOCALYPTIC WORLDVIEW AND HIS EXORCISTIC MINISTRY

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## I. Problem and Approach

Much has been written during the past thirty years about the role of exorcisms in the ministry of Jesus and the perception thereof among his contemporaries. Morton Smith interpreted Jesus' activity along the lines of how outsiders perceived him, that is, as a "magician."<sup>1</sup> Others—most notably Geza Vermes,<sup>2</sup> Marcus Borg,<sup>3</sup> and John Dominic Crossan<sup>4</sup>—have underscored the parallels between Jesus and other Jewish miracle-workers purportedly based in Galilee (e.g., Honi "the circle drawer"<sup>5</sup> and Hanina ben Dosa), concluding that Jesus was doing the sorts of things that a Galilean "charismatic" *hāsīd* would have done. E. P. Sanders played down the relationship between exorcisms and Jesus' self-understanding; the miracles and exorcisms in the Jesus tradition, insofar as they relate to Jesus' identity, are less important than the notion of Jesus as an authentic eschatological prophet. Nonetheless, according to Sanders, although Jesus did not regard himself as essentially different from other exorcists (and, therefore, the exorcisms

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1. Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (London: Gollancz, 1978). The Gospels, therefore, betray attempts among Jesus' followers to cover up the association of Jesus with "magic." According to Smith, Jesus is to be understood as a type that one encounters in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* and in the portrait of deeds performed by Apollonius of Tyana, who, like Jesus, was accused of sorcery and who, like Jesus, was defended against such a charge by his admirers (in the Gospels and Philostratus's *Vit. Apoll.* 1.2, respectively).

2. Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973), esp. 58–82.

3. Marcus Borg, *Jesus: A New Vision* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), esp. 30–32.

4. John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 142–58. Crossan's position actually ends up being a *via media* between the views of Vermes and Smith. He argues that the "magical" Honi and Hanina traditions (as reconstructed from *m. Ta'an.* 3:8 and *t. Ta'an.* 2:13) were eventually domesticated, especially when we meet them in the Mishnah and Tosefta (the passages just cited, in their present form, and *m. Soṭah* 9:15 and *m. Ber.* 5:5) and in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Ta'an.* 23b; *b. B. Qam.* 50a//*b. Yeb.* 121b; *b. Ber.* 34b).

5. Josephus, however, locates Onias's activity in Jerusalem, that is, during the conflict between Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II (*Ant.* 14.22–24).

did not necessarily signify the dawn of God's rule in Jesus' ministry), his activity nevertheless provoked considerable interest among his contemporaries. Thus, for Jesus, casting out demons concretized the truth of his message.<sup>6</sup> Graham H. Twelftree has, on the other hand, attempted to distance the historical Jesus from any hint of magic and thus distinguishes Jesus' exorcisms from the analogous activities of other exorcists of his time; he stresses, in particular, that Jesus used no prayer and did not apply the same techniques. Instead, Twelftree credits Jesus himself with having created a virtually singular connection between his exorcisms and the establishment of God's rule in the world.<sup>7</sup> In the same vein as Twelftree, Hartmut Stegemann has stressed that Jesus' proclamation of the reign of God, which in his ministry was made especially visible through his expulsion of demons, cannot be explained by "the linguistic and conceptual influence of his environment."<sup>8</sup> Finally, for N. T. Wright, the exorcisms functioned in Jesus' ministry as prophetic signs which signified that God was bringing Israel's spiritual exile to an end. To be sure, the motif of exile and restoration does not as such figure prominently in the Jesus tradition itself; nevertheless, Wright's attempt to find a framework within the Jewish context against which Jesus' ministry as a whole can be understood as plausible for the first century represents a viable approach: it does not rely wholly on demonstrating a particular religious- or tradition-historical influence on the Jesus tradition, a procedure that—to the extent that the Jewishness of Jesus is made to depend on such evidence—can be as unnecessarily minimalist as it is fraught with difficulty.<sup>9</sup>

In what follows, I would like to reopen the question of Jesus' exorcisms and offer a suggestion concerning religious-historical assumptions that underlie the exorcisms as they are presented in the Synoptic Gospels. In particular, it is profitable to focus attention on several features that recur in the exorcism traditions about Jesus that, though often taken for granted, seem to have been built around a broad Jewish apocalyptic worldview. Now at first glance, it would seem that this aim is of a rather general nature and thus can only promise to add little new to

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6. E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985), 157–73.

7. Graham H. Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist: A Contribution to the Study of the Historical Jesus* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1993), e.g., 157–74.

8. Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 238. Like Twelftree, Stegemann emphasizes time and again how essentially different Jesus' exorcisms were from those performed by other exorcists of his day: "He used neither the names of God nor those of angels, neither magical prayers nor magical rites, neither Davidic nor Solomonic texts of conjuration, and he needed no equipment such as magic bowls or rings" (p. 237). While there is an absence of these methods in the Jesus tradition, this "nonmagical" version of Jesus may be overly categorical. More problematic, however, is Stegemann's conclusion that Jesus' religious environment did not bequeath to him essential features of his proclamation concerning the defeat of Satan through God's inbreaking rule. See below.

9. For what is perhaps the most thoroughgoing recent discussion and critique of the criterion of double dissimilarity, see Gerd Theissen and Dagmar Winter, *Die Kriterienfrage in der Jesusforschung: Vom Differenzkriterium zum Plausibilitätskriterium* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus 34; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), who argue instead that attempts to recover historicity in the Jesus tradition should recognize that it must "als eine individuelle Erscheinung im Rahmen des damaligen Judentums erkennbar sein" (p. 216).

the recent “historical Jesus” debate. Despite having acquired some prominence in recent scholarship of Judaism in antiquity, however, the background to be suggested here merits attention because it has not been given its proper due in contemporary discussions of the Jesus tradition in early Christian writings.

Our present focus on Jesus as a first-century Jew requires that we first establish the extent to which and in what sense exorcisms performed and referred to by Jesus may be regarded as “historical.” I am not, for instance, asking whether Jesus actually expelled demons from people; this lies outside the parameters of what can be verified, whether as a phenomenon through direct observation or, of course, through the remote sources that we have about Jesus. Rather, we ask: does the claim that Jesus performed exorcisms go back to the period of oral transmission of the Jesus tradition and is there anything in this tradition and, further, in early Jewish apocalyptic documents that tells us something about Jesus’ understanding of his world?

A historical basis for the claim that Jesus expelled demons may be argued from the following considerations. First, there is the *multiple attestation* of the exorcism tradition in literary sources preserved in and behind the Synoptic Gospels. This becomes clear from the references to exorcism or demonic activity among the Synoptics (see table 1).

The table also makes apparent, second, that the traditions that associate Jesus with exorcisms are preserved in *different forms*, that is, not only in narrative accounts that describe particular encounters but also among various summaries of his deeds and, significantly, in the sayings tradition. Third, exorcisms are not restricted to Jesus alone. In addition to being attributed to Jesus’ disciples (denoted by “\*” above),<sup>10</sup> both a short narrative and a saying leave room for exorcism as a practice that could be condoned among those who were not Jesus’ followers (denoted by “\*\*”; see Mark 9:38–41//Luke 9:49–50 and Matt 12:27//Luke 11:19 respectively). Given the tendency of the Gospel writers to underscore the unprecedented significance of Jesus’ life, teaching, and ministry,<sup>11</sup> there would have been no reason for stories about *successful exorcisms among Jesus’ or his disciples’ opponents* to have been created *de novo*. In the Beelzebul controversy, the “Q” tradition admits an analogy between the exorcisms of Jesus and those performed by the “sons” of his interlocutors (Pharisees in Matthew; scribes in Luke), but it is tucked away in a passage that focuses more explicitly on Jesus’ dismissal of an accusation that was questioning the source of his power. Whether or not the report about the man using Jesus’ name to expel demons is itself historical (Mark 9:38–41; Matt 10:42), it betrays a circumstance that the early Christian community would have had little reason to generate unless it had been there in the tradition to begin with. If, for the sake of the argument, such a tradition had been created, its probable function—namely, to emphasize Jesus as a superior exorcist—would have been more prominently featured.

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10. So Mark 3:13–15; 6:7 par.; 6:13; Matt 10:7–8; Luke 10:17–20; cf., however, the disciples’ lack of success in Mark 9:18//Luke 9:40 and Mark 9:28–29//Matt 17:19–20.

11. See Mark 1:22; 1:27b (par. Luke 4:36 exorcisms); 2:12b; 4:41 (par. Matt 8:27 and Luke 8:25); Matt 7:29; 9:33 (exorcism); Luke 5:26.



	<i>Stories</i>	<i>Sayings</i>	<i>Other (General Activity)</i>
<i>Triple Tradition</i> (or Mark alone; or Mark + Matt/ Luke)	<p><b>Demoniac in Synagogue</b> (Mark 1:23-28//Luke 4:33-37)</p> <p><b>Gadarene Demoniac</b> (Mark 5:1-20//Matt 8:28-34; Luke 8:26-39)</p> <p><b>Syrophoenician Woman</b> (Mark 7:24-30//Matt 15:21-28)</p> <p><b>Demon-Possessed Boy</b> (Mark 9:14-29//Matt 17:14-21; Luke 9:37-43)</p> <p><b>The Strange Exorcist**</b> (Mark 9:38-41//Matt 10:42 omits; Luke 9:49-50)</p>	<p><b>Collusion with Beelzebul</b> (Mark 3:22-27; overlap Q at Matt 12:24-30//Luke 11:15-23)</p>	<p><b>Evening Miracles</b> (Mark 1:32-34//Matt 8:16-17; Luke 4:40-41)</p> <p><b>Summary: Galilean Deeds</b> (Mark 1:39//Matt 4:23 omits, cf. 4:24; Luke 4:44)</p> <p><b>Summary: Seaside Deeds</b> Mark 3:7-12 [11-12]//Matt 12:15-21 omits, cf. 4:24; Luke 6:17-19 [18])</p> <p><b>Commission of Twelve*</b> (Mark 3:13-15//Luke 6:12-13 omits)</p> <p><b>Commission of Twelve*</b> (Mark 6:7//Matt 10:1; Luke 9:1)</p> <p><b>Summary: Disciples' Deeds</b> (Mark 6:13//Luke 9:6 omits)</p>
<i>Q</i>	<p><b>Dumb + Blind Demoniac</b> (Matt 12:22-23//Luke 11:14)</p>	<p><b>Saying "Lord, Lord"</b> (Matt 7:21-23//Luke 6:46 and 13:25-27 omits)</p> <p><b>Collusion with Beelzebul</b> (Matt 12:24-30//Luke 11:15-23**); overlap with Mark 3:22-27)</p> <p><b>Return of Evil Spirit</b> (Matt 12:43-45//Luke 11:24-26)</p>	<p><b>Jesus Responds to John</b> (Luke 7:18-23[21]//Matt 11:2-6 omits)</p> <p><b>Commission of Twelve*</b> (Matt 10:7-8//Luke 10:9 omits)</p>
<i>M (Special Matthew)</i>	<p><b>Dumb Demoniac</b> (Matt 9:32-34)</p>		
<i>L (Special Luke)</i>	<p><b>Crippled Woman</b> (Luke 13:10-17)</p>	<p><b>Warning against Herod</b> (Luke 13:31-33)</p> <p><b>Return of the Seventy</b> (Luke 10:17-20; [cf. Mark 16:17-18])</p>	

Table 1

Thus, however much the individual pericopes, especially the stories, have been shaped by conventional oral and literary forms, there is little doubt that any reconstruction of the historical Jesus that does not include the claim that Jesus expelled malevolent spirits from people omits something essential. The Synoptic Gospels, both on the level of their respective presentations and through the variegated traditions they preserve, leave us with a portrait of Jesus the Jew who, as others among his contemporaries, believed he was effectively able to confront and gain control over demonic power.

What kind of Jew was Jesus, however? This question is often raised, of course, in relation either to Jesus' location within his social environment or to ways the traditions of Israel may be thought to have provided a framework for his purpose and mission (see above). Here, though not entirely distinct from these concerns, I would like to focus not so much on parallels for exorcisms or techniques but rather on Jesus' apocalyptic worldview, presumably a worldview that he would have shared with his contemporaries. The problem may be formulated as follows: Against what sort of understanding of the cosmos do the exorcisms of the Jesus tradition best become explicable? By focusing on this broad question, I am convinced that the profile of several elements among the Synoptic traditions about Jesus' exorcistic activity—elements that are sometimes taken for granted—may stand out in sharper focus.

In general terms, it is relatively uncontroversial to maintain that Jesus was doing things that are plausible when considered in relation to developments conveyed to us through early Jewish traditions. In relation to the comparable background for Jesus' expulsion of demons, for example, much has been made of selected documents discovered near Khirbet Qumran (e.g., the *Genesis Apocryphon* [1Q20] col. XX, 16–29; *Prayer of Nabonidus* [4Q242]; the use of Ps 91 in *Apocryphal Psalms* [11Q11] col. V), the repulsion of Asmodeus in Tobit 6 and 8, Josephus's account of an exorcism performed by Eleazar (*Ant.* 8.45), and the later *Testament of Solomon* (which seems to preserve some earlier traditions). However, if we wish to inquire specifically about the relation of Jesus' exorcisms—or, for that matter, any Jewish exorcisms—to an apocalyptic worldview, the relevance of the contemporary Jewish traditions is minimized.<sup>12</sup> This throws the potential significance of some of the early Enochic documents into sharper relief. Although the early Enochic traditions (variously preserved through the books in *1 Enoch*, the *Book of Giants*, and parts of *Jubilees*) have received considerable attention among scholars of early Judaism during the last thirty years, the contribution of the early Enochic traditions to our understanding of Jesus' worldview has not yet been adequately weighed. A detailed exploration of the early Enoch literature, the influence of which reached well beyond the documents themselves, may yet yield fruitful results for reflection. The present discussion will, therefore,

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12. For example, after surveying such materials, Twelftree plays down any eschatological dimension of the parallel, extrabiblical references to exorcisms. In this way he attempts to highlight the distinctiveness of the early Jesus tradition; see *Jesus the Exorcist*, 143–65. As I hope to make clear below, Twelftree has overstated the difference between Jesus and his Jewish environment in this respect.

proceed as follows: Without any claim to be exhaustive, I shall (a) identify several elements that further fill out the portrait of what may be argued about the worldview behind exorcism and the historical Jesus and then (b) explore these elements among the Jewish apocalyptic traditions against which I think they best make sense.

## II. Three Features in the Jesus Tradition

### 1. *The Establishing of God's Rule*

Perhaps the most common way of ascertaining the significance of Jesus' exorcisms in relation to our contemporary understanding has been to note their connection to his proclamation of God's royal power. Many scholars are convinced that Jesus regarded his expulsion of demons, along with the healing miracles, as demonstrations of God's rule breaking into this world. The exorcisms provided a particularly poignant example of this, as they illustrated how through Jesus' activity God was already dispossessing the forces of evil from the foothold they were believed to have on the present age. Not one of the exorcism stories, however, draws any explicit connection between what Jesus was doing, on the one hand, and God's kingship or rule, on the other.

Here the sayings tradition becomes especially important. Most attention has focused on the "Q" tradition in Luke 11:20 (par. Matt 12:28). According to Luke's version,<sup>13</sup> Jesus claimed, "But if by the finger of God I cast out demons, then God's rule has come upon you." The vacuum that arises from demonic expulsion by Jesus is claimed to have been filled with God's royal power. For those affected, Jesus' ministry marks the beginning of salvation.<sup>14</sup> It is likely that this saying goes back to Jesus or at least reflects his interpretation of what was happening when he cast out demons; as Twelftree has convincingly argued, the final layers of redaction of both Luke and Matthew postpone the defeat of Satan or demons to a later stage and so lie in logical tension with this particular claim.<sup>15</sup> The saying itself, though form-critically independent from its context in "Q," cannot be understood apart from Jesus' own practice of exorcism, that is, from the *kind of activities* attributed to him through the accounts transmitted in the Synoptic Gospels.<sup>16</sup>

13. The phrase "Spirit of God" in Matthew reflects the redactor's editorial interests in the context (cf. 12:18, 32), and so Luke's wording is to be preferred.

14. See Jürgen Becker, *Jesus of Nazareth* (New York: de Gruyter, 1998), 107–10. The defeat of Satan is similarly regarded as verified by exorcisms in Luke 10:18, this time in the case of those performed by the seventy-two disciples: Jesus says, "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven."

15. See Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 220–21. This is most clear in Matthew (the final judgment; 8:29; 13:36–43; 25:41). In Mark and Luke, the ongoing demonic activity is variously assumed: Mark (6:7–12, if disciples are paradigmatic for the post-Easter church); Luke (exorcisms are proleptic to the eschaton [13:31–33]; Satan continues to be active [22:3, 31; cf. Acts 16:16–18]).

16. Rather than placing the onus on demonstrating the historicity of this or that story about an exorcism ascribed to Jesus, it is sufficient here to note that, in general, this activity formed an

However, while the link between exorcisms and God's eschatological rule thus may be said to go back to Jesus, how singular is it? Is Twelftree, for instance, correct when he claims that "it was Jesus himself who made this connection between exorcism and eschatology,"<sup>17</sup> as if such a link had no precedence anywhere in Jesus' environment? Is Stegemann correct when he concludes that the notion of God's reign beginning to vanquish Satan's rule is to be found "neither in the Qumran texts nor in other Jewish literature, at least where these surely stem from pre-Christian times"?<sup>18</sup>

## 2. *The Demons as Unclean Spirits*

Another feature is concerned with the designations used for demons. The following terms or expressions, sometimes in combination, occur in the Synoptics: (1) δαίμων or δαιμόνιον<sup>19</sup>; (2) evil spirit (πνεῦμα πονηρόν)<sup>20</sup>; (3) unclean spirit (ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα)<sup>21</sup>; (4) spirit of an unclean demon<sup>22</sup>; (5) spirit of weakness<sup>23</sup>; (6) a dumb or deaf-and-dumb spirit<sup>24</sup> or simply "spirit."<sup>25</sup> With regard to the history of ideas, two aspects of these expressions stand out as noteworthy. First, in contrast to its more neutral use among Greek writers during the preceding and subsequent centuries,<sup>26</sup> the term δαίμων has acquired a categorically negative

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important part of Jesus' ministry; see John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, vol. 2, *Mentor, Message, and Miracles* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 2001) 2:646–48.

17. Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist*, 220. Similarly, N. T. Wright, *Christian Origins and the Question of God*, vol. 2, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 195: "The exorcisms are especially interesting, in that they formed a part neither of the regular Old Testament predictions, nor of first-century Jewish expectations, concerning healing and deliverance associated with the coming of the kingdom; nor were they a major focus of the life and work of the early church. They therefore stand out, by the criterion of dissimilarity, as being part of a battle in which Jesus alone was engaged."

18. Stegemann, *Library from Qumran*, 233. Throughout the chapter on "Jesus" (pp. 228–57), Stegemann drives too categorical a wedge between Jesus and the Judaism of his time. As far as exorcisms and God's kingdom are concerned, he stresses differences in technique and methods used by Jesus and his contemporaries, while failing to consider the wider framework of God's rule in relation to the defeat of evil (and not just victory over political enemies; cf. p. 233) in some of the apocalyptic literature.

19. See Mark 1:34 (bis), 39; 3:15, 22; 6:13; 7:26, 29, 30; 9:38; Matt 7:22; 9:33, 34; 10:8; 11:18; 12:24 (bis), 27, 28; 17:18; Luke 4:33, 35, 41; 7:33; 8:2, 27, 30, 33, 35, 38; 9:1, 42, 49; 10:17; 11:14 (bis), 15 (bis), 18, 19, 20; 13:32.

20. Among the Synoptics, the expression occurs only in Luke (7:21; 8:2) and is to be regarded as a Lucanism; cf. Acts 19:12, 13, 15, 16.

21. Mark 1:23, 26, 27; 3:11, 30; 5:2, 8, 13; 6:7; 7:25; 9:25; Matt 10:1; 12:43 (Q); Luke 4:36; 6:18; 8:29; 9:2; 11:24 (Q); cf. Acts 5:16; 8:7.

22. Luke 4:33 (//Mark 1:23).

23. Luke 13:11.

24. Mark 9:17 (//Luke 9:31, simply πνεῦμα) and 9:25 respectively.

25. Matt 8:16; 9:20; Luke 9:31, 38.

26. This is an area to which considerable research has been devoted by classicists and ancient historians; on δαίμων in early folk traditions, Homeric and post-Homeric literature, the philosophical literature (esp. Plato), Neopythagorean thought, Philo, Plutarch, Lucian, Apuleius, and

meaning. Second, the frequency and distribution of the designation “unclean spirit” is remarkable. As the first point requires a longer analysis than is either possible or necessary for purposes of this discussion,<sup>27</sup> we focus on the second, which, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is without parallel in non-Jewish literature from antiquity. Here we find ourselves on unmistakably Jewish soil with which Jesus would have been familiar (see already Zech 13:2; 11Q11 col. XIX, 15, רוח טמאה; 4Q444 I col. I, 8, רוח הטמאה; IQS IV, 22, נדה ברוח; possibly to be reconstructed in 4Q458 2 col. I, 5 רוח[ות] הטמאה).<sup>28</sup> The expression no doubt suggests that the effect of the malevolent spirit is to render its victim ritually unclean and thus unable to participate in the religious life of Israel. Nonetheless, the Gospel traditions tell us very little about what it is that has made the exorcised spirits impure;<sup>29</sup> rather, the impurity of such spirits is taken for granted.

### 3. Demon Possession as Entry into the Human Body

Despite the diversity of forms that convey traditions about the exorcisms of Jesus, his disciples, and others in the Gospels, there is a surprising uniformity in the way demons are described as wreaking havoc on their human victims. Almost all the texts speak of the exorcism in terms of disembodiment of the evil spirits; they are “cast out” (ἐκβάλλειν) of the victims whom they have possessed.<sup>30</sup> Consistent with this is the notion of the spirits either “entering” (εἰσερχεσθαι)<sup>31</sup> into the human beings or “departing” (ἐξερχεσθαι)<sup>32</sup> from them. The view assumed in both the narratives and sayings is that humans are victimized by demons when the latter inhabit their bodies. There is no reason to think that Jesus’ understanding was any different.

Among the sayings, this view is clearest in the return of the spirit in “Q” (Matt 12:43–45//Luke 11:24–26). The earlier version is to be found in Luke, as Matthew has added at the end a comparison that attempts to domesticate the saying as an illustration of the “perverse generation” in the end-time. The Lucan text reads:

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Philostratus (on Apollonios of Tyana), see esp. Frederick E. Brenk, “In the Light of the Moon: Demonology in the Early Imperial Period,” *ANRW* II.16.3 (1986): 2068–2145. The relationship of these traditions to the Jewish literature and, in turn, to demonology underlying the Synoptic Gospels bears further investigation.

27. See now Archie T. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6:1–4 in Early Jewish Literature* (WUNT II, 98; Tübingen: Mohr, 2005).

28. See the discussion by Philip Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998, 1999), 2:331–53 (esp. 349–50).

29. The accounts of the Gerasene demoniac (Mark 5:1–20 parr.) and the possessed boy (Mark 9:14–29 parr.) include descriptions of the harm inflicted by the unclean spirits on their victims, but there is no explanation as such on how these spirits became impure to begin with.

30. For “casting out,” see Mark 1:34, 39; 3:15, 22, 23; 6:13; 9:18, 28; Matt 7:2; 8:16, 31; 9:33, 34; 10:1, 8; 12:24, 26, 27 (bis), 28; 17:19; Luke 9:40, 49; 11:14, 15, 18, 19 (bis), 20; 13:32.

31. Mark 3:27; 5:12, 13; 9:25; Matt 12:29; Luke 8:30, 32, 33; 22:3.

32. Mark 5:13; 7:29, 30; Matt 12:43 (Q); Luke 8:2, 33; 11:14, 24 (Q).

(24) When an unclean spirit departs (ἐξέλιθη) from a person, it passes through dry places seeking rest; and when it does not find (it), it says, "I will return to my house from whence I left." (25) And it goes and finds it swept and put in order. (26) Then he goes and takes seven other spirits more evil than himself, and they enter and dwell there. And the last state of that person is worse than the first.

Though the passage preserves overtones of a warning (v. 26b), there is no exhortation to accompany it. The difficulty of the saying lies in the straightforward manner in which the path to the "last state" is achieved. In effect, the departure of an unclean spirit, which has presumably taken place through an exorcism, in this logion is not thought to be ultimately effectual. For this reason a number of interpreters have found herein a tradition that both Jesus' disciples and the post-Easter church would not have been likely to create; the thrust of it runs categorically counter to a portrait of Jesus, whose exorcisms would have been regarded as effective.<sup>33</sup> If, then, this saying can be traced back to Jesus, it is significant that it presupposes the view that the human body can serve as both a demon's "house" (v. 24b) and a natural place of return (v. 26a).

The uniformity of demonic corporeal indwelling in the Synoptic Gospels is all the more remarkable given that this notion is relatively rare in sources that pre-date the New Testament writings.<sup>34</sup> Instead, demonic activity in Greco-Roman antiquity was far more often described in terms of affliction or attack *from the outside*. In Jewish sources, this sort is well known from what is described in the book of Tobit of the fatal attacks by the demon Asmodeus against the seven would-be husbands of Sarah (see esp. Tob 3:8; 6:8, 14–15; 8:2). In such a case, the means undertaken to gain control of the demon was protective rather than "exorcism" per se, because it is not formally a matter of driving the demon out of a person's body. A further case may be the by now well known paraphrase in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20) col. XX, 16–29 based on the biblical story of Abraham and Sarah in Egypt (Gen 12:10–20). Although Pharaoh and his household are made to suffer sores from a plaguing spirit, the trouble is described in terms of affliction (as in Gen 12:17) rather than possession. The spirit is not so much "driven out" as "banished" or "driven away" (אֶתְהַנֵּחַ, line 29; see 1QM col. xiv, 10) when Abraham lays his hands on Hyrqanosh.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, the

33. This difficulty is recognized by Wright, who, however, unnecessarily resolves the problem by arguing that the tradition is less about the possible long-term risks of exorcism than it is a parable about Israel (*Jesus and the Victory of God*, 455–56). Here Wright is too quick to demythologize, as he attempts to read Matt 12:43–45//Luke 11:24–26 through a shared perspective of the Gospel authors rather than to consider it an independent tradition that circulated in its own right.

34. Meier's assertion (*Marginal Jew*, 2:405) that "demonic possession as well as obsession became a frequent theme in the Jewish literature of the intertestamental period" is overstated, not only given the dearth of instances he cites but also because cases that arguably refer to possession are so rare (which he, citing John M. Hull's work *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* [SBT 2.28; London: SCM, 1974], 62–63, even seems to admit; see 2:460 n. 30).

35. Despite the parallel between Abraham's laying on of hands in this passage and Jesus' use

fragmentary psalms of 11Q11 (which includes a version of Psalm 91 in col. VI) are apotropaic; they were apparently meant to serve as incantations (col. V, 4: שַׁחַלְבָּ) to be sung or recited for the purpose of warding off demonic attacks.<sup>36</sup> There is no evidence that the demons in view are being thought to “possess” the human body.<sup>37</sup> The same is true of the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510–511; perhaps 4Q444 and 8Q5?), through which the Maskil’s proclamation of the splendor of God’s radiance is meant “to frighten and terrify” demonic beings who might strike without warning to lead people astray (4Q510 1, 4–6//4Q511 10, 1–3; 4Q511 8, 4; 35, 6–9; 48,49+51 II, 2–3).<sup>38</sup> Similarly, it is the “afflicted” (not necessarily the “possessed”) for whom David is said in 11Q5 XXVII, 10 to have composed four songs.<sup>39</sup> Finally, according to *Jub.* 10:7–14, the angels give instructions to Noah about, for example, how to use herbs in order to combat the remaining evil spirits (a tenth of the original number) who, following the great flood, were allowed to engage in seductive activities and to cause illnesses. The measures conveyed to Noah are not exorcistic in nature, but rather presuppose that the demons are to be warded off or resisted by these means.

There are only a few sources outside the New Testament composed before the end of the first century that describe demonic possession in the strict sense, that is, the inhabiting of demons in the human body. Perhaps the most well known instance of an exorcism is the story of “a certain Eleazar” recounted by Josephus (*Ant.* 8.46–49) as an illustration of the continuing potency of exorcistic

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of the same action in Luke 13:13, the significance of this passage is minimized by the fact that the injurious spirit acts on behalf of God. See now the discussion by Eric Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles* (JSNT Supplements; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), chap. 5.

36. According to 11Q11 col. V, 4–5, a certain incantation may be “spoken at an[y] time to the heaven[s]” when a demon “comes to you during the nig[ht].”

37. The term פִּגְוִיָּה, which is best translated as “afflicted,” is frequently, without due reflection, rendered as if it referred to demonic possession in the strict sense (11Q11 col. V, 1); see, e.g., the translations in Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Harper Collins, 1996), 454; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:1203 (hereafter *DSSE*); and Armin Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995: Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–435, esp. 379–84 and 431–33 (on 4Q510 511 and 4Q444; 11Q5 col. XXVII, 9–10; 1QapGen col. XX, 28–29; and *Jubilees* 10). Moreover, נִשְׁבָּחֵי does not denote “exorcising” and “adjuring” at one and the same time (contra *DSSE*, 1201, 1203).

38. Though referring at times loosely to exorcism, Bilhah Nitzan has emphasized the apotropaic nature of 4Q510–511 and designated them as a variety of “anti-demonic songs”; see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 227–72, esp. 238.

39. It is important to note that the twin notions of exorcism, on the one hand, and possession, on the other, are not necessarily absent when not explicitly mentioned by an author; for an approximation of possession, see, e.g., a petition from the prayer for deliverance in 11Q5 col. XIX, 15–16: “Do not let Satan rule over me, nor an unclean spirit; let neither pain nor evil inclination take possession of my bones (שֶׁרֶשֶׁת אֵלֶּי יִרְשָׁו).” I simply wish to point out that the texts mentioned in this section are more inclined to describe the dangers posed by demons or evil spirits in other ways.

cures attributed to Solomon (45).<sup>40</sup> The extraction of the demon from the man through a foul-smelling root prescribed and incantations composed by Solomon leaves it beyond doubt that Josephus thought that the demon had been inside the man's body. In the absence of exorcism accounts themselves among the Jewish sources,<sup>41</sup> further instances of demonic invasion of the body are anything but numerous.

Three examples from Qumran Cave 4 may provide some evidence for this notion, the first two less clear than the third. The first text is from the *Damascus Document* (4Q266 = 4QD<sup>a</sup> 6 col. I, 5-7; cf. the more fragmentary parallels in 4Q269 7; 4Q272 1 cols. I-II; and 4Q273 4 col. II). The text describes a skin disease with precision, in order to assist a priest in determining whether the affected person is healthy again; this disease is attributed to a "spirit" that may have entered the body through either the head or the beard.<sup>42</sup> In this text, however, it is not ultimately clear whether the disease-causing spirit is the only one to inhabit the body at any given time; the cure has taken effect if the priest notices (1) that there are no further living hairs beyond the dead ones after seven days, (2) that the artery is filled with blood, and (3) that the "spirit of life" goes up and down in it. While it seems that the cure is effected by the removal or absence of the disease-causing spirit, the text may imply that a certain coexistence with the spirit of life is possible. The matter, however, remains uncertain. Thus, any notion of "possession" here can, at best, only be inferred; the expression "habitation" seems more accurate.

Second, with respect to "possession," the well-known treatise of the two spirits in the *Community Rule* col. III, 13-IV, 26 might at first glance seem ambiguous. After all, in col. IV, 9-12 "the spirit of deceit" (רוח עלווה; line 9) is thought to lie behind a number of vices; moreover, the influence of this spirit leads to "an abundance of afflictions" (נגועים רוב; line 12) at the hands of "all the angels of destruction" (כול מלאכי חבל; line 12) for those who come under its rule. Although it is not yet made clear whether this spirit of deceit inhabits the human being, such a notion becomes apparent toward the conclusion of the treatise at col. IV, 20-21.<sup>43</sup> Here, at the time appointed for judgment, the deeds of humans will be purified of all wrongdoing; God will "finish off every spirit of deceit from the inward parts of his flesh" (להתם כול רוח עלווה מתכמי בשרו), an act further described in the following phrase as a divine cleansing from every wicked deed through the spirit of holiness. The passage thus portrays eschato-

40. According to Josephus, Solomon "devised incantations with which illnesses depart and he left behind kinds of exorcisms (τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων) through which those clothed by demons drive out (ἐκδιώκουσι) so that they do not return."

41. A number of exorcisms comparable to some of the accounts in the Gospels are attributed to the first-century Apollonius in Philostratus's *Vit. Apoll.* 2.4; 3.38; 4.10 and 20 (ca. early third century C.E.). At issue here is perhaps the extent to which Philostratus's account or that of his sources betrays the influence of terminology of exorcism in accounts known from the Gospels.

42. See Joseph M. Baumgarten's important study of the passage and its parallels in "The 4Q Zadokite Fragments on Skin Disease," *JJS* 41 (1990): 153-65.

43. If anything, the spirit of deceit is envisioned as the sphere within which those who practice vices in the list are walking (IQS col. IV, 12).



logical judgment in terms that approximate a global exorcism, in which anything that remains from the spirit of deceit within human beings will be utterly destroyed. In the present age, the spirit of deceit dwells within human beings, but not always alone. In fact, the text declares that both “the spirits of truth and deceit contend (against one another) in the heart of the man” (line 23: יריבו רוח' (אמת ועול בלבב גבר) in an attempt to control a person's actions. The language of possession does not occur and the habitation of the spirit of deceit is not exclusive; nonetheless, it is such a spirit, as it contends against the spirit of truth, that, from within the human being, is considered the cause of reprehensible deeds and attitudes (cf. col. IV, 9–11).

The third text, the clearest example of possession among the Dead Sea documents, is from the small Aramaic fragment that bears the numerical designation 4Q560.<sup>44</sup> The very incompletely preserved text refers to male and female poisonous beings that invade the human body and its parts. They gain “[e]ntry into the flesh” (col. I, 3: עלל בבשרא), where their activities become the cause of iniquity and guilt, on the one hand, and of fever, chills, and heat of the heart, on the other (col. I, 4: עואן ופשע אשא ועריה ואשת לבב).<sup>45</sup> Column II of the fragment (lines 5–6) contains the beginning of an adjuration formula in the form of a direct address by the exorcist to a malevolent spirit (ואנה רוח מרמהן] and ]אומיתך רוחא, respectively), by which means the spirit (with its effects) are brought under control. Though the text does not refer explicitly to expulsion, one may infer that the formula would have been invoked in order to reverse what has occurred when the spirit(s) entered the body.

We may conclude from these examples that, even though unambiguous evidence for the notion of corporeal habitation by demons or evil spirits is relatively sparse, we are not to conclude that the Synoptic Gospels therefore assume a worldview that cannot be explained on the basis of early Jewish sources.

If the notions of demon possession, the explicit view that demons are unclean and polluted beings, and the horizon of history in which the rule of God is established can all be traced back to what we may suppose Jesus knew and understood in relation to his ministry, then we may inquire into the nature of this convergence of ideas. Are they, for example, to be regarded as the creation of Jesus? Certainly some singularity can, in principle, be attributed to Jesus, since every phenomenon by definition will bear a certain distinctiveness. However, we may ask whether these ideas have converged in any other Jewish tradition and to what extent Jesus' ministry marked something new.

44. See Douglas L. Penney and Michael O. Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran (4Q560),” *JBL* 113 (1994): 627–50; and Alexander, “Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 345. Though the text seems to be prescriptive of what to do in case of a demonic attack, the description on col. I suggests that the problem envisaged is one in which the potential effects are conceived in terms of invasion into the body (see below).

45. In addition, if Joseph Navch's interpretation of col. I, 5 is correct, the text refers to the demons' entry into “the tooth” (אשנא); see Navch, “Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran” *IEJ* 48 (1998): 252–61, esp. 256–57. The text, however, remains difficult to interpret; for example, with Penney and Wise (see n. 44 above), the expression may denote the time during which the demonic attack can take place, that is, “during sleep.”

### III. The Apocalyptic “Logic” of Exorcism in the Early Enochic Traditions

Considerable interest has steered toward the early Enochic traditions—especially the Astronomical Book, the Book of Watchers, the Book of Giants, and the Book of Dreams—in relation to their understanding of the introduction of evil into the world.<sup>46</sup> The culprits in these documents were thought to be “fallen angels” (exegetically derived from “the sons of God” in Gen 6:1) whose teachings and activities before the Great Flood ran contrary to God’s purpose for the created order.

The early Enochic documents each emphasize that the biblical flood was an act of divine punishment for the evils carried out by the angels/watchers and the offspring they sired through the women of the earth. Significantly, the deluge (or at least imagery associated with this event) contributes to the way the authors attempted to describe God’s final, eschatological triumph over evil. Especially influential has been the form of this tradition in the Book of Watchers (hereafter BW), which may be dated to the third century B.C.E.<sup>47</sup> By the time the earliest

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46. The literature is considerable, but see especially Devorah Dimant, e.g., in “‘The Fallen Angels’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1974 [in Hebrew]); eadem, “The ‘Peshar on the Periods’ (4Q180) and 4Q181,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 9 (1979): 77–102; Martin Delcor, “Le myth de la chute des anges et de l’origine des géants comme explication du mal dans le monde dans l’apocalyptique juive histoire des traditions,” *RHR* 190 (1976): 3–53; J. T. Milik, “Turfan et Qumran: Livre des géants juif et manichéen,” in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt. Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Gert Jeremias, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, and Hartmut Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 117–27; Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Paul Hanson, “Rebellion in Heaven. Azazel and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11,” *JBL* 96 (1977): 195–233; George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11,” *JBL* 96 (1977): 383–405; David W. Suter, “Fallen Angels, Fallen Priests: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16,” *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115–35; Ida Fröhlich, “Les enseignements des vieillards dans la tradition de Qumran,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 177–87; Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (JSPSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990); Maxwell J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup 11; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992); John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997); idem, “The ‘Angels’ and ‘Giants’ of Genesis 6:1–4 in Second and Third Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalyptic Traditions,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 354–77; Philip S. Alexander, “‘Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places’: Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 319–30; and Alexander, “Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls”; Andy M. Reimer, “Rescuing the Fallen Angels: The Case of the Disappearing Angels at Qumran,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 331–53.

47. There is no reason to question Milik’s palaeographical dating of the earliest manuscript, 4Q201, to “the first half of the second century” B.C.E.; see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 140–41. The scribal copying errors in the manuscript make it possible to push the date back at least to the third century.

extant copies of BW were made, the document combined what were once separate strands of tradition in chs. 6–11 and 12–16, respectively. The resulting story, if one reads chs. 6–16 as a unit, focused on reprehensible instructions given to humanity in the antediluvian period by the “fallen angels” (*1 En.* 7:1; 8:3; 9:6–8a; 13:2b; cf. 16:3) and on the violent activities of their progeny, the giants (derived from “the mighty men” and “Nephilim” in Gen 6:3). In contrast to Genesis 6, which makes no mention of the giants’ involvement in the events leading to the flood in *1 Enoch*, the giants are the ones primarily held accountable for the increase of violent oppression on the earth (7:3–6; 9:1, 9–10). It is in response to the cries of the giants’ human victims (ch. 9), mediated to God through a prayer of four principal angels, that divine judgment is set in motion (ch. 10). The giants are punished through either internecine fighting or the deluge.

The emphasis placed by BW and, subsequently, the Book of Giants (hereafter BG) on the offspring of the “fallen angels” is not based on their deeds alone. There was something inherently wrong in their nature. According to the Shemihazah strand of the narrative, the giants are products of a sexual union between the angels as heavenly beings and women as earthly beings (so *1 En.* 6:1–4; 7:1–2; 9:7–8; 10:9, 11; 15:3–7, 12). According to 15:3–7, the reason for specifying this union as loathsome becomes explicit: the giants are a mixture arising from an act of defilement (cf. BG 4Q531 5, 1) between essentially spiritual, heavenly beings, on the one hand, and earthly beings of flesh and blood, on the other; by definition, they are violators of the natural order (15:4, 9–10). The giants are, therefore, cosmological misfits without a proper place. As the offspring of an illegitimate union, they are neither fully angel nor fully human.<sup>48</sup> Hence, they are called “bastards” in 10:9 (Codex Panopolitanus has τοὺς μαζήρεους, a transliteration from the Hebrew/Aramaic מַזְהָרִים (מזור), that is, they are inherently bad or impure.<sup>49</sup> From the perspective of chs. 15–16, the giants’ subjugation of animals and humans to oppression and death is only the logical outcome of their nature.

Thus, BW and BG make it very clear that the giants had to be categorically and decisively punished, if not through infighting among them then through the flood.<sup>50</sup> In response to the cries of the dead, God allows Noah to be the lone survivor of the flood (10:1–3). Although the giants are not spared, neither is it the case that they are not permitted to have a postdiluvian existence. They do not escape

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48. The giants’ hybrid nature is implicitly reflected by their names and characters (as seen against their ancient Near Eastern background) in the BG; see my paper “Giant Mythology and Demonology: From the Ancient Near East to the Dead Sea Scrolls,” published by Mohr Siebeck among papers given at the Dämonen-Symposium (University of Tübingen) edited by Armin Lange and Hermann Lichtenberger.

49. I am hesitant to agree with Suter (“Fallen Priests, Fallen Angels”) that the term “bastards” is to be decoded as a reference to wayward priests; however much the priesthood may have inspired the choice of this terminology, BW is genuinely concerned with the origin of demons (chs. 15–16), who, in turn, cannot be simply identified as the priests.

50. This contrasts with the so-called Pseudo-Eupolmos traditions cited in Eusebius’s *Ecccl. Hist.* 9.17.1–9 and 9.18.2, which euhemeristically retell the biblical story in such a way that a giant or giants survive(s) the flood and become(s) a key link in the transmission and spread of revealed culture.

the deluge, but rather end up surviving in a radically altered form, that is, as “evil spirits” (15:8–9). Although the preserved textual witnesses to 1 En. 15 do not specify just how this alteration occurred, it is possible to reconstruct an aetiology of evil spirits on the basis of reading 15:3–16:3 as an elaboration of parts of ch. 10. As a mixture of heavenly and earthly beings, the giants were composed of flesh and spirit. When they came under divine judgment because of their activities, the physical part of their nature was destroyed, whether through the violent conflict among themselves (7:5; 10:12) or through the flood. At this point, spirits or souls would have emerged from their dead bodies; it is in this disembodied state that the giants continue to exist until the final, eschatological judgment (16:1). Since these spirits are ultimately products of a reprehensible union, they, as in their former existence as giants, are irretrievably bad. And so, after the great flood, they continue to engage in the sorts of oppressive activities that had so characterized their existence before. In particular, as before, they wished to afflict human beings (15:12). The reason? Because they are jealous that humans, and not they themselves, escaped the deluge with their bodies intact.

This aetiology explains how it is that the giants could become so openly identified as demons, whether among the Dead Sea Scrolls or at a later stage. Among the Dead Sea documents several references to demonic beings have the giants’ postdiluvian existence in view. In 4Q510 1, 5 the phrase “spirits of the bastards” (רוחות ממזרים) occurs in a list of evil forces. So also, in 4Q511 35, 7; 48+49–51, 2–3 and 4Q444 2 col. 1, 4, they are singled out as ממזרים that need to be subjugated by God. A further clear reference to a giant demon is made in 11Q11 V, 6 in which the demon who visits during the night is addressed as “offspring of] Adam and the seed of the ho[ly] ones.” In second- and third-century Christian writings such as the *Testament of Solomon*, the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, Tertullian’s *Apology*, Lactantius’s *Institutes*, and Commodianus’s *Instructions*, the notion of the giants as malevolent demons resurfaces in a way that suggests how widely it was disseminated.<sup>51</sup> The aetiology also would have provided a

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51. The Christian *T. Sol.* 5:3; 17:1. In 5:3 (within the section 5:1–11), the author reinterprets the demon Asmodeus – a deliberate reference to the book of Tobit that follows the longer recension (cf. Codex Sinaiticus at 3:7–8, 17; 6:14–15, 17; 8:2–3; 12:15) – as one born from a human mother and an angel. In the latter text (in the passage 17:1–5) the demonic power thwarted by Jesus (in an allusion to Mark 5:3) is identified as one of the giants who died in the internecine conflicts. Similarly, *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* 8.12–18 refers to the giants, which are designated as both “bastards” (18; cf. 15) and “demons” (14; 17) in the antediluvian phase of their existence. Here they are said to have survived the deluge in the form of disembodied “large souls” whose postdiluvian activities are proscribed through “a certain righteous law” given them through an angel; on this see James C. VanderKam, “1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature,” in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (ed. James C. VanderKam and William Adler; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1999), 33–101, esp. 76–79. Furthermore, Tertullian’s *Apol.* 22, a passage deserving more detailed analysis, designates the offspring of the fallen angels as a “demon-brood” who “inflict . . . upon our bodies diseases and other grievous calamities . . .” According to Lactantius (*Institutes* 2.15) there are two kinds of demons, “one from heaven and one from earth,” that is, demons who are the fallen angels and demons who are spirits derived from these angels’ union with human women. Finally, and not mentioned by VanderKam, the *Instructions* by the third-century North African

possible way of explaining why demons were thought to be especially intent on entering the bodies of human beings. Finally, the story serves to locate the problem of demonic evil within an apocalyptic-eschatological framework. Since the giants are allowed to survive into the postdiluvian period (albeit as disembodied spirits<sup>52</sup>), neither their internecine battles nor the Great Flood represents God's final triumph over evil. The deluge, to be sure, is a clear sign of divine punishment in the past (10:2). It came in response to petitions that invoked God *inter alia* as "King of kings" (9:4); moreover, if it is correct to read one of the BG fragments (4Q203 9) as a petition that God intervene to punish the fallen angels and the giants, then the reference to "your great rule" (מלכות רבוחכה) in the prayer suggests that the judgment of God in the flood event was considered to have been a concrete manifestation in "history" of God's rule. Indeed, Enoch's petition in the Book of Dreams in *1 En.* 84:2–6, which likewise appeals to God's kingship, occurs in advance of divine punishment of antediluvian evil. The deluge, at the same time, is portrayed as a proleptic event. Imagery from the flood is adapted as the author alluded to the eschatological judgment when evil will be destroyed once and for all (*1 En.* 10:17ff.). The meantime—that is, between the time God's rule was manifest in the flood and the time when evil will be eradicated—is regarded as an age during which evil spirits stemming from the giants can operate only as defeated powers who know that their time to afflict humans is limited (*1 En.* 16:1; cf. also *Jubilees* 10).

#### IV. Conclusion

Before ascertaining the significance of the Enochic materials in relation to the exorcistic tradition of Jesus, it is best to start with the negative conclusions. First, none of the Enochic traditions contains the sort of technical language such as "kingdom of God," which occurs so frequently in the Synoptics as part of Jesus' proclamation. Second, the early Enochic traditions have not provided narrative accounts of exorcisms or even techniques thereof which serve as background to Jesus' practice. Third, there is no instance among the Gospels, be it narrative or saying, that simply identifies any of the demons as a giant living out the postdiluvian state of its existence. What, then, do the early Enoch traditions contribute to our picture of Jesus the exorcist?

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bishop Commodianus (ch. 3) attribute the subversion of "many bodies" to the disembodied existence of the giants after their death.

52. Concerning the ambiguities within the biblical tradition, which allowed for inferences to be made about the survival of the Nephilim and mighty men of Gen 6:3 after the flood, see Stuckenbruck, "'Angels' and 'Giants' of Genesis 6:1–4" (see n. 46 above). There appears to have been a debate on the nature of the giants' survival beyond the time of the deluge; it was marked, on the one hand, by a readiness to regard one or more of them as tradents of revealed knowledge from the time of Enoch to Abraham (as suggested by the "Pseudo-Eupolemus" fragments) and, on the other, by the insistence that they were categorically culpable and without exception were destroyed in their physical nature by divine punishment (as emphasized in BW, BG, and the Animal Apocalypse).

The foregoing will hopefully have been sufficient to demonstrate that several notions that converged in the earliest strata of the Jesus tradition were also transmitted together within the framework of the Enochic traditions. If the defeat of the fallen angels and the giants through the flood was thought to be a concrete manifestation of God's rule, then this is much the same as in Jesus' ministry: although demonic spirits are decisively defeated by Jesus, they have not been completely destroyed. Jesus has inaugurated a time of fulfillment and prolepsis. The eschatological tension in Jesus' ministry was not simply generated by Jesus for the first time. Moreover, for all the Gospels' uniformity with respect to "demon possession" and "unclean spirits," their occurrence in a single complex of apocalyptic traditions (i.e., the early Enochic sources) throws light on the conceptual "logic" behind Jesus' activity. It becomes more plausible, then, to understand Jesus as a prophet whose claim to disembody unclean spirits makes sense within a Jewish apocalyptic worldview. The Enoch traditions show that the association of God's rule with the containment of demonic oppression was not novel in the ministry of Jesus. Nonetheless, in Jesus these motifs have been reconfigured and intensified. The notion that God's proleptic rule over unclean spirits is already at work—inaugurated according to the Book of Watchers and Book of Giants in the distant past—was transferred to Jesus, who revitalized it in relation to his own person and mission.

# III

## The Pseudepigrapha and Paul





# ADAM AND EVE IN ROMANS 1:18–25 AND THE GREEK *LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE*

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In the century and a half since Tischendorf published an edition of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*, scholars have pondered the possibility that this fascinating pseudepigraphon exercised a level of influence over certain areas of Pauline thought. R. Kabisch, in the first detailed study devoted to the origin of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, concluded: "So scheint unsere Legende auf die Bildung der Vorstellungswelt des Paulus Einfluss gehabt zu haben."<sup>1</sup> L. S. A. Wells, in his contribution to R. H. Charles's volumes, while not conceding direct influence, nonetheless ventured that "it seems at least tenable that S. Paul and the author of 2 Enoch were near contemporaries of the original author of Apoc. Mos. and moved in the same circle of ideas."<sup>2</sup> More recently, M. D. Johnson, in his translation of the *Life* in J. H. Charlesworth's edition of the Pseudepigrapha, agreed with Wells that Paul, 2 Enoch, and the *Life of Adam and Eve* reflect the same circle of ideas. Johnson noted "interesting parallels," yet concluded provisionally that "in spite of these parallels it is impossible to determine whether there is a relationship between the New Testament and our texts."<sup>3</sup>

One of the most thorough attempts to use the Greek *Life* in the service of Pauline thought has come recently from the pen of J. D. G. Dunn, in his *Theology of Paul the Apostle*. In a valuable discussion of the role of Adam in Pauline

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An earlier version of this article was presented to members of the Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins Seminar of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas. I am grateful to these colleagues for several provocative discussions, to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for providing generously for my participation in that meeting, to Johannes Tromp for making his critical edition of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* available prior to publication, as well as for rich communiqués over the past few years, and to Priscilla Popc-Levison for candid critique and clear-headed editorial advice.

1. R. Kabisch, "Die Entstehungszeit der Apokalypse Mose," *ZNW* 6 (1905): 134.

2. L. S. A. Wells ("The Books of Adam and Eve," in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* [ed. R. H. Charles; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913], 2:130) writes: "If Kabisch goes too far in identifying our Apoc. Mosis with the source used by St. Paul . . ." The title *Apocalypse of Moses* is a misnomer because it is based on the superscript rather than the contents of the text. In recent literature it tends to be referred to as the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*; I adopt the abbreviation *GLAE* in citations of passages.

3. M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), 2:255.

theology, Dunn begins in earnest with the question, “Where did Paul draw his Adam theology from?” The answer is crystalline: “from Genesis 1–3 itself and the theological themes opened up already there.”<sup>4</sup> Dunn then turns to ask: “Can we detect other influence from the long pre-Christian Jewish theological tradition?” While such reflection is sparse in the Hebrew Bible, notes Dunn, this “situation changes . . . in the writings of the postbiblical . . . period.”<sup>5</sup> Among such writings Dunn numbers the *Life of Adam and Eve* (both Latin and Greek), because it “shows some striking parallels with Paul.” Yet, at the end of the day, despite “some striking parallels with Paul,” Dunn concludes his analysis of “Adam in postbiblical Judaism” with the ambiguous comment that “Paul was entering into an already well-developed debate and that his own views were not uninfluenced by its earlier participants.”

The problem with these alleged parallels that leads to such equivocation is that they comprise almost entirely the sort of correspondences that E. P. Sanders might have identified as “individual motifs” as opposed to “holistic . . . patterns of religion.”<sup>6</sup> These miscellaneous parallels typically include the location of paradise in the third heaven in 2 Cor 11:3 and *GLAE* 37:5, where Adam’s corpse is taken to paradise in the third heaven; the transformation of Satan into an angel of light in 2 Cor 11:4 and *GLAE* 17;<sup>7</sup> the depiction of God as the “father of lights” in *GLAE* 36:3 and Jas 1:17; the reference to ἐπιθυμία as the origin of sin in Rom 7:7 and *GLAE* 19:3; the separation of soul and body at death in 2 Cor 5:1–5 and *GLAE* 13:6; and the laying of blame at Eve’s feet.<sup>8</sup> The parallels tend to be extracted, for the purpose of comparison, from both the narrative structure of the *Life of Adam and Eve* and the rhetorical play of Paul’s letters. They do not, consequently, tell us anything indispensable about either the *Life* or Paul’s theology.

Even in those instances where the potential of a parallel to illumine Paul’s letters is particularly keen, scholars have tended to consider ultimately neither what the payoff of these parallels is nor whether such parallels are peculiar to the *Life of Adam and Eve*. Dunn, for example, in a discussion of associations between Paul and the *Life of Adam and Eve*, does not adequately exploit their potential. He is possibly on target when he writes of Rom 3:23 that “the thought of Adam’s sin resulting in his deprivation of the glory of God is already present in *Apoc. Mos.* 20:2 and 21:6. Correspondingly, the hope of the age to come could be expressed in terms of the restoration or enhancement of the original glory (*Apoc. Mos.* 39.2–3).” This may be true enough, but what more do we garner about Paul’s theology from this parallel? What more than from a text such as IQS 4:21, “And all the glory of Adam will be theirs”?

4. J. D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 82.

5. *Ibid.*, 84.

6. E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 12.

7. Wells (“Adam and Eve,” 2:130) thinks that 2 Cor 11:14 “reads almost like a quotation from *Apoc. Mos.* xvii or its prototype.” Actually, 2 Cor 11:4 is more closely related to the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* 9:1.

8. See the list in Johnson, “Life of Adam and Eve,” 2:254–55.

In the present study, in contrast, I shall provide a specific case in point that identifies correspondences of a different order altogether—correspondences in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* that are substantially more significant, even potentially indispensable, for the interpretation of Romans 1. That Paul's understanding of Adam and Eve has been shaped by a tradition such as the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* is hardly implausible. In terms of sheer length it is the earliest extended narrative of Adam and Eve, apart from Genesis 1–5, that we now possess. Its theological reflection circulates around such pivotal foci as the nature of sin (*GLAE* 15–30), greed (*GLAE* 1–2, 10–12), and resurrection (*GLAE* 31–42).<sup>9</sup> Its engagement with the realities of the human plight, such as pain, disease, death, and burial, is gritty and perceptive.<sup>10</sup> Even its possible cultural influence is expansive, as later versions that may have derived from the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* exist in Latin, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Georgian.<sup>11</sup>

It is the intention of this study to demonstrate, through a sustained and detailed analysis, that pivotal features of Paul's argument in Rom 1:18–25 exhibit uniquely rich correspondences with extrabiblical developments in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*. In particular, I shall identify the ways in which Paul's laconic and occasionally perplexing rhetoric in Rom 1:18–25 can be understood in light of the more expansive interpretive developments that characterize the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*. There are several of these, though they turn singularly upon the conception of exchange in Romans 1, which Paul communicates with the verbs ἀλλάσσειν and μεταλλάσσειν. Interpreted in light of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*, the rich contours of this exchange can be seen afresh. This exchange arises as Eve suppresses the truth when she persuades Adam to eat of the fruit. The results are devastating, for they entail the forfeit of immortality for mortality, of divine glory for divine anger, of human dominion for subservience to the animals.

The attractiveness of this thesis lies not only in the cogency of these correspondences, as we shall see shortly, but also in its historical simplicity. According to those scholars who discern the presence of Adam in Romans 1, such as N. T. Wright and Dunn, Paul's conception of Adam must be interpreted in light of a hypothetical Jewish Adam tradition—what Wright calls “Adam-speculation.”<sup>12</sup> The interpretation of Paul requires another step in which the Jewish interpretive tradition concerning Adam is reconstructed by piecing together disparate elements of literary texts that differ widely with respect to date and provenance. The approach adopted in this study, by way of contrast, is simpler: I shall identify

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9. See, e.g., the articles in G. A. Anderson, M. E. Stone, and J. Tromp, eds., *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays* (SVTP 15; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

10. See J. R. Levison, “The Primacy of Pain and Disease in the Greek Life of Adam and Eve,” *ZNW* 94 (2003): 1–16.

11. See G. A. Anderson and M. E. Stone, eds., *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve* (2nd ed.; SBLEJL 17; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999); M. E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (SBLEJL 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 6–41, 84–123.

12. Dunn, *Theology*, 79–101; N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 19–40; quotation from 19.

correspondences with Romans 1 in what has come to us as a single literary tradition, the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*, rather than in a reconstructed speculative Adam tradition. This approach provides a promising point of entry to Pauline theology because it locates essential elements of Romans 1 in one coherent narrative expansion of Gen 1–5.

Despite the significance of these correspondences and the ability to locate them in one ancient text, it would be ill-advised to argue that Paul extrapolated key conceptions in Romans 1 from precisely the present literary form of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*.<sup>13</sup> The question of whether Paul could have known this literary form of the Greek *Life*—whether it is of first-century C.E. Jewish origin or whether it is a third-century Christian composition—is too hotly contested to permit the suggestion that Paul utilized it as a literary source.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, given the tautness of the correspondences I shall identify, the suggestion is not altogether implausible that Paul used some form of this narrative—presumably written but possibly oral—in the construction of his argument. Without going quite so far as to identify points of literary influence, we can see that the Greek *Life* contains in much fuller form interpretive developments that are quite astonishingly similar to those that Paul himself makes in far briefer compass.

### Genesis in Romans 1:22–23

Before we press on to the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*, we ought briefly to revisit the question of the role Adam has been thought to play in Romans 1, for this is an issue on which scholars continue to be divided. Dunn and Wright, for example, appear to be convinced that Adam plays a role in Romans 1, while J. A. Fitzmyer contends that “the alleged echoes of the Adam stories in Genesis are simply nonexistent.”<sup>15</sup> This brief excursus will allow us to see that allusions to Gen 1:20–26 and 3:1–7 do play a part in Romans 1, but that Paul’s construal of these texts is refracted through the lens of a tradition such as we find in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*.

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13. Even the Greek manuscripts exist in no fewer than three distinct text forms. See M. Eldridge, *Dying Adam with His Multiethnic Family: Understanding the Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (SVTP 16; Leiden: Brill, 2002); J. R. Levison, *Texts in Transition: The Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (SBLEJL 16; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001).

14. Various scholars suggest that the document may have been a Christian composition that originated as late as the third century C.E.: see, e.g., M. de Jonge and J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1977), 65–78; M. de Jonge, “The Christian Origin of the *Greek Life of Adam and Eve*,” in Anderson, Stone, and Tromp, *Literature on Adam and Eve*, 347–63. G. A. Anderson touches on this in articles included in the same volume: “The Original Form of the *Life of Adam and Eve*: A Proposal,” 215–32, esp. 218; and “The Punishment of Adam and Eve in the *Life of Adam and Eve*,” 57–81, esp. 59, 75, 77.

15. J. A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 33; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1992), 274; Dunn, *Theology*, 79–101; Wright, *Climax*, 19–40.

Fifty years ago, N. Hyldahl contributed a brief article to *New Testament Studies* in which he argued that behind Rom 1:22–23 lay Gen 1:24, 26–27.<sup>16</sup> Romans 1:22–23 reads:

Claiming to be wise, they became fools; and they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for the likeness of the image of (a) mortal human being or birds or four-footed animals or reptiles.<sup>17</sup>

Φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν καὶ ἠλλάξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνοσ φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἔρπετῶν.

Scholars had long observed that the words καὶ ἠλλάξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι in Rom 1:22–23 are an allusion to Ps 105:20 LXX, which depicts the idolatry of the golden calf, καὶ ἠλλάξαντο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμοιώματι μόσχου ἔσθοντος χόρτον.<sup>18</sup> They had noticed as well that the general theme of idolatry in Romans 1, alongside specific references to various animals and the words ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνοσ, suggests that Paul has in mind in Rom 1:23 a discussion of idolatry in Deut 4:15–18 which contains similar language:

Since you saw no form when the LORD spoke to you at Horeb out of the fire, take care and watch yourselves closely, so that you do not act corruptly by making an idol for yourselves, in the form of any figure (γλυπτὸν ὁμοίωμα πάσαν εἰκόνα ὁμοίωμα) — the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any animal (κτῆνους) that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged bird (ὀρνέου πτερωτοῦ) that flies in the air, the likeness of anything that creeps (ἔρπετοῦ) on the ground, the likeness of any fish (ἰχθύος) that is in the water under the earth.

Among other observations, Hyldahl pointed out that Paul follows the order and vocabulary of Gen 1:20–24—not Deut 4:17–18—when he lists the animals in Rom 1:23. The only word for animals that occurs in both Deuteronomy 4 and Romans 1 is ἔρπετόν. In contrast, each of the words Paul selects to depict animals in Romans 1—πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἔρπετῶν—occurs as well in Gen 1:20–24, which refers to birds (πετεινά in 1:20), to four-footed creatures (τετράποδα in 1:24), and to reptiles (ἔρπετά in 1:24).

Hyldahl observed also that there is no equivalent in Deuteronomy of the term ἄνθρωπος. Taken alone, this observation may appear insignificant, but it

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16. N. Hyldahl, "A Reminiscence of the Old Testament at Romans i.23," *NTS* 2 (1955–56): 285–88. M. Hooker expanded on Hyldahl's thesis in "Adam in Romans 1," *NTS* 6 (1959–60): 297–306, and "A Further Note on Romans 1," *NTS* 13 (1966–67): 181–83.

17. My translation; unless otherwise stated, translations of the Bible are from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV). Translations of the *Greek Life of Adam and Eve* are my own.

18. Scholars cite as well Jer 2:11: ὁ δὲ λαός μου ἠλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἧσ οὐκ ὄφελθηθῆσονται, although this allusion would certainly appear to be secondary in comparison with Ps 105:20 LXX.

leads nonetheless to the realization that only in Gen 1:26–27, in the words ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, is there a scriptural point of origin for the expression ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνοσ φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου in Rom 1:23. Deuteronomy 4 simply does not refer to ἄνθρωπος at all.<sup>19</sup>

A few years later, J. Jervell would add another important datum when he observed that the relationship between Ps 105:20 LXX and Rom 1:23 is not an exact fit.<sup>20</sup> The psalm lacks a reference to the glory of God, referring instead to Israel's glory, while Paul's text lacks a reference to the golden calf, which is central to the psalm. These are not incidental differences.

What Hyldahl and Jervell accomplished was to demonstrate that allusions to Ps 105:20 LXX and Deut 4:15–18 do not by any means adequately explain the whole of Paul's assertion in Rom 1:23. For a more satisfactory rendering of Paul's thought, it is essential to recognize that Paul also has in mind some of the earlier lines in Torah—Gen 1:20–26. To this text it is possible to add still another, for the opening words of Rom 1:22–23, “claiming to be wise, they became fools,” evoke the drama of Genesis 3, especially the false promise of wisdom in Gen 3:6 (לֹא טֹב יֵאָדָּר).

In a few compact words, then, Paul recollects transformative moments in history as he understands it. An allusion to Israel's formative and fundamental sin, the episode of the golden calf, in Ps 105:20 LXX is set between allusions to equally dramatic moments—the drama of creation in Gen 1:20–26 and the tragedy of the first sin in Gen 3:6.

When Paul, therefore, refers in Rom 1:23 to ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνοσ φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου, it would seem that he has more in mind than funerary images or the images and statues of rulers (Wis 14:15–21). More likely, in light of the intensity of creation language, including allusions to Gen 1:20–26 and 3:6, is that the expression φθαρτὸσ ἀνθρώποσ recalls the creation of the first *anthrōpos* in Gen 2:7. How could it be otherwise in Romans 1, given Paul's construal of Gen 2:7—with its characterization of Adam and his progeny—in 1 Corinthians 15, in which Adam is depicted as “the first human from the earth”?

The first man was from the earth, a man of dust; the second man is from heaven. As was the man of dust, so are those who are of the dust; and as is the man of heaven, so are those who are of heaven. Just as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we will also bear the image of the man of heaven.

19. Fitzmyer (*Romans*, 283), unconvinced, draws an unnecessarily wooden distinction between ὁμοίωσιν in Gen 1:26 and ὁμοιώματι in Rom 1:23. He also shortchanges Hyldahl (“Reminiscence,” 286–87) when he argues that the occurrence of the word ἄνθρωπος is inadequate to suggest an allusion to Gen 1:26 because “not every use of that word implies an allusion to such a Genesis passage. How else could he say ‘human being’?” Alone, of course, ἄνθρωπος is no indication of an allusion to Gen 1:26. Hyldahl's point, rather, is that all three terms in Rom 1:23 find their counterpart in Gen 1:26 and not in Deut 4:15–18.

20. See J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1,26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (FRLANT n.F. 58; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 320.

ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. οἶος ὁ χοϊκός, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί, καὶ οἶος ὁ ἐπουράνιος, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι· καὶ καθὼς ἐφόρεσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανοῦ. (1 Cor 15:47–49)

On the basis of these analogies between the men of dust and of heaven, Paul extrapolates the same contrast between immortal and mortal that characterizes Rom 1:23: “flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, nor does the mortal inherit the immortal (οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθορσίαν κληρονομεῖ)” (1 Cor 15:50). This developed contrast in 1 Corinthians 15 provides an interpretive key to the more compact contrast in Rom 1:23, where the glory of the immortal God is exchanged for the likeness of the image of (the) mortal human.

In 1 Corinthians 15 and Romans 1 alike, then, Paul has reached much the same goal: he has deftly related Adam to his progeny, the mortal human to those who bear his image, who share his likeness. Essential to this identification in Romans 1 are the allusions to Gen 1:20–26 and 3:6, which prove critical to the identification of Paul’s φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου, “mortal human,” as the first human.

## The Exchange of Glory for Human Mortality

Although the exchange that Paul expresses in Rom 1:22–23 and 25 ultimately has its biblical underpinning in two creation texts—Gen 1:20–26 and 3:1–7—in combination with Ps 105:20 LXX, it is not these texts in isolation to which Paul alludes. Paul’s interpretation of human mortality, particularly the conception that the immortal glory of God has been exchanged for the image of a mortal human, is only related at a distance to Genesis 1–3, in which the vocabulary of exchange is nowhere explicit. Yet by the time Paul penned his letter to the Romans, Genesis 1–3 had been transformed by a vast array of diverse and creative interpreters, and this exchange was developed vividly in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*, in which the loss of glory is a key component of the tragic effects of the first sin.<sup>21</sup>

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21. Reflections on Adam and Eve were both wide-ranging and versatile. On the early Jewish literature, see J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (JSPSup 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988); and C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STJD 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002). On Adam in Paul’s letter to the Romans in relation to other ancient literature, see the important recent article by C. Grappe, “Qui me délivrera de ce corps de mort? L’Esprit de vie! *Romains* 7,24 et 8,2 comme éléments de typologie adamique,” *Bib* 83 (2002): 472–92. Other indispensable studies include Jervell, *Imago Dei*, esp. 320; E. Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus: Exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Röm. 5 12–21 (1.Kor. 15)* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962); and A. J. M. Wedderburn, “Adam and Christ: An Investigation into the Background of 1 Corinthians XV and Romans V.12–21” (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1974); idem, “Adam in Paul’s Letter to the Romans,” in *Studia Biblica 1978: III. Papers on Paul and Other New Testament Authors* (ed. E. A. Livingstone; JSNTSup 3; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), 413–30.

A close reading of this text will bring to light what is otherwise lacking in Paul's allusions to Genesis 1–3.

After she has been duped in a far more complex and imaginative way than in Genesis 3, Eve cries to the serpent: “Why did you do this, that you estranged me from my glory?” (*GLAE* 20:2). After the serpent speaks through Eve to deceive Adam, Adam in turn cries to Eve: “You have estranged me from the glory of God!” (21:5). Neither character identifies exactly the qualities of glory that have been lost, but there are a few clear narrative clues to its character in the Greek *Life*.

Eve's cry is preceded by remorse that she has lost the virtue of justice: “And at that very moment, my eyes were opened, and I knew that I was naked of the justice with which I had been clothed” (20:1). It is not the discovery of nakedness for the first time—which is surely the implication of Gen 3:7—but the discovery that the virtue that had clothed Eve is now lost that saddens her.<sup>22</sup> The association of the loss of glory with the loss of justice—both are extrabiblical additions to the *Life*—is suggestive of the sorts of association that may have led Paul similarly to set the loss of glory in a context that is concerned principally with the contrast between the revelation of God's justice and the revelation of God's anger at human injustice (Rom 1:16–18).

More significant, and more certain, is Adam's claim that Eve has estranged him from the glory of God; this indictment, like Eve's, also is preceded by an important sentence: “O wicked woman, what have you *brought about* among us? You estranged me from the glory of God.” The key to the character of the glory of God lies in the recurrence of the question τί κατεργάσω ἐν ἡμῖν, which occurs only here and in *GLAE* 14:2, a parallel indictment of Eve. The close affinities between these statements are striking:

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22. The notion of being clothed in virtue is not unusual. The psalmist and Job pray for enemies to be clothed in shame (Ps 109:29; Job 8:22), dishonor (Ps 35:26), and disgrace (Ps 132:18). In contrast, the woman of valor in Proverbs 31 is clothed with strength and dignity (31:25), while the priests will be clothed with salvation (Ps 132:16), and Jerusalem is told to be clothed forever in the “beauty of the glory from God” (Bar 5:1). God is clothed in strength (Ps 93:1; Isa 51:9), honor, and majesty (Ps 104:1). Particularly interesting are Ben Sira's ruminations on creation: God clothed humans with strength like God's own (καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐνέδυσεν αὐτοὺς ἰσχύϊ) and made them according to his image (Sir 17:3). Clothing in virtue remains an important metaphor in early Christian literature as well. Christians are clothed, or will be, in immortality (1 Cor 15:51), power from on high (Luk 24:29), the renewed humanity (Col 3:10), compassion (Col 3:12), and concord (*1 Clem.* 30.3). For Eve to have lost a virtue such as righteousness is in keeping with the conception of being clothed in virtue and vice. More specifically, the metaphor or simile of being clothed in righteousness or justice occurs often in Israelite and early Jewish literature. Job (29:14 LXX) claims, “I put on justice, and it clothed me; my judgment was like a robe and a turban” (δικαιοσύνην δὲ ἐνεδέδύκειν ἡμφισάμην δὲ κρίμα ἴσα διπλοῖδι). The psalmist (132:9) prays, “Let your priests be clothed with justice, and let your faithful shout for joy” (Ps 131:9 LXX: οἱ ἱερεῖς σου ἐνδύσονται δικαιοσύνην καὶ οἱ ὅσιοί σου ἀγαλλιάσονται). Isaiah describes God as having put on “justice like a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation on his head . . .” (Isa 59:17). Later still, Ben Sira (Sir 27:8) tells his students, “If you pursue justice (τὸ δίκαιον), you will attain it and wear it like a glorious robe” (ἐάν διώκῃς τὸ δίκαιον καταλήψῃ καὶ ἐνδύσῃ αὐτὸ ὡς ποδήρη δόξης).



14:2	21:5
Oh Eve, what have you <i>brought about</i> (τί κατειργάσω ἐν ἡμῖν) among us? You inflicted enormous rage which is death's gaining mastery over our entire race.	O wicked woman, what have you <i>brought about</i> (τί κατειργάσω ἐν ἡμῖν) among us? You estranged me from the glory of God.

The exact repetition of this question provides a literary link between these responses by creating a correlation between the advent of rage identified with death and estrangement from the glory of God. The first answer tells what the human race gains—God's rage and human mortality—while the second tells what Adam has lost—the glory of God.<sup>23</sup>

Paul expresses this negative configuration of death and glory compactly in the language of exchange in Rom 1:23: “they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for the likeness of the image of a mortal human . . .” Yet there is more in the Greek *Life* that illumines Romans 1. The targets of God's anger in Rom 1:18 are those who unjustly suppress the truth, τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικία κατεχόντων. There is no indication of this suppression of truth in Genesis 3, where the woman straightforwardly gives the fruit to the man (Gen 3:6, 12). In a significant extrabiblical narrative in the Greek *Life*, on the other hand, it is precisely the suppression of truth that causes Adam to recognize that God's rage has come upon the entire human race in the form of death. Before the serpent allows Eve to eat from the fruit of the tree, he extracts from her an oath that she will give the fruit to her husband. Once Eve eats, however, she recognizes that the fruit leads to the loss of glory and justice. Unfortunately, she is obligated to keep her oath and, consequently, she approaches Adam with the fruit. The narrative continues in *GLAE* 21–22:

And I yelled, at that very moment, saying, “Adam, Adam, where are you? Get up, come to me, and I will show you an enormous mystery.” But when your father came, I spoke to him illicit words, which caused us to descend from enormous glory. For when he came, I opened my mouth, and the devil began to speak, and I began to advise him, saying, “Come, my lord Adam, listen to me and eat from the fruit of the tree about which God said not to eat from it, and you will be as God.” And answering, your father said, “I am afraid that God will be enraged with me.” So I said, “Don't be afraid, for when you eat, you will be knowing good and wickedness.” And then, since I quickly persuaded him, he

23. We should observe, as an aside, that the depiction of death in Romans 5 is similar to that in the *Life*. Paul writes that “death reigned from Adam until Moses . . .” (5:14). Adam, in the *Life*, charges Eve with “death's gaining mastery over our entire race” (14:2). In both texts, death is a ruler, a master, a tyrant.

ate, and his eyes were opened, and he knew his nakedness. And he says to me, “Oh, wicked woman, what have you inflicted upon us? You estranged me from the glory of God.”

What of course occurs in the *Life* is the placement of the serpent’s duplicity into the mouth of Eve. It is she who promises Adam Godlikeness, she who tells him that he has nothing to fear, that he will know good and evil. It is she who persuades Adam to eat of the fruit.

This imaginative expansion of Genesis 3 continues in the depiction of God’s arrival in the garden—in *GLAE* 23 upon a glorious throne in order to judge Adam and Eve. In Gen 3:12, Adam responds to God’s query about eating from the tree with a straightforward indictment of Eve: “The woman whom you gave to be with me, she gave me fruit from the tree and I ate” (Gen 3:12). This response is omitted by the narrator of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*. In its place is a poignant recollection in which Eve recalls how “Adam remembered the message which I spoke to him, ‘I will make you free of danger from God.’ And turning to me, he said, ‘What is this you did?’ And I myself said, ‘The serpent deceived me’” (*GLAE* 23:3-5).

Here, then, is the second instance of the suppression of truth in the Greek *Life*. In *GLAE* 21, Eve had persuaded Adam to eat with the promise of Godlikeness and knowledge. In *GLAE* 23, Eve lied concerning Adam’s safety vis-à-vis God. That is, Eve suppressed the truth concerning the effects of the fruit. And the result? The advent of divine rage and estrangement from the glory of God.

Yet there is more in this portion of the *Life* that offers insight into the compressed elements of Paul’s argument. In *GLAE* 21, Eve recalls that she spoke illicit words, which caused us to descend (κατήγαγον) from enormous glory.” The verb κατάγειν was adopted in antiquity to express various descents, including the physical lowering of someone, such as David being lowered by Michal through window (1 Sam 19:12);<sup>24</sup> the arrival at a lower destination such as Egypt (Gen 37:25, 28); and humiliation and defeat, such as the destruction of Jerusalem in Isa 26:5.<sup>25</sup> The verb was most typically associated, however, with a descent to death, the grave, and Sheol. The psalmist could pray (Ps 21:16 LXX): “you lay me in the dust of death” (εἰς χοῦν θανάτου κατήγαγες με), and in Tob 3:10, Sarah worries that by hanging herself she will “bring my father in his old age down (κατάξω) in sorrow to Hades.”<sup>26</sup>

This is precisely what Eve is saying in *GLAE* 21:2—that her illicit words caused her and Adam to exchange enormous glory for death. While this is not

24. Ben Sira describes tears as “running down” (Sir 22:11; 35:15). In 3 Macc 7:19, the verb signifies the arrival of a boat at the shore.

25. In Deut 33:11 can be found the plea, “crush the loins of his adversaries” (κάταξον ὀσφύν ἐχθρῶν). Habakkuk (3:12) describes how God in anger trampled (future tense in LXX, κατάξει) nations.

26. See also Gen 42:38; 44:29, 31; 1 Sam 2:6; 1 Kgs 2:6, 9; Ps 30:18 LXX; Prov 5:5 LXX; Tob 3:10; 6:15; 13:2; and Wis 16:13. In *T. Ab.* 19:7 [A], death is said to destroy the world and to bring all down to Hades. Sinners, cautions Enoch in *1 En.* 103:7, “will bring your souls down to Sheol,” while Reuben warns that promiscuity leads young men down to Hades prematurely (*T. Reu.* 4:6).

evident yet in the narrative, it becomes clear later, at a climactic moment in the burial scene where the verb *κατάγειν* recurs. God addresses the body of Adam, who lies dead, on his face, somewhere (it is not clear precisely where) below the paradise from which he and Eve had been expelled:

Adam, what have you done? If you had kept my command, those who brought you down (οἱ κατάγοντες) into this place would not have rejoiced. Nevertheless, I say to you that their joy I will turn to grief, and your grief I will turn to joy. And I will return you to your rule (τὴν ἀρχὴν σου), and I will make you sit upon the throne of the one who deceived you. And that one will be cast into this place, so that he may see you seated upon it [the throne]. Then he will be judged—and those who heard him—and he will be grieved when he sees you seated upon his throne. (*GLAE* 39:1–3)

In these few lines, the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* embraces the concept of exchange and inversion. Those who brought Adam down presumably to Hades and certainly to the point of death—the body of Adam (τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀδάμ) is about to be buried—will be cast down into this place. These climactic words explain the more cryptic reference to “enormous glory,” which Eve makes in *GLAE* 21:2—Eve’s words caused her and Adam to descend from immortality in paradise to the place of death, from where their deceivers will watch the grand reversal of Adam’s status.

What we discover in the Greek *Life*, then, is a taut contrast between glory and mortality. Eve is portrayed as having “brought about” (κατεργάσω) rage, death, and estrangement from the glory of God (14:2; 21:5). Her illicit words “brought them down (κατήγαγον) from enormous glory” (21:2), although God promises to cast down those who brought Adam down (οἱ κατάγοντες) into the place of death, where his body lies awaiting burial. This contrast provides in a dramatic narrative form the precise contrast that Paul draws in Rom 1:18–23. Those who suppressed the truth are akin to Eve in the Greek *Life*. They have exchanged the glory of God for mortal life and divine anger. Glory and immortality, in the meantime, are left to the realm of promise—both for the author of the Greek *Life* (39:2) and for the apostle Paul (Rom 8:18).

The association, therefore, in the Greek *Life* between Eve’s lie, the loss of God’s glory, the inflicting of anger, and the mastery of death provides an intriguing coalescence of terms that illuminates Rom 1:18–32, which contains references to the revelation of God’s anger (1:18), the failure to hold to the truth (1:18), the loss of God’s glory (1:22), and the advent of mortality (1:22). Add to this the association between the loss of justice and glory in Eve’s statement—God’s anger is provoked by injustice in Rom 1:18—and the coalescence becomes even richer. It is as if Paul’s laconic depiction of human sin in Rom 1:18–22 expresses *in nuce* the drama that the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* expresses in colorful narrative form.<sup>27</sup> Human beings, through the suppression of truth, have exchanged

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27. J. Tromp has argued against the possibility that Paul’s letters led to the composition of the Greek *Life* in the paper “Adam Traditions in the Epistles of Paul and the Christian Versions of

the glory of God for the dominion of death. And what is death but the visible reality of God's anger?

## The Exchange of Dominion for Subservience

Throughout the early lines of Romans, Paul twice refers to the disorder that exists between the human and the animal worlds, to the inversion of the human dominion that is established in Gen 1:26. According to the flow of Paul's argument in Rom 1:23 and 25, the practice of idolatry has as much to do with an unnatural subservience of human beings to the creation as it does with images and likenesses. Each of these groups to which Paul refers—birds, animals, reptiles—is introduced in Gen 1:26 as the object of the verb,  $\text{וַיַּבְרָא}$  in the MT and  $\text{ἀρχέτωσαν}$  in the LXX. The existence of idolatry is *prima facie* evidence that human beings have forfeited their rightful dominion to the animals over which they ought to rule.

Paul signals this twice in Romans 1 by means of a repetitive pattern that turns on the recurrence of the verbs  $\text{ἀλλάσσειν}$  and  $\text{μεταλλάσσειν}$ .

1:23	1:25
and they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for (the) likeness of (the) image of (the) mortal Adam, and of birds and four-footed animals and reptiles.	who exchanged the truth of God for a lie and honored and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever! Amen.
καὶ ἠλλάξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνης θηρατοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἔρπετῶν.	οἵτινες μετήλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεῦδει καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, ὅς ἐστιν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν.

the *Greek Life of Adam and Eve*," which he presented to the members of the Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins Seminar of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas (2003) (see *NTS* 50 [2004]: 205–23).

This pattern sets in parallel positions the elements of God's immortal glory (1:23) and the truth of God (1:25), both of which are forfeited. There exists equally a connection between the likeness of birds, four-footed animals, and reptiles (1:23) and the honor and service of the creation (1:25). Paul is apparently describing the same exchange in different but related ways.

This aspect of Rom 1:23–25—the inversion of human dominion over the animal world—is not grounded exclusively in allusions to Genesis 1 and 3. The interpretations of this text that we can identify in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* provide startlingly fresh and forceful points of comparison with Rom 1:23–25. One of these emerges when we revisit *GLAE* 39, in which God pledges to the body of Adam a marked reversal of status. At that climactic moment, God promises to return Adam's rule (τὴν ἀρχὴν σου) and to make him sit upon the throne of the one who deceived him. The dominion that Adam had forfeited will now be his.

It is not difficult to determine the particular sphere of that dominion in the Greek *Life*, in which human dominion over the animals plays a central role. In Eve's description of their responsibilities in paradise, the primary task of the primal parents was not, as in Gen 2:16–17, to tend the plants but to guard the female and male animals that resided in their respective portions of paradise (*GLAE* 15). Later still, in an extrabiblical addition to the curse of Adam, God would say, "And the wild animals whom you ruled will rise up against you in rebellion, because you did not keep my command" (*GLAE* 24:3).

Alongside these extrabiblical snippets occurs a poignant conversation between Eve and a wild animal in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* that strengthens the suggestion that the inversion of human dominion was understood elsewhere than in Romans 1 to be a principal result of the first sin. In the relevant portion of the *Life*, a wild animal attacks Seth, prompting a theologically rich conversation between the animal and Eve. The text is worth citing in full:

So Seth went— Eve also —into the regions of paradise. And while they were on the way, Eve saw her son and a wild animal attacking him. And Eve sobbed, saying, "Oh my! Oh my! For if I come to the day of resurrection, all who have sinned will call down curses upon me, saying, 'Eve did not keep the command of God.'" And she said to the wild animal, "Oh, you wicked wild animal! Aren't you afraid to attack the image of God? How was your mouth opened? How did your teeth become strong? How could you not remember your subordination—that in the past you were subordinate to the image of God?" Then the wild animal shouted, saying, "Oh, Eve, your greed has nothing to do with us—nor your sobbing—but with you, since the rule of the wild animals has come about from you! How was your mouth opened to eat from the tree concerning which God commanded you not to eat from it? On account of this also our natures have been exchanged. Now, therefore, you will not be able to endure if I should begin to accuse you." (*GLAE* 10–12)

This turbulent confrontation concludes only after Seth commands the wild animal, "Shut your mouth and be quiet and keep away from the image of God until

the day of judgment!” The wild animal replies, “See, I am keeping away from the image of God.”

The fundamental point of this interchange is that human beings have forfeited their rule to wild animals. Eve is befuddled by this confusing state of affairs and asks in the last in a series of questions, “How could you not remember your subordination—that in the past you were subordinate to the image of God?” (10:3). The animal cries back that “the rule of the wild animals” (ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν θηρίων) is due to Eve’s sin. The wild animal has entirely forgotten its subordinate place in the natural order—an order firmly established in Gen 1:26, to which Paul also alludes—and has begun to rule in humankind’s stead. There has been, in short, an exchange of natures between ruler and ruled.

The exchange of places between humans and animals that transpires in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* is accompanied by the verb μεταλλάσσειν. After attacking her, the wild animal responds to Eve with the words ἡμῶν αἰ φύσεις μετηλλάγησαν (11:2), which I have translated as “our natures have been exchanged.” I suspect, in a context preoccupied by the question of human and animal dominion, that the words mean more than merely a change in the nature of animals; they express rather that the animals have taken on the nature of humans, while humans have become servile, as the animals once were, with softened teeth and a docile nature. An inversion, an exchange of natures, a reversal of dominion—this has transpired in the wake of Eve’s greed. This is the sort of transformation that took place, of course, according to Aristophanes’ *The Birds*: “And then you changed your nature (μεταλλάξας φύσιν), and became / A bird, and flew round land and sea, and know / All that men feel, and all that birds feel too” (116–18). There is something more here than mere change: a human has changed in the sense of having *exchanged* his nature for a bird’s.

The pivotal verb in *GLAE* 11:2, μεταλλάσσειν, Paul adopts in Romans 1, once he has moved beyond Psalms 105 LXX, to express the exchange that has occurred. We ought not to overemphasize this verbal parallel, as the correspondences between Paul and the Greek *Life* do not stand or fall on the possibility of a literary relationship. Nonetheless, the recurrence of this verb in Romans 1 and the Greek *Life* does draw our attention yet again to the theological and verbal affinities that these ancient literary texts share. Those whom Paul condemns have exchanged (ἤλλαξαν) glory for mortality; they have exchanged (μετήλλαξαν) truth for a lie; that is, they have worshiped and served the creation rather than the Creator. In short, they have lost glory, immortality, and dominion and gained in their stead anger, death, and subservience to the creation.

These affinities are impressive indeed. Paul and the Greek *Life* spin a similar cloth, though Paul’s is terse and tightly argued. In the Greek *Life*, the loss of human rule is underscored on several occasions: the conversation between Eve and the animal; the guarding of animals rather than plants in paradise; and the curse of Adam, which contains a reference to the rebellion of the animals over which Adam at one time ruled. Paul’s interpretation is more subtle, though the underlying impulse is no different. Having adopted the vocabulary of Gen 1:26, Paul continues with a parallel charge that humans have served and honored the

creation—the birds, the four-footed animals, and the reptiles of Gen 1:26—over which they had once exercised dominion. In both Romans and the Greek *Life*, the exchange of human dominion for subservience to animals is a result of the failure in Gen 3:1–6, when they exchanged the truth of God for a lie, when they forfeited the glory of the immortal God for the divine rage of death. In the *Life*, this inversion takes shape in various extrabiblical interpretations, including a transformation of Adam and Eve’s agricultural task in paradise, a revision of Adam’s curse to include a reference to animal rebellion, and the conversation that follows an attack on Seth by a wild animal. In Romans 1, the nature of this inversion is emblemized, though not exhausted, by the sin of idolatry with respect to animals. And both employ the verb μεταλλάσσειν to express their understanding of the present state of affairs as the unfortunate by-product of a decidedly unequal exchange.

## Conclusion

We have had occasion in the course of this study to identify several central dimensions of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* that have provided fresh points of entry to pivotal points of Paul’s thought in Rom 1:18–25. The dominant correspondences between the Greek *Life* and Rom 1:18–25 circulate around two foci: the glory of God has been exchanged for the reign of divine anger and death; and the natural human dominion has been exchanged for unnatural subservience to the creation. There are other correspondences that we might also have productively explored: the portrayal of death as gaining rule over the human race in *GLAE* 14:3 (κατακυριεύειν) and Rom 5:12–14 (βασιλεύειν); the relationship of desire (ἐπιθυμία) to sin in *GLAE* 19:3 and Romans 7; and the association of the εἶκων with the involuntary subordination of the animal realm in *GLAE* 12 and Rom 8:18–25.

I have instead limited this study to a single Pauline text, Rom 1:18–25, in order to pave the way for further close readings of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* in relation to early Christian literature. The contribution of this study lies, therefore, not in its character as an overview of references to Adam and Eve in Pauline literature, but much more in the nature of the specific correspondences I have drawn. None of them is merely an isolated motif: each correspondence belongs to a holistic conception of the drama of human sin, both in Romans and in the Greek *Life*. The suppression of truth, the advent of divine anger, the onset of death, the exchange of glory for mortality and dominion for subservience to animals—these comprise core concerns in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* as well as the warp and woof of Paul’s tightly woven argument in Rom 1:18–25.

**THE STORY OF OUR LIVES: THE QZ-TEXT OF  
THE *LIFE OF ADAM AND EVE*, THE APOSTLE PAUL,  
AND THE JEWISH CHRISTIAN ORAL TRADITION  
CONCERNING ADAM AND EVE**

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In this paper I should like to discuss the question of the relationship of the apostle Paul to the apocryphal writing the *Life of Adam and Eve*. This problem is very much complicated by the literary and historical questions raised by the latter. There is no consensus with regard to its original form, the date that should be assigned to it, or even whether it should be regarded as a Jewish or a Christian writing.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it has become unusual to pose the question of the relationship between Paul and the *Life of Adam and Eve* in terms of the former being familiar with the latter. Instead, it has become much more usual to discuss this issue in terms of whether Paul may have been aware of traditions that also occur in the *Life of Adam and Eve*.<sup>2</sup> This approach is more sophisticated than the simple question, Did Paul know the *Life of Adam and Eve*?, but it should be acknowledged that this approach hardly solves the problem, because traditions, too, have their origin, context, and date, and to establish those we can rely only on what happens to have been transmitted to us in writing.

In this paper I shall not take a stance in the debate on the original date and form, or the Jewish or Christian origin, of the *Life of Adam and Eve*. Instead, I should like to present a specific text-form of it, which has received no attention so far, namely, the Greek text-form represented by manuscripts *q* and *z*. For

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This paper was presented at the Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins Seminar at the SNTS conference in Bonn, July 29 - August 2, 2003. I should like to thank Professor J. R. Levison in particular. The present paper is mainly an exposition of the views I developed during the stimulating discussions he and I had during our preparations for this seminar.

1. M. E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (SBLJL 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); M. de Jonge and J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha 4; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); O. Merk and M. Meiser, "Das Leben Adams und Evas," *JSHRZ* 2.5 (ed. H. Lichtenberger; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1998), 737-870, csp. 764-69.

2. E.g., J. D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 87-88.



convenience' sake, I shall designate this text-form as the *qz*-text. The reason for concentrating on this particular text-form is that in this case, the literary and historical questions pose no problem: it is complete; its position within the textual history of the writing can be established with great precision; and it can be treated as a Christian edition of the writing from the fifth century at the latest, as will appear from an investigation of an eschatological passage that is characteristic of this text-form. As such, the *qz*-text will perhaps be able to serve as a stepping-stone for formulating answers to questions posed by the more problematic forms of this writing.

A weighty objection to the view that the *Life of Adam and Eve* was originally a Christian writing is that it is difficult to conceive of how a Christian author could bypass any reference to the role of Christ, especially in those parts concerning salvation.<sup>3</sup> This difficulty is underlined by the fact that many Christian copyists and editors of the text have indeed inserted such references. According to these transmitters of the text, it was incomplete, even incorrect, without them.<sup>4</sup> The *qz*-text shows, however, that other Christian editors of the *Life of Adam and Eve* could actually insert eschatological passages that contain no mention of, or allusion to, Christ. This suggests that some editors of this writing thought that overly explicit references to the Savior would be anachronistic and illogical in a story about the protoplasts.

If one takes the *qz*-text, and especially its originally Christian eschatology, as one's point of departure, the question of the relationships of Paul to the *Life of Adam and Eve* must be reversed. It can no longer be asked whether Paul knew this writing or the traditions contained in it; instead, the question is whether the traditions introduced into the *qz*-text of the *Life of Adam and Eve* show any trace of Pauline influence. The briefest answer to that question, as I shall argue in the second section of my paper, is no, but again, a more sophisticated answer is possible.

In the final section, I should like to draw attention to the role that oral tradition may have played in the origin and development of the *Life of Adam and Eve* in order to explain some of its remarkable features, including its tendency to escape classification as either a Jewish or a Christian writing.

## 1. The *qz*-text as a Christian Version of the *Life of Adam and Eve*

As said above, many manuscripts of the *Life of Adam and Eve* show traces of Christian influence on the transmission of the writing, but these traces come in various forms and vary in nature. In the first place, an editor of the text may have felt that explicit references to salvation through Christ were desirable. Such dras-

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3. Stone, *History*, 57–58; Merk and Meiser, "Das Leben Adams und Evas," 765, 767–68.

4. Cf. M. D. Eldridge, *Dying Adam with His Multiethnic Family: Understanding the Greek Life of Adam and Eve* (SVTP 16; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 259–60, 264.

tic revisions were made in the Armenian version of 13:3b–5, where it is said that “at that time, when the years of the end are filled and completed, then the beloved Christ will come to resurrect Adam’s body” (42[13]:3a–b Arm), followed by an exposition of baptism and the reentry into paradise.<sup>5</sup>

In the second place, instances occur in which a Christian copyist betrays his background by a slip of the pen, without the intention of Christianizing the text. A clear instance of this is found in 21:6, where Adam is said to reproach his wife for having estranged him “from the glory of God.” In manuscript *v* one finds the reading “from the glory of Christ,” a meaningless and no doubt unintentional variant.<sup>6</sup>

It is a third category that is of most interest for the present discussion. It comprises those secondary readings that are patently Christian, are added as such on purpose, but which seem to avoid the explicit mention of Christ. In 31:4 it is told how Adam reassures his wife with regard to what will happen to him after his death: “God will not forget me, but he will look after the vessel that he himself has formed.” In manuscript *c* the following sentence is added: “for I have heard the Lord saying that ‘he who comes to me I shall not cast out,’” a verbal quotation from John 6:37. The copyist of manuscript *c* (or its exemplar) apparently felt the need to specify the statement of his model, by adding with these words the nuance that God’s mercy may be certain but is not to be taken for granted. However, this copyist was apparently also aware that in the context of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, it would be most curious if Adam suddenly referred to a word of Jesus. Therefore, he chose to use the designation “the Lord” for the one from whom Adam would have heard this expression. Naturally, for a Christian, Jesus’ words are those of God, so nothing absurd is said when Adam is presented as having heard these words “from the Lord.”<sup>7</sup>

A second example of this kind of covert Christianization is found in what I propose to call the *qz*-text.

The *qz*-text is genealogically closely related to the one represented by manuscripts *ni he*. In the context of the present discussion, it would lead us too far to give the evidence for the conjunction of *qz ni he* in full.<sup>8</sup> It must suffice to say that

5. The Georgian and Latin versions are more elaborate and even more explicit; see M. E. Stone, “The Angelic Prediction in the Primary Adam Books,” in *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays* (ed. G. A. Anderson et al.; SVTP 15; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 111–31.

6. Another example may be found in the additions to 42:8, the conclusion to Eve’s prayer before her death. Her prayer is concluded with the words: “O God of all, receive my spirit!” (δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμα μου; cf. Acts 7:59). In the earliest attainable text of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, no subsequent mention is made of Eve’s eventual death. On various and independent occasions in the history of transmission, however, these words are secondarily complemented by some form of the expression “and she gave up her spirit,” in most cases containing the words παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα. These words probably presuppose the story of Jesus’ death, which, in the version of the Gospel of John, ends with these words (John 19:30).

7. Compare already Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum* 2.22.3: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἡ θεία γραφὴ διδάσκει ἡμᾶς τὸν Ἀδὰμ λέγοντα τῆς φωνῆς ἀκηκοέναι. Φωνὴ δὲ τί ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἄλλ’ ἢ ὁ Λόγος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν καὶ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ; *Theophili Antiocheni ad Autolyicum* (ed. M. Marcovich; Patristische Texte und Studien 44; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995).

8. It is given in the introduction to my critical edition *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek*:

the representatives of this group are jointly characterized by a relatively large number of readings that are certainly secondary as compared to the rest of the manuscript tradition and cannot independently have emerged in them.<sup>9</sup> Next, it can be excluded that *qz* is descended from *ni he*,<sup>10</sup> or that *ni he* is descended from the *qz*-text.<sup>11</sup> Finally, the text offered by manuscripts *q* and *z* individually is identical, with the exception of a number of small individual errors in each of them, which prevent the conclusion that either *q* depends on *z*, or *z* on *q*.

The precision with which the position of the *qz*-text within the textual history can be established enables us to evaluate its specific characteristics, because the very numerous deviations of the *qz*-text from the readings where *ni he* agree with the rest of the manuscript tradition can all be regarded as secondary. These secondary characteristics include an attempted amelioration of style, a number

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*A Critical Edition* (PVTG 6; Leiden: Brill, 2005). There I argue that all extant manuscripts eventually derive from three copies of one archetype. These three hyparchetypes are represented by manuscripts *ds*, *kpg vb qz ni he*, and *alc rm* respectively. The reconstruction of these hyparchetypes reveals that their texts were very similar, and that the huge variety that characterizes the text in the extant manuscripts is the result of later development.

9. The main examples include the following. (a) In 2:1 ἐν μία τῶν ἡμέρων *ni he* (ἐν μία οὖν τῶν ἡμέρων *qz*) replaces the reading ἐγένετο μετ' ἀλλήλων Ἀδάμ καὶ Εὐά represented, with minor and characteristic variations, in the rest of the manuscript tradition; (b) In 25:1, an instance in which the archetype must have contained the error ἐν ματαίοις, *qz ni he* bear witness to a common effort to repair this reading by adding κόποις. The addition "troubles" is in itself sensible, but the resulting combination with ματαίοις still makes no sense; (c) In 33:1 *qz ni he* clearly offer a rationalized reading. *s* and *al* (with minor variations) relate that Eve put her hand on Adam's face: ἐπέβαλεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. In the context, this is a nonsensical reading, but it is in all probability archetypal; it is likely that αὐτοῦ must be a corruption for something like αὐτῆς: in view of what follows, it is likely that Eve put her hand above her eyes to be able to look at the chariot of light which descends from heaven (33:2). This point was lost by the erroneous reading αὐτοῦ, and *qz ni he* represent an attempt to emend the text by not only secondarily replacing αὐτοῦ with αὐτῆς, but also adding, as an explanation of what Eve's hand was doing on her face, καὶ ἀπέμαξεν αὐτό, ἦν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν δακρῶν κατὰβροχον καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῆς πεφουσιμένοι; (d) In 33:2 the archetypal text is also likely to have been corrupt. *s vb g al (rm omit)* read, with minor variations, ὅς οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν γεννηθῆναι ἀπὸ κοιλίας ἢ εἰπεῖν τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν, which makes no sense. It is implausible that this text is the result of misreading that of *qz ni he*: ὦν τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀδυνατεῖ γλῶσσα ἀνθρώπου ἐξεῖπεῖν, whereas this latter text is very well conceivable as a secondary emendation of a corrupt reading not unlike the one represented in the rest of the manuscript tradition.

10. The *qz*-text agrees with the rest of the manuscript tradition with regard to the order of sections 25 and 26, the curses of Eve and the serpent, respectively, which is reversed in *ni he*. Since both arrangements of the curses differ from that in the biblical story, it is unlikely that the person responsible for the *qz*-text would on his own account have changed the order of events and returned to the primitive order in the *Life of Adam and Eve* by coincidence.

11. The following readings in *qz* are certainly secondary as compared to those in *ni he*: (a) In 5:3, the reading ἡμέρας γ' is caused by a miscoding of τρία μέρη (as in all other manuscripts, including *ni he*); (b) In 29:4 and 33:5, the copyist of the text to which *q* and *z* jointly testify has understood the divine name Ἰαήλ (with minor variants attested in all other manuscripts) as the common abbreviation of Israel: on both occasions, *q* reads τήλ, *z* Ἰσραήλ; (c) In 31:3 *q* and *z* share the curious reading αληται μου (= ἀληταί μου?; in any event a nonsensical reading, contrasting with μου ἄφηται in all other manuscripts; omitted as part of a larger omission in *g c rm*), which is certainly secondary, and cannot have arisen independently.

of relatively insignificant omissions, occasionally some harmonizations of the story with that of Genesis, and some additions, of which two are interrelated and relatively long. These additions I shall now discuss.<sup>12</sup>

In section 13 of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, it is related how Eve and her son Seth arrive at the gate of paradise and ask God for some of the oil that is supposed to be able to soothe the pains of Adam's mortal disease. The archangel Michael comes to tell Seth to stop praying for that oil, and to go home to be a witness of Adam's death. With regard to the oil, it is briefly said that it will not be given to him: οὐ γενήσεται σοι νῦν. In the secondary additions to the *qz*-text, the harshness of this refusal is mitigated by the introduction of a promise concerning a future in which the oil will be given.

Common ancestor of <i>qz ni he</i>	<i>qz</i> -text
<p>13:3 οὐ γενήσεται σοι νῦν. 13:6 ἀλλὰ μάλλον πορεύου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σου, ἐπειδὴ ἐπληρώθη τὸ μέτρον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ εἴσω τριῶν ἡμέρων. ἐξερχομένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ μέλλεις θεάσασθαι τὴν ἄνοδον αὐτῆς φοβερὰν.</p>	<p>οὐ γενήσεται αὐτῷ νῦν. ἀλλὰ μάλλον πορεύου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σου, καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐπληρώθη ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐξέρχεται ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ μέλλει θεάσασθαι τὴν ἄνοδον αὐτῆς φοβερὰν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, εἴσω πέντε ἡμέρων καὶ ἡμισυ, καταβήσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ δαρούμενος αὐτῷ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ ἐλαίου καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ παραδείσου.</p>
<p>14:1 εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἀρχάγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ἦλθεν δὲ Σὴθ καὶ ἡ Εὐὰ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ὅπου ἔκειτο ὁ Ἄδὰμ.</p>	<p>εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. κατέβησαν δὲ Σὴθ καὶ ἡ μητὴρ αὐτοῦ λυπούμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἄδὰμ. λυπούμενοι μὲν ὅτι οὐδὲν</p>

12. It should be noted in passing that the additions in the *qz*-text are different from, and independent of, the much better known additions in the *atlc rm*-text at 13:3, the so-called "little apocalypse" of 13:3b–5, of which the secondary status is so far debated. That, however, has no bearing on the present discussion: the intimate relationship between *qz* and *ni he* is sufficient proof of the secondary character of the additions in *qz*, whatever the text-critical status of the longer text of *atlc rm* may be.

ἔκομίζοντο τῷ Ἀδάμ, χαιρόμενοι  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ  
 λέγειν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ὅτι· ἐγὼ  
 καταβήσομαι καὶ ὄψομαι αὐτόν.  
 διηγήσαν οὖν ταῦτα τῷ Ἀδάμ  
 ὅτι τέλος εἴληφεν ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον  
 πορεύεται. τὰς δὲ πέντε ἡμέρας  
 ἔκρινεν ὁ Ἀδάμ εἶναι χιλιάδες  
 πέντε καὶ πεντακόσια ἔτη ἐν οἷς ὁ  
 θεὸς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐλεήσει τὸ  
 γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπ'  
 ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμέρων. τὴν γὰρ  
 ἡμέραν τοῦ κυρίου φησὶν χίλια  
 ἔτη.

The passage from the *qz*-text can be translated as follows:

He will not receive it now. Rather, go to your father and tell him that the time of his life is fulfilled. Behold, his spirit will depart from his body, and he will see its awe-inspiring ascent. *And then, within five days and a half, I shall descend to him to grant him the mercy of the oil and the fruit of paradise.*

When he had said this to them, the angel left them. Seth and his mother went off to Adam *in grief*. *They were grieving, on the one hand, because they had nothing to bring to Adam, but on the other hand, they were joyful on account of the hope that they had, because God had said to them: I shall descend and visit him. So they told this to Adam, that his life had come to an end and that he was about to die. Adam thought that those five days and a half were 5,500 years, within which God would mercifully have pity on humankind, on the final day. For a day of the Lord—as is said—is a thousand years.*

The sadness caused by the angel's answer to Eve and Seth's request is explicitly balanced by the same angel's promise that God will in the end have mercy on Adam, that is, on humankind. The date of the final day, on which God will descend and grant paradise to humankind, is said to be "within 5,500 years." This date is well known from other sources, reflects a firmly established tradition, and appears to have been a Christian invention.

In his commentary on Daniel, Hippolytus of Rome († ca. 236) discusses the question of when the end will come. He states that from Adam until the birth of the Lord, 5,500 years elapsed. From the birth of the Lord until the consummation, another 500 years must pass before 6,000 years are completed; then comes the "sabbath," a type of the "future kingdom of the holy ones" (*Comm. Dan.* 4.23).

The idea that the Sabbath, the seventh day, is a prefiguration of the king-

dom of God occurs already in the *Epistle of Barnabas* 15.<sup>13</sup> Both Barnabas and Hippolytus based their calculations on the biblical expression that a day of the Lord is a thousand years (*Barn.* 15.4; Hippolytus, *Comm. Dan.* 4.23).<sup>14</sup> That the world would last for 6,000 years is an idea that is found also in the Talmud (*b. Sanh.* 97a–b), but the number 5,500 for Christ's first advent is exclusively Christian, based, it seems, on Hippolytus's speculations, which brought him to the conclusion that Jesus was born in the middle of the sixth millennium (*Comm. Dan.* 4.24).<sup>15</sup>

In later Christian literature, the schema that Christ would be born in 5,500 *anno mundi*, and that he would return for the final consummation in the year 6,000, was simplified, and on many occasions one finds the conviction that the coming of Christ (with no difference being made between his first and second advents)<sup>16</sup> would come in the 5,500th year. Many instances in which this number is mentioned occur in literature closely related to the *Life of Adam and Eve*: for example, it reappears in the Georgian and Latin versions of 13:3b, independently of the *qz*-text. In one case, it can be argued that there is a relationship of literary dependency between it and the *qz*-text of the *Life of Adam and Eve*. In the Greek recension of the *Descent into Hades* 3 (= *Gospel of Nicodemus* 19), the following passage is found, from a scene in Hades, in which Seth tells the prophets and patriarchs what the angel told him after he had asked for oil from the tree of mercy:

καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐλθὼν ἄγγελος κυρίου λέγει μοι· τί Σῆθ αἰτεῖς ἔλαιον αἰτεῖς τὸ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἀνιστῶν, ἢ τὸ ῥέον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔλαιον διὰ τὴν τοῦ σου πατρὸς ἀσθένειαν; τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεθῆναι νυνί. ἄπιθι οὖν καὶ εἰπέ τῷ πατρὶ σου ὅτι μετὰ τὸ συντελεσθῆναι ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἔτη πεντακισχίλια πεντακόσια, τότε κατέλθῃ; ἐν τῇ γῆ ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσας, κάκεινος ἀλείψει αὐτὸν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἐλαίῳ, καὶ ἀναστήσεται, καὶ

13. Cf. Heb 4:9; and see O. Hofius, *Katapausis: Die Vorstellung vom endzeitlichen Ruheort im Hebräerbrief* (WUNT 11; Tübingen: Mohr, 1970), 102–15.

14. Eventually, the source for the expression that in the eyes of the Lord a thousand years are as one day is Ps 90(89 LXX):4. However, allusion is made to this phrase in 2 Pet 3:8—it is in that context that the phrase is connected with the question of when the day of judgment may be expected. In Jewish literature, no such connection is to be found. *Jub.* 4:30–31 uses the arithmetics of Psalm 90 for an altogether different aim.

15. Cf. W. H. Shea, "The Sabbath in the Epistle of Barnabas," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 4 (1966): 149–75, esp. 164–66. The claim by Sextus Julius Africanus (ca. 160–ca. 240), preserved in a Latin translation of the late eighth century *Chronicle* of George Syncellus, that the Jews have transmitted 5,500 as the number of years until the advent of Christ (*Judaei . . . annorum 5500. numerum, usque ad salutaris Verbi adventum . . . posteris tradiderunt*) cannot be substantiated; see *Giulio Africano: Introduzione, edizione critica e note a cura di Claudio Moreschini* (ed. G. Leopardi; Testi storici, filosofici e letterari 7; Naples: Mulino, 1997), 81 line 511.

16. So, for instance, in the Latin recension A of the *Descent into Hades* 3: quando completi fuerint quinque millia et quingenti anni: tunc veniet super terram amantissimus dei filius ad resuscitandum corpus Adae et corpora mortuorum, et ipse veniens in Iordane baptizabitur; C. von Tischendorf, ed., *Evangelia apocrypha* (2nd ed.; Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1876), 394.

ἐν ὕδατι καὶ πνεύματι ἀγίῳ πλυνεῖ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τότε ἀπὸ πάσης νόσου ἰαθήσεται· νῦν δὲ τοῦτο γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον.<sup>17</sup>

And after this prayer, an angel of the Lord came to me and said: What do you desire, Seth? Because of the sickness of your father do you desire the oil that raises up the sick, or the tree from which flows such oil? This cannot be found now. Therefore go and tell your father that after the completion of 5,500 years from the creation of the world, the only-begotten Son of God shall then become human and shall descend on earth. And he shall anoint him with that oil. And he shall arise, and he shall wash him and his descendants with water and the Holy Spirit. And then he shall be healed of every disease. But this is impossible now.<sup>18</sup>

This passage corresponds to the addition to *GLAE* 13:6 in *qz*, both with regard to contents and position in the narrative, and a relationship of literary dependency is possible, and even likely, if allowance is made for separate developments of both the *qz*-text (or its model) and the *Descent into Hades*.<sup>19</sup> The main reason to suspect that the *Descent into Hades* depends on the *qz*-text of the *Life of Adam and Eve* in particular (as opposed to any other form of the writing) is that it agrees with the *qz*-text in a number of features that are characteristic of the latter as compared to the text of the common ancestor of *qz ni he* and the rest of the manuscript tradition.<sup>20</sup> The main reason for assuming that the *qz*-text does not depend on the *Descent into Hades* is that the latter is quite explicit in referring to Christ—to suppose that the editor of the *qz*-text might have de-Christianized this passage to avoid anachronism would stretch the limits of imagination too far.<sup>21</sup>

The *Descent into Hades* provides a *terminus ante quem* for the *qz*-text of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, if the usual supposition that it was added to the *Acts of Pilate* no later than ca. 500 C.E. is accepted. The editor of the *qz*-text must have been a Christian, in view of the exclusively Christian character of the additions he made to 13:6 and 14:1. This shows that it is conceivable that Christian authors recorded traditional stories about figures from the OT without making any refer-

17. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, 325–26.

18. Trans. J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 186–87, slightly altered.

19. The textual history of the *Acts of Pilate* (to which the *Descent into Hades* was added) is likely to have been as dynamic as that of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, as a quick comparison between the Greek and Latin versions reveals.

20. See, e.g., the addition of αἰτούμενος in 13:3 *qz* (cf. τί . . . αἰτεῖς *Desc.*); the additional reference to the oil's function to “heal” (θεραπευθῆ 13:3 *qz*; διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν *Desc.*); but most of all the command to tell Adam what is going to happen (πορεύου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σου, καὶ εἰπέ αὐτῷ ὅτι κτλ. 13:6 *qz*; ἀπιθὶ οὖν καὶ εἰπέ τῷ πατρὶ σου ὅτι *Desc.*; contrast πορεύου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα σου, ἐπειδὴ κτλ. 13.6 *qz ni he*). The presence in the *Descent into Hades* of the phrase τὸ δένδρον τὸ ῥέον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔλαιον διὰ τὴν τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς ἀσθένειαν, more closely paralleling the text of the common ancestor of *qz ni he* than that of *qz*, suggests that the *Descent into Hades* depends more precisely on an intermediate stage between *qz ni he* and *qz*. For the addition under discussion, this makes no difference.

21. It is likely, however, that the Greek text underlying the Oriental and Latin versions of 13:3b–5 depends on the *Descent into Hades*; compare especially the Armenian version.

ence to Christ's role in the salvation. The reason for this was not that they wanted to smuggle christological prophecies into "Old Testament" writings. They may simply have wanted to take the fact into account that the subjects of their story were people who lived a long time before the Christian age, and that in such contexts explicit references to the Christian creed could be avoided as anachronistic and illogical from a narrative point of view.

## **2. The qz-text of the *Life of Adam and Eve* and the Epistles of Paul**

In the second part of my discussion, I should like to ask whether there is influence from the epistles of Paul on the *Life of Adam and Eve*. Again, attention will first of all be paid to the qz-text, because in this case the problems that burden the discussion about the most primitive text-form of this writing do not exist.

As is well known, Paul discusses Adam on two occasions. In 1 Corinthians 15, the figure of Adam serves in Paul's argument for resurrection: a man, Adam, brought death, and likewise another man, Christ, brought the resurrection (1 Cor 15:21–22). In Romans 5, a slightly different point is made, when Paul argues that death is conquered by Christ's having brought about the reconciliation of God and sinful humanity (Rom 5:12–17).

Neither point is addressed in the *Life of Adam and Eve*. That there will be a "day of resurrection" is taken for granted: when Eve sees how an animal attacks her son Seth, she cries: "Woe is me, for when I will come to the day of resurrection, all sinners will curse me!" (10:2), and when God wishes to comfort Adam, he refers to the day of resurrection without any further explanation (28:4; 41:3). This stands in contrast to those sections of the writing in which the origin and nature of pain and disease are elaborately discussed (5–8). Apparently, this writing is more interested in etiological explanations for sickness and death, and the animosity of animals, than in arguing for resurrection, which is taken to be self-evident.

In the *Life of Adam and Eve*, salvation depends on God's grace and on people's behavior: to obtain it, keeping God's commandments is required (28:4; 30), as well as much supplication (31:4). It may be that the angels assist in prayer by making intercession (33:5; 34:2), but no trace of a belief in a mediating, reconciliatory event is found.

Other concepts that are usually taken to be crucial to Paul in this connection play no role in the *Life of Adam and Eve*. A neat distinction between physical and spiritual bodies is notoriously absent from the *Life of Adam and Eve*,<sup>22</sup> and the qz-text is no exception. Terms such as "righteousness" and "faith" are hardly mentioned, if at all, and the silence of this writing with regard to the "law" is as

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22. See J. Tromp, "Literary and Exegetical Issues in the Story of Adam's Death and Burial (GLAE 31–42)," in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation* (ed. L. Van Rompay and J. Frishman; *Traditio exegetica graeca* 5; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 25–41.



striking in a discourse that would presuppose familiarity with Paul's letters as it would have been in a Jewish writing.

Especially with regard to anthropology, it has been noted that there seem to be points of contact between the *Life of Adam and Eve*, on the one hand, and the epistles of Paul on the other. Repeatedly, Paul expresses his views on the eschatological salvation of humanity in terms of their being restored to the image and glory of God (2 Cor 3:18), which they have lost because of their sins (Rom 3:23).<sup>23</sup> The parallel with *GLAE* 20:1–2 and 21:6 springs to the eye: in these instances, Eve and Adam are both depicted as complaining that, because of their transgression of the command, they have been “denuded” and “estranged” from the “righteousness” and “glory” of God with which they used to be clothed.<sup>24</sup>

However, there are also important differences.<sup>25</sup> To begin with, Paul regards the transformation of the believers into the image of God as being entirely dependent on their conformity to Christ.<sup>26</sup> This is not the most important difference between Paul's thought and that of the *qz*-text, if it is accepted that the latter is seen to avoid mentioning the specific role of Christ on other occasions. More significant is the fact that, although the *Life of Adam and Eve* is clear about Adam and Eve's loss of glory, it does not return to this motif when it discusses their eschatological salvation. Furthermore, throughout the *Life of Adam and Eve* the idea is maintained that, notwithstanding their loss of glory, humans continue to be formed in the “image of God” (*GLAE* 10:3; 12:1–2; 33:5; 35:2).<sup>27</sup>

In *GLAE* 10:3 Eve is said to remind a beast that attacks her son that the animals used to be subject to the image of God; in many manuscripts and versions, this beast is identified with the devil, but not a single copyist has thought of reintroducing the terms ὑποτάσσειν or ὑποταγή in *GLAE* 39:1, where the eschatological reversal of roles between man and the devil is promised, even though these terms are prominent in the eschatological scenarios of 1 Cor 15:27–28 and Phil 3:21 (cf. Eph 1:22). On the contrary, the reference to the subjection of the animal world in 10:3 is entirely omitted from the *qz*-text. What is mentioned is a future enthronement of Adam (*GLAE* 39:2), but again no connection is made with Christ's enthronement: according to the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Adam will in the end be seated on the throne that used to belong to the Deceiver, who, in turn, will be cast down to be judged and condemned to the fire of hell, together with those who obey him—if any New Testament echo is to be recognized in this phrase, it would sooner be that of Rev 12:9 and Matt 5:22; 18:9 than any passage in the letters of Paul and his school.

It appears, therefore, that Paul's views on Adam have had no distinguish-

23. J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of Incarnation* (London: SCM, 1980), 105–6.

24. Cf. *GLAE* 21:2. The reference to “righteousness” in 20:1 is deleted from the *qz*-text.

25. For the following paragraphs, compare J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (JSPSup 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 20–21, 186–87.

26. Dunn, *Christology*, 106–7; idem, *Theology of Paul*, 87–88.

27. T. Knittel, *Das griechische ‘Leben Adams und Evas’: Studien zu einer narrativen Anthropologie im frühen Judentum* (TSAJ 88; Tübingen: Mohr, 2002), 101–47, esp. 114–16.

able influence on the way in which the editor of the *qz*-text envisaged the human condition and the way in which it can be remedied. It must be granted that this editor was intentionally vague on the economics of the eschatological salvation, but even so it would be remarkable that, had he been familiar with Paul's letters in particular, none of the concepts that are commonly thought to have been essential to Paul's thinking in this respect occurs in his version of the *Life of Adam and Eve*.<sup>28</sup>

The *qz*-text of the *Life of Adam and Eve* bears witness to a kind of Christianity that entertained views of salvation that were unburdened by the subtleties of apologetes and dogmatic thinkers. It directs the way to salvation by simple ethical and devotional pointers: continuously stressing the inescapability of pain, disease, and death,<sup>29</sup> it refers to the eschatological future as the time in which immortality may be granted, and it recommends, for the meantime, that one guard oneself from all evil, pray for forgiveness, and hope for God's mercy—a hope that is in the end expressed without reservation or condition. This life is relentlessly being marred and menaced by the Enemy, with whom to struggle is a never-ending task.<sup>30</sup> His seductions are difficult to resist, since he aims at humanity's main weaknesses: greed (11:2) and desire (19:3), which have caused all sin and the loss of glory.<sup>31</sup>

These are pious and simple ethics, but the necessity to stick to them can never be sufficiently stressed. The nature of this world was changed because of sin (11:2); if only Adam had kept God's commandment, he would not have been subjected to death (39:1 *qz*)—but Adam did not keep God's commandment. The aim of the *Life of Adam and Eve* is to describe the human condition as riddled by pain, disease, and death as a result of the loss of God's grace (cf. 39:2 *qz*). The editor of the *qz*-text fully acknowledges that there is hope, that God will eventually be merciful, and he leaves no doubt with regard to the future restoration of the primordial glory. However, how exactly these matters will come about is not in the forefront of his attention. His writing is about life outside paradise; it establishes as a fact that this unfulfilling way of living is due to humankind's own shortcomings; and it suggests that the only feasible stance in this life is to avoid evil, expecting that in the end, everything will turn out for the better.<sup>32</sup>

This kind of piety should not, in my opinion, be characterized as, or classed with, some particular current within the Christian church. To do so would once

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28. In the Armenian version of 42(13):3b, mention is made of the eschatological anointment with the oil of joy for "the new Adam"; one might be tempted to recognize here an allusion to the "two Adams" schema, but even then, the referent of this "new Adam" is not Christ but a renewed humanity.

29. J. R. Levison, "The Primacy of Pain and Disease in the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*," *ZNW* 92 (2003): 1–16.

30. Cf. Eldridge, *Dying Adam*, 216–18.

31. Levison, *Portraits*, 164–74.

32. M. Meiser, "Sünde, Buße und Gnade in dem *Leben Adams und Evas*," in Anderson, *Literature on Adam and Eve*, 297–313, esp. 299, 301, 312; J. Dochhorn, "Adam als Bauer oder: Die Ätiologie des Ackerbaus in *Vita Adae* 1–21 und die Redaktionsgeschichte der Adamviten," in Anderson, *Literature on Adam and Eve*, 315–46, esp. 334–35.

again reduce the interpretation of this writing to dogmatic terms—but there is more to religion, including Christian religion, than matters of doctrine and creed. In the case of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, in contrast, we possess a writing in which people from antiquity have documented their everyday anxieties and beliefs by telling a story that concerns humankind as a whole as well as every individual human being. A discussion of doctrinal matters, or even, on a less sophisticated level, of the details of how God was expected to bring salvation, was not necessary in this connection.

### 3. Stories about Adam and Eve as the Story of Our Lives

In this final section, I should like to bring the role of oral tradition into the discussion of the origin and transmission of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, because it may help to explain from what context the material contained in it was derived, and why it is so difficult to establish if the writing is of either Jewish or Christian origin.

A study of the structure of the *Life of Adam and Eve* reveals that the narrative, apart from the overarching form of the farewell discourse into which it is molded, is built from a series of brief but more or less self-contained tales. These tales have been connected to each other in an attempt to create a coherent narrative, but these attempts have not in every instance been equally successful: often the transition from one part of the story to another is quite abrupt.<sup>33</sup> It has been noted that in the assumed oldest form of the writing, the story of Seth's encounter with the animal (10–12) does not come to a satisfactory completion, but is almost forcibly constrained to continue with the next scene. Another notorious example is found in 38:1: after the fate of Adam after his death has been extensively described in 33–37, it is remarked that “the archangel Michael prayed on behalf of Adam,” and the question of what happened to Adam after he died is discussed all over again, in a different way.

Taken separately, many of these tales can be understood to address a particular problem as having been caused by some event involving the first human beings. Thus, in 5–8 the story is told of Adam and Eve's first transgression of the divine commandment to explain why people, when they get older, lose their eyesight and become deaf; the story of Seth's encounter with the animal, in 10–12, seems to explain why some animals are dangerous and attack humans; in 29, the question of the origin of agriculture is answered; in 42 it is discussed why husband and wife are not to be separated, not even in the grave; and in 43 a reason is given why a period of mourning should not last longer than six days.<sup>34</sup>

Eve's speech (15–30) is more tightly knit, but here it can be observed that

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33. Merk and Meiser, “Das Leben Adams und Evas,” 758–60; cf. Meiser, “Sünde,” 300–301; Levison, “Primacy of Pain and Disease,” 5–8.

34. On the etiological function of these passages, see G. A. Anderson, “The Penitence

motifs are introduced that do not really contribute to the main outline of the story but illuminate in passing aspects of the story and of human existence. A clear example of this is found in 15, which states that the devil could deceive Eve because neither her guardian angels nor Adam himself were with her at that moment (the same motif is also used in 7:1–2). This motif is found in other ancient Jewish and Christian literature and can be regarded as a mini-story in itself. As such, it is told in *Protevangelium of James* 13.1: Joseph, upon returning home from a long journey, was shocked to find Mary six months pregnant, and cried out:

μήτι εἰς ἐμέ ἀνεκεφαλαιώθη ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ; ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς δοξολογίας αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν ὁ ὄφις καὶ εὔρε τὴν Εὐάν μόνην καὶ ἐξηπάτησεν, οὕτως κάμοι ἐγένετο.<sup>35</sup>

Has the story of Adam been repeated in me? For as Adam was absent in the hour of his prayer and the serpent came and found Eve alone and deceived her, so also has it happened to me!<sup>36</sup>

In the *Protevangelium*, Joseph is made to refer to a single motif in the narrative traditions concerning Adam and Eve. The story consists of two brief sentences only, but it is complete and illustrates the dangers of leaving women, presumably young women, on their own.

The suggestion I should like to make here is that the *Life of Adam and Eve*, from the perspective of its composition, is a compilation of stories and mini-stories that may have had their original context in everyday discourse, serving as exempla of moral truths, or as explanations for the facts of life, exactly as illustrated by the passage from the *Protevangelium of James*. The *Life of Adam and Eve* can then be seen as an early attempt to compile a number of these originally independent stories and arrange them to form a coherent whole.

This model is of course well known among students of the book of Genesis or the Gospels. I believe that it also explains much of the way in which the *Life of Adam and Eve* may have originated and been transmitted.

(a) It can safely be assumed that the traditions about Adam and Eve were primarily transmitted orally. Every culture (or subculture) has its founding stories, known in their main outlines to every individual who is a member of the culture. These stories are used as points of reference: they function, usually in an etiological fashion, to illustrate basic truths valid in the community where they are commonly accepted.<sup>37</sup>

In this function, a founding story may attract details added to the main

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Narrative in the *Life of Adam and Eve*," in Anderson, *Literature on Adam and Eve*, 3–42, esp. 34–35; Doehorn, "Adam als Baucr," 329.

35. Tischendorf, *Evangelia*, 26.

36. Trans. Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 62.

37. Ø. Andersen, "Oral Tradition," in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (ed. H. Wansbrough; JSNTSup 64; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 17–58, esp. 21. Cf. J.-C. Picard, *Le continent apocryphe: Essai sur les littératures apocryphes juives et chrétiennes* (Instrumenta patristica 36;

outlines, representing additional truths that are sufficiently qualified for being included into one of a culture's basic stories. These details come to form the subject of brief, self-contained anecdotes that may not require a more specific context than that of everyday conversation.<sup>38</sup> In the case of Adam and Eve, for instance, someone may want to explain why people fall ill and for that purpose tell the story of Adam's seventy diseases (cf. *GLAE* 8:2).<sup>39</sup> Alternatively, someone may want to legitimize the view that people should always wear clothes, and this person could also have recourse to the figures of Adam and Eve but would tell an altogether different tale (cf. *Jub.* 3:31). For the sole aim of explaining some facts of life, however, it is not necessary to tell the entire story from the beginning to the end, from Adam's creation to his transgression and his death:<sup>40</sup> it is sufficient to refer to the story and highlight an aspect of it, perhaps in no more than one or half a sentence (compare, e.g., *Tob* 8:6; *Sir* 25:24; *Wis* 2:24; *2 Bar.* 17:3; 23:4; 48:42–43; 54:15–16; 56:6; *4 Ezra* 3:7; 7:118; *1 Tim* 2:14).

The fact that every member of a culture (or subculture) can be supposed to know the outlines of the story and to recognize the place where additional details fit into it is best explained by the assumption that one is familiarized with such stories in one's childhood. In other words, a culture's founding stories are those that parents (perhaps mothers and grandmothers in particular)<sup>41</sup> tell their children. The oral character of this kind of transmission is evident. I would submit that Paul's knowledge of the traditions about Adam and Eve came from this oral source.

(b) That traditions concerning Adam and Eve were set down in writing so as to form the *Life of Adam and Eve* has not prevented a further oral development of these traditions.<sup>42</sup> This is a priori obvious, if one considers that the writing down of earlier forms of these traditions, in the book of Genesis, has not hindered such development either. To be sure, if individual storytellers are well acquainted with a written form of their subject, that written form is bound to influence the way in which they treat it themselves.<sup>43</sup> But even then, the fact that Genesis clearly states that Adam and Eve were naked inside paradise, and clothed outside, has not prevented Christians in the East from consistently turning that around. In Eastern

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Steenbrugge: Abbatia S. Petri, 1999), 4, 259, who speaks about "traditions mémoriales sur les origines."

38. J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 46.

39. See G. A. Anderson, *The Genesis of Perfection: Adam and Eve in Jewish and Christian Imagination* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 126–27.

40. Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 95. Compare, on an admittedly quite different level, the "economical" traditional referentiality in Homer's epics as discussed by J. M. Foley, "What's in a Sign," in *Signs of Orality: The Oral Tradition and Its Influence in the Greek and Roman World* (ed. E. A. Mackay; Mnemosync Supplement 188; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1–27, esp. 5–10.

41. Andersen, "Oral Tradition," 35.

42. *Ibid.*, 45–53; cf. D. E. Aune, "Prolegomena to the Study of Oral Tradition in the Hellenistic World," in Wansbrough, *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, 59–106, esp. 60.

43. A. B. Lord, "The Influence of a Fixed Text," in *idem*, *Epic Singers and Oral Tradition* (Myth and Poetics; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991) 170–85.

theology, this reversal is given an ingenious exegetical foundation.<sup>44</sup> However, the success of that exegetical tradition would never have been achieved if the orally transmitted story of how Adam and Eve lost their garments of glory had not been stronger and much more influential than the written source of Genesis, and one may wonder which came first: the story or the learned exegesis.

The earliest written form of the *Life of Adam and Eve* did not contain all traditions known to its compiler. Some of them are referred to only in passing. For instance, it is merely mentioned that the devil himself had been cast out of paradise (16:3), but no reason for that is given:<sup>45</sup> the reader is supposed to know.<sup>46</sup> The development of the oral tradition did not come to a halt either, and many new tales and motifs were invented whereas others were forgotten and lost. This is common in oral tradition,<sup>47</sup> and the large variation seen in the later developments of the written text of the *Life of Adam and Eve* strongly suggests that the oral tradition can have an influence on a written tradition that is as large as the other way around (provided that the writing in question was not regarded as authoritative, and was textually not fixed).<sup>48</sup> Someone who decided to copy this writing did so while being thoroughly familiar with all kinds of stories about Adam and Eve from oral tradition, and the copyist is often seen, in the numerous manuscripts of the writing that still exist, to freely adapt the text to the way in which the story had already been known to him.

(c) If the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve* is understood against the background of a living and continuing tradition of storytelling, it also becomes evident that no theological finesses may be expected. Biblical exegesis, dogmatic expositions, anthropological and theological analysis are not the subjects of these brief stories. Instead of a systematic and consistent exposition, one should expect a rather diffuse compound of general and possibly some individual convictions and associations.

To give a concrete example from the *qz*-text of the *Life of Adam and Eve*: in the archetypal text of 12:2, the beast that had been rebuked by Seth because it had attacked him says to him: "Behold, I disappear from the image of God." In the *qz*-text, the word "invisible" is added to the word "God," resulting in an expression that may echo Col 1:15, εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, even if in Colossians the phrase refers to Jesus Christ. The editor of the *qz*-text, who we know was a

44. Anderson, *Genesis of Perfection*, 117–34.

45. Contrast M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on *The Books of Adam and Eve*," in Anderson, *Literature on Adam and Eve*, 43–56, esp. 53–56.

46. Foley, "What's in a Sign," 6.

47. See, e.g., W. H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (2nd ed.; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 23–30.

48. Aunc, "Prolegomena," 61; cf. J. Tromp, "Zur Edition apokrypher Texte: Am Beispiel des griechischen Lebens Adams und Evas," in *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism: New Testament, Other Early Christian and Jewish Literature: Papers read at a NOSTER Conference in Münster, January 4–6, 2001* (ed. W. Wern and D.-A. Koch; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003), 189–205; idem, "The Role of Omissions in the History of the Literary Development of the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*," *Apocrypha* 14 (2003): 257–75.

Christian, did not intend to refer to Christ in this instance, let alone to allude to Colossians; but apparently the phrase was familiar to him, from whatever source, and the addition was easily made.<sup>49</sup>

Starting from the assumption that the world of storytelling is primarily and essentially oral, these rather obvious facts warrant the conclusion that the absence of typically Pauline traits in the eschatology of the Christian editor of the *qz*-text says nothing with regard to his stance over against Paul. Even if it could be made plausible that this editor knew to some extent the letters of Paul, his knowledge of them is likely to have been absorbed into a melange of other biblical and non-biblical concepts and phrases, sustained by a low-profile, rather general religiosity, and ethics of common decency. Biblical exposition or theological speculation is of no interest to this storyteller.<sup>50</sup> This explains why it is so difficult to point to specifically Jewish or Christian elements in the oldest written form of the *Life of Adam and Eve*.

(d) If one tries to survey the endless number of writings in which stories about Adam and Eve occur, one is struck by the stability of the tradition, notwithstanding the variation in detail of its individual literary records. It can be no coincidence that the period of 5,500 years is introduced into the *Life of Adam and Eve* in two different text-forms, independently of each other, and that it also occurs in other sources that have no literary relationship to the *Life of Adam and Eve* but always mention this number in connection with a story about the proto-plasts.<sup>51</sup> This can be explained only by assuming that the view that Christ would come to earth after this number of years had already become inextricably tied up in oral tradition with the figures of Adam and Eve, perhaps in particular with the story about the oil from the tree of life that was refused to Adam but lies in store for the eschatological future.

Storytelling is flexible, variable, but not random or indifferent with regard to content.<sup>52</sup> It is variable because of its being situated in real life, being performed as part of communication between living people, and it is conservative for the same reasons.<sup>53</sup> There appears to be a widespread network of closely interlocking traditions in which contents that could be used for interpreting the facts of life were created, transmitted, lost, but above all preserved. Looking at the various editions, recensions and versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, it is easily seen how stories are added, omitted, rearranged, given a somewhat different turn or an altogether different outcome, and applied to different questions than they were

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49. The same addition occurs, independently, in manuscript *r*.

50. Levison, "Primacy of Pain and Disease," 2-3.

51. E.g., Ps.-Timothy of Alexandria, *Discourse on Abbatôn*, the *Struggle of Adam and Eve with Satan*; see on these writings Stone, *History*; de Jonge and Tromp, *Life of Adam and Eve*.

52. Cf. A. B. Lord, "Homer as an Oral-Traditional Poet," in idem, *Epic Singers*, 72-103, esp. 76-77; J. D. G. Dunn, "Altering the Default Setting: Re-envisaging the Early Transmission of the Jesus Tradition," *NTS* 49 (2003): 139-75, esp. 154.

53. Andersen, "Oral Tradition," 22.

previously asked to answer. What is just as striking, however, is that the component parts of the narrative often remain essentially the same.<sup>54</sup>

This fact emerges even more clearly when one looks at those writings that have no literary relationship to the *Life of Adam and Eve* but nonetheless contain some of essentially the same stories. Sometimes these stories take on a definitely Christian form, but just as often they do not. Combined with the insight that these stories must have continued to be transmitted orally, this seems to imply that, regardless of their Jewish or Christian background, people continued to have use for these brief tales when discussing not theological or exegetical issues but the ordinary issues of life. If the question is about pain and disease, the etiological answer has little to do with either circumcision or baptism.<sup>55</sup>

(e) The situation in which traditions are orally transmitted plays a major role.<sup>56</sup> An important factor in any situation is the creativity of the storytellers, implicating *inter alia* their individual understanding of the material they are handing down. This is also true for the literary transmission of a story.<sup>57</sup> It may be that manuscripts *q* and *z* are both examples of faithful copies of their model, containing no individual deviations. However, the editor responsible for the *qz*-text has drastically intervened in the writing as it had been handed down to him, and such interventions have occurred on many independent occasions in the literary history of the *Life of Adam and Eve*.

The assumption that this writing, when it was first set down, and during the many centuries of its transmission, was built up from separate blocks of oral material does not detract from the fact that the *Life of Adam and Eve* really is a writing, whatever one may think of its belletristic qualities. As noted above, it is clear that its author knew more stories than he used for his document, but he deliberately chose to restrict himself to this selection. The *Life of Adam and Eve* and its recensions and versions were authored by people who selected these stories with a view to producing a coherent narrative. In other words, when we are reading the *Life of Adam and Eve* (in whatever recension or version), we are not reading a series of orally transmitted stories, but a purposefully composed text that desires and deserves to be comprehended as a unity.<sup>58</sup> The meaning and intention of this literary unity do not amount to the sum of the points made in the separate tales of the oral tradition (which by definition cannot be retraced, anyway, except perhaps in a rough approximation<sup>59</sup>). Therefore, the interpretation of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, even if an understanding of the way in which it origi-

54. *Ibid.*, 21; Aunc, "Prolegomena," 70–71.

55. Merck and Meiser, "Das Leben Adams und Evas," 768, who comment on the fact that there are both Jewish and Christian parallels to the *Life of Adam and Eve*, that these parallels "zeigen, wie sehr in beiden Religionen von der gemeinsamen Basis der Genesis-Texte aus um das Verstehen menschlichen Daseins gerungen wurde."

56. Andersen, "Oral Tradition," 19–20.

57. H. W. Hollander, "The Words of Jesus: From Oral Traditions to Written Record in Paul and Q," *NovT* 42 (2000): 340–57, esp. 355.

58. See B. W. Henaut, *Oral Tradition and the Gospels: The Problem of Mark 4* (JSNTSup 82; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 115–19.

59. *Ibid.*, 14–15; cf. Hollander, "Words of Jesus," 355.



nated and developed is useful, should still begin from the fact that this is a writing with a beginning and an ending, a structure, an intention, and a meaning as a whole. To treat it simply as a repository of presumably first-century C.E. Jewish traditions, from which one may freely pick the parallels needed for a tradition- or religion-historical argument, would be wrong and misleading.

# ADAM IN PAUL

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My task in this chapter is simply to review the case for seeing what can properly be called an “Adam theology” in the letters of Paul. More precisely, my task is to identify the passages in Paul’s letters that may have been influenced by the narratives of Genesis 1–3, and by the then-current Second Temple Jewish reflection on Genesis 1–3, and to consider the significance of these references and allusions for our better understanding of Paul’s theology.<sup>1</sup>

## Passages Where the Reference Is Undisputed

Three passages fall into this category: Rom 5:12–19; 1 Cor 15:21–22; and 15:45–49. Here for the sake of completeness we should also note the Deuteropauline 1 Tim 2:13–14. I cite them in their chronological order.<sup>2</sup>

### a. 1 Corinthians 15:21–22

Since death came through man, through man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in the Christ will all be made alive.

“In Adam” obviously denotes normal human existence; Adam is everyman. Adam represents not so much human createdness as human mortality, humankind as subject to the power of death. The whole scope of human destiny can be summed up in the two men Adam and Christ, life ending in death and life beginning from the dead.

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1. I have already reflected on this subject, particularly in *Christology in the Making: An Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London: SCM, 1980; 2nd rev. ed. 1989; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), ch. 4; and *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), §§4 and 8.6.

2. Since the Adam references in these passages are explicit I need not amass citations of those who recognize the references.

### b. 1 Corinthians 15:44–49

Paul speaking of the resurrection body plays with the distinction between the *σῶμα ψυχικόν* and the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. The former is obviously the body of the present existence, human embodiment, as we would say, in the space-time complex. The latter, by way of contrast, is the body of the resurrection, a “spiritual body.”

The resurrection of the dead . . . is sown a *σῶμα ψυχικόν*; it is raised a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. If there is a *σῶμα ψυχικόν*, there is also a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. Thus also it is written, “The (first) man (Adam) became a living *ψυχή*”; the last Adam (became) life-giving *πνεῦμα*. But it is not the *πνευματικόν* which is first, but the *ψυχικόν*, and then the *πνευματικόν*. The first man was from the earth, a man of dust (*χοϊκός*); the second man is from heaven. As was the man of dust, so also are those who are of the dust; and as is the man from heaven, so also are those who are of heaven. Just as we have borne the image of the man of dust, we will also bear the image of the man of heaven. (vv. 44–49)

The reference to Adam is again explicit, and this time Paul quotes Gen 2:7 directly: “the (first) man (אָדָם) became a living being/soul (נֶפֶשׁ)” (Gen 2:7). His characterization of human existence as “from the earth, a man of dust”—we bear “the image of the man of dust”—is also directly drawn from the same passage: “the Lord God formed man from the dust (אֲדָמָה) of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the man became a living being” (Gen 2:7). It is precisely in his body formed from the dust that Adam represents humankind. Paul presumably was well aware of the Hebrew wordplay between אָדָם and the material from which Adam was made, אֲדָמָה: “the Lord God formed אָדָם of dust from אֲדָמָה.”

### c. Romans 5:12–19

Therefore as through one man sin entered into the world and through sin, death—and so death came to all men, in that all sinned. For until the law, sin was in the world, but sin is not accounted in the absence of the law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over those who did not sin in the very manner of Adam’s transgression—he who is the type of the one to come. But not as the trespass, so also the effect of grace; for if by the trespass of the one, the many died, how much more the grace of God and the gift in grace, which is of the one man Jesus Christ, has overflowed to the many. . . . For as through the disobedience of the one man, the many were made sinners, so also through the obedience of the one man, the many will be made righteous. (vv. 12–19)<sup>3</sup>

3. For detailed exegesis I may simply refer to my *Romans* (2 vols.; WBC 38A–B; Dallas: Word, 1988), ad loc.

The reference is explicit. Adam is the agent through whom “sin came into the world, and death through sin.” The “one (man)” who features throughout the passage (5:12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19) in parallel to and contrast with “the one man Jesus Christ” is Adam. His “trespass,” his sinning, his “disobedience” is set in antithesis to the “grace,” “the righteous act,” the “obedience” of Jesus Christ. The allusion to the Genesis 2–3 story is obvious. The “trespass” was the act of eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen 3:6). The “disobedience” was disobedience to the explicit command: “of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die” (Gen 2:17).

Genesis 2:17 also provides the link between the trespass/disobedience and the death that resulted: “in the day that you eat of it you shall die.” Presumably in mind also was the further condemnation of sinning Adam: “By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread until you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return” (Gen 3:19).<sup>4</sup>

#### *d. 1 Timothy 2:13–14*

Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor.

Here again the direct use of or dependence on Genesis is obvious. The Genesis 2 account of creation makes a point of Adam being created first and then Eve from Adam’s side (Gen 2:7, 21–23). This is not just a Deuteropauline perception, since Paul seems to believe that the same order of creation implies a clear order of precedence: “the ἀνὴρ is head of the γυνή” (1 Cor 11:3). Likewise, that it was Eve who was deceived is not simply a Deuteropauline emphasis, since Paul also earlier makes the point that “the serpent deceived Eve by its cunning” (2 Cor 11:3), though he does not thereby exculpate Adam.

That Paul had in mind Genesis 2–3 in these passages is therefore hardly open to dispute. What is also interesting is the degree to which his use of Genesis was influenced by the reflection that the same passage had already stimulated or was already stimulating within Second Temple Judaism.

This is most evident in the link already well established in Second Temple thought between Adam and death, and in the thought of Adam’s as the original sin, sometimes also with Eve explicitly blamed. We may note particularly the following passages:<sup>5</sup>

**Sir 25:24:** From a woman sin had its beginning and because of her we die.

4. See further Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 94–97.

5. These are not intended as merely isolated parallels, but as indications of how deeply rooted and widespread in Second Temple Judaism was such reflection. See further *Theology of Paul*, 84–90.

**Wis 2:23–24:** God created man for incorruption . . . but through the devil's envy death entered the world, and those who belong to his party experience it.

**Apoc. Mos. 14:** Having said all these things, the angel departed from them. Seth and Eve came into the tent where Adam was lying. Adam said to Eve, "Why have you wrought destruction among us and brought upon us great wrath, which is death gaining rule over all our race?" And he said to her, "Call all our children and our children's children, and tell them how we transgressed."

**Apoc. Mos. 19–21:** [Eve speaking]: ". . . [the serpent] sprinkled his evil poison on the fruit which he gave me to eat which is his covetousness. For covetousness is the origin of every sin. And I bent the branch toward the earth, took of the fruit, and ate. And at that very moment my eyes were opened and I knew that I was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed. And I wept saying, 'Why have you done this to me, that I have been estranged from my glory with which I was clothed . . .' [Adam] said to me, 'O evil woman! Why have you wrought destruction among us? You have estranged me from the glory of God.'"<sup>6</sup>

**4 Ezra 3:7:** You laid upon him [Adam] one commandment of yours; but he transgressed it, and immediately you appointed death for him and for his descendants.

**4 Ezra 3:21–26:** The first Adam, burdened with an evil heart, transgressed and was overcome, as were also all who were descended from him. Thus the disease became permanent; the law was in the hearts of the people along with the evil root; but what was good departed, and the evil remained. . . . The inhabitants of the city [Jerusalem] transgressed, in everything doing just as Adam and all his descendants had done, for they also had an evil heart.

**4 Ezra 4:30:** A grain of evil seed was sown in Adam's heart from the beginning, and how much ungodliness it has produced until now, and will produce until the time of threshing comes!

**4 Ezra 7:118:** O Adam, what have you done? For though it was you who sinned, the fall [*casus*] was not yours alone, but ours also who are your descendants.

**2 Bar. 54:19:** Adam is not the cause, except only for himself, but each of us has become our own Adam.

**2 Bar. 56:6:** When he transgressed, untimely death came into being, mourning was mentioned, affliction was prepared, illness was created, labor accomplished, pride began to come into existence, the realm of death began to ask to

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6. J. Tromp ("The Story of our Lives: The *qz*-Text of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the Apostle Paul, and the Jewish-Christian Oral Tradition concerning Adam and Eve," *NTS* 50 [2004]: 205–23, reprinted here), examines a demonstrably Christian form of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, finds no evidence of direct textual interdependence, but argues that both Jewish and Christian usage draw on a living oral narrative tradition which reflected on the Genesis accounts of Adam.

be renewed with blood, the conception of children came about, the passion of the parents was produced, the loftiness of men was humiliated, and goodness vanished.

What is striking is the depth of the parallel: the sense of humankind as caught up in Adam's sin or at least its consequences; the sense that death is antithetical to God's purpose in creation and must be somehow the effect of Adam's sin; the readiness to speak of Adam's failure as archetypal and paradigmatic (it can be expressed by reference to Adam alone, even though the Genesis narrative gave reason to put the blame primarily on Eve). The ambiguity that is evident particularly in Romans 5 is evident also in the other Second Temple texts: whether evil originated within human creation or from without; whether death was the result of Adam's transgression, as Paul seems to imply in Rom 5:12, 15, 17, or was simply part of the created order, the inevitable outworking of a body composed from the dust, as Paul seems to imply in 1 Corinthians 15. Similar is the ambiguity as to how we should conceive of the origin of evil, whether from within human creation or from without,<sup>7</sup> and whether we should speak of an "original" sin which actually encompassed us all—for Paul speaks of "the many" being "made sinners" "through the disobedience of the one man" (Rom 5:19), even though he has already noted that "death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over those who did not sin in the very manner of Adam's transgression" (5:13).

In other words, Paul began his reflection on Adam well within the parameters of the same sort of reflection then current in Second Temple Judaism, which also implies, it should be noted, that some of the issues that have taxed Christian theology, not least that of "original sin," were already integral to Second Temple theology, that Paul was not saying anything new at these points, and that perhaps he was quite happy to leave the ambiguity as he did, simply because he was reflecting the *status quaestionis* of his time.

Where Paul goes beyond the current theological reflection is, of course, in his development of the parallel and contrast between Adam and Christ: "as in Adam all die, so also in the Christ will all be made alive" (1 Cor 15:21)—Adam as the "type" of Christ (Rom 5:14). The whole sequence of Rom 5:15–19 is structured on a πολλῶ μᾶλλον motif—if Adam's transgression brought such consequences, "how much more" Christ's parallel but antithetical act. Adam stands for death, Christ for life; or rather, not just life, but life from the dead, resurrection life: "the last Adam became (not a living but) life-giving s/Spirit" (15:45), a phrase ("life-giving s/Spirit") Paul uses elsewhere only of the Spirit of God (Rom 8:11; 2 Cor 3:6).

Here, in regard to 1 Cor 15:44–49, a fascinating question arises as to whether Paul was also influenced by Philo. The question arises from Paul's distinction

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7. I do not follow up here the tradition that evil originated with the sin of the "sons of God" in having sexual relations with earthly women; cf., e.g., *Jub.* 4:22; 5:1–10; 7:21; *1 Enoch* 6–11; *T. Reu.* 5; *T. Naph.* 3:5; CD 2:18–21; see further G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), *passim*.

between the earthly man and the man from heaven, between the man of ψυχὴ and the man of πνεῦμα. For Philo also works with a similar contrast:

There are two types of men; the one a heavenly man (οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος), the other an earthly (ὁ δὲ γήϊνος). The heavenly man, being made after the image of God, is altogether without part or lot in corruptible and terrestrial substance; but the earthly one was compacted out of the matter scattered here and there, which Moses calls “clay.” For this reason he says the heavenly man was not moulded, but was stamped with the image of God, while the earthly is the moulded work of the Artificer, but not his offspring. (*Alleg. Interp.* 1.31)

As is generally recognized, Philo was able to work from the two creation narratives, the one (Genesis 1) narrating the creation of man in the divine image, the second (Genesis 2) narrating the creation of man from the clay. Read against a Platonic cosmology, the heavenly man is first, “made after the image of God”; the earthly man an inferior copy, moulded by God, to be sure, but from earthly matter, “clay.”

Was Paul alluding to and reacting against such a view when he insisted as a matter of importance that “it is not the πνευματικός which is first, but the ψυχικός, and then the πνευματικός. The first was from the earth, a man of dust (χοϊκός); the second man is from heaven” (1 Cor 15:46–47)? Probably so, though whether he was countering a theological viewpoint actually maintained in Corinth involves a much more convoluted discussion.<sup>8</sup> The point would have been (and still is) that Paul regarded the *resurrected* Christ, the heavenly Christ, as the pattern on which the new humanity is being molded.<sup>9</sup> Adam still stands for death; all in Adam will die. Contrary to the logic that some might want to follow, all in Christ will *not* escape death; the gospel is that they will be conformed to the image of the *resurrected* Christ. Paul, in other words, seems to replace Philo’s protological reflections with the Christian eschatological gospel.

In short, then, two things are already clear: first, that Paul *did* have an Adam theology, a facet of his theologizing that drew on Genesis 1–3 to illuminate the plight of humankind in the face of the powers of sin and death and to provide terms for the gospel’s answer in Christ; and, second, that the basic raw theological material of this Pauline reflection he drew from and shared with other strands in Second Temple Judaism. This conclusion suggests that we should look more favorably on other passages whose dependence on Genesis 1–3 and on Jewish reflection on these chapters is much more disputed.

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8. See particularly R. A. Horsley, “How can some of you say that there is no resurrection from the dead?” *Spiritual Elitism in Corinth*, *NovT* 20 (1978): 203–31.

9. See further my *Christology in the Making*, 107–8, 123–24.

## Passages Where the Allusion Is Clear

### e. 1 Corinthians 15:25–27

He [Christ] must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy to be destroyed is death. For “God has put all things in subjection under his feet.”

Here, there is an explicit citation of Ps 8:6 (as also Eph 1:22):

What is man that you are mindful of him, and the son of man that you care for him? You have made him a little lower than God/the angels and crowned him with glory and honour. You have given him dominion over the work of your hands; you have put all things under his feet. (Ps 8:4–6)

The Psalmist was obviously drawing on the same Genesis 1–3 traditions, as is evident partly in the talk of “glory” (as we shall see more fully below), man as the glory and crown of creation, but also particularly in the talk of the dominion given to the human creation (Adam) over the rest of creation, man being given the authority to name all other living creatures (Gen 2:19–20). As the writer to the Hebrews does more fully in Heb 2:6–9, so Paul applies the Psalm passage directly to Christ—Christ as fulfilling the role predetermined for “man” (עֲדָם) “the son of man” (בְּרֵשִׁת׃). This too can be classified as an expression of “Adam theology.”

To be noted again is the fact that he was thinking here of the exalted Christ. This is most strikingly indicated by the way he (and probably those before him) blended Ps 110:1 with Ps 8:6. Both Psalms envisage one to whom others are put in subjection:

**Ps 8:6:** You have made subject [ὑπέταξας] all things under his feet.

**Ps 110:1:** The Lord said to my Lord, “Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool.”

What is very noticeable in earliest Christian reflection on the significance of Jesus’ resurrection was both the use of Ps 110:1<sup>10</sup> and the way the last phrase of each of the Psalm passages merged into what was in effect a composite quotation:

#### Ps. 110 / Ps. 8

**1 Cor 15:25, 27:** . . . until he has made subject all his enemies/under his feet.

**Eph 1:20, 22:** . . . seated him at his right hand/and made subject all things under his feet.

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10. Mark 12:36 parr.; 14.62 parr.; Acts 2:34–35; Rom 8:34; 1 Cor 15:25; Col 3:1; Eph 1:20; Heb 1:3, 13; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2; 1 Pet 3:22. See further D. M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity* (SBLMS 18; Nashville: Abingdon, 1973); M. Hengel, “‘Sit at My Right Hand!’ The Enthronement of Christ at the Right Hand of God and Psalm 110.1” (Studies in Early Christology; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 119–225.



**Mark 12:36:** . . . sit at my right hand/until I put your enemies under your feet.

**1 Pet 3:22:** . . . who is at the right hand of God/with angels, authorities, and powers made subject (ὑποταγέντων) to him.

This striking merger of the *kyrios* Christology drawn from Psalm 110 with the Adam Christology drawn from Psalm 8 has not been given the attention it deserves—striking not least since it suggests that for Paul, and more widely within earliest Christianity, Christ was exalted as κύριος to fulfill the role that God had intended for Adam, for humanity (cf. again Heb 2:6–8)!<sup>11</sup>

The other point that deserves at least to be mentioned, is that Paul shows no interest in Christ as Son of Man, either here or elsewhere; even the appearance of the phrase (“the son of man”) in Heb 2:6–8 is simply the result of the fuller quotation of Ps 8:4–6. There is no evidence that Paul thought of Adam in “son of man” terms or knew a Son of Man Christology; the importation of such a Christology into passages like 1 Thess 1:10 and 4:16–17 is an unnecessary hypothesis.<sup>12</sup> Its popularity in the twentieth century<sup>13</sup> was an offshoot of the hunt for a Primal Man myth to help explain early Christology—the myth itself being one of the nineteenth/twentieth-century constructs that fascinated and bewitched scholars for two or three generations.

#### f. Romans 3:23

Romans 3:23 includes the brief note that “all have sinned and lack the glory of God.” This seems to trade on the notion, again evident elsewhere in Second Temple Judaism, that the consequence of Adam’s sin was that he was deprived of the divine glory. Already cited above is Adam’s complaint to Eve in *Apoc. Mos.* 20:2, “Why have you done this to me, that I have been estranged from my glory with which I was clothed?” and again in 21:6, “You have estranged me from the glory of God.” Of interest is the difference between Jewish and subsequent Christian thought at this point. Whereas later Christian theology thought in terms of Adam having lost the divine image, Jewish theology reckoned more with the loss of divine glory. Paul falls in here with his Jewish contemporaries, in that he understood Adam’s plight in terms of the loss of his glory.<sup>14</sup>

In the same vein of thought, both Jewish soteriology and Pauline soteriology understood salvation in terms of the restoration or enhancement of the original glory.<sup>15</sup> In Paul’s theology we could see this as a variant of his Adam Christology, of Christ as the second Adam, and of salvation as humankind, molded according to the pattern of Adam, being remolded (in resurrection) according to the pattern

11. Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 248–49.

12. Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, 90–91, and further 98–100.

13. See e.g. those cited in *Christology in the Making*, 303 nn. 132 and 134.

14. It is not clear how Paul related both themes to the “fall” of Adam, since he continued to regard man as “the image and glory of God” (1 Cor 11:7).

15. See again my *Christology in the Making*, 105–6; and *Theology of Paul*, 93–94.

of the last Adam, the eschatological Adam. Here could be mentioned also the strand of Pauline soteriology that talks of salvation as a process of being conformed to the image of Christ, particularly Col 3:10: “you have put on the new nature which is being renewed in knowledge in accordance with the image of him who created it.” The thought is obviously of new creation, where salvation is seen in terms of completing the work and intention of the first creation, with the resurrected Christ as the template on which the divine image of the first creation is recreated.<sup>16</sup>

Worth noting also is Phil 3:21, a passage that ties together the themes of the previous section (e) with that of the present section (f): “Jesus Christ will transform the body of our humiliation to be conformed to the body of his glory, in accordance with the power that also enables him to make all things subject (ὑποτάξαι) to himself.” The authority that God intended for humankind, and that only came to full realization in the resurrected Christ seated at God’s right hand, is the very authority with which the last Adam will conform those who at present bear the image of the first Adam to the image of his own (restored) glory.

### *g. Romans 7:7–13*

Romans 7:7–13 introduces the most famous of the “I”-passages in Paul.

I would not have experienced sin except through the law; for I would not have known covetousness unless the law had said, “You shall not covet.” But sin, seizing its opportunity through the commandment, stirred up all manner of covetousness in me. For in the absence of the law sin is dead. And in the absence of the law I was alive once upon a time. But when the commandment came, sin became alive, and I died. The commandment intended for life proved for me to be a means to death. For sin, seizing its opportunity through the commandment, deceived me and through it killed me. (vv. 7–13)

Here it seems to me fairly obvious that Paul is evoking once again the Genesis story of Adam’s original trespass and disobedience, already drawn on so powerfully in Rom 5:12–21.<sup>17</sup> That is, the “I” here is Adam; Paul speaks with existential intensity in the voice of Adam.<sup>18</sup> Adam would not have known the archetypal sin of covetousness had it not been for the law telling him not to covet (7:7). But Sin grasping the opportunity provided by the commandment “You shall not covet”

16. This again has not been given the attention it deserves in studies of Paul’s theology; but see my *Theology of Paul*, §18.

17. See again my *Theology of Paul*, 98–100.

18. The reference of the “I” of 7:7–25 is much disputed; see the full treatments of J. Lambrecht, *The Wretched “I” and Its Liberation: Paul in Romans 7 and 8* (Louvain Theological and Pastoral Monographs 14; Louvain: Peeters, 1992); B. Dodd, *Paul’s Paradigmatic “I”: Personal Example as Literary Strategy* (JSNTSup 177; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); H. Lichtenberger, *Das Ich Adams und das Ich der Menschheit: Studien zum Menschenbild in Römer 7* (WUNT 164; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

stirred up covetousness in him (7:8). The Creator God had warned him, “In the day you eat of it [the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil] you shall die” (Gen 2:17). But Sin (the serpent) had deceived him (through his consort) (3:13), that is, by reassuring her that if she ate “You will not die” (3:4), and so he had died (Rom 7:9–11).

I confess to some puzzlement as to how anyone can fail to see the strong allusion which seems so obvious to me. Some appeal to Rom 5:13 as indicating that the law was not in existence in Adam’s time and conclude that Adam could not be in mind.<sup>19</sup>

This seems to me a rather wooden exegesis, which fails to appreciate that allusions work in different ways and more subtly.<sup>20</sup> It ignores the fact that Paul was obviously thinking of “the law” (7:7)<sup>21</sup> and intended “the commandment” to be a particular instance of “the law”: hence the switch back and forward in the passage between ἐντολή (7:8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13) and νόμος (7:7, 8, 9, 12); the two terms are completely interchangeable in 7:6–13. That the command to Adam (not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil) already embodied or at least expressed the law of God was probably already taken for granted in Jewish thought.<sup>22</sup> Most noticeable of all, it ignores the fact that wrong desire, lust, or covetousness (ἐπιθυμία) as the root of all sin was an already established the-ologoumenon in Jewish thought, as Jas 1:15 confirms.<sup>23</sup> Most obvious of all, it ignores the obvious echo of Gen 3:13 in Rom 7:11:

**Gen 3:13:** The serpent deceived (ἠπάτησεν) me and I ate.

**Rom 7:11:** Sin . . . deceived (ἐξῆπάτησεν) me and . . . killed me.<sup>24</sup>

I think it probable that Paul also intended an allusion to Israel’s failure at Sinai and Baal Peor,<sup>25</sup> particularly apposite since these failures followed so closely on the giving of the law, and very apposite since Paul did not want his fellow Jews to think themselves somehow exempt from his indictment on human-kind as a whole. This, after all, had been the point of the second phase of his

19. Thus most recently P. F. Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul’s Letter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 234–36; R. Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary* (Hermencia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 442 and n. 22; others in Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 100 n. 95.

20. R. B. Hays has attempted, with some success, to sensitize us on the subject (*Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* [New Haven: Yale University, 1989]).

21. That a “defence of the law” is an appropriate description of Rom 7:7–8:4 should be obvious from the sequences 7:7 12, 13–14, 16–17, 22–23, though it is too little recognized (see Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 156–58).

22. See, e.g., Dunn, *Romans*, 379–80; Lichtenberger, *Das Ich*, ch. 15.

23. Cf. *Apoc. Mos.* 19:3; Philo, *Decal.* 150; *Spec.* 4.84–85; see again my *Romans*, 380; Lichtenberger, *Das Ich*, ch. 16.

24. This no doubt deliberate echo of Gen 3:13 is generally recognized. Subsequent Christian writing takes up the same theme: “the transgression took place in Eve through the serpent” (*Barn.* 12:5); “Adam was absent in the hour of his prayer and the serpent came and found Eve alone and deceived her” (*Protevangelium of James* 13.1).

25. Exod 32:25–28; Num 25:1–9; cf. 1 Cor 10:6–10. See particularly D. J. Moo, “Israel and Paul in Romans 7,” *NTS* 32 (1986): 122–35.

indictment in Rom 1:18–3:20: after the more general indictment of 1:18–32 comes the specific argument to make it clear that condemnation comes first to Jews as well as Greeks (2:9), to those under the law as well as those without it (2:12), so that all are charged, both Jews and Greeks, as all alike are under sin (3:9), so that all the world becomes liable to God's judgment (3:19). The point is that Israel's failure at Sinai and in the wilderness was in effect a repetition of Adam's fall in the garden.<sup>26</sup> It is precisely because Israel's deliverance and fall from grace mirrored so completely Adam's creation and disobedience that the allusion to Israel's failure is also possible in a passage determined more immediately by the Genesis account. In short, such allusion to Israel at Sinai as there is in the "I" of Rom 7:7–13 is not a detraction from the primary allusion to Adam in the garden but a strengthening of it—precisely because the sin of Adam was so archetypal.

### *h. Romans 8:19–22*

This is the only other strong allusion to the Genesis narrative: "Creation was subjected (ὕπετάγη) to futility (ματαιότητι), not willingly, but on account of him who did the subjecting (ὕποτάξαντα), in hope" (v. 20). What is noticeable here is the double allusion. First, creation subjected to futility no doubt alludes to the curse put upon the created order in consequence of Adam's sin in Gen 3:17–18: "cursed is the ground because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life; thorns and thistles it shall bring forth for you . . ." This too may well have been an insight he drew from his deep rootage in Jewish reflection, if 4 *Ezra* 7:11 is anything to go by: "I made the world for their (Israel's) sake, and when Adam transgressed my statutes, what had been made was judged."<sup>27</sup>

Second, the repetition of the verb ὑποτάσσω is hardly accidental. This is the verb that describes the divine purpose for creating Adam: to put all things in subjection to him (Ps 8:6). The result of Adam's failure was that the divine subjecting of creation was not so much to Adam as to futility! But Paul also read that action of judgment as one also of hope, hope for the coming of another Adam, to whom all things would be made subject (Ps 110:1/Ps 8:6). And the end result would be the liberation of creation from its futility, "set free from the slavery of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God" (Rom 8:21), set free to fulfil the role God had originally intended for creation. It is hardly a surprise, then, when Paul completes this line of reflection with the thought of Christ as the firstborn among many brothers, whose destiny is to be conformed to the image of God's Son (8:29). The theology, once again, is the outworking of Paul's Adam theology.

26. Cf. alrcady J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1:26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (FRLANT 76; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 115–16, 321–22; A. J. M. Wedderburn, "Adam in Paul's Letter to the Romans," in *Studia Biblica 1978 III* (ed. F. A. Livingstone; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980), 413–30, here 414–15.

27. See further Str-B 3:247–53.

## Passages Where an Allusion Is Disputed

There are only two other passages that call for attention, but in both cases the suggestion that these should be included in the list of passages that express an Adam theology is heavily disputed, and only a minority of scholars put their names to the claim—though I include myself in that minority.

### *i. Romans 1:18–32*

As already indicated, Rom 1:18–32 is the beginning of Paul’s indictment. In this passage it is clear enough that he indicts humankind as a whole, even though the principal colors of his charge are drawn from the palette of Jewish disparagement of Gentile sin—specifically idolatry and sexual promiscuity.<sup>28</sup>

That Paul set his indictment in the context of creation and with reference to the Creator should be obvious. The presupposition is that God’s “invisible characteristics from the creation of the world are perceived intellectually in the things that have been made, both his power and deity” (1:20). The argument is that God was known to his creation: “what can be known about God is evident” from creation (1:19). The indictment is that although humankind “knew God they did not glorify him as God or give him thanks” (1:21). This sounds very like a reading of Genesis 2–3: Adam who knew God, nevertheless refused to give God God’s due, and chose to disobey God’s command (Gen 2:17). The consequence is that humankind “became futile in their thinking, and their foolish hearts were darkened. Claiming to be wise they became fools” (1:21–22). Again, this sounds like a different “take” on the familiar story of Adam’s failure: he thought the serpent’s advice was a word of wisdom, that he would become as God/the angels when he ate the fruit of the tree; but the action was an act of foolish disobedience, and the result was that he not only failed to achieve a higher status (like God), but also fell short of what he was made to be; he became futile in his thinking, and his foolish heart was darkened. Instead of glorifying his Creator, he became subservient to the creature; he exchanged the truth of God for falsehood (1:25).<sup>29</sup>

It is true, of course, that Adam did not become an idolater as such. Nor does the Genesis story indicate that he indulged in sexual license. It is also true that the echo of Israel’s failure in the wilderness is stronger at this point:

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28. The point is sometimes missed by those who want to see the indictment of humankind in general as running through to 2:16—largely ignoring the obvious echoes of Wisdom 11–15, which run through 1:21, 23ff. and 2:1–6; see again my *Romans*, 60–65, 82–83; and *Theology of Paul*, 91–92.

29. J. R. Levison (“Adam and Eve in Romans 1:18–25 and the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*,” *NTS* 50 [2004]: 519–34, reprinted here), argues for a much closer correspondence between Rom 1:18–25 and *The Life of Adam and Eve* in particular, in that “the glory of God has been exchanged for the reign of divine anger and death, and natural human dominion has been exchanged for unnatural subservience to the creation” (534).

**Rom 1:21:** They became futile (ἐματαιώθησαν) in their thinking.

**Jer 2:5:** They went after futile things and became futile (ἐματαιώθησαν).

**Rom 1:23:** They changed the glory (ἠλλάξαν τὴν δόξαν) of the incorruptible God for the likeness (ἐν ὁμοιώματι) of the image of corruptible man, and of birds, and of beasts and of reptiles.

**Ps 106:20:** They changed the glory (ἠλλάξαντο τὴν δόξαν) of God for the image (ἐν ὁμοιώματι) of an ox that eats grass.

But we should also note that the motif of the “futility” (ματαιότης) of creation is subsequently depicted by Paul as a consequence of Adam’s failure (Rom 8:20). Moreover, once again it should be remembered that Israel’s “fall” could be, and to some extent was, regarded as a kind of “re-run” of Adam’s fall. Since Israel’s fall had been a fall into the idolatry of the golden calf and the sexual license which that occasioned, it was not unnatural to think of both falls as archetypal, and of the fall of humankind as a fall into idolatry as sexual licence (as in Rom 1:23–27).<sup>30</sup> Not least, it is important to appreciate that the ἐπιθυμία that was regularly seen as the root of all sin (as in Rom 7:7–11) was regularly understood as sexual “desire,”<sup>31</sup> the desire that comes to expression in sexual licence.

In other words, the later explicit references and clear allusions to the Adam story (3:23; 5:12–19; 7:7–11; 8:20) provide sufficient indication that Paul in composing Romans had the Adam story strongly in mind. So it would be entirely surprising if, in talking about human failure to respond appropriately to the Creator, Paul did not have the story of Adam in mind, and the failure of Adam as the archetypal failure of humankind as a whole.

### *j. Philippians 2:6–11*

The final passage in Paul’s letters that calls for consideration is the most tantalizing of all.<sup>32</sup>

Think this among yourselves which you think in Christ Jesus  
(or, which was in Christ Jesus),<sup>33</sup>

30. See J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1:26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (FRLANT 76; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 115–16, 321–22; A. J. M. Wedderburn, “Adam in Paul’s Letter to the Romans,” in Livingstone, *Studia Biblica 1978 III*, 413–30, here 414–15.

31. See, e.g., those cited by Jewett, *Romans*, 447–48.

32. Still valuable is R. P. Martin’s review of earlier discussion in *A Hymn of Christ: Philippians 2:5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship* (SNTSMS 4; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967; 3rd ed., Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1997); see also the literature interacted with in Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, §11.4. There is no way of telling when the hymn was composed prior to the writing of the letter, and when Paul learned it, or indeed whether Paul himself composed it.

33. See discussion of the alternative renderings in M. Bockmuhl, *Philippians* (BNTC; London: A&C Black, 1997), 122–24; since “Christ Jesus” is the subject of the hymn that follows, the issue is not of fundamental importance.

who being in the form of God  
 did not count equality with God something to be grasped  
 (ἀρπαγμόν),  
 but emptied himself,  
 taking the form of a slave,  
 becoming in the likeness of human beings.  
 And being found in form as man,  
 he humbled himself  
 becoming obedient to death,  
 death on a cross.  
 Wherefore God exalted him to the heights  
 and bestowed on him the name which is over every name,  
 that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow . . .  
 and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord,  
 to the glory of God the Father.

I share what is a minority opinion, that the hymn is formulated so as to evoke the contrasting parallel of Adam.<sup>34</sup> The parallel is not precise, but the action of the hymn mirrors the purpose God had in creating Adam/man/humankind and the way that purpose was frustrated by Adam's disobedience in paradise, as the story is told in Genesis 1–3.

**2:6a:** Like Adam, he was in the form (*morphē*) of God (cf. Gen 1:27).

**2:6b:** Like Adam, he was tempted to grasp equality with God (Gen 3:5).

**2:7:** Unlike Adam (Gen 3:6–7), he refused the temptation, but nevertheless accepted the lot of humankind which was the consequence of Adam's sin, that is, enslavement to corruption (Gen 3:19) and sin,<sup>35</sup>

**2:8:** . . . and submitted voluntarily to the death which had been the consequence of Adam's sin (Gen 2:19).<sup>36</sup>

**2:9–11:** Consequently, he was exalted and glorified to the lordship over all things, which had been God's original purpose for Adam/humankind (Ps 8:5b–6).<sup>37</sup>

The key point is that this hymn in praise of Christ is put forward as an encouragement to the Philippian believers to put others first (2:3–4); Christ's attitude and mission are the model for their own conduct in regard to each other. The contrast with Adam is, of course, only implicit. But it *is* implicit, I believe, not only in terms of the implied contrast with one in the image of God who yielded

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34. I refer to Dunn, *Christology in the Making*, ch. 4, particularly 114–21; also Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 281–88 (with bibliography). The line of interpretation seems to have been more conducive to systematians than to NT exegetes; see particularly K.-J. Kuschel, *Born before All Time? The Dispute over Christ's Origin* (London: SCM, 1992), 243–66; and J. Macquarrie, *Jesus Christ in Modern Thought* (London: SCM, 1990), 55–59; for other NT interpreters, see Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 286 n. 95.

35. Cf. Ps 8:5a; Wis 2:23; Rom 5:12–14, 21a; 8:3; Gal 4:4; Heb 2:7a, 9a.

36. Cf. Wis 2:24; Rom 5:12–21; 7:7–11; 1 Cor 15:21–22.

37. Cf. 1 Cor 15:27, 45; Heb 2:7b–8, 9b.

to the temptation that he might be as God/the angels (Gen 3:5), but also between Adam's selfish act of disobedience and, as in Rom 5:19 (ὕπακοή), Christ's act of obedience (ὕπήκοος [Phil 2:8])—the only two occasions in Paul where this language is used of Christ. Moreover, it is only Phil 2:9–11 that matches 1 Cor 15:25–27 in carrying through the parallel with Ps 8:4–6 to the theme of the honor and dominion intended by God for Adam.

It seems, in other words, that Paul continued to develop the line of thought he had first clearly articulated in 1 Cor 15:21–22 and 44–54 and still further particularly in Rom 5:12–21 and 7:7–11, drawing out the parallel and contrast between Adam and Christ still more fully:

<i>Adam</i>	<i>Christ</i>
death	life
natural	spiritual
man of dust	man of heaven
perishable/mortal	imperishable/immortal
trespass	free gift
condemnation	justification
disobedience	obedience

The two men, Adam and Christ, provide two types of humanity; but it is the type modeled by Christ that should provide the pattern for Christian attitudes and relationships.

It is true, I readily admit, that the great majority of commentators think that the hymn is too far removed from the template of Adam for the hymn to be seen as an expression of Adam theology. In particular, (1) can the μορφή of God (Phil 2:6) be regarded as synonymous with the εἰκών of God (Gen 1:27)? Is not the one who was “in the form of God” of a different order from Adam who was made “in the image of God”? I wonder, however, if those who make this objection are sufficiently appreciative of the difference between allusion and reference.<sup>38</sup> (2) The debate on ἀρπαγμόν is never-ending; does it mean “snatching,” or something to be snatched or grasped retentively?<sup>39</sup> I translate “something

38. Whether μορφή is synonymous with the εἰκών of Gen 1:27 is not entirely to the point, since an allusion by definition is not a one-to-one correlation (μορφή θεοῦ is obviously used in antithesis to the μορφήν δούλου in 2:7). But note the dismissive comments of G. D. Fee, *Philippians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 209–10. “The problem is that the undeniable counteranalogy between Philippians 2 and Genesis 3 *in general* is not easily pinned down in *particulars*” (Bockmühl, *Philippians*, 133).

39. For recent discussion, see Bockmühl, *Philippians*, 129–31. Bockmühl follows (in particular) N. T. Wright, “*Harpagmos* and the Meaning of Philippians 2.5–11,” in *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), 62–90, in taking ἀρπαγμόν as something already possessed to be exploited to one's own advantage (130). However, Martin justifiably asks why ἀρπαγμόν (from ἀρπάζω, “to seize, snatch”) would be used, and how one who was equal with God could use this status to his own advantage (what higher “advantage”



to be grasped” to reflect the ambiguity in the term, and I continue to find the Adam allusion the most likely key to explain how Christ could be conceived of as both “in the form of God” and yet tempted to grasp something other or further.<sup>40</sup> (3) Surely, it is argued, the language of becoming (2:7: “becoming in the likeness of human beings”) can hardly be referred to a transition in the life of Adam and is best understood as a transition from pre-human to human (birth, incarnation).<sup>41</sup> For myself, however, the observation largely misses the point: that whether speaking of the preexistent Christ, or of Christ in the mythical/primal history imagery of Adam, or simply using the Adam template to characterize the equally epochal and epoch-affecting temptations and decisions that confronted Christ, the Adam/Christ parallel is still a highly pertinent one. For myself, the fact that Paul elsewhere uses the Adam/Christ parallel *only* with reference to the crucifixion and exaltation of Christ (and does not follow the Philonic reflection of a Platonic, heavenly Adam who preceded the earthly Adam) strongly suggests that the Philippians 2 parallel and contrast are drawn more in terms of the latter than the former options—Christ’s whole mission characterized as an Adamic choice. But whatever the ruling on the intended meaning of 2:7, I still find that the imagery of a Christ who refuses Adam’s temptation, but who nevertheless follows Adam’s route, and who consequently is exalted to the dominion initially intended for Adam provides a key that unlocks the train of thought that Paul was pursuing here.<sup>42</sup>

To sum up, then, I have no hesitation in affirming afresh that Paul had and made use of what can properly be described as an “Adam theology,” and that the certainty of some references makes us more alert to the probability of further allusions. Paul’s reflections can be described as variations on the quite extensive reflections on Genesis 1–3 that are still clearly evident in the literature of Second Temple Judaism. Most noteworthy of all, for Pauline scholarship, Paul evidently saw the characterization of Christ’s death and exaltation in pointed contrast to the sin of Adam and its consequences as a very fruitful way of spelling out some of the most important implications and ramifications of his gospel.

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could there be than equality with God?) (*Hymn*, lxix–lxx). “It is hard to doubt that *to be on equality with God* was intended to evoke the story of Adam. It recalls much too clearly the temptation to which Adam fell” (C. K. Barrett, *Paul: An Introduction to His Thought* [London: Chapman, 1994], 108).

40. So also BDAG, 133.

41. See, e.g., Martin, *Hymn*, xix–xxiii; Fee, *Philippians*, 202–3 and n. 41; Bockmuehl, *Philippians*, 131–32; the essays by L. D. Hurst and G. F. Hawthorne in *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians 2* (ed. R. P. Martin and B. J. Dodd; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 84–110.

42. See further Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 286–88.



## **IV**

### **The Pseudepigrapha and Luke-Acts**



# THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE PROBLEM OF BACKGROUND “PARALLELS” IN THE STUDY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

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From time to time studies have appeared that suggest that the New Testament's Acts of the Apostles is modeled after or in some way informed by classical literary tradition. Two significant works have appeared recently in which this claim has been advanced in a systematic and comprehensive way. Marianne Palmer Bonz's *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* argues that Luke-Acts "like all the epics of the later first century may be characterized as responses to the profound social, political, and ideological message of the *Aeneid*."<sup>1</sup> The *Aeneid* was written, Bonz explains, "to define Rome's moral and religious values and to inspire its people with a patriotic vision of a world whose eschatological fulfillment was embodied in the Augustan identification with the return of the Golden Age."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, she thinks the author of Luke-Acts has narrated the history of the movement launched by Jesus in much the way Virgil told the story of Rome. In this way the author of Luke-Acts presents the Christian story as a continuation of the sacred story of ancient Israel.

More recently, and in contrast to Bonz, Dennis MacDonald has argued for comparison with the epics of Homer.<sup>3</sup> He finds four passages in Acts that imitate Homer: the visions of Cornelius and Peter (10:1–11:18), Paul's farewell at Miletus (20:18–35), the selection of Matthias (1:15–26), and Peter's miraculous escape from prison (12:1–23). These parallels, MacDonald thinks, would have been readily perceived by the readers of Acts and would have encouraged readers to read the whole of the Acts narrative in the light of Homeric epic (particularly the *Iliad*).<sup>4</sup> As in the case of his earlier study of the influence of Homer in the Gospel

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1. M. P. Bonz, *The Past as Legacy: Luke-Acts and Ancient Epic* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 24.

2. *Ibid.*, 38.

3. D. R. MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer? Four Cases from the Acts of the Apostles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

4. MacDonald proposes six criteria by which allusions to Homer may be discerned: accessibility, analogy, density, similar sequencing, distinctive traits, and interpretability. See MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?* 1–15.

of Mark,<sup>5</sup> MacDonald believes appeal to this epic classical tradition significantly aids our interpretation of the book of Acts and gives us important clues as to how readers in late antiquity, familiar with the Hellenistic epic tradition, would have read and understood Acts.

Reviews of the studies by Bonz and MacDonald have been mixed, and some have been quite negative. The principal objection is that there are no actual quotations or sequences of words. The proposed parallels with Virgil or Homer are at best thematic and general, perhaps allusive; they nowhere approximate the thematic and verbal parallels that we see in the case of Jewish Scriptures. In his study of Mark, MacDonald admits as much, stating that the parallels he finds “pertain to motifs and plot elements.”<sup>6</sup> In his review of Bonz’s book, George Young comments tellingly that “it is remarkable that *never*, not even *once*, do we find a quote or even a *clear* allusion to Virgil’s epic masterpiece in Luke-Acts.”<sup>7</sup> Given this dramatic nonevidence, can one seriously maintain that Virgil’s *Aeneid* functioned as a paradigm for the Lucan evangelist? Is MacDonald’s work in Homer and various New Testament and early Christian writings more convincing?<sup>8</sup>

Ronald Hock appreciates MacDonald’s study of Mark, although he finds some of the points of comparison unpersuasive.<sup>9</sup> The most devastating review of which I am aware comes from Karl Olav Sandnes, who concludes that MacDonald may have succeeded in finding here or there an echo of Homer in Mark or Acts, but he has failed to show how these parallels truly clarify the New Testament texts in question. Indeed, proposed parallels hardly shed light on the text of Mark or Acts and may actually obfuscate the point being made by the respective evangelists.

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5. D. R. MacDonald, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). MacDonald has taken up the challenge issued by Øvind Andersen and Vernon Robbins, who concluded, “Interpreters need to investigate the Gospels in the context of Homeric literature” (see Ø. Andersen and V. K. Robbins, “Paradigms in Homer, Pindar, the Tragedians, and the New Testament,” *Semeia* 64 [1993]: 3–29, with quotation from 29). See also M. Mitchell, “Homer in the New Testament,” *JR* 83 (2003): 244–60.

6. MacDonald, *Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark*, 9.

7. G. W. Young, review of M. P. Bonz, *The Past as Legacy, Review of Biblical Literature* 4 (2002): 374–78, here 378. The emphasis is his.

8. MacDonald also explores possible influence of Homer in the *Acts of Andrew*. See D. R. MacDonald, *Christianizing Homer: The Odyssey, Plato, and the Acts of Andrew* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

9. R. F. Hock, review of D. R. MacDonald, *The Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark, Review of Biblical Literature* 4 (2002): 363–67. Another reviewer, Michael Gilmour (in *Review of Biblical Literature* online), finds it odd that the evangelist Luke, who made extensive use of the Gospel of Mark, evidently failed to notice the Homeric material in Mark. Given Luke’s greater awareness of classical literature, this is curious indeed. MacDonald himself (*Homeric Epics and the Gospel of Mark*, 170) admits that “during two millennia of interpretation, no one has suggested the parallels I am proposing between Mark and Homer.” In reply to this statement, Gilmour comments: “If Mark’s indebtedness to Homer is as widespread as claimed, why has no one noticed it before now?” Quite so. I might add that if the evangelist Mark expected his readers to think of *Homer*, why did he begin his narrative with an incipit (i.e., Mark 1:1) that unmistakably alludes to the *Roman imperial cult*? On this point, see my “Mark’s Incipit and the Priene Calendar Inscription: From Jewish Gospel to Greco-Roman Gospel,” *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity & Judaism* 1 (2000): 67–81.

Moreover, Sandnes is especially critical of MacDonald's neglect of the many allusions and quotations of "Old Testament" Scripture scattered about in the New Testament texts.<sup>10</sup>

In my view MacDonald has succeeded in showing that Homer's epics were very much in circulation in the first century and did exert influence.<sup>11</sup> They apparently did influence some early Jewish and Christian literature.<sup>12</sup> But herein lies a serious problem for MacDonald's thesis, to which Luke Timothy Johnson has spoken forcefully:

But does M[acDonald] actually demonstrate Lukan literary dependence on Homer? The inherent difficulty facing M[acDonald] is the fact that the influence of Homer had already helped shape the many literary constructions of the Hellenistic world that scholars already acknowledge as intertextual resources for Luke, and that these lay much nearer to hand than did the Homeric epics themselves. M[acDonald] can claim the *Iliad* as part of the Hellenistic intertexture for interpreting Luke-Acts, but he fails to show that there is anything uniquely in Acts and Homer that can be explained only by literary imitation. The book fails to convince on its central point, and fails to suggest what difference it might make for any reader of Acts if its central point were correct.<sup>13</sup>

Johnson's point is well taken. Allusions to and quotations of Homer are found in some of the literature that makes up the loose corpus known as the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. References include *Sib. Or.* 1:123–24; 2:337–38; 3:419–25; 5:306; 3 *Enoch* 33:4; Aristobulus fr. 5.13–15; *Frag. of Pseudo-Greek Poets: Sophocles* (apud Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 5.14.113,2); Ps.-Phocylides 197; Theodotus fr. 2 (apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.22.2); fr. 7 (ibid., 9.22.9); fr. 8 (ibid., 9.22.10–12). These are but a sample. Philo refers to and even quotes Homer on occasion (see *Conf.* 4; *Abr.* 10; *Prob.* 31; *Contempl.* 17; *QG* 3.3 [on Gen 15:9]). Josephus likewise refers to the famous poet (see *Ant.* 7.67; *Ag. Ap.* 2.155, 256). Homer is also quoted and discussed in early church fathers, such as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and others.<sup>14</sup>

10. K. O. Sandnes, "Imitatio Homeri? An Appraisal of Dennis R. MacDonald's 'Mimesis Criticism,'" *JBL* 124 (2005): 715–32. In my opinion, Sandnes's careful, detailed analysis seriously undermines the major components of MacDonald's thesis.

11. This is conceded by Sandnes, "Imitatio Homeri?" 716–17. Greek writers from the time of Plato on emphasize the importance of Homer in education.

12. Indeed, MacDonald has also argued for Tobit's usage of language and themes from the *Odyssey*. See D. R. MacDonald, "Tobit and the Odyssey," in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity* (ed. D. R. MacDonald; Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2001), 11–40.

13. L. T. Johnson, review of D. R. MacDonald, *Does the New Testament Imitate Homer?*, *TS* 66 (2005): 712.

14. Imitation of Homer in Christian literature is attested in the fourth century and beyond. See, e.g., G. Frank, "Macrina's Scar: Homeric Allusion and Heroic Identity in Gregory of Nyssa's Life of Macrina," *J ECS* 8 (2000): 511–30. See also P. S. Alexander, "'Homer the Prophet of All' and 'Moses our Teacher': Late Antique Exegesis of the Homeric Epics and of the Torah of Moses," in *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World* (ed. L. V. Rutgers, P. W. van der Horst, H. W. Haveelaar, and L. Teugels; CBET 22; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 127–42. In this learned study Alexander

In view of evidence such as this, the thesis of MacDonald (and that of Bonz as well) is in theory plausible. Homer was well known and influential. No educated Greek speaker was unfamiliar with the famous poet. Homer was known to Jewish and Christian writers also, and in fact they quoted the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* and may well have incorporated themes into their own writings. The difficulty comes in identifying instances where Jewish and Christian writers have alluded to Homeric themes, *when there is no actual quotation* and where the parallels are either quite vague or do not match well.

Another aspect of the problem lies in the fact that writers in late antiquity alluded to a variety of literary traditions, consciously or unconsciously. This problem is very complex. Allow me to illustrate this point by listing all of the parallels between Acts and the literature of late antiquity that I have been able to find. These parallels include actual quotations and allusions (many to Old Testament Scripture), as well as thematic and topical parallels:<sup>15</sup>

Acts 1:1-2	Josephus, <i>Ag. Ap.</i> 1.1-3; 2.1	Acts 2:25-28, 31	LXX Ps 15:8-11 (16:8-11); <i>Midr. Ps.</i> 16.4, 10-11 (on Ps 16:4, 9-10)
Acts 1:8	<i>Pss. Sol.</i> 8:15		
Acts 1:9-11	Dio Cassius 56.46		
Acts 1:9	2 <i>En.</i> 3:1	Acts 2:30	Ps 132:11; Ps 89:3-4; 2 Sam 7:12-13; <i>Tg. Ps.</i> 132:10-18, esp. v. 17
Acts 1:10	2 Macc 3:26		
Acts 1:11-12	4 <i>Bar.</i> 9:20	Acts 2:34-35	Ps 110:1 (see Mark 12:36 above)
Acts 1:18	Wis 3:17	Acts 2:39	Sir 24:32
Acts 1:20	Ps 69:25; 109:8	Acts 2:44	Josephus, <i>J.W.</i> 2.122; Aristotle, <i>Nicomachean Ethics</i> 8.9; Diogenes Laertius, <i>Lives of Eminent Philosophers</i> 8.10; Lucian of Samosata, <i>Passing of Peregrinus</i> 13
Acts 2:3	<i>Frag. Tg. Num</i> 11:26		
Acts 2:4	Sir 48:12		
Acts 2:6	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i> 370B: "Isis and Osiris" 47		
Acts 2:11-13	Philo, <i>On the Decalogue</i> 33, 46-47; Lucian of Samosata, <i>Alexander the False Prophet</i> 13		
Acts 2:11	Sir 36:7; 2 <i>En.</i> 54:1	Acts 3:1	2 <i>En.</i> 51:5
Acts 2:15	2 <i>En.</i> 51:5	Acts 3:13, 26	2 <i>Apoc. Bar.</i> 70:10; PrMan 1
Acts 2:17-21	LXX Joel 3:1-5 = ET 2:28-32; Num 11:29; <i>Midr. Ps.</i> 14.6 (on Ps 14:7); <i>Num. Rab.</i> 15.25 (on Num 11:17)	Acts 3:21 Acts 3:22-23	Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> 1.43 Deut 18:15-16, 19; Lev 23:29; cf. 1 Macc 4:46; 14:41; <i>T. Benj.</i>

very helpfully shows in what ways rabbinic interpretation of Scripture was analogous to Greek interpretation of Homer, yet with little influence of one on the other.

15. I draw upon my list in C. A. Evans, *Ancient Texts for New Testament Studies* (Peabody Mass.: Hendrickson, 2005), 373-78.



Acts 3:22-23 (cont.)	9:2; <i>T. Levi</i> 8:15; IQS 9:11; 4QTest 5-8; Josephus <i>Ant.</i> 18.85-86	Acts 7:11	Gen 41:54-57; 42:5; LXX Ps 36:19 (37:19)
Acts 3:25	Gen 22:18; cf. Gen 12:3; 17:4, 5; 18:18; 26:4; 28:14	Acts 7:12 Acts 7:13 Acts 7:14	Gen 42:1-2 Gen 45:3-4, 16 Gen 45:9-11, 18-19; LXX 46:27; cf. LXX Exod 1:4-5; 4QExod <sup>a</sup>
Acts 4:11	Ps 118:22 (see Mark 12:10 above)	Acts 7:15 16 Acts 7:15	<i>Jub.</i> 46:10 Gen 46:5-6; 49:33; Exod 1:6
Acts 4:19	Plato, <i>Apol.</i> 29D	Acts 7:16	Gen 23:16-17; <i>T. Reu.</i> 7:2; <i>Tg. Onq.</i> Gen 33:19; <i>Tg. Neof.</i> Gen 33:19; <i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i> Gen 33:19; <i>Tg. Josh</i> 24:32
Acts 4:24	Jdt 9:12	Acts 7:17-18 Acts 7:19	LXX Exod 1:7-8 Exod 1:10-11, 22
Acts 4:25-26	Ps 2:1-2; 4QFlor 1:18-19; <i>Midr. Ps.</i> 2.2-3 (on Ps 2:1-2); <i>b. Ber.</i> 7b; <i>'Abod.</i> <i>Zar.</i> 3b	Acts 7:20 28 Acts 7:22	Exod 2:2-14; Sir 45:3 Lucian, <i>Lover of Lies</i> 34
Acts 4:27	2 <i>Apoc. Bar.</i> 70:10	Acts 7:23 Acts 7:29	<i>Jub.</i> 47:10 Exod 2:15, 21-22; 18:3-4
Acts 4:31	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i> 3.84-89	Acts 7:30-34 Acts 7:30	Exod 3:2-10 <i>Jub.</i> 48:2
Acts 5:1-11	IQS 6:24-25	Acts 7:31-32 Acts 7:35	SP Exod 3:6 Exod 2:14; 3:2
Acts 5:2	2 Macc 4:32	Acts 7:36-41 Acts 7:36	<i>T. Mos.</i> 3:11 Exod 7:3; 14:21; Num 14:33; <i>T. Mos.</i> 3:11
Acts 5:7	3 Macc 4:17	Acts 7:37	LXX Deut 18:15 (see Acts 3:22-23 above)
Acts 5:21	1 Macc 12:6; 2 Macc 1:10	Acts 7:38	Exod 19:1-6; 20:1-17; Deut 5:4-22; 9:10
Acts 5:29	Plato, <i>Apol.</i> 29D	Acts 7:39 Acts 7:40	Num 14:3 Exod 32:1, 23
Acts 5:34	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> 10.38	Acts 7:41	Exod 32:4-6; cf. Wis 13:10; Ep Jer 50
Acts 5:38	Aeschylus, <i>Ag.</i> 1466	Acts 7:42-43	LXX Jer 7:18; Amos 5:25-27
Acts 5:39	Wis 12:13-14; 2 Macc 7:19	Acts 7:44	Exod 27:21; Num 1:50; Exod 25:9, 40; <i>Sib. Or.</i> 4:10
Acts 6:1	<i>T. Job</i> 10:1-11:4	Acts 7:45	Josh 3:14-17; 18:1; 23:9; 24:18
Acts 6:9	<i>CIJ</i> 1404	Acts 7:45 46	2 Sam 7:2-16; 1 Kgs 8:17-18
Acts 7:2	LXX Gen 12:7; 1Qap- Gen 22:27 (on Gen 15:1); <i>Apoc. El.</i> 1:5	Acts 7:47	1 Kgs 6:1, 14; 8:19-20
Acts 7:3	Gen 12:1; <i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i> Gen 12:1		
Acts 7:4	Gen 11:26-12:4; SP Gen 11:32; Philo, <i>Migr. Abr.</i> 177		
Acts 7:5	Gen 17:8; SP Deut 2:5		
Acts 7:6-7	Gen 15:13-14; Exod 2:22; 3:12		
Acts 7:8	Gen 17:10-14; 21:4		
Acts 7:9	Gen 37:11, 28; 39:21		
Acts 7:10	Gen 41:37-39, 40-44; <i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i> Gen 41:40-41; LXX Ps 104:21 (105:21); <i>T.</i> <i>Reu.</i> 4.8, 10		

- Acts 7:48–50 Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.35–37; Seneca, *Ben.* 7.6; Ps.-Philo, *Bib. Ant.* 22:5–6
- Acts 7:48 49 *Sib. Or.* 4:8; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.1.76
- Acts 7:49–50 Isa 66:1–2; *m. 'Abot* 6:10; *Barn.* 16:2
- Acts 7:51 Exod 32:9; 33:3, 5; Lev 26:41; Jer 9:26; 6:10; Isa 63:10; *m. Ned.* 3:11
- Acts 7:53 *Jub.* 1:28
- Acts 7:55 *Apoc. Mos.* 33:1
- Acts 7:57 2 *Apoc. Bar.* 22:1
- Acts 7:58 *m. Sanh.* 6:1–6; 7:4–5
- Acts 8:10 *Tg. SP Gen* 17:1; *PGM* IV. 1275–1277
- Acts 8:22 *Frag. Tg. Gen* 18:21; 19:24; *Frag. Tg. Exod* 10:28; 14:29
- Acts 8:23 *T. Naph.* 2:8
- Acts 8:26 40 Wis 3:14
- Acts 8:32 33 LXX Isa 53:7–8; *Tg. Isa* 52:13–53:12; *Barn.* 5:2
- Acts 8:38 2 *Apoc. Bar.* 6:4
- Acts 9:1 29 2 Macc 3:24–40; 4 Macc 4:1–14
- Acts 9:2 1 Macc 15:21
- Acts 9:7 Wis 18:1; Euripides, *Hipp.* 85; *Tg. Ps.-J. Gen* 22:10
- Acts 10:2 Tob 12:8; Juvenal, *Satires* 14.96–106; *CIJ* 748; *IEph* III.690.8–12 (*NewDocs* 4.128); Aphrodisias Stele a.19–20 (*NewDocs* 9.73)
- Acts 10:9 2 *En.* 51:5
- Acts 10:13–14 *m. Hul.* 1:1–2:3
- Acts 10:22 1 Macc 10:25; 11:30, 33
- Acts 10:26 Wis 7:1
- Acts 10:30 2 Macc 11:8
- Acts 10:34 Sir 35:12–13
- Acts 10:36 Wis 8:3
- Acts 11:15 18 *Tg. Ps.-J. Exod* 33:16
- Acts 11:18 Wis 12:19
- Acts 12:5 Jdt 4:9
- Acts 12:10 Sir 19:26
- Acts 12:11 *T. Sim.* 2:8
- Acts 12:22 Ammianus Marcellinus 15.8
- Acts 12:23 1 Macc 7:41; 2 Macc 9:9; Jdt 16:17; Sir 28:7; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 137; Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.205; Pausanias, *Descr.* 9.7.2; 9.33.6; Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 11.38; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 3.41; Lucian of Samosata, *Alexander the False Prophet* 59; *m. Sota* 7:8; *t. Sota* 7.16; cf. *m. Bik.* 3:4
- Acts 13:10 Sir 1:30
- Acts 13:11 *Tg. Ps.* 58:9
- Acts 13:17 Wis 19:10
- Acts 13:22 *Tg.* 1 Sam 13:14
- Acts 13:33 LXX Ps 2:7
- Acts 13:34 LXX Isa 55:3
- Acts 13:35 LXX Ps 15:10 (16:10) (see Acts 2:25–28 above)
- Acts 13:41 LXX Hab 1:5
- Acts 13:47 LXX Isa 49:6
- Acts 14:11–13 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.610–700; Catullus 64.385; Heliodorus, *Aethiopia* 3
- Acts 14:14 Jdt 14:16–17
- Acts 14:15 4 Macc 12:13; Wis 3:17
- Acts 14:17 Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.117
- Acts 14:23 *T. Benj.* 1:4
- Acts 15:4 Jdt 8:26
- Acts 15:14 *Tg. Zech* 2:15 (11)
- Acts 15:16–18 LXX Amos 9:11–12; Isa 45:21; Jer 12:15; 4QFlor 1:11–13; CD 7:13–21; *Tg. Amos* 9:11; *b. Sanh.* 96b–97a; *Midr. Ps.*

Acts 15:16--18 (cont.)	76.3 (on Ps 76:3, and 1); <i>Gen. Rab.</i> 88.7 (on Gen 40:23)		1.16; Diogenes Laertius, <i>Lives of Eminent Philosophers</i> 1.110; Philostratus, <i>Vit. Apoll.</i> 6.3.5
Acts 15:19-21	<i>b. Sanh.</i> 56a		
Acts 15:28	<i>IG</i> 12.3		
Acts 15:29	4 Macc 5:2	Acts 17:24--25	Wis 9:1
Acts 15:20	1 <i>En.</i> 7:5; <i>m. Yoma</i> 5:6; <i>m. Mak.</i> 3:2; <i>m. Hul.</i> 1:1; 2:1, 4; 3:1--4; 8:3; <i>m. Ker.</i> 1:1; 5:1; <i>m. Tohor.</i> 1:1	Acts 17:24	Wis 9:9; Tob 7:17; Plato, <i>Phaedo</i> 97C; idem, <i>Timaeus</i> 28C; Horace, <i>Odes</i> 1.12--13
Acts 16:9	Strabo, <i>Geogr.</i> 4.1.4	Acts 17:25	Cicero, <i>Pro Roscio Amerino</i> 45; Seneca, <i>Ep.</i> 95.47
Acts 16:13	<i>IGA</i> 2.11 ( <i>NewDocs</i> 3.121); <i>OGIS</i> 96, 101, 129	Acts 17:26	Wis 7:18
Acts 16:14	2 Macc 1:4	Acts 17:27	Wis 13:6
Acts 16:17	<i>SEG</i> 1355, 1356 ( <i>NewDocs</i> 1.25-29); <i>OGIS</i> 96 ( <i>NewDocs</i> 4.201); <i>IGA</i> 2.116 ( <i>NewDocs</i> 3.121); cf. Gen 14:18, 19-20, 22; Num 24:16; Deut 32:8; 2 Sam 22:14; Ps 82:6; Isa 14:14; Dan 3:26; Mark 5:7; Luke 1:32, 35; 4Q246 2:1	Acts 17:28	Aratus, <i>Phaenomena</i> 5 (cf. Clement of Alexandria, <i>Strom.</i> 5.14); Cleanthes, <i>Hymn to Zeus</i> 3; <i>Aristobulus</i> fr. 4 (apud Eusebius, <i>Praep. Ev.</i> 13.12.6--7)
Acts 16:21	Cicero, <i>De Natura Deorum</i> 3.2.5	Acts 17:29	Wis 13:10
Acts 16:23, 25	<i>T. Jos.</i> 8:5	Acts 17:30	Sir 28:7
Acts 17:21	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> 1.351; Thucydides 3.38.5; Demosthenes, <i>1 Philippic</i> 1.10; Pindar, <i>Olympian Odes</i> 9.72; Pliny the Younger, <i>Epistles</i> 8.18; Lucian, <i>Slander</i> 21	Acts 17:31	Ps 9:8; cf. 96:13; 98:9
Acts 17:22--31	Cleanthes, <i>Hymn to Zeus</i> ; Apuleius, <i>Metamorphoses</i> 11.4	Acts 17:32	Aeschylus, <i>Eumenides</i> 647--48; Lucian, <i>Passing of Peregrinus</i> 13
Acts 17:22	Sophocles, <i>Oed. Col.</i> 260; Polybius, <i>Hist.</i> 6.56; Pausanias, <i>Descr.</i> 1.17.1; Josephus, <i>Ag. Ap.</i> 2.130	Acts 17:34	Eusebius, <i>Hist. Eccl.</i> 3.4.11
Acts 17:23	Wis 14:20; 15:17; Pausanias, <i>Descr.</i> 1.1.4; Cicero, <i>Tusc.</i>	Acts 18:2	Suetonius, <i>Divus Claudius</i> 25.4; Dio Cassius 60.6.6
		Acts 18:12	<i>SIG</i> 801 (Gallio Inscription of Delphi); Seneca, <i>Ep.</i> 104.1; Pliny the Elder, <i>Nat. Hist.</i> 31.62; Dio Cassius 61.20.1
		Acts 18:18	Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> 7.14
		Acts 19:13	Mark 9:38; <i>PGM</i> IV. 3020
		Acts 19:15	Mark 1:24; 3:11
		Acts 19:19	Ps.-Phocylides, <i>Sent.</i> 149; Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i> 31.1
		Acts 19:27	Wis 3:17
		Acts 19:28	Bel 18, 41

Acts 19:34	Achilles Tatius 8.9	Acts 24:14	4 Macc 12:17
Acts 20:26	Sus 46	Acts 26:14	Aeschylus, <i>Ag.</i> 1623;
Acts 20:32	Wis 5:5		Pindar, <i>Pythian Odes</i>
Acts 20:35	Sir 4:31		2.94–95, 161; Eurip-
Acts 21:26	1 Macc 3:49		ides, <i>Bacchae</i> 795
Acts 21:27–28	<i>OGIS</i> 598 (= <i>CIJ</i>	Acts 26:18	Wis 5:5
	1400); Philo, <i>Embassy</i>	Acts 26:23	Isa 42:6; 49:6 (see
	<i>to Gaius</i> 212; Jose-	Acts 26:24	Luke 2:32 above)
	phus, <i>J.W.</i> 5.193–94;	Acts 26:25	<i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i> Num 22:5
	Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> 12.145;	Acts 27:18	Jdt 10:13
	cf. Lev 16:2; Num		Curtius Rufus <i>Quin-</i>
	1:51		tus 5.9.3; cf. Jonah 1:5
Acts 22:9	Wis 18:1; <i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i>	Acts 28:1–6	<i>Mek.</i> on Exod 23:6–12
	Gen 22:10		( <i>Kaspa</i> §3)
Acts 23:6–10	Josephus, <i>J.W.</i>	Acts 28:4	Hesiod, <i>Works and</i>
	2.162–66		<i>Days</i> 256; Sophocles,
Acts 23:9	Euripides, <i>Bacchae</i>		<i>Oed. Col.</i> 1377;
	325; Pindar, <i>Pythian</i>		Arrian, <i>Anab.</i> 4.9
	<i>Odes</i> 2.162	Acts 28:26–27	LXX Isa 6:9–10
Acts 23:11	2 <i>En.</i> 1:7	Acts 28:28	LXX Ps 66:3 (67:2)
Acts 24:2	2 Macc 4:6		

A cursory review of this list reveals the extent to which the contents of the book of Acts parallel Jewish literature, especially that literature that eventually would be fully recognized as canonical Scripture. There are many parallels to Greco-Roman literature, to be sure, including a few to Homer, but the overwhelming majority of the parallels are to the writings that will become Bible and writings closely related to these writings, such as the writings that now make up the so-called Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha.

Explicit quotations of Scripture encourage us to look for allusions, both to specific texts and to larger themes and structures. The quotations alert the reader to the presence of the older text, thus preparing the reader to be attentive to allusions and vaguer parallels.

In a series of studies Thomas Louis Brodie has argued that the evangelist Luke has made extensive use of the Greek Scriptures, especially the Elijah-Elisha narratives in the book of Kings. Most of his studies focus on the Gospel of Luke, but in a few studies he has shown how the Greek Scriptures are drawn upon in the book of Acts.<sup>16</sup> The advantage that Brodie enjoys—in contrast to the disadvantage faced by MacDonald and Bonz—is that the evangelist Luke *actually quotes* Greek Scripture and makes explicit references to the prophets Elijah

16. T. L. Brodie, "The Accusing and Stoning of Naboth (1 Kgs 21:8–13) as One Component of the Stephen Text (Acts 6:9–14; 7:58a)," *CBQ* 45 (1983): 417–32; idem, "Towards Unraveling the Rhetorical Imitation of Sources in Acts: 2 Kgs 5 as One Component of Acts 8,9–40," *Bib* 67 (1986): 41–67.

and Elisha.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the quotations, allusions, parallels, and *imitatio* clarify the text, even if interpreters do not agree with every proposal.

Some years ago I suggested that the evangelist Luke not only quotes a passage from the prophet Joel in Peter's Pentecost sermon, but weaves words and themes into the setting of the sermon.<sup>18</sup> Lying behind the narrative leading up to the Pentecost Sermon (Acts 2:1–16), as well as the sermon itself (2:17–40), are words and themes drawn from the prophet Joel, as well as from Joel 2:28–32, the passage that the Lucan Peter quotes at the outset of his Pentecost sermon (Acts 2:17–21). It will be helpful to review this example of intertextuality in the book of Acts, with the proposals of Bonz and MacDonald kept in mind.

Peter explains the perplexing charismatic phenomena (i.e., the giving of the Spirit and the glossolalia) by an appeal to Joel 2:28–32 (= MT/LXX 3:1–4). The use of Joel is not, however, ad hoc. Rather, it plays a major role in Luke's theology of universal salvation. It enriches and moves along the narrative itself. We begin with a comparison of the quotation in Acts with the form of the text in the LXX. This will be followed by an assessment of Joel's contribution to the setting of the Pentecost sermon:

#### Acts 2:17–21

17. καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει ὁ θεός,  
ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα,  
καὶ προφητεῦσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν  
καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὀράσεις ὄψονται  
καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνυπνίους ἐνυπνιασθήσονται·
18. καὶ γε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου ἐν ταῖς ἡμέ-  
ραις ἐκείναις ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου, καὶ προφητεῦσουσιν.
19. καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω  
καὶ σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω,  
αἶμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδια καπνοῦ.
20. ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος  
καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἶμα,  
πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ.

#### Joel 2:28–32 (LXX 3:1–4)

1. καὶ ἔσται μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ  
ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα,  
καὶ προφητεῦσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν  
καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνύπνια ἐνυπνιασθήσονται·  
καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὀράσεις ὄψονται.
2. καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις

17. The evangelist Luke is fond of the famous prophets; see C. A. Evans, "Luke's Use of the Elijah/Elisha Narratives and the Ethic of Election," *JBL* 106 (1987): 75–83; revised and reprinted in C. A. Evans and J. A. Sanders, *Luke and Scripture: The Function of Sacred Tradition in Luke-Acts*, with James A. Sanders (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993): 70–83.

18. C. A. Evans, "The Prophetic Setting of the Pentecost Sermon," *ZNW* 74 (1983): 148–50; revised and reprinted in Evans and Sanders, *Luke and Scripture*, 212–24.

- ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου,  
 3. καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αἶμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀμίδα καπνοῦ.  
 4. ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος  
 καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἶμα,  
 πρὶν ἔλθειν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ.

At several points the Lucan evangelist has modified and sometimes enriched his foundational prophetic text that he has taken from Joel. In effect, the evangelist has edited the quotation to make it fit better its present setting and function. But the evangelist has also shaped the narrative itself, to accommodate better the quotation.

That Luke's setting for Peter's sermon is laced throughout with language taken from the Greek version of Joel has gone largely unobserved.<sup>19</sup> In the verses immediately leading up to the sermon (vv. 2–15), there are numerous words and images that are also found in Joel. In fact, approximately twenty words in Luke's narrative and in Peter's opening remarks (not counting the Joel citation itself) may be traced to Joel.<sup>20</sup> Of even greater significance is the fact that many of these words contribute essential details to the narrative itself. The motif of the residents "from all nations" (Acts 2:5, 8–11) recalls Joel's concern with the nations (cf. Joel 1:6; 2:17, 19; 4:2, 8, 9, 11, 12). It is also possible that the reference to the Jews of the Diaspora, that is, "from every nation" (ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους) of the world (Acts 2:5), echoes the prophet's angry imprecation against those who have scattered the Jewish people among "all the nations" (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) (Joel 3:2–3). The expression "all those who inhabit" (οἱ κατοικοῦντες) (Joel 1:2), is verbally identical to Acts 2:14. Just as the prophet Joel spoke to those who live "in Jeru-

19. Conzelmann, Haenchen, Dibelius, Pesch, and Marshall, among others, make no mention of this phenomenon. Familiar with my work, D. L. Tiede (*Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980], 90) speaks of "phrases and words" from Joel "elsewhere in Acts 2," but he does not specify which ones. In his recently published commentary on Acts, Joseph Fitzmyer cites my study with approval. See J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 249. See also the supportive observations in G. J. Steyn, *Septuagint Quotations in the Context of the Petrine and Pauline Speeches of the Acta Apostolorum* (CBET 12; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 91–100; and L. T. Johnson, *Septuagintal Midrash in the Speeches of Acts* (The Père Marquette Lecture in Theology 2002; Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2002), 21–22.

20. They are as follows: οὐρανός (Acts 2:2; Joel 2:10, 30; 4:16), πῦρ (Acts 2:3; Joel 1:19, 20; 2:3, 5, 30), πῖμπλημι (Acts 2:4; Joel 2:24), ἄνδρες (Acts 2:5; Joel 1:8; 2:7; 4:9), ἔθνος (Acts 2:5; Joel 1:6; 2:17, 19; 4:2, 8, 9, 11, 12), κατοικοῦντες (Acts 2:5; Joel 1:2, 19; 2:1; 4:20), Ἱερουσαλήμ (Acts 2:5; Joel 3:5; 4:1, 6, 16, 17, 20), Ἰουδαίος/Ἰουδαία (Acts 2:5, 9; Joel 4:20), φωνή (Acts 2:6; Joel 1:20; 2:5, 11; 4:16), συγχεῖν (Acts 2:6; Joel 2:1, 10), ἀκοῦειν (Acts 2:6, 22; Joel 1:2), γλεῦκος/οἶνος (Acts 2:13; Joel 1:5), ἐνωτίζεσθαι (Acts 2:14; Joel 1:2), μεθύειν (Acts 2:15; Joel 1:5), τοῦτους/ταῦτα (Acts 2:22; Joel 1:2), μετανοεῖν (Acts 2:38; Joel 2:13, 14), τέκνα ὑμῶν (Acts 2:39; Joel 1:3; 2:23), εἰς μακρὰν (Acts 2:39; Joel 3:8), and γενεά (Acts 2:40; Joel 1:3). Of special importance are the following verbs: μεθύειν ("to be drunk"), which occurs only six times elsewhere in the New Testament; συγχεῖν ("to bewilder"), which occurs in only three other places in the New Testament (all in Acts; cf. 9:22; 21:27, 31); and ἐνωτίζεσθαι ("to pay attention"), which is a New Testament *hapax legomenon*. The use of this last word makes it quite clear that Luke has made use of Joel's vocabulary outside of the quotation itself.

salem" (Joel 2:32), so Peter addressed the people of Jerusalem (Acts 2:14). The word "hearken" (ἐνωτίσασθε) in the same verse of Acts is also found in Joel 1:2.<sup>21</sup> The theme of intoxication (Joel 1:5; Acts 2:15), including identical vocabulary (μεθύειν), should be noted. Finally, Peter's sermon is interrupted by an audience "pierced to the heart" (Acts 2:37; compare Joel 1:5, 13; 2:13) that cries out asking what to do. As had the prophet Joel (2:13–14), Peter urges his people to "repent" (Acts 2:38–40).<sup>22</sup> It is the time of decision (Joel 4:14). The "promise" is for everyone whom the Lord calls to himself (Acts 2:39, citing the last part of Joel 2:32).

It is evident that Luke has utilized Joel's language and setting and has molded them into his own material. The theme of drunkenness, or insensitivity in the case of Joel, becomes the occasion for the message of Joel, whom Peter quotes, and similarly it becomes the occasion for the Pentecost Sermon as well. Likewise is Jerusalem faced with the day of "God's verdict" (compare Joel 4:14, ἐγγὺς ἡμέρα κυρίου ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τῆς δίκης/יְהוָה בְּמִקְרָא יוֹם יְקָרָב). In view of the fact that the people have shed the blood of an innocent man (compare Acts 2:22–23, 36; Joel 4:19), they are grieved and cry out to Peter in desperation. The people of Jerusalem can call upon the Lord and be saved, or they can ignore him and face judgment.

In the following selection of verses taken from Joel 1 and Acts 2 we may observe the striking similarity of their respective literary and historical contexts:

### Joel 1

*The prophet speaks:*

Hear these things, O Elders,  
 And pay attention, all who inhabit the land.  
 Has anything like this happened in your days  
 Or in your father's days? (v. 2)  
 Tell your children about it,  
 And let your children tell their children,  
 And their children the next generation. (v. 3)  
 Awake, those who are drunk, and weep  
 And wail, all you wine drinkers,  
 On account of the sweet wine,  
 That is cut off from your mouth. (v. 5)

### Acts 2

*Peter speaks:*

Fellow Judeans and all who inhabit Jerusalem,  
 let this be known to you

21. LXX Job 32:11 (ἐνωτίζεσθε μου τὰ ῥήματα) offers a very close parallel to the last part of Acts 2:14: "Pay attention to my words [ἐνωτίσασθε τὰ ῥήματά μου]." From this we may infer that Peter's admonition would have been interpreted from a wisdom perspective.

22. Repentance (μετανοέω/μετάνοια) was understood to be a condition for national restoration (e.g., Isa 46:8; Sir 17:24; Wis 12:19; *T. Judah* 23:15; 24:1, 3, 6; *T. Zeb.* 9:7; *T. Moses* 9:6 10:1; Philo, *Cher.* 2; *Fug.* 99; *Post.* 178; *b. Sanh.* 97b).

and pay attention to my words. (v. 14b)

For these men are not drunk, as you suppose . . . (v. 15a)

Fellow Israelites, hear these words . . . (v. 22a)

[Having heard this, they were pierced to the heart . . .] (v. 37a)

For this is the promise for you and your children . . . (v. 39a)

Be saved from this perverse generation. (v. 40)

Seen against its scriptural backdrop, the Pentecost Sermon becomes an acting out of the prophetic message of the prophet Joel. Joel warns of the coming day of the Lord, a day of judgment (2:1–11). He calls to the people to repent: “rend your hearts and not your garments” (2:13; cf. Acts 2:37). If the people repent, God’s blessings and Spirit will be poured out on Israel (2:18–29). It is an opportunity for salvation: “and in Jerusalem he shall escape (ἀνασῶζειν), as the Lord said, and be evangelized (εὐαγγελίζεσθαι), whom the Lord has summoned” (LXX Joel 3:5 [ET 2:32b]). It will be a time of restoration of Judah and Jerusalem (3:1). Israel’s enemies will be punished for having scattered God’s people (3:2–12, 19, 21). Jerusalem will once again be holy (3:17), fruitful (3:18), and inhabited (3:20).

Peter promises his hearers that if they repent, they will receive the promised gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:38). This promise is to those in Palestine and to those who are “far off” (Acts 2:39). Those who are scattered in the Diaspora now have the opportunity to receive the promise. Similarly, in the sermon following the healing on the Temple steps, Peter promises Israel “times of refreshing,” if they repent (Acts 3:19).

The point here is that Scripture has a systemic function in the Lucan narrative. Its presence is neither superficial, nor secondary. The explicit citation, the verbal allusions, and the thematic similarities invite the reader of Scripture to compare the Christian narrative with the words of Israel’s ancient prophets. How Luke interprets and rewrites the sacred story of Jesus and the emergence of the early church finds important analogies in the interpretive paraphrases we find at Qumran, in the *Antiquities* of Josephus, in the Targums of the synagogue, and in many of the writings that have been included in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

There are echoes of and parallels to Greco-Roman classics, such as Homer and perhaps Virgil, but the evidence adduced so far, when critically examined, does not bear the weight of some of the recent hypotheses that have been advanced. The book of Acts is no Christian *Iliad* or *Aeneid*. The literary matrix of Acts is found in the story of ancient Israel, as narrated in the sacred writings that in time would be classified as canonical Scripture, on the one hand, and as books of the Pseudepigrapha and related writings, on the other. Theories of classical works functioning as subtexts, lying beneath the narrative of the book of Acts, should be measured against the standards we have seen in the case of Joel’s contribution. If the putative parallels set forth by these theories cannot rise to this level, then we must ask what value they have as “background” to the book of Acts.



# THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA AND THE NARRATIVES IN LUKE-ACTS

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## 1. Introduction

In the past decade or so, quite a number of interesting studies have appeared in which biblical figures, passages, themes, and motifs from the Jewish writings of the Greco-Roman period have been compared with or related to similar ones in the books of Luke and Acts, for example, Abraham, Moses, Elijah, and the history of Israel.<sup>1</sup> This paper will discuss some of these comparative studies by concentrating on (1) summaries of the history of Israel in Acts 7, 1 *Enoch* 89, and *Pseudo-Philo*; (2) the “Coming of the Righteous One” in Acts 7:52 and its mostly noncanonical parallels; and (3) the relation between noncanonical writings and biblical theology. In doing so, I try to combine three of my own research interests with these recent studies, namely, the interpretation of biblical figures and motifs in the Pseudepigrapha, comparison between early Jewish and early Christian literature, and the hermeneutical relevance of this research field in the context of biblical studies.<sup>2</sup>

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This paper was presented at the Seminar “The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins,” at the annual meeting of the SNTS (Studiorum Novi Testamentum Societas), Barcelona, August 3–7, 2004. I thank Jim Charlesworth for his invitation to read this paper as well as for his many useful suggestions, and I thank my assistant Sara Parks Ricker for polishing my English and checking the references.

1. See J. Jeska, *Die Geschichte Israels in der Sicht des Lukas: Apg 7,2b–53 und 13,17–25 im Kontext antik-jüdischer Summarien der Geschichte Israels* (FRLANT 195; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001); Gerbern S. Oegema, *Unterweisung in erzählender Form* (JSHRZ Supplement 6.1.2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2004); Eckart Reinmuth, *Pseudo-Philo und Lukas: Studien zum Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum und seiner Bedeutung für die Interpretation des lukanische Doppelwerks* (WUNT 74; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1994); and Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography* (NovTSup 64; Leiden: Brill, 1991). The book by Todd C. Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins: Stephen and the Hellenists in Lukan Apologetic Historiography* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004) had not yet been published when I was preparing this paper.

2. See Gerbern S. Oegema *Der Gesalbte und sein Volk: Untersuchungen zum Konzeptualisierungsprozeß der messianischen Erwartungen von den Makkabäern bis Bar Koziba* (Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994 = Univ. diss.,

As a full comparison of the treatment of biblical figures in Luke-Acts and in the Pseudepigrapha is of too large a scale, and as the presently available studies are still too few, we will have to come back to this topic at a later time.<sup>3</sup> Although there do exist some very good publications on the subject,<sup>4</sup> the available time and space do not allow full coverage of all its different aspects here. Biblical figures play too prominent a role in the literature of the Second Temple period including the New Testament and the early rabbinic writings to do justice to their importance and complexity as a whole. However, a number of biblical figures will be discussed in the following treatment of the “summaries of the history of Israel,” with which they are often intertwined.

## 2. Summaries of the History of Israel

The two main historical accounts in Luke-Acts are found in Acts 7:2b–53 and 13:17–25, where the *Auctor ad Theophilum* takes up the well-known literary genre (or subgenre) of the “summary of the history of biblical Israel,” as it is also found in such texts as 1 Sam 12:8–13; Deut 26:5–10; Ps 105:7–44; Ezek 20:5–29; and *I En.* 85:3–90:38. Joachim Jeska lists twenty-seven of these passages from biblical and postbiblical books and finds in them five different genres, namely, speeches, prayers, hymns, visions, and prophetic speeches.<sup>5</sup>

In his study, Jeska shows that most of the “summaries of the history of Israel,” in fact, contain *actualizations* of history rather than historical *reports* or accounts, whether in the form of evaluative comments on past events or in the form of a continuation or finalization of the past, largely in order to make a connection between Israel’s history and the narrative context of the author’s work and to interpret the present and future of the author and his audience.

Furthermore, as Jeska shows in his treatment of the examples of Deuteronomy 26, Joshua 24, 1 Samuel 12, Judith 5, and Josephus’s *J.W.* 5, there are a

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Freie Universität Berlin 1989/90); idem, *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba* (JSPSup 27; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); idem, *Für Israel und die Völker: Studien zum alttestamentlich-jüdischen Hintergrund der paulinischen Theologie* (NovTSup 95; Leiden: Brill, 1998); idem, *Zwischen Hoffnung und Gericht: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der Apokalyptik im frühen Christentum und Judentum* (WMANT 82; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999); idem, *Apokalypsen* (JSHRZ 6.1.5.; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001); idem, *Das Heil ist aus den Juden: Studien zum historischen Jesus und seiner Rezeption im Urchristentum* (Hamburg: Kovač, 2001); idem, *Poetische Schriften* (JSHRZ 6.1.4.; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002); idem, *Unterweisung in erzählender Form*.

3. One may find some preliminary observations in my *Apokalypsen; Poetische Schriften; and Unterweisung in erzählender Form*.

4. See J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (JSPSup 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988); Markus Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament: Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des alttestamentlichen Propheten im frühen Christentum* (BZNW 88; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997); Tadashi Saito, *Die Mosesvorstellungen im Neuen Testament* (EHS/T 100; Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1977); and Friedrich E. Wicsor, *Die Abrahamvorstellungen im Neuen Testament* (EHS/T 317; Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1987).

5. See Jeska, *Geschichte*.

wide variety of concepts of history with no predefined model, although there also exists a certain “canon” of events or narratives. Authors seem to be relatively free in choosing from this canon and using various interpretive models. Therefore, portrayals of history are never neutral or without a tendency. History is not simply documented or archived, but actualized and rewritten.<sup>6</sup>

Let us, therefore, turn our attention to Acts 7:2b–53 and 13:17–25, which in the speeches of Stephen and Paul present two “summaries of the history of Israel” according to the first and most important early Christian theologian-historian. According to Jeska, the assumption that one can differentiate between tradition and redaction in both texts, an approach that is largely based on the *Übernahme-Hypothesen* of Ferdinand Hahn<sup>7</sup> and Odil Hannes Steck,<sup>8</sup> can only partly be proven.

For sure, it can be shown that the author of Luke-Acts does share a Deuteronomistic understanding of the history of Israel with that of his predecessors retelling Israel’s history. However, this is far too general a conclusion to serve as an argument of the *Übernahme-Hypothese*,<sup>9</sup> which is based on the assumption of a literary dependence of Luke on earlier sources and which can be proven in a detailed and methodologically reflected way.

On the contrary, both passages share with almost all other “summaries of the history of Israel” an overall (and in those days possibly even generally adopted) tendency to structure Israel’s history in such a way that it fits the argumentation of the overall narrative structure and serves the purpose of edifying the audience. The author of Luke-Acts should, therefore, like his predecessors and his contemporaries, be understood as a theologically creative and religiously or ecclesiologically concerned person. He is not merely an editor but also a creative author writing for an interested audience.

A rather uncommon order of events comparable to that of Acts 7:50–51, which, in recent biblical scholarship, mainly served as an argument for Luke’s dependence on and redaction of older material, finds an analogy in *1 Enoch* 89 as well as in Josephus’s *J.W.* 5 (see below). This means that the order of events in Acts 7:50–51 no longer needs to be explained as the result of the Lucan editing of older traditions but can very well be understood as the sovereign creation of the author.<sup>10</sup>

Further, the actualizations and change of perspective found in the whole of Acts 7 are quite common in other ancient Jewish “summaries of the history of

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6. *Ibid.*, 115–18 and 254.

7. F. Hahn says that Luke-Acts builds on a history of Israel similar to that of the Hellenistic-Jewish community.

8. O. H. Steck says that, in addition to Hahn’s hypothesis, Luke-Acts has applied the Palestinian-Jewish tradition of a Deuteronomistic portrayal of history.

9. See already the comments on the thesis of A. F. J. Klijn in Erich Grässer, *Forschungen zur Apostelgeschichte* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 103 (from Grässer, “Die Apostelgeschichte in der Forschung der Gegenwart,” *ThR* 26 (1960): 93–167).

10. See Jeska, *Geschichte*.

Israel,” which the author therefore seems to share with his contemporaries, but which he does not have to have taken over.

### 2.1. 1 Enoch 89, Acts 7 and 13, and Pseudo-Philo

In order to give an impression of Luke’s summary of the history of Israel, the following overview compares *1 En.* 89:10–52, Acts 7:2–52, Acts 13:17–25, and Pseudo-Philo 1–63, using the fuller coverage of Israel’s history in *1 Enoch* as a starting point:

Persons/Events	<i>1 Enoch</i> 89	Acts 7	Acts 13	Ps.-Philo
Adam to Noah	—	—		1–6
Abraham	10–11	2–8		6
Election	10–11	2–3	17	—
Ishmael	11	—	—	—
Isaac	11–12	8		
Esau	12	—		
Jacob	12	8, 12–16		—
Joseph	12–14	8–16	—	8
Joseph’s brothers	12–14	8–16		8
Suffering in Egypt	15	17–19	—	8
Death of children	15	19	—	8
Moses	16–38	20–44	—	9
Aaron	18, 31, 37	40–43	—	—
Exodus	21–27	36	17	
Desert	28–38	36–44	18	10
Lawgiving	29–31	38		11
Golden calf	32–55	39–43		12
Tent	36, 40	34–45		13
Land of Israel	39–40	45	—	15, 20
Joshua		45		20–24
Judges	39	—	20	25–47
Samuel	41, 44–46		20	49–55
Saul	42–47	—	21–22	56–58, 64–65
David	45–48b	45–46	22–23	59–63
Solomon	48b	47	—	—
Temple	50	47–50	—	—
Death of prophets	51–53	51–52	—	—
Elijah	52	—	—	—
Jesus	—	52	23–25	

## 2.2. Acts 7:2b–53 and 13:17–25

Given this widespread use and popularity of “summaries of the history of Israel,” it is, indeed, not necessary to argue that Luke would have taken over and edited an older portrayal of Israel’s history. On the contrary, he has composed his own. What, then, characterizes Luke’s way of portraying the history of biblical Israel as presented in the speeches of Stephen and Paul, and how does this relate to the other “summaries of the history of Israel” in the Second Temple period?

From the table it can easily be deduced that *1 Enoch* 89 and Acts 7 have most elements of the history of Israel from Abraham to the death of the prophets in common. Whereas Acts omits Adam, Ishmael, Esau, the judges, Samuel, Saul, and Elijah, it adds Joshua and Jesus. In the first three cases—Adam, Ishmael, and Esau—it is no coincidence that Paul had previously defined them in such a negative way that Luke decided to omit them from Israel’s history, as this history culminates for him in Jesus, the last of the prophets and the righteous one, all together.

The omission of the judges, Samuel, and Saul is at the same time an omission of a reference to the beginning of Israel’s self-government, which is neither relevant for post-70 Judaism and Christianity nor useful for Luke’s theology of the beginning of the rule of God in God’s kingdom and church. The differences between the summaries of the history of Israel in *1 Enoch* 89, Acts 7, and Acts 13, and Pseudo-Philo, however, are much greater, given the selective use of elements of Israel’s history in the latter two examples. This makes it even more notable that *1 Enoch* 89 and Acts 7 have so much in common.

According to Jeska, Acts 7:2b–8 stresses the importance of the land of Israel and of circumcision as gifts of God, and that Abraham as father of many nations has experienced divine guidance from the very beginning, whereas Acts 7:9–16 with the examples of Joseph and Egypt shows that a life under foreign rule can sometimes be better than one under the rule of one’s own king. The lengthy passage in Acts 7:20–44 portrays Moses as someone who is powerful in word and deed and acts in favor of his brothers, who, however, refuse his help, whereupon Moses flees.

Acts 7:44–50 highlights the importance of the mobility of the sanctuary and connects it with Moses, whereas the temple of Solomon is put more in a negative light. The final verses pull the lines of tradition into the present by criticizing the audience for not having lived according to the standards that would have fitted with God’s gifts of the land, of circumcision, and of the law. Instead they have killed the prophets.<sup>11</sup>

If we now compare the summaries of the history of Israel in Acts 7, Pseudo-Philo, and *1 Enoch* 89, the following general observations can be made:

(a) Referring to Eckhard Plümacher, Gregory Sterling argues that “Stephen’s speech should be read as a theological defence for the narratives which follow.”<sup>12</sup>

11. See further *ibid.*, 259–71.

12. See Eckhard Plümacher, *Lukas als hellenistischer Schriftsteller: Studien zur Apostelgeschichte* (SUNT 9; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1972), 45–46; Gregory E. Sterling, *His-*

Acts (and especially its speeches) has been written within the tradition of Hellenistic historiography with a deliberate imitation of the Septuagint in the missionary speeches, in which Christianity is defined not as a new movement but as the continuation of Israel rejected by the Jews (Acts 7:51).<sup>13</sup>

(b) Eckart Reinmuth, following Klaus Berger's form-critical definition of Acts 7 and Pseudo-Philo as historical midrashim, points to a larger number of linguistic parallels and common motifs (fate of the young Moses in Acts 7:19–21; Horeb-Sinai in Acts 7:30–38) between Pseudo-Philo and Acts 7, without, however, going much deeper into the meaning of these common linguistic features and motifs.<sup>14</sup> A possible comparison between Acts 7:52–56 and Pseudo-Philo, however, is not investigated by him, as Pseudo-Philo does not offer any clue to Jesus, Elijah, the Son of Man, or any other heavenly being.

(c) As far as Acts 7 and *1 Enoch* 89 are concerned, Luke has used, according to Jeska, the Greek version of *1 En.* 89:10–53 as a model for his “summary of the history of Israel” by adopting its structure and sequence of events and especially by placing the killing of the prophets after the building of the temple, which is found only in *1 En.* 89:50–52 and Acts 7:50–52. Luke then has further edited his model in such a way that it fits into the overall theology of his work, especially by replacing Elijah with Jesus.

(d) Our main observation is, therefore, to be related to the end of Acts 7, which has parallels to *1 Enoch*, but has no parallels to Pseudo-Philo, although all three passages offer a remarkably similar summary of the history of Israel. The social, religious, and political setting of Pseudo-Philo may explain why it has no eschatological figure at the end of the history of Israel.<sup>15</sup> The existence and partial similarity of an eschatological figure in Acts and *1 Enoch*, however, ask for further investigation.

(e) A possible explanation for Luke's portrayal of Jesus as the “Coming Righteous One” in Acts 7:52 could be that he had replaced the figure of the “Son of Man-Righteous-Enoch” in the Similitudes (as found in *1 Enoch* 70–71, but also implied in chs. 89–90) with Jesus by employing a language with similar linguistic features and common tradition-historical motifs.<sup>16</sup> Whether such a hypothesis can be argued for at all in the literary, historical, and religious setting at the end of the first century C.E. will be investigated in the following.

### 2.3. *1 Enoch 89:52 and Acts 7:52*

Acts 7:52 reads in Greek: τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς προκαταγγέιλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου, οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδόται καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε, and in English according to the NRSV:

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*torigraphy and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography* (NovTSup 64; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 373.

13. See Sterling, *Historiography*, 381, 385–86.

14. See Reinmuth, *Pseudo-Philo*, 193–203. Cf. Klaus Berger, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1984), 112.

15. See Oegema, *Anointed and His People*, ad loc.

16. Jeska, *Geschichte*, 274–97, 298–99.

“Which of the prophets did your ancestors not persecute? They killed those who foretold the coming of the Righteous One, and now you have become his betrayers and murderers.”

The problem with the expression ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου is that ἡ ἔλευσις is a *hapax legomenon*. Although ὁ δίκαιος occurs more often in the New Testament, the expression as a whole appears only here.<sup>17</sup> If we, therefore, want to look for parallels, we have to look for all possible ancient Jewish and Christian parallels of the whole expression ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου outside of the New Testament. Let us first begin with a comparison with *1 En.* 89:52.

The Ethiopic rendition of *1 En.* 89:52 reads in an English translation: “However, one of them was not killed but escaped alive and fled away; he cried aloud to the sheep, and they wanted to kill him, but the Lord of the sheep rescued him from the sheep and caused him to ascend to me and settle down.”<sup>18</sup>

The “one of them” is Elijah; the “Lord of the sheep” is God; and the “I,” to whom the “one of them” ascends, is Enoch. That the “one of them” can only be identified with Elijah is (1) because according to the biblical account Elijah ascended into heaven, where God and Enoch also are, according to *1 Enoch*, and (2) this Elijah is furthermore characterized as one of the prophets, whom (3) the “sheep” (= the people of Israel) wanted to kill, but who (4) could escape alive and flee away, and who (5) cried aloud to the sheep, which tried to kill him, but who (6) is rescued by the Lord.

If one compares this narrative account in *1 En.* 89:52 with the one in Acts 7:52, it is obvious that the author of Luke-Acts could easily identify this Elijah figure with Jesus, who (1) according to Acts 1:9–11 ascended into heaven, (2) was *inter alia* understood to be the last of the prophets (see Luke 7:16–26), whom (3) some of the people of Israel wanted to kill (see Luke 22–23), but who (4) rose from the dead, (5) spoke to his followers, and (6) ascended to his Father in heaven (see Luke 24).

Apart from the fact that *1 Enoch*, especially the Animal Apocalypse (chs. 83–90) and the Similitudes (chs. 37–71), offers the largest and most impressive number of parallels to the New Testament<sup>19</sup> in a general way, this also holds true in many details.

One of the main characteristics and names of the eschatological figure in *1 Enoch* is “Son of Man,” and precisely this title is found also in the book of Acts, the only instance outside the Gospels, namely, Acts 7:56, where Stephen reports having had the following heavenly vision: καὶ εἶπεν ἰδοὺ θεωρῶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς διηνοιγμένους καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐστῶτα τοῦ Θεοῦ.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, the whole of Acts 7:52–56 should be seen in the light of the

17. See W. Baucor, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 195–96.

18. Translation according to E. Isaac, “1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 1:5–89 (hereafter *OTP*).

19. See Oegema, *Apokalypsen*, on *1 Enoch*; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–118* (Hermencia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001).

20. “Look,” he said, “I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God!”; cf. the logion in Luke 22:69.

influence of the Enochic Son of Man with special attention to Jesus' elevation and enthronement, which Luke, according to Jeska, may very well have conceptualized in analogy or competition with *1 Enoch*.<sup>21</sup>

If one looks for an answer in the commentaries on Acts, only very few give a clue to the possible tradition-historical background of Acts 7:52.<sup>22</sup> Many do refer to ὁ δίκαιος in Acts 3:14 (ὕμεῖς δὲ τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον ἠρνήσασθε καὶ ἠτήσασθε ἄνδρα φονέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμῖν).<sup>23</sup> From there further parallels to the "Holy and Righteous One" (as a well-known biblical and later also messianic title) are easily found, for instance, in Gen 6:9 (αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ γενέσεις Νωε· Νωε ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος τέλειος ὢν ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ αὐτοῦ· τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησεν Νωε), 2 Kgdms 4:9 (καὶ εἶπεν ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἰδοὺ δὴ ἐγνων ὅτι ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ ἅγιος οὗτος διαπορεύεται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς διὰ παντός), Sir 44:17 (Νωε εὐρέθη τέλειος δίκαιος ἐν καιρῷ ὀργῆς ἐγένετο ἀντάλλαγμα· διὰ τοῦτον ἐγενήθη κατάλειμμα τῇ γῆ ὅτε ἐγένετο κατακλυσμός), Mark 6:20 (ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἐφοβεῖτο τὸν Ἰωάννην, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ ἅγιον, καὶ συνετήρει αὐτόν, καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ ἠπόρει, καὶ ἠδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουεν), as well as *1 En.* 51:3; 61:5; and 62:7.<sup>24</sup> However, references to ἡ ἔλευσις or ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου are almost never mentioned, although they exist in great abundance, as will be shown in the following.

#### 2.4. ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου

In a much-quoted article from 1945, G. D. Kilpatrick gives a number of important parallels to ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου.<sup>25</sup> The author has looked for parallels to the Greek word ἔλευσις. In the New Testament the expression is found only in Acts 7:52. It is absent from the Septuagint, the other Greek versions of the Old Testament, *1 Enoch* in its Greek fragments, the *Psalms of Solomon*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch*, and the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*.

However, early Christian literature uses the expression frequently, thus, for instance, *1 Clement* 17.1; Polycarp, *Phil.* 6.3; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.2; and the *Acts Phil.* 78. One also finds it in the Codex Bezae of Luke 21:7 and 23:42,<sup>26</sup> and, not

21. Jeska, *Geschichte*, 286–92.

22. The commentaries on Acts investigated are Charles K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994–98); Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998); E. Jacquier, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1926); and Robert C. Tannhill, *Luke* (Abingdon New Testament Commentaries; Nashville: Abingdon, 1996). Also the commentary with the promising title by Hilary Le Cornu, *A Commentary on the Jewish Roots of Acts* (Jerusalem: Academon, 2003), offers little new material. Barrett (*Commentary on the Acts*, 377) and Fitzmyer (*Acts*, 385) both give a reference to the article of Kilpatrick (see n. 25 below).

23. In Fitzmyer, *Acts*, ad loc.; Jacquier, *Actes*, 234; Le Cornu, *Commentary*, 368, et al.

24. Jacquier, *Actes*, 234; and Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 285–86.

25. G. D. Kilpatrick, "Acts VII.52 ΕΛΕΥΣΙΣ," *JTS* 46 (1945): 136–45.

26. *Ibid.*, 136.



mentioned by Kilpatrick, in the *Acts Thom.* 28.<sup>27</sup> Kilpatrick's overall conclusion is that:

In all early Christian examples of ἔλευσις the word is used of the messianic coming and in four out of the six instances up to Irenaeus appears as one of a certain group of terms, indicated by spaced letters in the quotations given above, (1) a reference to the prophets, (2) a word denoting proclamation, usually some form or compound of κηρύσσειν, (3) ἔλευσις in a messianic sense, (4) a messianic title.<sup>28</sup>

In order to find an explanation for this phenomenon of an obviously messianic understanding of ἔλευσις in the second century C.E., Kilpatrick rules out the possibilities of the *Testimonia*, suggested by Otto Michel in his book *Paulus und seine Bibel* of 1929,<sup>29</sup> but, instead, looks for another kind of Jewish or Christian source written in Greek and prior to Acts and *I Clement*. This he finds in two recensions of the *Lives of the Prophets*, namely, *Epiphanii Recensio Prior* (E') and *Dorothei Recensio* (D).

It is clear now where we have to look for parallels of ἡ ἔλευσις, namely, in the Pseudepigrapha from the period before the beginning of the second century C.E. written in or translated into Greek. Kilpatrick mentions the Hebrew and Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah* (1:5–6), which both refer to the coming of the Messiah, as well as the *Mart. Ascen. Isaiah* 3:13 and *4 Bar.* 3:8, which speak about the ἡ ἐξ-/συνέλευσις τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, ἡ ἔλευσις appears also in *T. Ab.* (A) 16, *T. Job* 29, one or more manuscripts of the Septuagint version of 2 Sam 15:20 (ἡ ἐξέλευσις σου), and the *Acts Phil.* 137, although in the latter examples without a messianic connotation.<sup>31</sup>

As far as the possible equivalent of ἔλευσις is concerned, namely, παρουσία, Kilpatrick mentions *T. Judah* 22:3; *T. Levi* 8:15; *T. Ab.* (A) 13 ff.; and *T. Sol.* (C) 13:8; and concludes that the expression is mainly used in Jewish apocalyptic writings written or preserved in Greek and often denotes the advent of the Messiah (see also *2 Bar.* 30:1).

Two additional remarks have to be made here. First, ἡ ἔλευσις in general means "the (first) coming (of the Messiah)," whereas ἡ παρουσία mostly refers to "the (second) coming (of Christ)." Second, assuming that the Hebrew מָלְךְ and מְלִיכָא are the Semitic equivalents of the expression ἡ ἔλευσις, we may furthermore refer to a number of examples in the Qumran writings (see below).

In total, we can make the following overview of examples in Jewish and Christian noncanonical writings<sup>32</sup> of the use of ἡ ἔλευσις, ἡ παρουσία, and מָלְךְ

27. Referred to by Jacquier, *Actes*, 234.

28. Kilpatrick, "Acts," 137.

29. Otto Michel, *Paulus und seine Bibel* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1929).

30. Kilpatrick, "Acts," 140.

31. *Ibid.*, 141.

32. The expression is used here to include Josephus and Qumran among the aforementioned Pseudepigrapha.

or  $\text{קִדְמוֹן}$ , in combination with a reference to the coming of a messianic figure, who is called “Righteous One” and in the New Testament is found only in Acts 7:52.

## 2.5. *Parallels of ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου*

The following parallels to ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου from the Qumran writings, the works of Josephus, the Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha written in Greek or translated into Greek if originally composed in Hebrew, and the early Christian writings also written in Greek are to be mentioned:

### 2.5.1. *The Qumran Writings*

The following Qumran writings use the expression  $\text{בִּנְיָן}$  or  $\text{קִדְמוֹן}$  for the coming of an eschatological figure:<sup>33</sup>

1 QS IX, 11 ( $\text{בִּנְיָן נְבִיא}$ )

4QPatr I, 1-3 / 4Q252 V, 1-7 ( $\text{בִּנְיָן מְשִׁיחַ הַצַּדִּיק}$ )

These and other passages in the Qumran writings refer to an expectation among the Qumran Essenes, namely, of the coming of one or more messiahs, a royal and a priestly messiah, sometimes accompanied by a latter-day prophet and/or Teacher of Righteousness.<sup>34</sup> Especially 4QPatr I, 1-3, now identified as 4Q252 V, 1-7 with a script dating from the Herodian period, is of interest, as it contains the three central expressions “coming,” “anointed,” and “righteous.” The passage is part of a longer text that retells parts of Genesis and is therefore a sort of summary of the history of Israel. The expression found in 4Q252:  $\text{בִּנְיָן מְשִׁיחַ הַצַּדִּיק}$ , has a parallel in the Targum of Gen 49:10:  $\text{בִּנְיָן מַלְכָּה מְשִׁיחַ}$ , which replaces the Masoretic reading  $\text{עַד כִּי יָבִיבָא שִׁילָה}$  in Gen 49:10.<sup>35</sup>

### 2.5.2. *The Works of Josephus*

The works of Josephus offer numerous examples of the use of ἡ παρουσία, but only in its noneschatological sense of an ordinary “arrival.” There are no examples of ἡ ἔλευσις.<sup>36</sup>

### 2.5.3. *The Jewish (and Christian) Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Greek*

The following Jewish (and Christian) Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Greek use one of the expressions ἡ παρουσία, ἡ ἔλευσις, or ὁ δίκαιος:<sup>37</sup>

33. See James H. Charlesworth, *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991).

34. See Oegema, *Anointed and His People*, 98.

35. *Ibid.*, 120-21.

36. See Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus* (4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1973-83).

37. See Kilpatrick, “Acts.” There is only one example from the *Lives of the Prophets* mentioned by Albert-Marie Denis, *Concordance grecque des pseudepigraphes d’Ancient Testament: Concord-*

**Sirach 44:17:** Νωε εὐρέθη τέλειος δίκαιος ἐν καιρῷ ὀργῆς ἐγένετο ἀντάλλαγμα διὰ τοῦτον ἐγενήθη κατάλειμμα τῇ γῆ ὅτε ἐγένετο κατακλυσμός

**Apocalypse of Elijah 1:5–6:** in English: “like a man . . . about to come to us”<sup>38</sup>

**Martyrdom of Isaiah 3:13:** ἡ ἐξέλευσις τοῦ ἀγαπήτου, “the coming of the Beloved One”<sup>39</sup>

**4 Baruch 3:11:** ἡ ἐξέλευσις τοῦ ἀγαπήτου, “until the coming of the Beloved One”<sup>40</sup>

**Testament of Abraham (A) 16:7:** ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ, “the arrival of the archangel Michael”<sup>41</sup>

**Testament of Job 29:** ἡ ἔλευσις αὐτῶν, “their arrival”(?)<sup>42</sup>

**Testament of Judah 22:2:** παρουσία, “until the coming of the Lord of Righteousness”<sup>43</sup>

**Testament of Levi 8:14:** παρουσία, “the Lord who is coming”<sup>44</sup>

**Testament of Abraham (A) 13:** παρουσία; “until his great and glorious parousia”<sup>45</sup>

**2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse) 30:1:** παρουσία behind the Syriac of the “Appearance of the Anointed One”<sup>46</sup>

**Lives of the Prophets (Epiphania Recensio Prior (E')):** p. 6, lines 10ff. (ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ), p. 7, line 12f. (τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας or παρελεύσεως), p. 11, lines 18–20 (τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας), p. 12, line 6f. (τὸ σημεῖον τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ), and p. 21, line 22 (ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ κυρίου); and **Dorothei Recensio (D):** p. 27, line 8, xxviii. 3 (τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δεσπότη Χριστοῦ), and xxxv. 6 (τῆς ἐλεύσεως Χριστοῦ).<sup>47</sup>

In the Latin Pseudepigrapha only four examples could be found, namely:

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ance, *corpus des texts, indices* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1987).

38. See *OTP*, 1:736.

39. *OTP*, 2:160.

40. *OTP*, 2:419.

41. *OTP*, 1:892.

42. *OTP*, 1:852.

43. *OTP*, 1:801.

44. *OTP*, 1:791.

45. *OTP*, 1:890.

46. *OTP*, 1:631.

47. For the other examples in the recensions of the *Lives of the Prophets*, see Kilpatrick, “Acts,” 138–39.

*Life of Adam and Eve*, appendix (about the *Adventus Christi*)

**Pseudo-Philo 23:10** (about the “Lord’s” coming, spoken to Joshua)

**Testament of Moses 10:12** (also about the “Lord’s” coming, spoken to Joshua)

**Martyrdom of Isaiah 3:13** (about the coming of the “Beloved” mentioned above).<sup>48</sup>

#### 2.5.4. Early Christian Writings

The following Early Christian Writings use one of the aforementioned expressions: *1 Clement* 17.1 (ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ); Polycarp, *To the Philippians* 6.3 (ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν); Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1.2 (τὰς ἐλεύσεις); *Acts of Philip* 78 (ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ); Codex Bezae of Luke 21:7 and 23:42 (τί τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σῆς ἐλεύσεως and ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐλεύσεώς σου); *Acts of Thomas* 28 (ἡ ἔλευσις).

Kilpatrick’s final conclusion is that ἡ ἔλευσις is a messianic term used in the Pseudepigrapha and “taken over in Christian writings beginning with Acts and employed in the same way as in the Jewish works, and in most cases in literary dependence on them.” It differs from παρουσία, which occurs in Christian writings “for the advent of the Messiah Jesus who is thus put on a level with God,” but, since Irenaeus, can be used at the same time as το ἔλευσις.<sup>49</sup>

## 2.6. Concluding Remarks

In total we may conclude that, despite the fact that most commentaries on Acts mention only very few if any parallels to the expression ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου found in Acts 7:52, the actual number of parallels is quite astonishing. It clearly indicates that there was a widespread expectation of the “coming of (the Messiah as) the Righteous One” in the decades before and after Luke wrote his Acts of the Apostles, both in earlier and contemporaneous Jewish writings and in contemporaneous and later Christian writings.

Our findings, therefore, open the way for the option of considering the clearly non-Christological use of the expression the “coming of the Righteous One,” which is tradition-historically seen as closest to the theological reflections on the meaning of Jesus for his earliest followers as found in Q, namely, as the last one of a series of prophets who had been murdered, for which I have argued elsewhere.<sup>50</sup>

This would make it necessary to argue for a very early date of the tradition referred to by Stephen and reported by Luke in Acts 7:52, somewhere between

48. See Albert-Marie Denis, *Concordance latine des pseudépigraphes d’Ancient Testament* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993).

49. Kilpatrick, “Acts,” 144–45.

50. See Oegema, *Das Heil ist aus den Juden*.

the thirties and the sixties of the first century C.E. There is nothing that speaks against such an early date, although we have little proof for it. The frequent use of the expression ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου in both the Jewish Pseudepigrapha preserved in Greek and in Acts 7:52, however, would even be a strong argument for such an early date.

Furthermore, the lack of a clear christological interpretation of the “Coming of the Righteous One” apart from that of the last of the persecuted prophets argues for an early date in the history of the development of early Christology. In addition, as the whole of Stephen’s speech in Acts may have a pre-Lucan origin, there is more that speaks in favor of an early than of a late date of Acts 7:52. This would need some further investigation.

### 3. Hermeneutical Reflections: Noncanonical Writings and Biblical Theology

Before we can discuss the question of Luke’s biblical-theological intention of presenting and structuring the history of Israel the way he did, we have to say a few words about the relevance of the history of Israel for biblical theology, both the history of biblical Israel and of the postbiblical Jewish history of the Greco-Roman period. Two of the most important biblical theologies to be mentioned here are the ones of Brevard S. Childs and Peter Stuhlmacher.<sup>51</sup> We will look at them by focusing on what they have to say about the relevance of the history of biblical and especially postbiblical Israel and its literature for biblical studies and theology.<sup>52</sup>

#### 3.1. Brevard S. Childs and Peter Stuhlmacher

To begin with the first book, whose author clearly situates the origin of his theological reflection in postwar German biblical and theological scholarship, the following deuterocanonical (apocryphal) works are discussed in more detail: Sirach 24, together with the two other great canonical wisdom hymns Job 28 and Proverbs 8, used to show that Israel’s history was *sapientalized* rather than wisdom being *historicized*. Sirach thus confirms that the wisdom tradition was inherent in Israel’s theology.

Sirach 17; 24; and 44; Wisdom 6 and 9–10; and Baruch 3–4 give a prominent place to wisdom in the redemptive history of Israel by relating it to or even equating it with the law and thus making it relevant for salvation. Wisdom of Solomon

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51. See Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (London: SCM, 1992); and Peter Stuhlmacher, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992–2002).

52. See further my forthcoming book *Early Judaism and Modern Culture: Essays on Early Jewish Literature and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009).

16 and Sir 45:1ff. confirm also the existence of the homiletic usage of the plague tradition in Jewish Hellenistic circles. 1 Maccabees 4:46 and 9:27 are used to confirm another historical development, namely, that prophecy had ceased, but at the same time was expected to return, whereas 2 Macc 15:9 is mentioned as the first example of the canonical expression “law and prophets.”

Whereas Sirach 24; 4 *Ezra* 5–6; 1 Maccabees 7; and 1 *Enoch* 45 witness how, in the postbiblical period, biblical themes like *creation* continued to be elaborated on, the New Testament shows that also some passages from Sirach, and elsewhere, could be quoted or referred to, such as Sir 12:14 in 2 Cor 5:10, or could provide us with parallels to messianic ideas, such as *Psalms of Solomon* 17; IQS 11:12ff.; 4 *Ezra* 7 and 12–13; and 1 *Enoch* 46 and 48.<sup>53</sup>

The value these noncanonical writings have for Brevard Childs’s biblical theology is best described in his words: “Yet it is also the case that one cannot jump directly from the Old Testament to the New without careful attention to the cultural and theological developments which separate the two testaments.”<sup>54</sup> However, compared to his treatment of the canonical books, Childs gives little attention to the writings from the period between the two Testaments. For our example of the Jewish background of ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου, Childs is of little help.

A different method is found in Peter Stuhlmacher’s approach to biblical theology and the New Testament, as he does engage in a much fuller discussion of the so-called intertestamental literature and makes full use of it. Apart from the fact that he *employs* the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha as well as other Jewish writings from the Greco-Roman period in his two-volume biblical theology of the New Testament, he also *argues* for its theological relevance. The latter he does in an article entitled “The Significance of the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha for the Understanding of Jesus and Christology.”<sup>55</sup> Here he says:

The early church received the Holy Scriptures from early Judaism at a time when both the relative status of the Hebrew-Aramaic and the Greek Bible text, and the third part of the Old Testament canon, were still open questions. In the course of early Christian mission history, the Septuagint then became the real Old Testament of early Christianity. The so-called Septuagintal Apocrypha thus belongs inseparably to the Holy Scriptures of Early Christianity. Among these writings, the wisdom books are those which in relation to Christology bind the Old and New Testament particularly closely together. Around the Septuagint there lies a further circle of the so-called Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. These

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53. Childs, *Biblical Theology*, 115–16, 131, 171, 174, 189–90, 388–89, 431, 441, 455, 489, 569, 578.

54. *Ibid.*, 578.

55. Peter Stuhlmacher, “The Significance of the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha for the Understanding of Jesus and Christology,” in *The Apocrypha in Ecumenical Perspective* (ed. Siegfried Meurer; New York: United Bible Societies, 1992), 1–15.

are indispensable for the understanding of Christology and the work of Jesus as messianic Son of Man.<sup>56</sup>

To be sure, whether the Apocrypha are a creation of the canon of the Septuagint or of early Christianity, and whether the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha should be characterized as Jewish or Christian are questioned nowadays,<sup>57</sup> but Peter Stuhlmacher is right in pointing to the often-neglected importance of the literature between the Testaments for the study of Christian origins and specifically for an up-to-date theological reflection on the origins and developments of Christology. Although most biblical scholars would agree with him, no one is reflecting on it in an explicit way.

### 3.2. *Luke-Acts*

We can now rephrase our question more precisely: What does Luke, in comparison to his contemporaries, especially *1 Enoch* and *Pseudo-Philo*, want to say about the relevance of the history of Israel? The importance of the Jewish background of ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου in Acts 7:52 goes so far that the Jewish and Christian parallels of the period not only shed light on, but even *define*, the Christology of Stephen's speech as reported by Luke and dated by him as Jewish-Christian and pre-Pauline (only Acts 8 begins to speak of Paul).

The Christology in Stephen's speech, especially in Acts 7:52, is more Jewish than Christian. To say the least, it is Jewish-Christian, but certainly not influenced by Paul and his school; it is closer to Q than to the Gospels, closer to the Jewish Pseudepigrapha than most of Luke-Acts, and astonishingly well preserved in the early Christian literature.

Our question is, therefore, whether this reflects Luke's point of view at the end of the first century C.E., whether he has taken over and edited an older tradition, or whether it reflects altogether a clearly pre-Lucan tradition, one that goes back to the earliest followers of Jesus. As I would exclude the first two possibilities (as far as ἡ ἔλευσις τοῦ δικαίου is concerned), I am left with the third option and would date and situate the phrase on the same line as the earliest strata of Q and the community behind it.<sup>58</sup>

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56. Stuhlmacher, "Significance of the Old Testament Apocrypha," n.p.

57. As was discussed during our previous seminar on "The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins" in Bonn in 2003. See further M. de Jongc, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature* (SVTP 18; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

58. Princeton, Center of Theological Inquiry, July 12, 2004.





# V

## The Pseudepigrapha and the Revelation of John



# THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN AND PALESTINIAN JEWISH APOCALYPTIC

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## 1. Introduction

In several respects, the Apocalypse of John is an anomaly. First of all, the Apocalypse of John is clearly a *Christian* apocalypse which bears more generic similarities to early *Jewish* apocalypses than to other (admittedly later) Christian apocalypses such as the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Apocalypses of Peter and Paul*. There are, in fact, instances in which Christian traditions are conspicuous by their absence (Rev 12:1–6; 19:11–21). Second, unlike all other Jewish and Christian apocalypses—with the single exception of the *Shepherd of Hermas*—the Apocalypse of John is not pseudepigraphical but was rather written in the name of its actual author. Third, the Apocalypse of John was composed in the Roman province of Asia, though the Jewish apocalypses with which it has the closest generic affinities were all almost certainly written in Palestine. No Jewish apocalypse appears to have originated in the Jewish Diaspora. These three strikingly anomalous features of the Apocalypse of John require explanation. It is the purpose of this paper to explore these problematic issues within the context of an examination of some of the many motifs that the Apocalypse of John shares with Palestinian Jewish apocalyptic and apocalypses.

## 2. The Apocalypse of John and Jewish Apocalypses

It is well known that the generic term “apocalypse” was derived from the first sentence of the Apocalypse of John Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, “the revelation of Jesus Christ” (Rev 1:1).<sup>1</sup> In this context, however, ἀποκάλυψις (which

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1. F. Lücke (*Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes: oder, Allgemeine Untersuchungen über die apokalyptische Literatur überhaupt und die Apokalypse des Johannes insbesondere* [Bonn: Weber, 1852]) was the first scholar to use the term “apocalypse” in Rev 1:1 as a generic designation for works similar to Revelation such as Daniel, *1 Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch*; see Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (WMANT 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 40, 56.

occurs only twice in the entire book; here and in the inscription) is not a *generic* designation, but rather a description of the *contents* of the work. The inscription, Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου, “the Apocalypse of John” (presumably a second century formulation originally placed at the end of the book but then moved to the beginning with the transition from roll to codex), is simply a shortened form of the title or first sentence of the book with descriptive rather than generic intentions. However, whether through the influence of the Apocalypse of John or other documents that have not survived, the designation ἀποκάλυψις came to be used relatively quickly in a quasi-generic sense of works with a revelatory character, though such works rarely conform to the modern generic conception of “apocalypse.”<sup>2</sup> While the modern designations “apocalypse” and “apocalyptic,” then, really represent modern conceptions applied to ancient texts and ideologies—that is, they are *etic* rather than *emic* designations<sup>3</sup>—that does not mean that these designations are unhelpful.

There is some consensus among modern scholars that the literary category “apocalypse” at least includes Daniel 7–12, *1 Enoch* (a composite text containing five originally separate apocalypses), *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch* and the Apocalypse of John.<sup>4</sup> Though there are many other works that should be included in this category (e.g., *2 Enoch*, *3 Enoch*, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *T. Levi* 2–5, *3 Baruch*, *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*), we will restrict the first major part of our discussion (3. Shared Apocalyptic Motifs) to the first group of texts.

It is striking that three of the early Jewish works generally considered to be apocalypses by modern scholars—the *Similitudes of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 37–71), *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*—were composed in the first century, the last two almost certainly after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., and are roughly contemporary with the final composition of the Apocalypse of John, written ca. 90 C.E. Two authors of recent commentaries on *4 Ezra*, Jacob M. Myers and Michael Stone, in company with most other scholars, place the composition of *4 Ezra* after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., during the latter part of the reign of Domitian (81–96 C.E.).<sup>5</sup> Pierre Bogaert, the author of a detailed commentary on *2 Baruch*, reflects scholarly consensus in arguing that *2 Baruch* was written in response to the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E.<sup>6</sup> The dating of the *Similitudes of*

2. In an otherwise excellent article by Morton Smith (“On the History of ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ and ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ,” in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* [ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1983], 9–20), the author does not discuss the particular problems of the term ἀποκάλυψις in the inscription and title of Revelation.

3. Bruce J. Malina (*On the Genre and Message of Revelation: Star Visions and Sky Journeys* [Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995], 12) argues that both “apocalypse” and “eschatological apocalyptic” are “theological jargon of the past century that fossilize perception and misdirect interpretation.”

4. John J. Collins, “Introduction: Toward the Morphology of a Genre,” *Semeia* 14 (1979): 3.

5. Jacob M. Myers, *I and II Esdras: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (AB 42; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974), 129–31; Michael Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra* (Hermencia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 10.

6. Pierre Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch: Introduction, Traduction du Syriac et Commentaire* (2 vols.; SC 144–145; Paris: Cerf, 1969), 1:270–95.

*Enoch* is more problematic. Michael A. Knibb, whom I follow, tentatively dates the *Similitudes of Enoch* toward the end of the first century C.E., though he readily admits that the date is disputed and can be placed within the wider boundaries of 63 B.C.E. and 135 C.E.<sup>7</sup> The late-first-century C.E. date is supported by the fact that fragments of four of the five apocalypses comprising *1 Enoch* have been found at Qumran with the exception of the *Similitudes of Enoch*.<sup>8</sup> While this is not a decisive argument for dating the *Similitudes* late in the first century C.E., it is part of a cumulative argument supporting such a dating. While most scholars date the composition of the Apocalypse of John to the latter part of the reign of the Roman emperor Domitian, that is, ca. 95 C.E.,<sup>9</sup> some propose a date a bit later during the reign of Trajan (98–117 C.E.), while others argue that it was written earlier, soon after the death of Nero in 68 C.E. Since all these datings fall into a relatively close range in the late first or early second century, the issue need not be argued in detail.

The distinction between the traditions reflected in the Apocalypse of John and those found in Palestinian Jewish apocalypses is somewhat more blurred than many suppose. First, the distinction between “Jewish” and “Christian” is largely anachronistic for the first century C.E., before hard and fast boundaries were drawn between Judaism and Christianity.<sup>10</sup> The so-called parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity, which supposedly occurred ca. 85 C.E., was not a single event but rather the result of a series of unconnected conflicts that occurred over a relatively wide geographical area and that unfolded from ca. 90–130 C.E.<sup>11</sup> There is no evidence in the Apocalypse of John, at any rate, that the author made a rigid distinction between Jews and Christians, despite his diatribe against “those who call themselves Jews but are not” and “those of the synagogue of Satan” (Rev 2:9; 3:9). Second, all of the Palestinian Jewish apocalypses that have come down to us were in fact preserved by Christians who must have considered them essentially compatible with Christianity since they introduced remarkably few revisions or interpolations into the texts they transmitted.<sup>12</sup> A major exception is *4 Ezra*, with a core Jewish apocalypse in *4 Ezra* 3–14

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7. See Michael A. Knibb, “The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review,” *NTS* 25 (1979): 345–59. Matthew Black (“The Messianism of the Parables of Enoch: Their Date and Contribution to Christological Origins,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* [ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992], 145–68) argues for a date earlier than the composition of the Synoptic Gospels (i.e., presumably well before 70 C.E.), since in his view the New Testament conception of the session of the Son of Man at the right hand of God (Mark 14:62; Matt 19:38; 25:31) is based on the Elect Son of Man messianism of the *Similitudes of Enoch*. Black’s date is based on the questionable assumption that the Synoptic Gospels exhibit literary dependence on the *Similitudes of Enoch*.

8. James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 37–39.

9. See the extensive discussion in David E. Aune, *Revelation* (3 vols.; Word Biblical Commentary 52A, 52B, 52C; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1997–1998), 1:lvii–lxx.

10. John J. Pilch, “No Jews or Christians in the Bible,” *Explorations* 12 (1998): 3.

11. See Graham Stanton, “Aspects of Early Christian-Jewish Polemic and Apologetic,” *NTS* 31 (1985): 377–92.

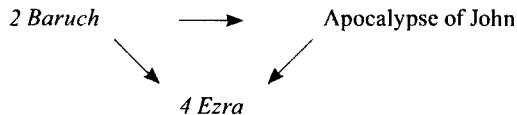
12. Marinus de Jonge, “The so-called Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament and Early

transmitted in a Latin version framed by two Christian compositions, *4 Ezra* 1–2 = *5 Ezra* and *4 Ezra* 15–16 = *6 Ezra*. Third, source criticism has frequently been used to account for the striking Jewish character of the Apocalypse of John. Some scholars, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, proposed that the Apocalypse of John was made up of one or more Jewish apocalypses that were Christianized and supplemented to various extents. Others have proposed more plausibly that the author made use of sources that originated in Judaism but were shorter and more fragmentary.<sup>13</sup> Even though it is theoretically possible to identify and analyze the sources used in a document such as the Apocalypse of John (and I plead guilty to have tried to do so), the task of reconstruction is extraordinarily difficult and inevitably subjective.

### 3. Shared Apocalyptic Motifs

There are a number of apocalyptic motifs that the Apocalypse of John shares with Palestinian Jewish apocalypses, which for the purposes of this section of the paper are limited to the *Similitudes of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 37–71), *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch*. Some of the motifs shared by the Apocalypse of John and Jewish apocalypses have been examined by Richard Bauckham, who is one of the few who have explored this important but neglected area of study.<sup>14</sup>

While it is evident that some kind of “intimate relationship” (the phrase of Stone) exists between *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, there is no agreement on the precise nature of this relationship.<sup>15</sup> R. H. Charles and Bruno Violet argued that *2 Baruch* used *4 Ezra* as a source, while Bogaert argued the opposite,<sup>16</sup> even suggesting that *4 Ezra* in turn “appears to know” the Apocalypse of John, which was itself dependent on *2 Baruch*.<sup>17</sup> Bogaert’s theory of the relationship between these three compositions can be diagrammed as follows:



Christianity,” in *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism* (ed. Peder Borgen and Søren Givcrsen; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997), 59–71.

13. Source critical theories applied to the Apocalypse of John are reviewed in Aune, *Revelation*, 1:cx cxvii.

14. Richard Bauckham, “The Use of Apocalyptic Traditions,” in *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 38–91.

15. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 39.

16. R. H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (London: A. & C. Black, 1896); Bruno Violet, *Die Esra-Apokalypse (IV. Esra)* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910), 1; Bogaert, *L’Apocalypse syrienne de Baruch*, 26–27, 113–14, 284–88.

17. P.-M. Bogaert, “Les Apocalypses contemporaines de Baruch, d’Esdras et de Jean,” in *L’Apocalypse johannique et l’Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (ed. J. Lambrecht; BETL 53; Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1980), 54–56, 67.

Charles argued that the author of the Apocalypse was literarily dependent on several Jewish apocalyptic texts, including the *Testament of Levi*, *1 Enoch* and the *Assumption* (or *Testament*) of *Moses*.<sup>18</sup> His relatively early dating of the *Similitudes of Enoch* (either 94–79 B.C.E. or 70–64 B.C.E.) made it easy for him to suppose that the author of the Apocalypse of John could have been literarily dependent on the *Similitudes*. Most scholars, however, have not thought it likely that the Apocalypse was dependent on the texts of the *Similitudes*, *4 Ezra*, or *2 Baruch*. Henry Barclay Swete's critique of Charles's claims is still valid: "Here it is enough to say that they [i.e., the parallels] show the writer of the Christian Apocalypse to have been familiar with the apocalyptic ideas of his age, they afford little or no clear evidence of his dependence on Jewish sources other than the books of the OT."<sup>19</sup> These shared motifs can logically be explained in one of three ways: (1) the Apocalypse of John is literarily dependent on a particular Jewish apocalypse; (2) a particular Jewish apocalypse is dependent on the Apocalypse of John; or (3) similar motifs shared by the Apocalypse of John and other Jewish apocalypses are based on a common written or oral apocalyptic tradition. In the past, scholars have been quick to propose various theories of literary dependence. More recently, as a result of more stringent standards for judging quotations and allusions, relationships other than direct literary dependence have been more seriously entertained.

The passages in the Apocalypse of John that Charles and others have thought dependent on Jewish apocalypses provide the opportunity for evaluating the source of such parallel passages. Our concern will be limited to those three apocalypses that are nearly contemporary with the Apocalypse of John, namely *1 Enoch* 37–71, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch*.

### 1. The Terror of Humanity before the Throne of Judgment (Rev 6:15–16; 1 En. 62:3–5)

**Rev 6:15–16:** The kings of the earth and the important people and the generals and the wealthy and the powerful and every slave and free person hid themselves in the caves and in the mountain rocks. They said to the mountains and the cliffs, "Fall on us and hide us from the One who sits on the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb, because the great day of his wrath has come, and who is able to withstand it?"

**1 En. 62:3–5** (trans. Knibb): And on that day all the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who possess the earth, will stand up; and they will see and recognize how he sits on the throne of his glory . . . and pain will come upon

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18. R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1920), lxxv, lxxxii–lxxxiii. The ten passages in *1 Enoch* on which he claims that the Apocalypse of John is dependent are the following: *1 En.* 9:4; 14:15; 18:13; 46:1; 47:3–4; 48:9; 51:1; 62:3, 5; 86:1; 99:7.

19. Henry Barclay Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1908), clviii.

them as (upon) a woman in labour for whom giving birth is difficult. . . . And one half of them will look at the other, and they will be terrified, and will cast down their faces, and pain will take hold of them when they see that Son of a Woman sitting on the throne of his glory.

These two passages have clear similarities and differences.<sup>20</sup> Similarities: (1) They share the common apocalyptic motif of the terror of all humankind before the throne of judgment. (2) In *1 Enoch* 37–71, the phrase “the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who dwell on the earth” (*1 En.* 62:3) is a stereotypical phrase referring to everyone (62:1, 3, 6, 9; 63:1, 12; 67:8). A very similar phrase occurs in Rev 6:15: “The kings of the earth and the important people and the generals and the wealthy and the powerful and every slave and free person” (similar lists occur twice elsewhere in the Apocalypse of John with essentially the same meaning: 13:16; 19:18). These phrases may allude to the LXX text of Isa 34:12, where the phrase “the kings and rulers and great ones” (with nothing corresponding to it in the Masoretic Text) is found in a context of judgment. (3) In Rev 6:15–16, God occupies the throne of judgment, though the Lamb is somehow also involved in judgment (see the next section below). In *1 En.* 62:3–5, God is initially seated on the throne of judgment (62:2–3), while the Son of Man is suddenly referred to as “sitting on the throne of his glory.” There is one major difference between these passages: different Old Testament passages are alluded to—Rev 6:15–16 is based on allusions to Isa 2:19–21 and Hos 10:6, while *1 En.* 62:3–5 alludes to the image of the woman in labor in Isa 13:8.

The allusions to different Old Testament passages in these two texts discourages the hypothesis of a direct literary relationship between them. However, the three impressive similarities suggest that both texts are dependent on a relatively fixed oral or written source. Since the existence of an *oral* apocalyptic tradition cannot easily be substantiated, it appears more likely that both the Apocalypse of John and the *Similitudes of Enoch* are dependent on a common *written* source, which each author partially reformulated in a distinctive way.

## **2. The Messiah Seated on the Throne of God Judging the Wicked (Rev 3:21; 6:16; 22:1, 3; 1 En. 45:3; 51:1; 55:4; 61:8; 62:2, 5; 69:26–29)**

**Rev 3:21:** As for the one who conquers, I will allow him to sit with me on my throne, just as I also conquered and sat with my Father on his throne.

**Rev 6:16:** They said to the mountains and the cliffs, “Fall on us and hide us from the One who sits on the throne and from the wrath of the lamb, 17 because the great day of their wrath has come, and who is able to withstand it?”

**Rev 22:1:** He showed me a river of living water, sparkling like crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb.

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20. These passages are discussed by Knibb, “Date of the Parables of Enoch,” 356.



**Rev 22:3:** The throne of God and of the Lamb will be in the city, and his servants will worship him.

[**Matt 19:28** (NRSV): Jesus said to them, “Truly I tell you, at the renewal of all things, when the Son of Man is seated on the throne of his glory, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.”]

[**Matt 25:31–32** (NRSV): When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on the throne of his glory. 32 All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats.]

**1 En. 45:3** (trans. Knibb): On that day the Chosen One will sit on the throne of glory, and will choose their works, and their resting-places will be without number; and their spirits within them will grow strong when they see my Chosen One and those who appeal to my holy and glorious name.

**1 En. 51:1** (trans. Knibb): And in those days the Chosen One will sit on his throne, and all the secrets of wisdom will flow out from the counsel of his mouth, for the Lord of Spirits has appointed him and glorified him.

**1 En. 55:4** (trans. Knibb): “You powerful kings, who dwell upon the dry ground, will be obliged to watch my Chosen One sit down on the throne of my glory, and judge, in the name of the Lord of Spirits, Azazel and all his associates and all his hosts.”

**1 En. 61:8** (trans. Knibb): And the Lord of Spirits set the Chosen One on the throne of his glory, and he will judge all the works of the holy ones in heaven above, and in the balance he will weigh their deeds.

**1 En. 62:2, 5** (trans. Knibb): 2 And the Lord of Spirits sat on the throne of his glory, and the spirit of righteousness was poured out on him, and the word of his mouth kills all the sinners and all the lawless, and they are destroyed before him . . . 5 And one half of them will look at the other, and they will be terrified, and will cast down their faces, and pain will take hold of them, when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of glory.

**1 En. 69:26–29** (trans. Knibb): And they had great joy, and they blessed and praised and exalted because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed to them. 27 And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the whole judgment was given to the Son of Man, and he will cause the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from the face of the earth. 28 And those who led astray the world will be bound in chains, and will be shut up in the assembly-place of their destruction, and all their works will pass away from the face of the earth. 29 And from then on there will be nothing corruptible, for that Son of man has appeared and has sat on the throne of his glory, and everything evil will pass away and go from before him; and the word of that Son of Man will be strong before the Lord of Spirits.

The traditional eschatological motif of God (the Lord of Spirits) as the enthroned judge is mentioned three times in the *Similitudes* (1 En. 47:3; 60:2; 62:2). However, the motif of the Chosen One or the Son of Man, seated on the “throne of glory,” that is, the throne of God, occurs seven times in the *Similitudes* (45:3; 51:1; 55:4; 61:8; 62:5; 69:27, 29). In four of these passages the enthronement of the Chosen One or the Son of Man is combined with the theme of judgment (55:4; 61:8; 62:5; 69:27–29). In the Old Testament, reference is occasionally made to the king sitting on the throne of Yahweh, and in early Judaism the Messiah is frequently depicted as an eschatological judge (e.g., *T. Jud.* 24:4–6; *4 Ezra* 12:32; *2 Bar.* 40:1–3). A particularly significant reference is found in *1 En.* 61:8, where it is said that the Lord of Spirits set the Elect One on his [i.e., God’s] throne of glory. This unique *theologoumenon* can be traced with some likelihood to the messianic interpretation of Ps 110:1, which combines the themes of enthronement and judgment: “The Lord says to my Lord: ‘Sit on my right hand, till I make your enemies your footstool.’”<sup>21</sup> The same *theologoumenon* occurs also in the New Testament in Matt 19:28 and 24:31–32, where it is explicitly predicted that the Son of Man will sit on the throne of his glory.

While the possessive pronoun “his” could refer to the Son of Man—that is, it is his throne—it is also possible that “his” refers to God and means that the Son of Man will sit on God’s throne of glory. While the possessive pronoun is ambiguous, it appears that in the *Similitudes of Enoch* the Chosen One or Son of Man is also understood as sitting on God’s throne of glory.<sup>22</sup> Matthew Black has used this evidence to argue that the *Similitudes of Enoch* are earlier than the Synoptic Gospels and that the distinctiveness of this *theologoumenon* suggests that the Synoptics were literarily dependent on the *Similitudes*. Of the four passages in the Apocalypse of John cited above, one refers to the enthronement of Christ with God on his throne (3:21), while the other three refer either directly (22:1, 3) or indirectly (6:16) to the Lamb seated on the throne with God. Only in Rev 6:16, however, is the motif of judgment present. We have already proposed that Rev 6:15–16 is dependent on a written source used also in *1 En.* 62:3–5. The other passages referring to co-enthronement in the Apocalypse do not use the motif of judgment, nor is the figure enthroned with God identified as the Son of Man.

### 3. *The Cry for Vengeance and the Numerus Iustorum* (Rev 6:9–11; 1 En. 47:1–4; 4 Ezra 4:35–37; 2 Bar. 23:4–5a<sup>23</sup>)

**Rev 6:9–11:** When he broke the fifth seal, I saw underneath the altar the souls of those slain because of the word of God and because of the witness which they bore. They cried out loudly saying, “O Master, holy and true, how long will it be

21. Johannes Thiesohn, *Der auserwählte Richter: Untersuchungen zum traditionsgeschichtlichen Ort der Menschensohngestalt der Bilderreden des Äthiopischen Henoch* (SUNT 12; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 93–98.

22. Black, “Messianism of the Parables of Enoch,” 154–55.

23. Bauckham, “Apocalyptic Traditions,” 48–56; Aune, *Revelation*, 2:406–13.

until you judge and avenge our deaths caused by those who dwell on the earth?" Then each of them was given a white robe, and they were told that they should rest a while longer until the number of their fellow servants, that is, their brothers who were to be killed as they were, would be complete.

**1 En. 47:1–4** (trans. Knibb): And in those days the prayer of the righteous and the blood of the righteous will have ascended from earth before the Lord of Spirits. 2 In these days the holy ones who dwell in the heavens above will unite with one voice, and supplicate, and pray, and praise, and give thanks, and bless in the name of the Lord of Spirits, because of the blood of the righteous which has been poured out, and (because of) the prayer of the righteous, that it may not cease before the Lord of Spirits, that justice may be done to them, and (that) their patience may not have to last for ever . . . 4 And the hearts of the holy ones were full of joy that the number of righteousness had been reached, and the prayer of the righteous had been heard, and the blood of the righteous had been required before the Lord of Spirits.

**4 Ezra 4:33, 35–37** (NRSV): 33 Then I answered and said, "How long? When will these things be? Why are our years few and evil?" . . . 35 Did not the souls of the righteous in their chambers ask about these matters, saying, "How long are we to remain here? And when will the harvest of our reward come?" 36 And the archangel Jeremiel answered and said, "When the number of those like yourselves is completed."

**2 Bar. 23:4–5** (Charlesworth, *OTP* 1:629): For when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who were to be born, the multitude of those who would be born was numbered. And for that number a place was prepared where the living ones might live and where the dead might be preserved. No creature will live again unless the number that has been appointed is completed. For my spirit creates the living, and the realm of death receives the dead. And further, it is given to you to hear that which will come after these times. For truly, my salvation which comes has drawn near and is not as far away as before.

A quick survey of these four passages indicates that they are linked by the motifs of the reward of the righteous dead and the death of the predestined number of the righteous as an event that must occur before God will act. In Rev 6:9–11, *1 En. 47:1–4* and *4 Ezra 4:33–37*, the righteous dead ask about their vindication or reward and are given an answer involving the future completion of the complete number of the righteous dead.<sup>24</sup>

In Rev 6:9–11 and *1 En. 47:1–4* the dead are the righteous who have been killed by their enemies and who pray for vindication and are answered with the *numerus iustorum* formula. In *4 Ezra 4:33–37* they are the righteous dead, while in *2 Bar. 23:4–5* they are simply all the dead. Revelation 6:9–11 has a special formal link with *4 Ezra 4:33–37* by an entreaty attributed to the righteous dead in direct discourse introduced by the phrase "How long?," commonly used in

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24. Bauckham, "Apocalyptic Traditions," 52.

impatient prayer in the Old Testament (Pss 6:3–4; 13:1–2; 35:17; 74:9–10; 79:5; 80:4; 89:6; 1 Macc 6:22), and also used in apocalyptic contexts about when the end will arrive (Dan 8:13; 12:6; *2 Bar.* 21:19; 81:3 [MS c only]; *4 Ezra* 6:59). Stone considers *4 Ezra* 4:35–36a to reflect the author’s use of a source, and the author may therefore have structured 4:33 on the “how long?” pattern of 4:35, a proposal that is unnecessary.<sup>25</sup> Bauckham suggests the possibility of the following literary relationship between these texts: *1 Enoch* 37–71 → Revelation → *4 Ezra* → *2 Baruch*. He thinks that the relationship between these four texts is not the result of direct literary dependence but rather a result of dependence on a common tradition that had already taken particular forms in the sources used by each apocalypse.<sup>26</sup>

#### **4. The Kings from the East Are Supernaturally Instigated to March on the Holy City (Rev 16:12–16; 19:19–21; 20:7–10; 1 En. 56:5–7)**

**Rev 16:12–16:** The sixth angel poured his bowl on the great river Euphrates, and its water was dried up in order to prepare the way for the kings from the east. 13 And I saw three foul spirits like frogs coming from the mouth of the dragon, from the mouth of the beast, and from the mouth of the false prophet. 14 These are demonic spirits, performing signs, which go abroad to the kings of the whole world, to assemble them for the battle on the great day of God the Almighty. . . . 16 And they assembled them at the place that in Hebrew is called Harmagedon.

**Rev 19:19–21:** Then I saw the beast and the kings of the earth and their armies assembled to wage war with the one mounted on the steed and with his army. The beast was captured and with him the false prophet who performed signs on his authority, which he deceived those who received the brand of the beast and who worshiped his cultic image; they were both hurled alive into the lake of fire burning with sulfur. The rest were slain with the sword projecting from the mouth of the one mounted on the steed, and all the birds feasted on their carrion.

**Rev 20:7–10:** When the thousand years are completed, Satan will be released from his prison 8 and will go out to deceive the nations that are at the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, to assemble them for battle. Their number is like the sand of the sea. 9 They marched up across the breadth of the earth and surrounded the encampment of the people of God, the beloved city. Then fire came down from heaven and devoured them. 10 And the devil who deceived them was cast down into the lake of fire and brimstone where the beast and the false prophet were, so that they were tormented day and night for ever.

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25. Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 96–97.

26. Bauckham, “Apocalyptic Traditions,” 54.

**1 En. 56:5–7** (trans. Knibb): And in those days the angels will gather together, and will throw themselves towards the east upon the Parthians and Medes; they will stir up the kings, so that a disturbing spirit will come upon them, and they will drive them from their thrones; and they will come out like lions from their lairs, and like hungry wolves in the middle of their flocks. 6 And they will go up and trample upon the land of my chosen ones, and the land of my chosen ones will become before them a tramping-ground and a beaten track. 7 But the city of my righteous ones will be a hindrance to their horses, and they will stir up slaughter among themselves, and their (own) right hand will be strong against them; and a man will not admit to knowing his neighbour or his brother, nor a son his father or his mother, until through their death there are corpses enough, and their punishment—it will not be in vain. 8 And in those days Sheol will open its mouth and they will sink into it; and their destruction Sheol will swallow up the sinners before the face of the chosen.

Of the three passages in the Apocalypse cited above, the first two constitute a single source that has been interrupted in order to accommodate an extensive section on Babylon in chs. 17–18. The first fragment, Rev 16:12–16, ends without narrating the actual assembly of the king and the ensuing eschatological battle, while the second fragment, Rev 19:19–21, provides both. Together these passages constitute a doublet of Rev 20:7–10; the bold phrases are probably the additions to the source used by the author of the Apocalypse. The same eschatological scenario characterizes the two passages: a malevolent supernatural being or beings instigates the kings of the east to assemble and march to the holy city, where they are supernaturally defeated by God and/or his Messiah. This same scenario characterizes *1 En. 56:5–7*, which designates the enemy specifically as the Parthians and the Medes. This identification has been the basis of attempts to date the *Similitudes*. E. Sjöberg argued that this text was written shortly after the capture of Jerusalem by the Parthians in 40–37 B.C.E., while J. C. Hindley argued that it reflected Trajan's campaign against the Parthians in 113–117 C.E.<sup>27</sup> These are just two of many proposals, none of which has proven decisive. *1 Enoch 56:5–7* also reflects the defeat of the enemy before the holy city and therefore appears to be based on Sennacherib's abortive campaign against Jerusalem in 701 B.C.E. (Isa 36:1–37:38 = 2 Kgs 18:13–19:37). The motif of "trampling" on the holy land, is applied to the holy city in Zech 12:3 ("and Jerusalem will be trampled on by the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled"), a passage that is alluded to in both Luke 21:24 and Rev 11:2. In *1 En. 56:5–7*, the holy city is inviolate. The fate of the enemy host is depicted through a combination of two traditions: one emphasizes the self-destruction of the enemy forces, while in the other tradition Sheol opens up and swallows them.

A comparison of the use of this motif in the *Similitudes* and the Apocalypse of John suggests that no mutual literary dependence is probable, but rather both texts have used this motif in distinctive ways.

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27. E. Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn im Äthiopischen Henochbuch* (Lund: Gleerup, 1946), 39; J. C. Hindley, "Towards a Date for the *Similitudes* of Enoch: An Historical Approach," *NTS* 14 (1968–69): 551–65.

**5. The Leviathan-Behemoth Myth (Rev 13:1–18; 1 En. 60:7–11, 24; 4 Ezra 6:49–52; 2 Bar. 29:4).**

**Rev 13:1–18:** I saw a beast rising up out of the sea, with ten horns and seven heads, and on its horns were ten diadems and on its heads were blasphemous names. . . . 11 Then I saw another beast ascending from the earth, and it had two horns like a ram, but it sounded like a dragon.

**1 En. 60:7–11, 24** (trans. Knibb): And on that day two monsters will be separated from one another: a female monster, whose name (is) Leviathan, to dwell in the depths of the sea above the springs of the waters; 8 and the name of the male (is) Behemoth, who occupies with his breast an immense desert, named Dendayn, on the east of the garden where the chosen and righteous dwell, where my great-grandfather was received, who was the seventh from Adam, the first man whom the Lord of Spirits made. 9 And I asked that other angel to show me the power of those monsters, how they were separated on one day and thrown, one into the depths of the sea, and the other on to the dry ground of the desert. . . . 24 And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: “These two monsters, prepared in accordance with the greatness of the Lord, will be fed that the punishment of the Lord . . . in vain.”

**4 Ezra 6:49–52** (NRSV): Then you kept in existence two living creatures; the one you called Behemoth and the name of the other Leviathan. 50 And you separated one from the other, for the seventh part where the water had been gathered together could not hold them both. 51 And you gave Behemoth one of the parts that had been dried up on the third day, to live in it, where there are a thousand mountains; 52 but to Leviathan you gave the seventh part, the water part; and you have kept them to be eaten by whom you wish, and when you wish.

**2 Bar. 29:2–4** (Charlesworth, *OTP* 1:630): For at that time I shall only protect those found in this land at that time. 3 And it will happen that when all that which should come to pass in these parts has been accomplished, the Anointed One will begin to be revealed. 4 And Behemoth will reveal itself from its place, and Leviathan will come from the sea, the two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation and which I shall have kept until that time. And they will be nourishment for all who are left.

The beast from the sea and the beast from the land of Revelation 13 clearly reflect the Jewish myth of Leviathan, the female monster from the sea, and Behemoth, the male monster from the desert, even though the beasts are not given their traditional names in the text. Further, the myth of the beast from the sea and that of the beast from the land are combined with other motifs associated with the eschatological antagonist, so that the beast from the sea is depicted as a goddess, tyrannical ruler, while the beast from the land is presented as a lying prophet. It is striking that the Leviathan-Behemoth myth is referred to in only three Palestinian Jewish apocalypses, *1 Enoch* 37–71, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch*, where the beasts are explicitly named and rudiments of the myth are mentioned. The Leviathan-

Behemoth myth has both protological features (i.e., they were created on the fifth day of creation) and eschatological features (they will serve as food for the righteous in the eschaton). More complete forms of this myth, inspired by Gen 1:21 are found in the Talmud and Midrashim and have been synthesized by Louis Ginsberg. According to Gen 1:21, the great sea monsters were created on the fifth day, when God separated the pair, appointing Leviathan to inhabit the sea (Job 41:1–34; Ps 104:25–26; *Apoc. Abr.* 21:4; *Lad. Jac.* 6:13), and Behemoth the land (Job 40:15–24; *4 Ezra* 6:51). Missing from Revelation, but present in our three focal Jewish apocalypses as well as in rabbinic versions of the story, is the expectation that Leviathan and Behemoth will ultimately serve as food for the righteous in the eschaton (*1 En.* 60:24; *4 Ezra* 6:52; *2 Bar.* 29:4; cf. *b. B. Bat.* 75a).

While literary dependence could be proposed for the passages focusing on the Leviathan-Behemoth myth in the *Similitudes of Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch*, the vague and general reference to the myth in Revelation 13 indicates only that the author or his sources were aware of the traditional features of the myth.

#### 4. The New Jerusalem

In this section I will depart from a tight focus on the *Similitudes of Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch* and extend the inquiry to include the traditions of the eschatological Jerusalem found in the Qumran documents called “Description of the New Jerusalem” and the *Temple Scroll*. Though both *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* (not the *Similitudes of Enoch*) mention the eschatological Jerusalem, the similarities between the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse of John, the Description of the New Jerusalem and the *Temple Scroll* are more detailed and striking and raise the problem of the relationship between these three texts.

First let me provide an overview of the relevant sections of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*:

**4 Ezra 7:26** (NRSV): For indeed the time will come, when the signs that I have foretold to you will come to pass, that the city that now is not seen shall appear [Latin, Syriac: that the bride shall appear], and the land that now is hidden shall be disclosed.

**4 Ezra 8:52** (NRSV): Because it is for you that paradise is opened, the tree of life is planted, the age to come is prepared, plenty is provided, a city is built, rest is appointed, goodness is established and wisdom perfected beforehand.

**4 Ezra 10:25–27a** (NRSV): While I was talking to her, her face suddenly began to shine exceedingly; her countenance flashed like lightning, so that I was too frightened to approach her, and my heart was terrified. While I was wondering what this meant, 26 she suddenly uttered a loud and fearful cry, so that the earth shook at the sound. 27 When I looked up, the woman was no longer visible to me, but a city was being built, and a place of high foundations showed itself.

**4 Ezra 10:44** (NRSV): The woman whom you saw is Zion, which you now behold as a city being built [Latin: as an established city].

**4 Ezra 13:36** (NRSV): And Zion shall come and be made manifest to all people, prepared and built, as you saw the mountain carved out without hands.

**2 Bar. 4:1–7** (Charlesworth, *OTP* 1:622): And the Lord said to me: “This city will be delivered up for a time, And the people will be chastened for a time, And the world will not be forgotten. 2 Or do you think that this is the city of which I said: *On the palms of my hands I have carved you?* 3 It is not this building that is in your midst now; it is that which will be revealed, with me, that was already prepared from the moment that I decided to create Paradise. And I showed it to Adam before he sinned. But when he transgressed the commandment, it was taken away from him—as also Paradise. 4 After these things I showed it to my servant Abraham in the night between the portions of the victims. 5 And again I showed it also to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. 6 Behold, now it is preserved with me— as also Paradise. 7 Now go away and do as I command you.

The heavenly Jerusalem is mentioned briefly six times in *4 Ezra* (7:26; 8:52; 10:25–27, 42, 44; 13:36); it is preexistent, has a special holiness, is linked with the messianic kingdom, and will appear at the end.<sup>28</sup> The single reference to the heavenly Jerusalem in *2 Bar. 4:1–7* makes a careful distinction between the earthly Jerusalem and the preexistent city which God prepared when he created paradise. Together, the passages in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* reveal the prevalence of the conception of the heavenly Jerusalem, which is used to relativize the fate of the earthly Jerusalem. In *4 Ezra* and the Apocalypse of John, the New Jerusalem appears on earth, presumably a motif that presupposes the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem.

Some of the more illuminating literary parallels between the Apocalypse of John and the Qumran scrolls are found in the six groups of fragments of a work written in Aramaic entitled “Description of the New Jerusalem”<sup>29</sup> (henceforth

28. Michael E. Stone, *Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra* (HSS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 101–2.

29. There are six fragmentary Aramaic copies of the Description of the New Jerusalem: (1) 1Q32; text: D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 134–35. (2) 2Q24 = 2QNew Jerusalem; text: M. Baillet, “Fragments araméens de Qumrân 2: Description de la Jérusalem Nouvelle,” *RB* 62 (1955): 225–45, plates II–III; M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les “petites grottes” de Qumran: Exploration de la falaise, les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 7Q à 10Q, le rouleau de cuivre* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 84–89, plate XV; English translation: F. García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997–98), 1:219–21 (abbreviated as *DSS*). (3) 4Q554 = 4QNew Jerusalem<sup>a</sup> and 4Q554a = 4QNew Jerusalem<sup>a</sup>; text: J. Starky, “Jerusalem et les manuscrits de la mer Morte,” *MdB* 1 (1977): 38–40; K. Beyler, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 95–104; Aramaic text and English translation: García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2:1107–13; (4) 4Q555 = 4QNew Jerusalem<sup>b</sup>; Aramaic text and English translation: García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2:1112–13; (5) 5Q15 = 5QNew Jerusalem; Aramaic text and English translation: idem, *The Dead*



DNJ), which together with the *Temple Scroll*<sup>30</sup> (henceforth TS), are part of a tradition linking the description of the eschatological temple and city in Ezekiel 40–48 with the description of the New Jerusalem in Rev 21:9–22:9. Here are a few selections from some of the relevant portions of each document, though each document is so extensive that these selections can only convey something of the flavor of the complete texts:

**Rev 21:9–16** (NRSV): Then one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls full of the seven last plagues came and said to me, “Come, I will show you the bride, the wife of the Lamb.” 10 And in the spirit he carried me away to a great, high mountain and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God. 11 It has the glory of God and a radiance like a very rare jewel, like jasper, clear as crystal. 12 It has a great, high wall with twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and on the gates are inscribed the names of the twelve tribes of the Israelites; 13 on the east three gates, on the north three gates, on the south three gates, and on the west three gates. 14 And the wall of the city has twelve foundations, and on them are the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. 15 The angel who talked to me had a measuring rod of gold to measure the city and its gates and walls. 16 The city lies foursquare, its length the same as its width; and he measured the city with his rod, twelve thousand stadia; its length and width and height are equal.

**Ezek 40:30–35** (NRSV): These shall be the exits of the city: On the north side, which is to be four thousand five hundred cubits by measure, 31 three gates, the gate of Reuben, the gate of Judah, and the gate of Levi, the gates of the city being named after the tribes of Israel. 32 On the east side, which is to be four thousand five hundred cubits, three gates, the gate of Joseph, the gate of Benjamin, and the gate of Dan. 33 On the west side, which is to be four thousand five hundred cubits, three gates, the gate of Gad, the gate of Asher, and the gate of Naphtali. 35 The circumference of the city shall be eighteen thousand cubits. And the name of the city from that time on shall be, The Lord is There.

**11Q19 = 11QTemple 39.11–16; 40:11–13** (trans. García Martínez and Tigheelaar, *DSS* 2:1259): And the names of the gates of this [cour]tyard are according to the name[s] 12 of the children of Is[ra]el: Simeon, Levi and Judah to the East; [Reu]ben, Joseph and Benjamin to 13 the South; Issachar, Zebulun and Gad to the West; Dan, Naphtali and Asher to the North. And between one gate and another 14 the measurement is: from the North-east corner up to the gate of

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*Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2:1137–41; Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (3rd ed.; London: Penguin, 1987), 271–73. (6) 11Q18 = 11QNew Jerusalem; English translation: F. García Martínez and Wilfred G. E. Watson, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 133–35. In addition, 4Q232 is a Hebrew fragment that has some relationship to the Aramaic work; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 59.

30. On 11QTemple, see F. García Martínez, “The Temple Scroll: A Systematic Bibliography 1985–1991,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:393–403.

Simeon ninety-nine cubits; and the gate, 15 twenty-eight cubits; and from this gate up to the gate of { . . . } Levi, ninety-nine 16 cubits; and the gate, twenty-eight cubits; and from the gate of Levi up to the gate of Judah . . . 40.11 In [it] there will be three gates to the East, and three to the South, and three 12 to the West, and three to the North. And the width of the gates will be fifty cubits and their height seventy 13 cubits.

**5Q15 = 5QNew Jerusalem, frag. 1, col. 1, lines 2–5** (trans. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS* 2:1137–41): Also [he showed me the mea]surements of [all the] blo[ck]s. Between one block and another there is the street,] six rods wide, forty-two cubits. 3 [And] the main [street]s [which] from East [to West; the] wid[th of the street, of two] of them is ten rods, sev[enty cubits;] and the third, 4 [the one which passes to the lef]t of [the] tem[ple he mea]sured; eighte[en] rods wide, one hund[red and twen]ty-six cubits.

**4Q554 (4QNJ<sup>a</sup> ar) = 4QNew Jerusalem, frag. 1, col. 1, lines 9–22** (trans. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS* 2:1107): In the S[ou]th 10 [...] . . . and they are all different from 11 [another . . . from the] East [corner] which is too the North 12 [...] thirty-five stadia. And 13 [this door is called the door of] Simeon; and from this door up [to] the central door 14 [he measured thirty-five stadia; and] this door is which is called the door of 15 [Levi. And he measured from this door up to the S]outh [door:] thirty-five stadia; 16 [and this door is called the door of Judah. And from] this door he measured up to the [southeastern] corner: 17 [thirty-five stadia. And] from *Blank* this corner to the West 18 [he measured to the door 25 stadia; and this door] is called the door of Joseph. 19 [. . . And from this door he measured to the central door:] 25 [stadi]a; and 20 [this door is called the door of Benjamin. And from] this [do]r he measured up to the door 21 [25 stadia; and this door is called] the door of Reuben and [from] this [do]r or 22 [he measured up to the West corner: 25 stadia. And] from this corner he measured up to

The fragments of the DNJ have recently been subject to a detailed reconstruction and analysis by Michael Chyutin, who has integrated the fragments into a single composition.<sup>31</sup> Given the number and diversity of the fragments, this is obviously a highly speculative procedure, yet the results are persuasive. Thus far scholars have utilized the DNJ in only limited and suggestive ways in their analyses of Rev 21:9–22:9.<sup>32</sup> While neither the term “Jerusalem” nor the term “new Jerusalem” actually occurs in the fragments of DNJ, there is little doubt that the work focuses on the eschatological city of Jerusalem and its temple. It is of course also true that the name “Jerusalem” occurs neither in Ezekiel 40–48

31. Michael Chyutin, *The New Jerusalem Scroll from Qumran: A Comprehensive Reconstruction* (JSNTSup 25; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

32. See H. Reichelt, *Angelus interpret-Texte in der Johannes-Apokalypse* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1994), 203–6; U. Sim, *Das himmlische Jerusalem in Apk 21,1–22,5 im Kontext biblisch-jüdischer Tradition und antiken Städtebaus* (Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 25; Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1996), 64–67). In the most recent full-scale commentary on Revelation to appear in Germany, no mention is made of the DNJ texts: Heinz Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Regensburger Neues Testament; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1997).

(which substitutes the name יהוה שׁמׁיָהּ “Yahweh Is There” in Ezek 48:35) nor in the TS. The connection between the DNJ and the TS is debated, though neither document appears to have been a product of the Qumran sectarians.<sup>33</sup> Wachholder argues that the DNJ is dependent on 11QTemple,<sup>34</sup> while Michael Wise followed by Magen Broshi argue that 11QTemple is dependent on the DNJ.<sup>35</sup> J. Licht and García Martínez, on the other hand, maintain that there is neither a literary nor a programmatic relationship between the two works.<sup>36</sup> Three observations can be made about this debate. First, contrary to Wachholder, it appears that DNJ was compiled earlier than 11QTemple.<sup>37</sup> Second, while literary dependence of 11QTemple on DNJ is doubtful, both works are clearly dependent on Ezekiel 40–48. Third, both works reflect an opposition to the existing temple cultus and share common traditions relating to an ideal or eschatological city and temple. The DNJ was an extremely popular text at Qumran, given the fact that six Aramaic copies of parts of this work have been found in caves 1, 2, 4, 5, and 11. This apparently pre-Qumran text is the closest thing to an apocalypse among the Dead Sea Scrolls, apart from such previously known texts as *1 Enoch*.<sup>38</sup> In the largest fragmentary text, 5Q15,<sup>39</sup> an unnamed visionary (perhaps Ezekiel) is escorted around the city that will stand on Zion by an unidentified guide (perhaps

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33. Though most scholars, following Yigael Yadin, maintain that the *Temple Scroll* was produced by the Qumran sectarians, arguments for excluding the *Temple Scroll* from the sectarian literature are proposed by Lawrence Schiffman, “The Temple Scroll in Literary and Philological Perspective,” in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism II* (ed. W. S. Green; BJS 2; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1980), 143–58; H. Stegemann, “The Origin of the Temple Scroll,” in *Congress Volume: Jerusalem 1986* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 40; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 235–56; idem, “The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll and Its Status at Qumran,” in *Temple Scroll Studies* (ed. G. J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 123–89; Michael Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 49; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 201–3. Yigael Yadin argued that 11QTemple was a sectarian document (“The Temple Scroll: The Longest and Most Recently Discovered Dead Sea Scroll,” *BAR* [1984]: 32–49).

34. B. Z. Wachholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1983), 96.

35. Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 61–86; followed by M. Broshi, “Visionary Architecture and Town Planning in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls Presented by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1989–1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 10–11.

36. J. Licht, “An Ideal Town Plan from Qumran: The Description of the New Jerusalem,” *IEJ* 29 (1979): 45–59; F. García Martínez, “The ‘New Jerusalem’ and the Future Temple of the Manuscripts from Qumran,” in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill 1992), 180–85.

37. The dating of DNJ is partially dependent on its perceived relationship to the *Temple Scroll*. Wise (*Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 86) dates its composition to the third or early second century B.C.E.

38. García Martínez (*Qumran and Apocalyptic*, xi, xiii) refers to both 4Q246 and the DNJ fragments as apocalypses.

39. See Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 271–73; Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Daniel J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts: Second Century B.C.–Second Century A.D.* (BibOr 34; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1994), 54–61.

an angel), who carries a measuring rod that is seven cubits long, that is, 10.5 feet. The narrative is written in the first person singular of the visionary and the guided tour begins outside the city. The guide measures the rectangular wall enclosing the city which is 140 *res* (singular רר or ררס, plural [ר] ררסין)<sup>40</sup> along the eastern and western sides, and 100 *res* long on the northern and southern sides. Since the exact length of the *res* is uncertain, scholars have had to resort to informed speculation. Broshi uses a rounded figure of 1 cubit = 50 centimeters, close to the average of the long and short cubits, and estimates that the city wall of 140 x 100 *res* is ca. 30 km x 21 km = 630 square km,<sup>41</sup> while F. García Martínez calculates that 1 *res* = 63 reeds = 441 cubits = 229 meters, so that the length and width of the rectangular wall surrounding the New Jerusalem would be 32 km x 23 km = 736 square km.<sup>42</sup> The wall has twelve gates (each is 21 cubits wide), three on each side (cf. Ezek 48:33–34; 11QTemple 39.12–13; 40.11–14; 4Q554), and 480 posterns (each is 14 cubits wide), one postern for each stadion. Each gate is flanked by two towers, each of which is 35 cubits square.

The inside of the city is constructed like a chessboard, with 192 insulae or blocks, each 357 cubits square, and consisting of a square row of houses enclosing an inner court, and each with a second floor. Each housing block has a tower with a spiral staircase and each has four gates, one in the middle of each side. The city is orthogonal; that is, the streets intersect at right angles, a design virtually impossible in Palestine, but with origins in ancient Egypt and with more immediate antecedents in the Hellenistic town planning introduced by Hippodamus.<sup>43</sup> A system of orthogonal narrow streets 42 cubits in width separates the insulae. The main street runs east-west and is 126 cubits wide, while the somewhat narrower main street that runs north-south is 92 cubits wide. In addition there are two more east-west streets that are 70 cubits wide and two north-south streets that are 67 cubits wide. This network of streets divides the city into 16 large blocks, each 35 x 25 *ris* or stadia, each consisting of 12 insulae, with a total of 192 insulae.

In Rev 21:9–22:9, the figure of an *angelus interpres* appears for the second time in the narrative. However, in this context, unlike in his first appearance in 17:1–18, the *angelus interpres* has very little to explain to the seer, none of which can actually be considered interpretive. In fact, the only statement attributed to this angel is an invitation to the seer in 21:9: “Come and I will show you the bride, the wife of the lamb.” Thus, the angel’s principal task is to “show” the visionary certain things and this is emphasized by the phrase καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι (“then he showed me”), which occurs twice (21:10a; 22:1a). The *angelus interpres* in Rev 21:9–22:9 functions in three ways: (1) he measures the architecture; (2) he makes occasional comments; and (3) he leads the seer from place to place. These same three functions characterize the mysterious “man” of Ezekiel 40–48 and

40. The *res* in DNJ is divided into 352 royal or long cubits (Chyutin, *New Jerusalem Scroll*, 75), though the exact length of these cubits is not known.

41. Broshi, “Visionary Architecture and Town Planning,” 12.

42. García Martínez, “New Jerusalem,” 192–93.

43. Michael Chyutin, “The New Jerusalem: Ideal City,” in *DSD* 1 (1994): 71–97; and idem, *New Jerusalem Scroll*, 113–30.

the unidentified guide in DNJ. The various Qumran fragments of the “Description of the New Jerusalem” have many parallels to Rev 21:15–21, not least of which are the frequent occurrences of variations on the phrase “אֲנִי הָיִיתִי עִמָּךְ”, “then he showed me.”<sup>44</sup>

In Rev 21:12, the New Jerusalem is described as having a wide and high wall with twelve gates, each inscribed with the names of “the twelve tribes of the sons of Israel.” The mention of the twelve tribes implies that the New Jerusalem is not simply a city but rather the focal point for the entire land. This arrangement corresponds to Ezekiel’s vision of the square outer walls of the eschatological Jerusalem (4,500 cubits on each side) with three gates on each side (Ezek 48:16–17, 30–35), purportedly named after the tribes of Israel (Ezek 48:31), though in fact named after the sons of Jacob (i.e., Joseph and Levi are mentioned rather than Ephraim and Manasseh). The DNJ, like the TS is inspired by Ezekiel 40–48, though the sequence of the names of the gates in Ezek 48:30–35 is very different from DNJ 4Q554. In the latter text, the city has twelve gates, each named after one of the sons of Jacob named in the following order (the names of seven of the twelve gates survive in the text): South: Simeon, [Levi], Judah; West: Joseph, [Benjamin], Reuben; North: [Issachar, Zebulon, Gad]; East: Dan, Naphtali, Asher (4Q554 2.12–3.9). This order conforms generally to that of 11QTemple 39.12–13; 40.11–14.

The ideal or eschatological city and/or temple complex detailed in Ezekiel 40–48, the DNJ, the TS, and Revelation 21 are all gigantic, though in the case of DNJ and the TS it is not possible to determine the exact metric equivalent of the cubit.<sup>45</sup> (1) Ezekiel 40–48: In Ezekiel, the outer court of the temple was surrounded by a square wall, 500 cubits on each side (40:5; 42:15–20; 45:2). The walls of the city itself forms gigantic square 4,500 cubits on each side, with three gates on each side—twelve in all, named after the twelve tribes of Israel (48:30–35). (2) Description of the New Jerusalem: The city in DNJ is a rectangle, measuring 140 *ris* or stadia on the east and west and 100 *ris* or stadia on the north and south, making a rectangle with a perimeter of almost 100,000 cubits, 18.67 miles by 13.33 miles.<sup>46</sup> (3) *Temple Scroll*: In the TS, the sanctuary complex consists of three concentric squares: (1) the inner court, or court of priests measures 300 cubits on a side; (2) the middle court, or the court of men, measures 500 cubits on a side; and (3) the outer court, or the court of Israel, measures 1,700 cubits on a side, with a total perimeter of 6,800 cubits,<sup>47</sup> a structure that would equal the size of the Hasmonean city of Jerusalem.<sup>48</sup>

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44. 2Q24 frag. 1, line 3; 4Q554 frag. 1, col. 2, line 15; col. 3, line 20; 4Q555 frag. 1, line 3; 5Q15 frag. 1, col. 1, lines 2, 15; col. 2, line 6; 11Q18 frag. 16, line 6; frag. 18, line 1.

45. Five different metrical equivalents of the cubit in the *Temple Scroll*, which vary from .42 meters to .56 meters, are considered by J. Maier, “The Architectural History of the Temple in Jerusalem in the Light of the Temple Scroll,” in *Temple Scroll Studies* (ed. G. J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 24–25.

46. Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 82.

47. J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation & Commentary* (JSPSup 34; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 63–64, 144 (diagram); idem, “Architectural History,” 50.

48. M. Broshi, “The Gigantic Dimensions of the Visionary Temple in the Temple Scroll,” *BAR*

In all of these texts that focus on the ideal or eschatological temple, there is a striking emphasis on the twelve tribes of Israel. The association of the names of the twelve tribes of Israel with the gates of the New Jerusalem in each of these texts (Ezek 48:30–35; 4Q554 frag. 1, 1.9–11.11; 11QTemple 39.12–13; 40.11–14), anticipates the final realization of one of the central concerns of Jewish eschatology, the restoration of all Israel, which is repeatedly mentioned in postexilic Old Testament and early Jewish literature.<sup>49</sup>

The New Jerusalem of Revelation 21 and the city of the DNJ texts also share an emphasis on the precious stones and metals that are part of the building material used in the construction of these eschatological structures. The earliest references to precious stones used in the rebuilding of Jerusalem are found in Isa 54:11–12 and Tob 13:16. Gold overlay was used on parts of the Herodian temple (Josephus, *J.W.* 5.201, 205, 207–8; *m. Mid.* 2:3), a feature picked up in 11QTemple (36.11; 39.3; 41.15). The city in DNJ is described as having buildings of sapphire, ruby, and gold (4Q554 frag. 2, 11.15), and the streets are paved with white stone, alabaster, and onyx (5Q15 frag. 1, 11.6–7). In Revelation, the New Jerusalem is described as a whole as having the appearance of jasper, clear as crystal (21:11), or of gold, clear as glass (21:18). Similarly, the twelve foundations of the city were constructed of a variety of precious and semi-precious stones (21:19–20). This may be an embellishment of Old Testament texts that refer to the use of huge costly stones for the foundation of the temple of Solomon (1 Kgs 5:17; 7:10). Utopian cities constructed of precious stones and metals are found not only in Israelite-Jewish tradition, however, for Lucian speaks of a city of gold surrounded with an emerald wall with seven gates each constructed of a single plank of cinnamon with a river of myrrhh running through it (*Ver. hist.* 2.11).

The particular group of Essenes who formed the Qumran community had separated themselves from the temple in Jerusalem because of what they considered a laxity in ritual purity and the use of an unlawful ritual calendar (CD 20.22–23; 4QMMT),<sup>50</sup> though they accepted the basic validity of the temple cult and anticipated its eschatological renewal. In the interim there was a tendency to describe the community as a temple.<sup>51</sup> Just as the temple was the center of purity

13 (1987): 36–37; Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 82.

49. Deut 30:3–4; Neh 1:9; Isa 11:12; 27:12–13; 49:5–6; 56:1–8; 60:3–7; 66:18–24; Jer 31:8, 10 [LXX 38:8, 10]; 32:37 [LXX 39:37]; Ezek 11:17; 20:34, 41–42; 34:11–16; 36:24; 37:11–14, 21–28; Hos 11:10–11; Ps 106:47; 147:2; Tob 13:5, 13; 14:6–7; 2 Macc 1:27–29; 2:7, 18; *Jub.* 1:15–17; *T. Benf.* 9:2; 10:11; *1 Enoch* 57; 90:33; Philo, *Praem.* 94–97, 162–72; Bar 4:37; 5:5; Sir 36:11; 48:10; *Pss. Sol.* 11; 17:28–31, 50; *4 Ezra* 13:12–13, 39–47; *2 Bar.* 78:5–7; *T. Jos.* 19:4; *Shemoneh Esreh* 10; *m. Sanh.* 10:3; IQM 1.2–3, 7–8; 11QTemple 18.14–16; 4Q504 [= 4QWords of the Luminaries<sup>9</sup>] frags. 1–2, VI.10–13; Matt 23:37; cf. Mark 13:27 (a Christian adaptation of this motif); see E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 95–98.

50. F. García Martínez, and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 32–35.

51. B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 46–53; G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung*

for Second Temple Judaism generally, so the assembly of sectarians itself formed a substitute center of ritual purity for the sectarians. In IQS in particular, the notion of the community as an eschatological temple comes to expression a number of times (5.4–7; 8.4–10; 9.3–6), with Israel (= laymen) as the holy place and Aaron (= priests) as the holy of holies. The anti-temple attitude expresses itself in different ways in these texts. In Ezekiel 40–48, the fact that the temple has been destroyed provides the context for the prophet's vision of an ideal or eschatological temple. Both the DNJ and the TS are formulated in opposition to the existing temple cult, which they correct by visualizing an ideal or eschatological temple. The implicit opposition to the existing city and temple reflected in both the DNT and the TS suggests why these texts found a sympathetic reading in the Qumran community. In Rev 21:9–22:9, the emphasis is exclusively on the city, and the author calls attention to the absence of a temple from the midst of the city (Rev 21:22).<sup>52</sup> In both Ezekiel and the TS, the major emphasis is on the temple complex itself, while in DNJ the emphasis is on the city.

In the *Temple Scroll*, the ritual status of temple and the holy city is such that they form a temple-city unit so that the purity requirements that normally apply to the temple are extended to apply to the entire city.<sup>53</sup> Thus, according to the halakhah in 11QTemple 45.7–18 the following conditions cause impurity and exclude people from the temple-city: (1) nocturnal emissions, (2) sexual intercourse,<sup>54</sup> (3) blindness,<sup>55</sup> (4) bodily discharges, (5) contact with the dead, and (6) leprosy.<sup>56</sup> A regimen of ablutions is prescribed for those who incur any of these forms of impurity and who are in consequence consigned to a special area reserved for them east of the temple-city (11QTemple 46.16–18). While in Lev 15:16–18 the period of impurity for those who have nocturnal emissions or have

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*des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1971), 50–93.

52. A very different view of Rev 21:22 is proposed by D. Flusser (“No Temple in the City,” in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988], 454–65), who argues that Rev 21:22–23 is not based on opposition to the temple, but is based on the combination of two midrashic units, the second based on Ps 132:17, in which the phrase “I have prepared a lamp for my Messiah” occurs, and the first on Isa 60:19, which refers to the Lord as the everlasting light of Jerusalem. Flusser argues that these two midrashic units are fused in a midrash on Exod 27:20 (as they also are in Rev 21:22–23): “The Holy One said to Israel: ‘In this world you needed the light of the Temple, but in the world to become because of the merit of the above mentioned lamp (Ex. 27:20) I will bring you the King Messiah, who is compared to a lamp, as it is written: “There I will make a horn to sprout for David, I have prepared a lamp for my Messiah” (Ps. 132:17).”

53. F. García Martínez, “The Problem of Purity: The Qumran Solution,” in Martínez and Barrera, *People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 138–57.

54. There is a close parallel in CD 12.1–2 (trans. Baumgarten and Schwartz): “Let no man lie with a woman in the city of the sanctuary [בְּעִיר הַמִּקְדָּשׁ] to defile the city of the sanctuary with their pollution.”

55. In the Bible this regulation is limited to priests (Lev 21:17–20; cf. IQM 7.4–5; IQSa 2.3–11), suggesting the tendency to extend the regulations for priestly purity to the people generally; see García Martínez, “Problem of Purity,” 146–47.

56. Two forms of ritual uncleanness not mentioned are menstruation and parturition in the case of a woman (see *TDOT* 5:336–37).

sexual intercourse is one day, the temple-city requires a three-day purification ritual (11QTemple 45.7–12).<sup>57</sup>

In Revelation, the New Jerusalem, though explicitly lacking a temple (21:22),<sup>58</sup> nevertheless clearly functions as a temple-city with “the glory of God as its light and its lamp is the Lamb” (21:23).<sup>59</sup> Impurity is also barred from this city, according to 21:27: “But nothing unclean [πᾶν κοινόν] shall enter it, nor any one who practices abomination or falsehood.” At the conclusion of Revelation there is a short list of those who are excluded from the city (22:15): “Outside are the dogs and sorcerers and fornicators and murderers and idolaters, and every one who loves and practices falsehood.” Despite the brevity of these two lists,<sup>60</sup> they exhibit a strikingly common pattern. Both lists begin with what appears to be an exclusively *ritual* category (“nothing unclean,” and “dogs”), which is then followed by a list of *moral* transgressors. Given the unlikelihood that a Christian author would regard ritual and moral impurity as equally defiling, we are left with two possibilities: (1) the author understands the ritual prescriptions metaphorically in moral terms,<sup>61</sup> or (2) the author incorporates a source in which ritual impurity and moral transgression are regarded as equally defiling.<sup>62</sup> It is not easy to choose between these two possibilities, for both might be true.

While the generic category of κοινός might be expected to subsume various other categories of ritual impurity, the author appears to shift gears and provides rather a list of those people who are excluded from the city because of their immoral behavior. Closely parallel to Rev 21:27, with its exclusion of anything impure from the eschatological Jerusalem, is the pronouncement in 11QTemple 47.3–6:

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57. Jacob Milgrom (“Studies in the Temple Scroll,” *JBL* 97 (1978): 512–13) cites Yadin to the effect that the three-day purification is modeled after the purification commands relating to the encampment of Israel at Sinai (Exod 19:10–15).

58. In Judaism, the eschatological expectation of a New Jerusalem generally implied a New Temple. The explicit denial of a temple in the New Jerusalem in Rev 21:22 is therefore surprising and has been frequently understood to reflect an anti-temple stance of strands of early Christianity. The traditions of Jesus’ “cleansing” of the temple and predictions of the destruction of the temple are frequently thought to reflect an anti-temple stance. Yet Jesus’ act of “cleansing” the temple makes more sense if it is understood as a symbolic action anticipating the temple’s destruction (though not impugning its purity and legitimacy), as well as implying its eschatological restoration (Mark 11:15–19 = Matt 21:12–13 = Luke 19:45–48; see James D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of the Earliest Christianity* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977], 324). It is striking that the saying of Jesus predicting the destruction of the existing temple and its replacement by an eschatological temple is widespread in the tradition (Mark 13:2 = Matt 24:2 = Luke 21:6; Mark 14:58 = Matt 26:61; Mark 15:29 = Matt 27:40; John 2:18–22; Acts 6:14). Following Sanders, I think it likely that the action and the saying formed an original unity, that is, the saying interpreted the action (see Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 61–76).

59. Wilfrid J. Harrington, *Revelation* (Sacra Pagina 16; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1993), 218; Giesen, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 135.

60. The only common feature of these two short lists is the phrase “the one who practices falsehood (ὁ ποιῶν ψεῦδος).”

61. In the Hebrew Bible אִלַּת is used metaphorically of idolatry and sin (*TDOT* 5:337–41).

62. This suggests that the source was incorporated without thoroughgoing redaction.



The city which I will sanctify, installing my name and my temple [within it] shall be holy and shall be clean from all types of impurity כּוֹל טִמְאָה which defile it. Everything that there is in it shall be pure and everything that goes into it shall be pure.<sup>63</sup>

The phrase כּוֹל טִמְאָה is virtually identical with πᾶν κοινόν in Rev 21:27, and even the contexts are similar since both imply the perfect purity of the eschatological Jerusalem. Jan Fekkes has argued convincingly on the basis of diction and context that Rev 21:27 alludes to Isa 52:1b: כּי לֹא יוֹסִיף יבֹּא בְךָ עוֹד: עֶרְל וְטִמְאָה (RSV: “For there shall no more come into you [Jerusalem] the uncircumcised and the unclean”).<sup>64</sup> However, like Rev 21:27, Isa 52:1b is formulated negatively; it includes a verb meaning “to come,” the goal of which is the holy city, and it specifically prohibits the entrance of the unclean person or thing.<sup>65</sup> The prediction that unclean persons or things will not enter the eschatological Jerusalem occurs only in Isa 52:1 (and Isa 35:8) in the entire Old Testament. Both Isa 52:1 and 35:8 represent an extension of the kind of postexilic prohibition found in Ezek 44:9, where participation in temple ritual is forbidden the foreigner (i.e., the nonproselyte who is “uncircumcised in heart and flesh”; cf. Isa 56:3–8).<sup>66</sup> Isaiah 52:1 is also quoted in 4Q176 = 4QTanhumim 8.3, an anthology of texts largely from Deutero-Isaiah on the topic of comfort. While Rev 21:27 probably alludes to Isa 52:1, no such allusion is present in the close parallel in 11QTemple 47:3–6,<sup>67</sup> suggesting that the exclusion of the unclean from the eschatological Jerusalem was a conception not restricted to the exegesis of Isa 52:1 and 35:8. *Ps. Sol.* 8:8–13 condemns priests whose immorality and impurity profaned the temple and the sacrifices, a charge closely paralleled by CD 5.6–8.

Without question, the Description of the New Jerusalem, the *Temple Scroll* and the Apocalypse of John exhibit some striking similarities, many of which are explicable by common dependence on Ezekiel 40–48. All three texts contain descriptions of the future Jerusalem in which the city is presented as an enormous square temple-city complex with twelve gates named after the twelve tribes of Israel or the twelve sons of Jacob. While the Apocalypse of John simply states that the three gates on each of the four sides of the city are named after “the twelve tribes of the sons of Israel” (Rev 21:12), an unusual phrase that is found

63. Trans. García Martínez and Watson, *Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 168.

64. Jan Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and Their Development* (JSNTSup 93; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 273–74.

65. The adjective טִמְאָה, used as a noun, can mean “impure one” or “impure thing” in Isa 52:1, just as the phrase πᾶν κοινόν in Rev 21:27 is neuter and therefore means “every impure thing.”

66. Parallel to Ezek 44:9 is 4QFlorilegium = 4Q174 1.3–4 (trans. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:353): “This (refers to) the house in which shall never enter [. . .] either the Ammonite, or the Moabite, or the Bastard, or the foreigner, or the proselyte, never, because there [he will reveal] to the holy ones.”

67. The identification of the sources of 11QTemple, particularly the Hebrew Bible, has been investigated in detail by Wise (*Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 205–42), who categorizes 11QTemple 47.3–18 as free composition.

also in Rev 7:4, where it is followed by a unique list of eleven sons of Israel and one tribe (Manasseh).

The names of the twelve city gates of the Description of the New Jerusalem are identical to those of the *Temple Scroll*, but both differ from the names in Ezekiel. This suggests a literary relationship between the DNJ and the TS. Only the DNJ and the Apocalypse of John feature an angelic guide with a measuring rod, probably based on the model of Ezekiel 40–48. In the TS it is God who narrates the measurements of various parts of the temple-city complex. While these texts share many common features, there is no clear indication of a direct literary relationship, except perhaps between the DNJ and the TS. The heavenly existence of the holy city is emphasized in *2 Baruch* as in the Apocalypse of John, while its appearance on earth is a motif shared by *4 Ezra* and the Apocalypse of John. Thus the Apocalypse has combined emphases in *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra* with those of Ezekiel 40–48, the Description of the New Jerusalem and the *Temple Scroll*.

## 5. Conclusion

The apocalyptic motifs that the Apocalypse of John shares with the three first-century C.E. Palestinian Jewish apocalypses, on the one hand, and with the Description of the New Jerusalem and *Temple Scroll*, on the other (the latter two documents almost certainly date from the first and more probably the second century B.C.E.), are generally to be accounted for not through literary dependence but as independently drawn from a written or oral stream of Palestinian Jewish apocalyptic traditions. An analogy to this somewhat vague proposal is the Fourth Gospel, which obviously shares particular traditions with the Synoptic Gospels, though direct literary dependence appears highly unlikely. Though the Apocalypse was written in the province of Roman Asia, it is permeated with the motifs and literary conventions of Palestinian Jewish apocalyptic. This investigation supports the suggestion that the author was not only an immigrant from Palestine, perhaps in the wake of the second Jewish revolt, but that he was a card-carrying Jewish apocalypticist. Since a close analysis of the Apocalypse of John betrays an intimate knowledge of many apocalyptic sources and traditions, it appears likely that the author read, and perhaps even owned, a modest library of Palestinian apocalyptic literature. Whether he began his career as a Christian apocalypticist or whether he began as a Jewish apocalypticist who only later became a follower of Jesus of Nazareth can never be known with certainty, though in my view the latter seems more inherently probable. At any rate, no other Christian author (so far as we know) ever attempted to produce an apocalypse so generically similar to the generally recognized corpus of Palestinian Jewish apocalypses as the Apocalypse of John.

# THE *PARABLES OF ENOCH* AND THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

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## Introduction

This publication is directed to New Testament scholars and to all interested in Second Temple Judaism and Christian Origins. Its purpose is twofold. First, I shall review the study of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (OTP), with a focus on the *Parables of Enoch* or *Similitudes of Enoch* (1 Enoch 37–71), correcting two errors committed by experts who have misled New Testament scholars. Second, I then seek to ask how the *Parables of Enoch* might have influenced the author of the Apocalypse of John.

### 1. The *Parables of Enoch* in Scholarship

The first section of this work is a survey of the study of the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, with the express purpose of reporting what has been learned about the character, date, and provenience of the *Parables of Enoch*. To highlight the central importance of the *Books of Enoch* in pre-70 Judaism, I have created nine post-70 indicators of the importance of the *Books of Enoch*.

#### 1.1 *Description and Definition of OTAP*

At the outset clarification should be given to nomenclature. What is meant by the “Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha” (OTAP)? The term “Apocrypha” denotes the documents found in the Greek Old Testament (Septuagint) but not in the Hebrew Bible (see 1.3); these are sometimes (esp. among Roman Catholics) called the deuterocanonical works. As a collection, the Pseudepigrapha denotes the writings related to the Bible that were once, in early Judaism and earliest Christianity, considered by many to be inspired or “biblical” (see 1.3). These documents are sometimes called *Antilegomena*, and *Outside Books*

(which means books outside the canon; see the Hebrew collection under the title *hsprym hhyšwnim*).

The importance and extent of early Jewish pseudepigraphical writing become even more obvious with the inclusion of the Qumran Pseudepigrapha (see 5.1). The assumption that “pseudepigraphical” means “false” attribution and therefore not important needs to be dismissed. According to critical research, the Old and New Testaments also contain pseudepigraphical works. In the Old Testament, pseudepigraphical attribution is obvious especially in the attribution of the Pentateuch to Moses, the Psalms to David, and Proverbs to Solomon. In the New Testament “false attribution” applies notably to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, 1–3 John, 1 and 2 Peter, and the many letters incorrectly attributed to Paul (which in some Bibles includes Hebrews).

The first post-70 indicator of the importance of the *Books of Enoch* appears in the first century C.E. The author of Jude, reputed to be Jesus’ brother (Mark 6:3; cf. 1 Cor 9:5), quotes from this pseudepigraphon and considers the book a source of prophecy.

### ***1.2 Errors Caused by Supersessionism, Confessionalism, and Anti-Semitism***

Prejudices and biases always have hindered the development of scientific research, as is clear from a study of the life of Galileo. Worship of the Bible is simply a form of idolatry, and this penchant has caused a denigration of works not included within it.

Supersessionism and missionary zeal have caused many Christians to treat the “Old Testament” as old and surpassed by the “New Testament.” This attitude overlooks Paul’s warning that God has not forsaken his people, the Jews (Rom 11:1–2).

Confessionalism—the focus solely on proclaiming the divinity of Jesus Christ—also has neglected Jesus’ earthly life as a Jew, thus causing the claim that Jesus’ message was unique. That would mean, taken literally, that Jesus created everything he said, which fails to perceive how often he quoted as Scripture works now included in the canon and how often his thought was shaped by works left out of it. By refusing to examine the Jewish documents from Jesus’ Judaism, the Christian has been able to fabricate claims that Jesus created the concept of the Son of Man, alone proclaimed the coming of the kingdom of God, and is the only Jew who performed miracles (cf. Honi).

Anti-Semitism also has caused a rejection of writings deemed Jewish. Marcion (110–160 C.E.) was not the only one who was confused into thinking that a follower of Jesus should be freed from the contaminations of Jews, Judaism, and Jewish writings (see 4.3). That theological perception now is recognized to be impossible, since Jesus was Jewish, and the heart of “Christian” theology is fundamentally Jewish (see 5.3). Unfortunately, the hatred of Jews defined much of Europe during last century, especially in the 1930s and 1940s. In such a climate works deemed to be Jewish and “outside the canon” could scarcely receive a sensitive hearing.

### 1.3 Antiquity

**Composition of the Books Considered OTAP.** The latest book in the Old Testament or Hebrew Scriptures is Daniel. It was composed about 164 B.C.E. The earliest books in the OTAP date from about 300 B.C.E.; thus, some writings in the OTAP are older than some documents placed in the Old Testament. From about 300 B.C.E., when the earliest sections of the *Books of Enoch* were composed (see 6.2), until the time of the Mishnah, about 200 to 220 C.E., many works considered full of God's word and scriptural were composed. These are almost always part of the OTAP; but, of course, some of them, clearly written by Jews, were collected much later than the New Testament.

**Transmission of the OTAP.** The Jewish writings now collected into the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha were composed conceivably in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek, Latin, or Coptic. These original works were later translated and transmitted into other languages, notably Latin, Greek, Old Irish, Syriac, Old Church Slavonics, Armenian, Arabic, Karshuni, Georgian, and Ethiopic. Thus, the early Jewish works known as OTAP were considered influential and important for many communities during subsequent periods, including the patristic period, the Byzantine period, and the Middle Ages. Almost always, the scribes who copied or translated these documents were Christians. The OTAP, especially the apocalypses and the *Life of Adam and Eve* influenced many savants and creative thinkers in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, including Dante and Milton. In Judaism, the early Jewish works, especially the apocalypses (esp. *3 Enoch*) helped shape medieval Jewish mysticism and the writing of the Zohar. Even the apocalyptically inspired Christopher Columbus, as well as Isabel and Ferdinand, were influenced by the early Jewish writings collected into the OTAP. Not only the shaping of European culture but also the discovery of America can be traced, at least in some small measures, to the early Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

**Ancient Lists of OTAP.** The OTA, according to the oldest codices of the Septuagint include the following documents: Tobit, Judith, the Additions to Esther, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus (= Sirach), Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremiah (= Baruch, ch. 6), the Additions to Daniel (Prayer of Azariah, Song of the Three Young Men, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon), 1 Maccabees, and 2 Maccabees. These early Jewish documents are considered biblical, as deuterocanonical books, in the Roman Catholic Bible, the Greek Orthodox Bible, and the Slavonic Bible. The Prayer of Manasseh is an appendix in the Vulgate, is part of the Greek Orthodox and Slavonic Bibles, and is included in some editions of the OTP. Psalm 151 is also in the Septuagint and is part of the Greek Orthodox and Slavonic Bibles. 3 Esdras is placed in an appendix to the Vulgate; it is also 2 Esdras in the Slavonic Bible and 1 Esdras in the Greek Orthodox Bible. 4 Maccabees is an appendix to the Greek Orthodox Bible. Most full editions of the English Bible include the major collection of OTA, and the NRSV (New Revised Standard Version) includes 3 and 4 Maccabees.

In antiquity and in early medieval times, additional books were considered "apocryphal," one of the *Antilegomena*, or not definitively received into the canon

(which in some circles was considered open). Byzantine chronographers, who attempted to write the history of the world in light of divine providence, provided sometimes lists of books now considered to belong to the OTP. The most important of these lists are in the *Apostolic Constitutions and Canons* (fourth century C.E.), the *List of Sixty Books* (according to Zahn, ca. 500), Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (eighth–ninth century), Pseudo-Athanasius (ca. sixth century), Mechitar of Airivank (thirteenth century), Slavic Lists (ca. eleventh century [this is a copy of Pseudo-Athanasius]), and the *Decretum Gelasianum* (according to E. von Dobschütz, sixth century). Here is a list of such “pseudepigrapha”:

Abraham	Testament of [or Apocalypse of?]
Adam	Apocalypse of
Adam	Penitance of
Adam	Testament of
Ahiqar	
Aristeas	Letter of
Baruch	Apocalypse of [2 or 3 Baruch?]
Daniel	Apocryphon of[?]; Seventh Vision of, lost?
David	More Psalms of
Eldad and Modad	
Elijah	Apocalypse of
Enoch	Apocalypse of
Esdras	Apocalypse of
Ezekiel	Apocryphon of
Habakkuk	This book remains “lost.”
Isaiah	Martyrdom and Ascension of [Vision of]
Jeremiah	Paralepomenia [only in Slavic list] 3 + 4
Job	Testament of [only in the <i>Decretum</i> ]
Joseph	Prayer of
Joseph and Aseneth	Prayer of
Jubilees	
Lamech	This book remains “lost.”
4 Maccabees	
Moses	Testament of [= Assumption of]
Og	This is probably the <i>Book of the Giants</i> .
Isaiah	Vision of
Jannes and Jambres	

Patriarchs	Testaments of the Three
Patriarchs	Testaments of the Twelve
Prophets	Lives (and Deaths) of the
Solomon	Psalms of
Solomon	Odes of
Solomon	Testament of [= <i>Salomonis Interdictio</i> ]
Sibylline Oracles	
Zephaniah	Apocalypse of
Zechariah	Apocalypse of

The list is culled from these ancient lists. It is virtually impossible to discern what book a chronographer may have had in mind. Characteristically vague and potentially misleading, for example, is a reference to “Adam.” It may refer to the *Apocalypse of Adam*, the *Penitance of Adam*, or the *Testament of Adam*. An unspecified reference to a book of Ezra may mean *4 Ezra*, *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*, *Vision of Ezra*, *Questions of Ezra*, or even the *Revelation of Ezra* (and conceivably additional works composed by Christians). The vast number of works attributed pseudonymously, usually by Jews, to Solomon is understandable, since he was celebrated as the wisest of humans; among such works are the following (some of which remain unidentifiable or unknown): *Concerning King Solomon*, *Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn*, *Interdictio Contradictio Salomonis*, *Magical Prayers of Solomon*, *Odes of Solomon*, *Psalms of Solomon*, *The Ring of Solomon* (= *Testament of Solomon?*), *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, *Testament of Solomon*, *Wisdom of Solomon Against the Demons* [and possibly the *Sins of Solomon* (unpublished but in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France)].

Although many works once considered lost were rediscovered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, some works remain lost. Included among them are the following: *The Seventh Vision of Daniel*, a pseudepigraphical book attributed to Habakkuk, and especially *Lamech*, which some early Qumranologists incorrectly identified as the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

Also missing from the list above are numerous works that appear in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by Charlesworth (1983, 1985), which is the most extensive modern collection of OTP. These documents in this modern collection are known from our main sources for ancient Jewish “Pseudepigrapha,” citations by early scholars (such as Clement, Epiphanius, Hippolytus, Origen, Eusebius, and Clement of Alexandria), significant excerpts in Salminianus Hermias Sozomenus (ca. 425) in George Syncellus (fl. c. 800) and in George Hamartolos (to 842), and the ancient manuscripts of such works themselves. Thus, among the OTP are also the following documents (all not mentioned by the chronographers): *2 Enoch*, *3 Enoch*, *Treatise of Shem*, *Apocalypse of Sedrach*, Pseudo-Philo, *Ladder of Jacob*, *History of the Rechabites*, *History of Joseph*, *3 Maccabees*, Pseudo-Phocylides, the *Sentences of Syriac Menander*, *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers*, *Prayer of Jacob*, as well as the fragments of lost Judeo-Hellenistic works that were excerpted by “Polyhistor,” who is also Cornelius

Alexander of Miletus, who culled the citations in the mid first century B.C.E. (see the editions of the OTP by Sacchi and Charlesworth).

The number of books to be considered biblical, inspired, and thus part of a canon, which was not yet a concept or a closed collection, is reflected in two publications that appeared in the latter decades of the first century C.E. The Jewish historian Josephus provides perhaps the earliest list of the number of books to be included in the Bible (of course, the Hebrew Bible). In *Against Apion*, which was composed perhaps between 93 and 95 C.E., Josephus notes that only twenty-two books belong in the Bible.

In *4 Ezra*, one of the books in the OTP, we find another reference to the number of sacred books. In this work, composed near the end of the first century, pseudo-Ezra appeals to God for help in recovering the Torah (or Law). He is told that twenty-four books are to be read by all Jews but an additional seventy are reserved for the wise among the Jews (*4 Ezra* 14:45–48). Unfortunately, Josephus and the Jewish author of *4 Ezra* provide only numbers of books and do not mention the names of the books. It would be foolish to claim that the comments by Josephus and the author of *4 Ezra* prove that the canon had been closed and that we may by ca. 100 C.E. refer to apocryphal or extracanonical books. Thus, the first post-70 indicator of the importance of the *Books of Enoch* is the perception that the work must not be branded “extracanonical.”

The second post-70 indicator of the importance of the *Books of Enoch* appears in the late second century. Tertullian considered the book inspired: *Sed cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de Domino praedicavit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino rejiciendum est, quod pertineat ad nos. Et legimus omnem scripturam aedificationi habilem divinitus inspirari* (*Cult. fem.* 3.3). Most likely, Tertullian made this claim because Jude, “Jesus’ brother,” cited *Enoch* as inspired Scripture, and Enoch predicted the coming of the Lord Jesus.

The third post-70 indicator of the importance of the *Books of Enoch* is the fact that the early scholars of the “church” quoted it. They found the *Books of Enoch* revelatory, part of Scripture, or a source of inspiration; the list is a “Who’s Who of Early Christianity”: the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen.

The fourth post-70 indicator of the importance of the *Books of Enoch* is the devotion of copying scribes. We have evidence that they copied the Greek text in the fourth century (Chester Beatty Papyrus [see Fas. 8]) and in the sixth century (*Codex Panopolitanus*; edited by Bouriant in 1892). Copying a work is laborious and reflects admiration for it and the need to preserve it, or part of it.

The fifth post-70 indicator of the importance of the *Books of Enoch* is the excerpts studiously made ca. 800 by Georgius Syncellus in his *Chronographia* (extant in thirty-two manuscripts) and in the middle of the eleventh century by Georgius Cedrenus in his *Historiarum Compendium*.

The sixth post-70 indicator of the importance of the *Books of Enoch* is the reception of the entire corpus within Ethiopia. We now possess numerous Ethiopic manuscripts, and the work is included within the canon of the Ethiopic Church.



From the first century C.E. to the seventeenth century, scribes in various parts of the world, from Russia to Ethiopia and from Persia to Ireland, copied many of the early Jewish works known from the OTAP. Virtually all of the many Jewish works known in Jerusalem, Qumran, and elsewhere in ancient Israel before 70 C.E., when the Roman armies burned the Holy Land, would have been lost if not for the labors of these scribes.

## 2. Research on the OTAP Prior to the Twentieth Century: A Glimpse

### 2.1 *The Paris (1629–1642) and London (1665–1667) Polyglots*

**Books Included.** The compilers of the Slavonic *Tolkovaja Paleja* (= Explanatory *Palai*) sought to retell stories known from the Old Testament. The *Paleja*, essentially miscellanies, contain documents that are now considered part of the OTP. A good example is provided by the copies of the *Merilo Pravednoe* (= *The Just Balance*); the copy translated in Charlesworth's *OTP* 1:215–21 dates from the middle of the fourteenth century C.E. This ethical treatise contains extracts from 2 *Enoch*, which is preserved only in Old Slavonic manuscripts. Another work known from the *Paleja* is the *Ladder of Jacob* (= *OTP* 1:401–11).

An interest in printing what was deemed the “entire Bible” (that is, the Vulgate Bible) was the result of the invention of printing in the 1450s. The printing of the Polyglot Bible (that is a Bible in multiple languages) was then initiated by Cardinal Cisneros (1438–1517). The *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* was published with his support; in six volumes the massive work includes the Hebrew Bible, the Latin Vulgate, the Septuagint, the Targum Onkelos, and the Greek New Testament.

After this first Polyglot Bible, which was published at Alcalá de Henares (Complutum) from 1514 to 1515 (actually issued in 1522), other polyglots appeared. In Antwerp in 1569 to 1572 a polyglot Bible was published, under the patronage of Philip II of Spain, in eight folio volumes. It added a new language to the collection: the Syriac New Testament. In Paris between 1629 and 1642 G. M. Le Jay's *Paris Polyglot* appeared. As the full title revealed, *Biblia: Hebraica, Samaritana, Chaldaica, Graeca, Syriaca, Latina, Arabica*, this nine-volume work added the Syriac Old Testament and the Samaritan Pentateuch, as well as some Arabic versions of the Bible.

In London, between 1665 and 1667, Brian Walton (1600–1661) published the last Great polyglot that included the Psalms and New Testament in Ethiopic. This six, volume work, titled *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta: Complectentia textus originales, Hebraicum cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Graecum*, was more complete than Le Jay's polyglot, including several apocryphal books (very broadly defined). This *Polyglot* contains books that should not be included in the OTAP; for example, 5 *Maccabees* seems to be a medieval composition and not a work based on an early Jewish document (or traditions).

**Perception of the Books.** The perception of the books to be included in these massive volumes was shaped by a canon that was probably considered closed. Cardinal Cisneros wished to revive the study of the “sacred scriptures” but a preference for the selection of documents in Jerome’s *Vulgate* is obvious. Most likely, Origen’s *Hexapla* was the most important model, although it was not strictly a polyglot but a diglot (two languages were used), since Origen arranged in six columns the Hebrew text, a transliteration of it into Greek letters, the translations of Aquila and Symmachus, then the Septuagint as revised by Origen, and then Theodotion. Another interest seems evident in the preparation and publication of the great polyglots. The Western scholars saw a need to revive philological studies and desired to advance the knowledge of the languages of the Middle East.

This focus on the Bible, and only in Walton’s polyglot the “extra-canonical works,” continued in the incunabula (works printed before 1500). In 1477 at Bologna a quarto edition of the Hebrew Psalter with the commentary of Rabbi David Kimchi was printed. In 1482 also at Bologna a folio edition of the Pentateuch with the Targum of Onkelos and the commentary of Rabbi Samuel Jarchi was printed (it is an improvement on the previous one).

## 2.2 Johanne Alberto Fabricius (1713–1714)

**Books Included.** The father of modern apocryphal and pseudepigraphical studies is Johanne Alberto Fabricius (1668–1736). In 1713 and 1714, in Hamburg, Fabricius published the erudite, two-volume *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti: Collectus castigatus, testimoniisque, censuris et animadversionibus illustratus*. The work is encyclopedic, beginning with Adam (including Psalm 90, which is attributed to Adam in *Baba Bathra*<sup>1</sup>) and ending with Zechariah. Typical of the arrangement is “Enoch,” with the Greek and the Latin on the same page but in neat columns. The ancient testimonies, or quotations by the early church fathers, are handsomely and helpfully displayed. Characteristically of his time, Fabricius translated the Pseudepigrapha into Latin.

Fabricius was prolific. Other works by him that are related to the study of the OTAP are the following:

1703	<i>Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti.</i>
1716	<i>Bibliographia antiquaria, sive introductio in notitiam scriptorum, qui antiquitates hebraicas, graecas, romanas et christianas scriptis illustraverunt.</i>
1718	<i>Bibliotheca ecclesiastica, in qua continentur de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis S. Hieronymus.</i>
1731	<i>Salutaris lux evangelii toti orbi per divinam gratiam exoriens.</i>
1741	<i>Codicis pseudepigraphi Veteris Testamenti . . . Hypomnesticon.</i>

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1. Johann Albert Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti: Collectus castigatus, testimoniisque, censuris et animadversionibus illustratus* (2 vols.; Hamburg: T. C. Felinger, 1722–23), 1:19.

Fabricius is also the main contributor to *Bibliotheca graeca, sive, notitia scriptorum veterum Graecorum quorumcumque monumenta integra aut fragmenta edita existant tum plerorumque e mss. ac deperditis* (1790–1809).

**Perception of the Books.** Fabricius assumed that many of the writings he edited and translated represented the thoughts and writings of the reputed authors and proved Christianity to be the true religion. This professor in Hamburg had a missionary zeal that is evident in a book published in 1725: *Delectus argumentorum et syllabus scriptorum qui veritatem religionis Christianae: Adversus Atheos, Epicureos, Deistas seu naturalistas, idolatras, Judaeos et Muhammedanos*. His theological bias, typical of his time, led him to argue against, and lump together, atheists, Epicureans, deists, idolators, Jews, and Muslims. This penchant may be found also in his *Sermons*, which were published in Paris in 1866 (edited by J. Saruin).

### 2.3 J.-P. Migne (1856–1858)

**Books Included.** Fresh easterly winds, stirred up by the French and British conquests in the Near East, awakened an interest in the literature of antiquity, especially anything related to the Bible. Crates of manuscripts flowed northward up the Nile or across the desert or arid land. The first shipments went to the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. The subsequent shipments were headed for the British Museum in London. The interest in biblical lands evoked by the flood of ancient manuscripts into these and other cities was increased by another phenomenon. The Enlightenment produced a preoccupation with logic and reason; hence, miracles were denied (Hume) and the biblical record was severely challenged. The international influence of biblical research at Tübingen—most notably the challenges to orthodoxy caused by the research published by F. C. Baur and D. F. Strauss—caused many gifted persons to search for additional manuscripts that would prove these Germans wrong and the Bible right (viz., C. Tischendorf, A. S. Lewis, M. D. Lewis). Other scholars sought to make ancient documents, especially the OTAP, available for a wider audience.

This time, the middle of the nineteenth century, produced the next great figure in the study of the OTAP. He is J.-P. Migne. He helped initiate a new phase in the study of the OTAP. Migne published the first collection of apocryphal documents into a modern vernacular, French (with notes in Greek). The result is his magisterial two-volume *Dictionnaire des apocryphes, collection de tous les livres apocryphes relatifs à l'ancien et au nouveau testament* (Paris, 1856–58).

After Migne, numerous scholars turned their research to the OTAP, editing and translating one or more of the Pseudepigrapha, and preparing reference tools for the study of antiquity and its languages. Never before had so many labored in this field; the latter half of the nineteenth century produced a vast number of pioneering books.

**Perception of Books.** Migne drew attention to the gross and ridiculous fables of the ancients, which includes the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Persians (and

Zoroaster), the Greeks, the Romans, the Etruscans, as well as those in India and China. Turning to the vast number of Jewish and Christian apocryphal books, he admitted that it was not easy to discern which of these belong outside the canon and which are equal to the sacred books.<sup>2</sup> Despite his Protestant faith, Migne lauded Fabricius for his immense erudition and recognized that he had drawn the attention of savants to the apocryphal books.<sup>3</sup> Migne also saluted, among other works, Richard Laurence's translations of *1 Enoch*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, and *4 Ezra* (in 1818 and 1819).

The seventh post-70 indicator of the importance of the *Books of Enoch* is Richard Laurence. In *The Book of Enoch the Prophet* (1833), Laurence considered the author of the *Books of Enoch* important:

[A]lthough his production was apocryphal, it ought not therefore to be stigmatized as necessarily replete with error; although it be on that account incapable of becoming a rule of faith, it may nevertheless contain much moral as well as religious truth; and may be justly regarded as a correct standard of the doctrine of the times in which it was composed.<sup>4</sup>

One wonders what Laurence might have been able to claim if he had not written when the canon was considered closed and when Christian theologians were breathing venom against all who might be influenced by the Enlightenment.

### 3. Research on the OTAP at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

#### 3.1 E. Kautzsch (1900)

**Books Included.** Between the collections of Migne (1856–58) and Kautzsch (1900) many monographs dedicated to the study of the OTAP were published. These works reveal a growing interest in the study of the books (incorrectly) perceived to be on the “fringes of the canon,” and provided texts (often an *editio princeps*), translations, and reference works that made possible the major collections published in the twentieth century. Presently, we may only highlight the major publications focused on the OTAP that appeared in the last decade of the nineteenth century:

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2. J.-P. Migne, *Dictionnaire des apocryphes, ou collection de tous les livres apocryphes relatifs à l'ancien et au nouveau Testament* (2 vols.; Encyclopédie théologique 3.23–24; Paris: Migne-Ateliers Catholiques, 1856–58), 1:xx.

3. *Ibid.*, 1:xxxiii.

4. Richard Laurence, *The Book of Enoch the Prophet: An Apocryphal Production, Supposed for Ages to Have Been Lost, but Discovered at the Close of the Last Century in Abyssinia, Now First Translated from an Ethiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1833), xlvi.

1890s	Scholars	Publications
1891	O. Zöckler	<i>Die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments</i>
1891	W. J. Dcanc	<i>Pseudepigrapha</i>
1891	M. R. James, R. E. Ryle	<i>Psalmi Solomōntos</i>
1892	M. R. James	<i>The Testament of Abraham</i>
1892	E. de Fayc	<i>Les apocalypses juives</i>
1892	U. Bouriant	<i>Fragments grecs du livre d'Énoch</i>
1892	A. Lods	<i>Le livre d'Hénoch: Fragments grecs découverts à Akhmim</i>
1893	M. R. James	<i>Apocrypha Anecdota</i>
1893	M. Gaster	<i>The Apocalypse of Abraham</i>
1895	O. von Gebhardt	<i>Psalmi Solomōntos</i>
1895	T. Reinach	<i>Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaïsme</i>
1896	W. Frankcnberg	<i>Die Datierung der Psalmen Salomos</i>
1896	N. Bonwetsch	<i>Das slawische Henochbuch</i>
1897	N. Bonwetsch	<i>Die Apokalypse Abrahams</i>
1896	H. S. Josephcanz	<i>The Treasury of the Old and New Fathers</i>
1897	M. R. James	<i>Apocrypha Anecdota II</i>
1899	G. Steindorff	<i>Die Apokalypse des Elias . . . und Bruchstücke der Sophonias Apokalypse</i>

Especially notable additions to this list are the works of R. H. Charles, which date from 1893 to 1912. Subsequently, Charles published his two-volume work on the APOT, which as we shall see, defined the study of the OTAP in the twentieth century. Note Charles's major contributions prior to his monumental collection:

Dates	Publications
1893	<i>The Book of Enoch: Translated from Dillmann's Ethiopic Text</i>
1895	<i>The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees</i>
1896	<i>The Apocalypse of Baruch</i>
1896	<i>Book of the Secrets of Enoch</i> , edited with an introduction
1897	<i>The Assumption of Moses</i>
1899	<i>Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life . . . Eschatology</i>
1900	<i>The Ascension of Isaiah</i>
1902	<i>The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis</i>
1906	<i>The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch</i>
1908	<i>The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>
1912	<i>The Book of Enoch: Translated Anew</i>
1912	<i>Fragments of a Zadokite Work</i>
1912	<i>Immortality: The Drew Lecture Delivered October 11, 1912</i>

The eighth post-70 indicator of the importance of the *Books of Enoch* is the focus on it by Charles. He judged the *Books of Enoch*, a massive collection of Jewish books, to be more important than all the OTP for shaping early Christian theology (we shall return to Charles's insight later).

The end of the nineteenth century saw the appearances of two other major publications on the OTAP. These are T. Zahn's *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons* (1890) and E. Schürer's "Apokryphen des Alten Testaments," in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (3rd ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896).

The twentieth century began with a tsunami of optimism that accompanied the industrial revolution, with numerous discoveries and inventions shaping Western culture. Confidence in human powers allowed people to claim that it was possible to build the perfect ship, the Titanic. Ironically, the unsinkable ship did not survive its maiden voyage.

Slowly, a perception and appreciation of Jewish apocalyptic thought emerged; it can be seen in A. Schweitzer's books. Few scholars seemed to realize that the heart of this theology is the belief that the future belongs to God. God's kingdom cannot be brought on earth by anyone except God alone and in a time that God alone knows.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the appearance of the first German edition of the OTAP: E. Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (1900; reprinted in 1975). Volume 1 contained the Apocrypha: 3 Ezra, 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, 3 Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, the Prayer of Manasseh, the Additions to Daniel, the Additions to Esther, Baruch, the Letter of Jeremiah, Sirach, and the Wisdom of Solomon. Volume 2 presented the Pseudepigrapha: the *Letter of Aristeas*, *Jubilees*, the *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, 4 Maccabees, *Sibylline Oracles*, 1 *Enoch*, the *Assumption of Moses*, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Life of Adam and Eve*. This collection constituted for most biblical scholars a definition of the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. For the first time a large number of scholars—including such famous scholars as Gunkel and Kittel—joined a project that was edited by one person; this will be the model for future editions.

**Perception of Books.** Kautzsch hailed the OTAP for providing a window through which we could see the diverse forms of Judaism that appeared since the exile. He admired the religious insight, piety, historical writing, philosophy, and poetry or psalms in these books. In the OTA there is only one historical book, 1 Maccabees; in the OTP history appears only in the form of legends. He judged that the Jewish apocalypses in the OTAP dated from about 140 B.C.E., with some sections of the *Sibylline Oracles*, to 90 C.E., with the writing of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. He praised Daniel as "the Mother of all apocalypses."<sup>5</sup>

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5. E. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (2 vols.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1900), 1:xxii.

### 3.2 R. H. Charles

**Books Included.** The setting was ready for the first edition of the OTAP into English. R. H. Charles (1855–1931) went to Germany to learn about apocalypticism and the OTAP. In 1913 he edited, with the help of scholars in Great Britain, the two volume *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*. The collection of OTP books seems strange to scholars today, especially in light of the lead provided by Kautzsch. Under “Ethics and Wisdom Literature,” Charles included *Pirkē Aboth* (which belongs in rabbinics), the *Story of Ahikar* (which probably should be included because it shapes Tobit, and otherwise it would be lost from view), and under “History” he placed the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (which we now know belongs within the Qumran corpus).

**Perception of Books.** Charles had a skill and love for the OTAP. His thesis, however, was that “Apocalyptic was essentially ethical.”<sup>6</sup> This misrepresentative claim helps explain why he included *Pirkē Aboth* and the *Story of Ahikar* among the OTP. What is hard to explain is why he did not include other pseudepigraphical works, namely *Joseph and Aseneth*, *4 Baruch*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and other early Jewish works.

### 3.3 Apocalyptic Thought Becomes Appreciated

**Albert Schweitzer.** Kautzsch’s recognition and celebration of Jewish eschatology and apocalyptic thought helps one understand the title of A. Schweitzer’s exceptional book: *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (1906; known in English as *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*). The original title was chosen by Schweitzer, because Reimarus was the first to perceive the importance of apocalyptic eschatology in the time of Jesus and Wrede was the scholar who demonstrated its importance in Jesus’ life and the portrayal of it in the Gospels (*Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* [1901]). After Schweitzer’s work, scholars slowly came to perceive that eschatology and apocalyptic theology fundamentally defined early Jewish thought (300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E. and especially from 164 B.C.E. to 135/6 C.E.) and that the historical Jesus was influenced by apocalyptic perception and eschatological expectation. The source for the apocalypses, except for Daniel in the Old Testament and Revelation in the New Testament, is the OTAP. Especially important for an understanding of twentieth-century research is the recognition of the singular importance of the *Apocalypse of Enoch* (= *1 Enoch*), *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch*.

**R. H. Charles.** In the *Dictionary of National Biography, 1931–1940*, the famous T. W. Manson saluted Charles, the former archdeacon of Westminster, for his

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6. R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, with Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes to Several Books* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:ix.

knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopic. Manson continued by rightly judging that “nothing of his on Apocalyptic literature can safely be ignored”; but Manson added another insight. Manson admitted that Charles’s knowledge was vast, but “there was a sense in which the language of Apocalyptic remained a foreign language to him. He could never be completely at home in the world of the Apocalyptists.”<sup>7</sup> In *The Expository Times* Charles was saluted as an incomparable scholar: “If he has not created, he has certainly revolutionized, his study.”<sup>8</sup> The author also evidenced an attitude that foreshadowed the dark clouds rising on the horizon: Charles’s *APOT* is “a work which surpasses all other complete editions of the Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha in any language. It is just such a work as our own great Universities, alone perhaps of the educational centres of the world, could have produced, and our own University presses published.”<sup>9</sup> More trustworthy is another judgment: “Never before was the interest in these books—or at least the Pseudepigrapha—so wide-spread. That interest has its focus in the eschatology.”<sup>10</sup> The review of Charles’s edition by M.-J. Lagrange also deserves notice. Father Lagrange recognized Charles as *maître* of the apocryphal works and that his edition was superior to the one by Kautzsch (“fort au-dessus de celle de Kautzsch”).<sup>11</sup> The documents in volume I are clearly “pour nous Écriture Sainte.”<sup>12</sup> He added that liberal Protestants consider the Wisdom of Solomon and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* incomparably superior to Esther.<sup>13</sup>

During the period from 1861 to 1913 one luminary shines brightest. During this time, R. H. Charles published many books on one or more of the Pseudepigrapha, as we have seen. Subsequently, he published the following

1913	<i>Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity</i>
1914	<i>Religious Development Between the Old and New Testaments</i>
1917	<i>Great Rejected Books of the Biblical Apocrypha</i> Apocalypsc of Baruch
1929	<i>Resurrection of Man</i> (sermons)

Not included in the lists of books published by Charles on the OTAP are his masterful commentaries on Daniel and Revelation. The enduring significance of the mind of Charles is the obvious fact that his books are reprinted frequently.

Charles, who became the archdeacon of Westminster, appears regularly

7. T. W. Manson, “Charles, Robert Henry,” in *The Dictionary of National Biography, 1931–40* (ed. L. G. Wickham Legg; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 170.

8. Anonymous, review of R. H. Charles’s *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, *ExpTim* 24 (1913): 511.

9. *Ibid.*, 513.

10. *Ibid.*

11. M.-J. Lagrange, review of R. H. Charles’s *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, *RB* II (1914): 132.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*



today in discussions of *2 Enoch*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Assumption of Moses*, *2 Baruch*, and especially the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Jubilees*, and *1 Enoch*. His focus upon these Pseudepigrapha clarifies some of the reasons for the limits of his edition of the Pseudepigrapha, which was centered on these seven major early Jewish compositions. Other Pseudepigrapha should have been included in Charles's edition, which has profoundly influenced international research for over half a century. Yet it is fair to state that Charles never anticipated that his collection would be considered a "canon" of the Pseudepigrapha, as too many scholars assumed. He could not foresee that the Great War and subsequent disasters—unimaginable to an optimistic Victorian—would prohibit subsequent editions or reprintings. His success was phenomenal and unequalled. Among a stellar group of Germans from whom he learned the importance of the Pseudepigrapha, Charles stands as the singular most significant figure in the history of scholarly research on the Pseudepigrapha prior to World War II.

In addition to the aforementioned publications by Charles, two other works fundamental for the study of the OTAP were published just prior to World War I. They are W. Lüdtke's *Beiträge zu slavischen Apokryphen* (1911) and E. von Dobschütz's *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* (1912).

## 4. The Tendency to Minimize or Ignore the OTAP: 1914–1950

### 4.1 *The War Years and the Depression*

**Lead Plates Melted Down.** "The Great War," sadly not "The War to End All Wars," and unfortunately "World War I" [WWI]—a number which denotes the beginning of a sequence—lasted from 1914 to 1918. To a great extent the conflicts that continue through the past century are aftershocks of this total war that left millions dead and defined the twentieth century. While nine million soldiers died during the trench warfare, many more civilians died during the conflict and after it, owing to the influenza that followed 1918. The Russian, Ottoman, German, and Austro-Hungarian empires disintegrated, leaving traces and problems that have not yet been solved. Among the many problems that are widely recognized, one may not be known: It was impossible to reprint Charles *APOT*, despite the needs of scholars, because the lead plates had been melted down for ammunition.

**Loss of Resources and Death of Potential Scholars.** Obviously, more than numbers defines the loss. Those who led the attacks out of the trenches died first, charge after charge; they were chosen to lead because they were from the upper echelon of society. These men had the great minds of a future that was to be denied. When young men die in such a wasteful way, no one can imagine what they might have added to culture. Obviously, the books published during the war years were on paper that is disintegrating today in our libraries. When one holds

such books one might become aware of a time when there were only dwindling resources for publishing books on the Bible and related texts. And only a few individuals who became scholars were left to continue the exploration of the Bible and those precious documents that were once considered “biblical” and not merely “extrabiblical.” The humanistic optimism of the 1890s was long gone.

**Search for Theological Agendas.** After World War I, the biblical theology that had supplied the former optimism was found wanting. The Bible did not seem to have provided helpful answers. How could one speak or even think about God when smoke clouded the skies? Paul Tillich was chosen to lead the way with new terminology. He developed a nonbiblical systematic theology that was exciting and still has considerable appeal. Those trained in philosophical theology began to supply answers demanded by the public in many Western areas. T. S. Eliot and C. S. Lewis provided inspiration that once had been found by many in the biblical books and in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

Even those who remained committed to the Bible and the answers it provides were distinctly different from the theologians who were influential before 1914. The Reformed pastor and theologian Karl Barth reacted against his training in German Protestant liberalism, contending, *inter alia*, that it had not adequately represented the doctrine of the Trinity. In his commentary on Romans (especially in the revised version of 1922) and in his thirteen-volume *Church Dogmatics* (1932–1968), Barth claimed that the God known from Jesus and his passion not only challenges but overthrows all attempts to align God with human cultures and achievements. He also argued perspicaciously that the Bible is not the revelation of God but points to the impossibility of that revelation, since biblical revelation means the self-unveiling of God to humanity by the God who cannot be unveiled to humans.

Perhaps Barth’s attractive insights help explain why Barth and the Barthians became too preoccupied with theology at the expense of history, and had little or no interest in the historical world that produced not only the biblical books but also the books branded “apocryphal” (the APOT). Moreover, the vastness of Barth’s works and the focus on them demanded by their volume make it difficult for Barthians to undertake a historical and archaeological exploration of Jesus’ culture and the achievements of early Jews that helped produce the Jesus of history.

Another scholar who was also a luminary during the wars is Rudolf Bultmann. He seems more complex for us to assess than Tillich or Barth. He knew the OTAP and he was interested in history, focusing many publications on the origins of Christianity and Gnosticism. But Bultmann unfortunately stressed the non-Jewish nature of earliest Christianity, especially tracing κύριος (“Lord”) back to Greek thought. He was clearly interested in the historical development of the traditions in the New Testament, but his hermeneutical emphasis was on how existentialism allows us to find Jesus in the preached word. Thus, he sadly focused on Jesus’ words (to the negligence of his deeds), stressed preaching (κήρυγμα) as the origins of the Gospels (to the expense of teaching [διδάχη] and liturgy), and concluded that Jesus is the presupposition of New Testament theology. I must confess that each of these Bultmannian emphases seems problematic

and does not adequately represent the developing Palestinian Jesus movement. I would prefer to stress that early Jewish apocalypticism—as found, for example, in the early Jewish texts deemed “extracanonical”—is the presupposition of Jesus in which we find the crucible of New Testament theology.

Explicit or implicit in the works of Tillich, Barth, and Bultmann (certainly not all equally) is a concomitant result: the vision of Jesus and “Christianity” is not that of the Jewish world that produced the OTAP and the fully Jewish Jesus. During their time it was not easy to celebrate the genius of Judaism and the need for sociology and archaeology to enhance historical re-creations of pre-70 Palestinian Judaism.

#### 4.2 The Denigration of Judaism

**Not a Legalistic Religion.** The nineteenth century inherited the misperception of Judaism that had solely evolved since the end of the first century C.E., notably when the Johannine Jews (members of the school that produced the Gospel of John) were cast out of the synagogue because of their belief in Jesus’ divinity. The early scholars of the church, in a struggle for survival, tended to be supersessionistic; that is, they elevated “Christianity” by demoting Judaism. The later apocryphal gospels are decidedly more anti-Jewish than the first-century intracanonical ones. The perception of Judaism as a legalistic religion in which laws were more important than spirit spilled into the tomes of Emil Schürer, who summarized the culmination of the nineteenth-century view of Second Temple Judaism. In his *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (1890), he claimed that the Judaism of Jesus’ day was confined to “external formalism” so that “even *prayer* itself, that centre of the religious life, was bound in the fetters of a rigid mechanism, vital piety could scarcely be any longer spoken of.”<sup>14</sup>

Clearly, this horrible misperception of Second Temple Judaism has infected Christian theologians from 1890 to the present (the work was reprinted in 1995). Only one example may suffice. When the most beautiful penitential prayer ever composed by a Jew was discovered, namely, the Prayer of Manasseh—which is placed either in the OTA or in the OTP—Fabricius and Migne judged it to be a Christian composition. Clearly, a study of this Jewish composition, which represents Jesus’ Judaism and century, proves that Judaism had not devolved into a legalistic religion. The hymnic compositions in the OTP, especially the *Psalms of Solomon*, also demonstrate that fact.

**Not a Corrupt Religion.** Building on the misperception of Judaism articulated by Schürer, historians of pre-Mishnaic Judaism concluded that Jesus sought to correct a religion that had become corrupt. A widespread opinion emerged. It may be summarized as follows: prior to 70 C.E., when the temple was justly burned by the will of God (see the opinions of the evangelists), Jesus saw corrup-

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14. Emil Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1890), 2/2:115.

tion in the temple and everywhere and sought to correct it. He failed, and Judaism continued to be more corrupt until the temple was burned in 70 C.E. Here we spy confessionalism creating social constructs, and theology shaping history.

A look into some of the OTP reveals that Judaism was not corrupt during Jesus' day. For example, the author of the *Sibylline Oracles* (a work in the OTP) praised the "pious men who live around the great Temple of Solomon, and who are the offspring of righteous men" (*Sib. Or.* 3:213–14). Jesus himself called the Temple, which he loved, "my Father's house" (John 2:16) and, quoting Isa 56:7, "My house shall be called a house of prayer." According to the author of Acts, Peter and John ascend to the temple at the hour when Jews prayed there.

**Not a Rejected People.** The logical conclusion of the perception that the Judaism of Jesus' day was legalistic and corrupt was inevitable. Christians concluded that God had rejected the Jews, the former elect people. Such thinking shows how far Christian theology and preaching had moved from the movement Jesus had initiated. Recall Paul's warning that God has not forsaken his people, the Jews: "God has not rejected his people whom he foreknew" (Rom 11:1–2). Suffice it to say, that within such an anti-Jewish climate appreciation of Jewish writings, especially those branded as "extracanonial" and preserved in the relatively insignificant OTA and OTP, became impossible.

### 4.3 *The Dominance of Canonical Myopia*

**The Canon Was Deemed Closed before 100 C.E.** Concomitant with the search for meaning in philosophical theology and popular religious writings, as well as the denigration of Judaism, was the concept of the well-defined and closed canon. The canon was perceived as definitive, closed, and defined by the Council of Trent, the nineteenth ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church (1545–1563). Clearly this is the most important council for defining the biblical canon. While the Council of Trent was by intent a universal council, no Protestants attended, because they were not given a vote. The decision regarding the canon was to affirm that the "deuterocanonical books" were on a par with the other books in the canon and not "apocrypha" as in Martin Luther's edition of the Bible.

Thus, at Trent (and Bologna), the canon was defined, and the Pseudepigrapha were jettisoned as apocryphal books. The assumption—even by scholars—was that the biblical canon had been closed by another more ancient council (see the opinions of Spinoza and Kant). It did not take too long for a specialist in Christian origins to claim that this council is the one that met at Jamnia just after the First Jewish Revolt (66–70, 73/74 C.E.). Dogma for most scholars (and even up until today) is the false conclusion that a council met at Jamnia in 90 C.E. and it closed the canon of Scriptures. The one who made this conclusion influential is H. E. Ryle, who in 1892 published *The Canon of the Old Testament* (which is now clearly corrected by publications by L. M. McDonald, as we shall see).

**The Canon Alone Preserved Sacred Books.** If the canon was closed by 90 C.E., then one can talk about "extracanonial" books. During the early years of my

career, scholars told me not to draw attention to books that had been rejected. The common reasoning became oppressive; scholars concluded that only the canon preserved sacred books and the works “outside books” should remain outside of discussion or thought.

**Some Advances Despite the Perceived Superiority of Canonical Works.**

Despite this general malaise in Western culture during the war years, some publications on the OTAP appeared between World War I and World War II. In comparison to the masterpieces that were published earlier, for example, from 1890 to 1913, the publications on the OTAP that appeared from 1913 to 1950 were almost always less impressive. In addition to the publications issued by Charles, already mentioned, here is a list of the most important publications on the books perceived to be “extracanonical”:

- M. R. James, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo* (1917)
- M. R. James, *Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (1920)
- G. N. Bonwetsch, *Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs* (1922)
- B. Violet and H. Gressmann, *Die Apokalypsen des Ezra und des Baruch* (1924)
- P. Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum außerhalb der Bibel* (1928)
- H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (1928)
- J. B. Frey, “Apocryphes de l’Ancien Testament, généralités sur le sens du mot apocryphe et sur les apocryphes,” *DBSup* 1.354–57 (1928)
- C. Bonner, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek* (1937)
- A. Oepke and R. Meyer, “*kruptō*,” *TWNT* 3.979–99. (1938)
- C. C. Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature* (1945)
- C. E. Torrey, *The Lives of the Prophets: Greek Text and Translation* (1946)
- G. Kisch, *Pseudo-Philo’s Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (1949)

Note also that only twelve significant books on the OTAP appeared over four decades (between 1913 to 1949), while twenty-four had appeared over one decade (those published from 1890 to 1900). The reference works published during the period from 1913 to 1949 also reflected a bias for rabbinics and the OTA, and a negligence of the OTP. The most important of these works is G. F. Moore’s *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (1927–30). Yet a mine of information, some of it taken from the OTAP, lay hidden in L. Ginzberg’s *The Legends of the Jews* (1909–38).

The negligence of the Pseudepigrapha is also related to the situation in the world. World War I helped to produce the Depression, and it laid the basis for the need for work that produced the Nazi party, which caused World War II. The worst part of World War II was the anti-Semitism that devolved into the concentration camps and the far worse death camps. The loss of life, property, resources, and hope brought a feeling of doom. In such a climate, and with a European hatred of Jews and everything related to them, the Jewish writings in the Pseudepigrapha were virtually discarded onto the rubbish heaps of antiquity.

In summary, the study of “ancient Judaism,” now known as early Judaism (300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.) or Second Temple Judaism (300 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.), originated and flourished, after the Enlightenment, in Europe. Fabricius, Migne, Kautzsch,

and Charles published the most influential collections of the OTAP. As is clear from a glance at the publications focused on the OTAP in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Europe was the center of this research. In particular, France and Germany became major centers for Jewish “apocryphal” research. Charles had traveled to Germany to study the OTAP under Dillmann.

From 1918 to 1950 interest in Judaism in Europe waned and in some universities became virtually impossible. In Germany, Austria, and France, Hitler and his quislings were influential in whipping up the Europeans’ fear of Jews, placarding them as vermin and “Christ-killers.” In Italy, Mussolini drew attention to antiquity, but it was not to Judaism. He drew attention to Rome and the once invisible might of Rome. Unfortunately, the latter was highlighted by Titus’ arch, at the eastern end of the Roman Forum. In it the Jewish victims of the demise of ancient Israel were etched in stone for all to gloat over.

## **5. The First Turning Point in Recent Research: 1950–1970**

### *5.1 The Impact of Qumranology*

**A Fringe Group Appears Representative.** We have seen that the energy for detailed research on the Pseudepigrapha was diffused by the disillusionment, disorientation, and disenchantment caused by consecutive developments. These began with the Great War, continued through the world Depression, and climaxed in World War II. During that period, too many scholars denigrated history, and it appears that some theologians wrote as if the historian could prove or disprove Christian faith.

Shortly after the close of World War II, however, the excitement resulting from the discovery of the Qumran texts, the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls, along with an appreciation of new methods, a sensitivity to the complexity of traditions in the New Testament, and a growing recognition that a concern for history explains the composition of the Gospels and Acts. There was a general feeling of optimism about the future, and many experts became interested in the Jewish background of Jesus and earliest “Christianity.” Revitalized concern for Christian origins led not only to a new quest for the historical Jesus, but also to the study of and search for other documents that derive ultimately from the turn of the common era (300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.). More and more specialists in the study of Christian origins came to stress that “orthodoxy” and “heresy” are misleading terms for earliest Christianity, and also for early Judaism. The correlative apprehension had already evolved in most scholarly circles: Second Temple Judaism was a dynamically variegated phenomenon with over twenty sects and groups or subgroups; perhaps the leading Jews in Jerusalem represented a centralized Judaism focused on the temple, but one should avoid labeling it “normative” or “orthodox.”

It was now perceived that early Jews and earliest followers of Jesus lived with a canon that was not yet closed. These developments cumulatively altered

scholars' attitudes toward and perception of Second Temple Judaism, or better, early Judaism, as to open the way, indeed demand, a renaissance in the study of the Pseudepigrapha and other so-called extra-canonical writings. The way was now prepared so research on the Pseudepigrapha could again flourish.

Thus, the cascading negligence of the OTA and especially the OTP began to wane with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, beginning in the winter of 1947. Fortunately, this story and its importance for the study of the early Jewish compositions is so well known that it can be summarized.

In the first two decades of research on the Dead Sea Scrolls, from 1950 to 1970 it was assumed that these scrolls represented the work of a fringe group of Jews. They lived in the wilderness and did not represent "Orthodox and Normative Judaism" (which will be revealed to be misleading categories). Eventually scholars began to stress that the Qumran group, or sect, was not just a fringe group. On the one hand, those who fled to the northwestern shores of the Dead Sea had been the leading Aaronic priests and Levites in the Temple. On the other hand, the vast majority of the Qumran Scrolls represent writings that were composed in other Jewish communities or are biblical manuscripts. Thus, the Qumran Scrolls can no longer be branded works of an insignificant group of Jews living outside, or on the fringes, of mainstream Judaism (however that term might now be defined).

**The OTAP at Qumran.** When the first manuscripts of *1 Enoch* (or the *Books of Enoch*) were discovered in the early nineteenth century, some scholars concluded that such works were created in the Middle Ages to supply the quotations found in Jude. Eventually, the quotation from *1 Enoch* found in Jude was discovered in a Herodian manuscript that had been preserved in a Qumran cave.

Eventually other works, known only in medieval copies or in early citations, were found in Hebrew or Aramaic. Each of them antedated the burning of the temple in 70 C.E. Some of the Pseudepigrapha were thus palpably anterior to 70 C.E., since copies of them were discovered in the Qumran caves. Notable among these manuscripts are numerous copies of *1 Enoch*, the *Book of the Giants*, and *Jubilees*.

**Qumran Pseudepigrapha.** At Qumran some pseudepigraphical texts that were unknown to Fabricius, Migne, Kautzsch, and Charles came to light. These are labeled Qumran Pseudepigrapha and include the following:

- Apocryphon of Jacob ar* (4Q537)
- Apocryphon of Jeremiah A·E* (4Q383–384, 385b, 387b, 389a)
- Apocryphon of Joseph ar* (4Q539)
- Apocryphon of Judah ar* (4Q538)
- Apocryphon of Moses* (2Q21)
- Aramaic Apocalypse ar* (4Q246)
- Aramaic Apocryphal Work ar* (4Q310)
- Book of Giants* (1Q23–24, 2Q26, 4Q203, 530–532)
- David Apocryphon* (2Q22)
- Genesis Apocryphon ar* (1QapGen, 1Q20, 6Q8)

*Giants or Pseudo-Enoch ar* (4Q533)  
*Melchizedek* (11Q13)  
*Midrash Sepher Moses* (4Q29, 4Q445)  
*Moses Apocryphon A-C* (4Q374-375, 377)  
*Noah Apocryphon 1-2* (1Q19a-b)  
*Prayer of Enosh* (4Q369)  
*Prayer of Esther ar* (4Q550)  
*Prayer of Joseph* (4Q371-73)  
*Prayer of Michael* (4Q471b)  
*Prayer of Nabonides* (4Q242)  
*Psalms of Joshua<sup>a</sup> b* (4Q378-379)  
*Pseudepigraphic Work 1-3* (4Q229, 459-460)  
*Pseudo-Daniel ar* (4Q243-245)  
*Pseudo-Ezekiel<sup>a, b, c</sup>* (4Q385-388, 391)  
*Pseudo-Lamentations* (4Q179)  
*Pseudo-Moses<sup>a, b</sup>* (4Q385<sup>a</sup>, 387<sup>b</sup>, 388<sup>a</sup>-390)  
*Samuel-Kings Apocryphon* (6Q19)  
*Sayings of Moses* (1Q22)  
*Testament of Qahat ar* (4Q542)  
*Vision of Samuel* (4Q160)  
*Visions of Amram<sup>a</sup> 1* (4Q543-548)  
*Wisdom Apocryphon* (1Q26)  
*Words of Michael ar* (4Q529)

These pseudepigrapha are clearly Jewish, unedited by Christian scribes, and certainly pre-70. They are virtually unexamined, although not unknown perhaps, by specialists on the Pseudepigrapha. There is no barrier that separates the biblical Pseudepigrapha (the works in focus before us in the present publication) and the Qumran Pseudepigrapha (Jewish works unknown until the discovery of the Qumran caves).

## 5.2 An Appreciation of Second Temple Judaism

**Creative New Compositions.** One year after the first discovery of scrolls in Qumran caves, Israel was established by the United Nations. Jews who had been scattered around the world began to return to Palestine. The establishment of the State of Israel as a Jewish home has profound ramifications for the renewed study of the early Jewish compositions like the Pseudepigrapha. On the one hand, Israel manifests publicly and widely the attractive energy and genius of the Jewish people; on the other hand, the land has been exposed, as never before, so that topography and especially the phenomenally significant archaeological discoveries from pre-70 Judaism, a time capsule in which *realia* are palpably present again after two thousand years, reveal the world in which the early Jews walked, worked, and wrote such works as the *Books of Enoch*.

A renewed appreciation of the world that produced Jesus begins to appear and shape scholarship. Early Judaism is perceived to be vibrantly alive; it is



shaped by numerous groups and subgroups. Pre-70 Jews are recognized to be amazingly creative. While the Davidic Psalter was the hymnbook of the Temple, other hymnbooks are recognized and they contain new poetic and hymnic creations. Among these early Jewish hymnbooks are the *Psalms of Solomon*, the *Odes of Solomon* (which some scholars have judged to be Jewish or originally Jewish with Christian elements), the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the *Pseudepigraphic Hymns*, and the *Angelic Liturgy* (the latter three known only from Qumran).

A new genre is appreciated. It is called “rewritten Bible” and pertains to some compositions found in the Qumran caves. The new genre reveals not only the fluidity of the biblical text and the transparent barrier between “biblical” and “extrabiblical,” but it also indicates how scribes felt free to rewrite Scripture. This phenomenon is related to the composition of the *Temple Scroll* in which the text of Deuteronomy reappears transformed from third-person discourse to first-person speech by God.

**Influence from Other Cultures.** It is now obvious that Judaism and Torah were not cut off from other cultures, as many experts thought upon reading the beginning of *Pirke Aboth*. The *Books of Enoch* reflect the considerable influence of Babylonian science on Judaism. The *History of the Rechabites* is most likely an early Jewish work, later clearly expanded by a Christian, and it helps reveal how early Jews were influenced by Persia, Greece, and Italy. The supplement to the *OTP* contains other Jewish compositions, and these disclose that Jews composed epic poetry in Greek hexameters. Ezekiel the Tragedian was proficient in iambic trimeters. The Jewish philosopher Aristobulus was influenced by Pythagoras, Plato, and some Stoics.

**Temple Judaism and Other Significant Groups or Sects.** Research on the OTAP and the Dead Sea Scrolls reveals many forms of early Judaism. There were influential priests and priestly groups who controlled the temple, and most Jews (but not the Samaritans and those at Qumran) revered the temple and worshiped there. The Gospels mention scribes and Pharisees who had been sent *from Jerusalem* to Jesus. Clearly, those who controlled the temple sought to control the lives and thoughts of other Jews, but it is equally obvious that they were only partially successful. Josephus misled scholars when he divided Judaism into four sects: Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, and Zealots. There were far more groups and subgroups, sects and subjects, including the Baptist groups (seen in the NT with John the Baptizer, Jesus’ baptizing [esp. in John]; and behind the *Apocalypse of Adam*), the Samaritans, the Enoch groups, and—of course—the Palestinian Jesus movement.

### 5.3 The Collapse of a Paradigmatic Distinction Between “Jewish” and “Christian”

**The Jewishness of “Christianity.”** It is not wise to expend energy to manufacture a paradigm that would distinguish Jewish from early Christian litera-

ture. The earliest followers of Jesus were Jews. The Palestinian Jesus movement was thoroughly Jewish, using Jewish concepts, terms, and beliefs to proclaim the good news about Jesus the Messiah. Those who followed Bultmann and his school and think that “Christianity” begins with the confession that Jesus was raised by God miss two points: Paul, a Jew, affirmed these thoughts and beliefs, and each of them was developed within Second Temple Judaism, as we know from studying the OTAP and the Qumran Scrolls. Thus, it has become more difficult to ascertain if a document was originally Jewish, Jewish with some Christian interpolations, Jewish with Christian insertions along with other areas of rewriting, or a Jewish-Christian composition based on Jewish traditions.

**Christian Expansion of Jewish Texts: 4 Ezra.** *4 Ezra* is based on a Jewish apocalypse composed in the latter decades of the first century C.E. The author is so distraught about the loss of land and nation to the infidel Romans that he asks questions that are unanswerable. Not even Uriel, the archangel, can answer Ezra. The Jewish author has no answers that will satisfy him. A Christian author in the late second or early third century C.E. added chs. 1, 2, 15, and 16 to the base text; he supplied his own answers in light of his Christian faith. This pseudepigraphon is widely and correctly judged to be a Jewish work with two chapters at the beginning and two at the end added by a Christian. In support of this expansion by a later Christian is the fact that some versions—the Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Arabic manuscripts—preserve only chs. 3–14, the original Jewish base.

The years 1950 to 1970 represent the first turning point in the study of the OTAP. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the recognition that these documents were composed by numerous groups throughout ancient Palestine, and the recovery of some Pseudepigrapha among them opened a new phase of intensive research. In some ways 1970 flows more easily from 1900 than from 1950.

The growing worldwide excitement about the OTAP was caused also by the appreciation of the sophistication and attractiveness of early Judaism and the awareness of the Jewishness of Jesus and the Palestinian Jesus movement (see 7.1). In the process, the older collections were recognized as still valuable. In 1965 Charles’s *APOT* was reprinted, thanks to new technologies; and in 1984 H. F. D. Sparks published a revision of Charles, omitting some documents and adding others, using as a model James’s *The Apocryphal New Testament* of 1924. And in 1975 Kautzsch’s *APAT* was reissued. As scholars used these works, a shared need was felt in many areas: new more complete collections of the OTAP, reflecting more refined methodologies and perceptions, were required.

## **6. The Second Turning Point in Research: 1970–1990**

### *6.1 Modern Collections and Refined Terminologies*

**Critical Editions of Texts.** 1970 is the year that saw the second turning point in research on the Pseudepigrapha. In 1970 the Society of Biblical Literature

launched the Pseudepigrapha Project (Walter Harrelson was chosen chairman and Charlesworth secretary). In the same year, 1970, Albert-Marie Denis published his magisterial *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes Grecs d'Ancien Testament*. Also in 1970 a most significant fascicle appeared; it contained Denis's *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca* and Matthew Black's *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*. Some years later, but also in the 1970s the *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas* created the Pseudepigrapha Seminar.

The publications just mentioned clarify that new editions of the Pseudepigrapha were not only required but were being published. Two series focused on new improved (if not critical) texts: the SBL Text and Translation Series: Pseudepigrapha Series, and the Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece. Daniel J. Harrington published a critical edition of Pseudo-Philo in the famous *Sources chrétiennes*, and F. Schmidt published a critical edition of the *Testament of Abraham* in the well-known *Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum*.

**New Collections of Translations.** Scholars and nonspecialists perceived the need for collections of the Pseudepigrapha. Such new collections began to appear in Denmark, Great Britain, France, Japan, Greece, Russia, and especially Germany, Spain, Italy, and the United States. The last four are outstanding, because they collect the greatest number of documents now considered part of the Pseudepigrapha. Here is a list of these most outstanding collections:

- Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, edited by W. G. Kümmel and H. Lichtenberger, et al. (1973 ) [published as fascicles]
- Apócrifos del Antiguo Testamento*, ed. A. Díez Macho, 5 vols. to date (1882–)
- Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, 2 vols, ed. P. Sacchi (1981–1989)
- The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., edited by Charlesworth (1983–1985)

The latter collection is the most replete collection. Here are the abbreviations and the names of books included in the *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* by an international team of scholars:

Abbreviation	Pseudepigraphon
AbRech	<i>The Abode of the Rechabites</i>
ApAb	<i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>
TAb	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
ApAdam	<i>Apocalypse of Adam</i>
TAdam	<i>Testament of Adam</i>
LAE	<i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>
Ah	<i>Ahiqar</i>
AnonSam	<i>An Anonymous Samaritan Text</i>
LotAris	<i>Letter of Aristeas</i>
ArisEx	<i>Aristeas the Exegete</i>

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Pseudepigraphon</b>
Aristob	<i>Aristobulus</i>
Art	<i>Artapanus</i>
2 Bar	<i>2 (Syriac) Baruch</i>
3 Bar	<i>3 (Greek) Baruch</i>
4 Bar	<i>4 Baruch (= PJ)</i>
ApDan	<i>Apocalypse of Daniel</i>
Dcm	<i>Demetrius</i>
ElMod	<i>Eldad and Modad</i>
ApEl	<i>Apocalypse of Elijah (Coptic)</i>
HcbApEl	<i>Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah</i>
1 En	<i>1 (Ethiopic) Enoch</i>
2 En	<i>2 (Slavonic) Enoch</i>
3 En	<i>3 (Hebrew) Enoch</i>
Eup	<i>Eupolemus</i>
Ps-Eup	<i>Pseudo-Eupolemus</i>
ApocEzck	<i>Apocryphon of Ezekiel</i>
EzckTrag	<i>Ezekiel the Tragedian</i>
4 Ezra	<i>4 Ezra</i>
GkAplEzra	<i>Greek Apocalypse of Ezra</i>
QucsEzra	<i>Questions of Ezra</i>
RcvEzra	<i>Revelation of Ezra</i>
VisEzra	<i>Vision of Ezra</i>
HccAb	<i>Hecataeus of Abdera</i>
Ps-Hcc	<i>Pseudo-Hecataeus</i>
HclSynPr	<i>Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers</i>
THcz	<i>Testament of Hezekiah</i>
TIsaac	<i>Testament of Isaac</i>
AscenIs	<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>
MartIs	<i>Martyrdom of Isaiah</i>
VisIs	<i>Vision of Isaiah</i>
PJ	<i>Paraleipomena Jeremiou (= 4 Bar)</i>
LadJac	<i>Ladder of Jacob</i>
PrJac	<i>Prayer of Jacob</i>
TJac	<i>Testament of Jacob</i>
JanJam	<i>Jannes and Jambres</i>
TJob	<i>Testament of Job</i>
JosAscen	<i>Joseph and Asenath</i>
PrJos	<i>Prayer of Joseph</i>

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Pseudepigraphon</b>
Jub	<i>Jubilees</i>
LAB	<i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i>
3 Mac	<i>3 Maccabees</i>
4 Mac	<i>4 Maccabees</i>
PrMan	<i>Prayer of Manasses</i>
SyrMen	<i>Syriac Menander</i>
ApMos	<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i> (Greek only)
AsMos	<i>Assumption of Moses</i> (= TMos)
TMos	<i>Testament of Moses</i> (= AsMos)
BkNoah	<i>Book of Noah</i>
Ps-Orph	<i>Pseudo-Orpheus</i>
PhEPoet	<i>Philo the Epic Poet</i>
Ps-Philo	<i>Pseudo-Philo</i> (= LAB)
Ps-Phoc	<i>Pseudo-Phocylides</i>
LivPro	<i>Lives of the Prophets</i>
ApSedr	<i>Apocalypse of Sedrach</i>
TrShem	<i>Treatise of Shem</i>
SibOr	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
OdesSol	<i>Odes of Solomon</i>
PssSol	<i>Psalms of Solomon</i>
TSol	<i>Testament of Solomon</i>
5 ApocSyrPss	<i>Five Apocryphal Syriac Psalms</i>
Thal	<i>Thallus</i>
Thcod	<i>Theodotus</i>
T 12 P	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>
TRcu	<i>Testament of Reuben</i>
TSim	<i>Testament of Simeon</i>
TLcvi	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
TJud	<i>Testament of Judah</i>
TIss	<i>Testament of Issachar</i>
TZeb	<i>Testament of Zebulun</i>
TDan	<i>Testament of Dan</i>
TNaph	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>
TGad	<i>Testament of Gad</i>
TAsh	<i>Testament of Asher</i>
TJos	<i>Testament of Joseph</i>
TBcnj	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>

Abbreviation	Pseudepigraphon
Vita	<i>Vita Adae et Evae</i>
ApZeph	<i>Apocalypse of Zephaniah</i>
ApZos	<i>Apocalypse of Zosimus</i>

**Inclusiveness Is Important.** Before 1970, reconstructions of Second Temple Judaism were almost always based on the New Testament, Josephus, and especially early rabbinics (notably the Mishnah). By at least 1970, scholars throughout the world recognized that each of these ancient collections was markedly biased and selected. They should be used to reconstruct history and early Jewish life and thought with extreme caution.

Scholars today agree that *all documents* must be used to reconstruct the world of Second Temple Judaism and the time of Hillel and Jesus, and they should be judged carefully with an attention to bias and prejudice. Scholars now are united in emphasizing that only Daniel, the OTAP, and the Qumran Scrolls represent documents written during the time of Second Temple Judaism (300 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.) and that some of the OTP are edited and expanded by Christians.

The renewed interest in the Pseudepigrapha is guided by a generation of scholars who thus define the category more inclusively. Fabricius, Migne, Kautzsch, and Charles would probably have been not only pleased but amazed. The sheer mass of documents to be included and the size and heterogeneity of some early Jewish compositions, especially the *Books of Enoch*, distinguish the new phase of research on the Pseudepigrapha.

## 6.2 Re-examining the Books of Enoch

**Jewish Character, Date, and Provenience of the Books of Enoch.** Charles's publications had one fatal and influential flaw. He emended, rearranged, and edited the ancient texts in light of his own perspective as a post-Enlightenment Victorian. He made alleged corrections without manuscript support. Most importantly, he emended the ending of the *Parables of Enoch* (= *1 En.* 37–71) so that Enoch is looking heavenward at that Son of Man.

Scholars were misled. The *Parables of Enoch* thus might be a Christian composition. Christian scholars imagined that Enoch was straining to see Jesus as the Son of Man.

Subsequent to Charles's work on the *Books of Enoch*, J. T. Milik also misled scholars, especially those focused on the New Testament or Christian origins. In *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (1976), Milik was overly impressed that the *Parables of Enoch* had not been found among the Qumran fragments. He eventually concluded that the *Parables of Enoch* should be judged a Christian composition of the third century C.E.

The ninth post-70 indicator of the importance of the *Books of Enoch* is Milik's claim about the character of the work. He concluded that the work is

so close to what has been perceived to be “Christian theology” that it must be a Christian composition.

Specialists missed the opportunity to perceive how close to the earliest “Christian” thought were the advances made by early Jews before 70 C.E. Since the *Parables of Enoch* was so close to “Christianity,” it must be a Christian work. One is reminded how Fabricius and Migne claimed the Prayer of Manasseh must be Christian because its theological insights are so brilliantly correct (here again we note the failure to appreciate the sophistication of Jewish theology and the influence of anti-Semitism).

Today all the translations of the *Books of Enoch* follow the text found in all manuscripts. Note these representative translations of *1 En.* 71:14, taken from L. Fusella’s translation in P. Sacchi’s collection (1981) and G. W. E. Nickelsburg’s and J. C. VanderKam’s *1 Enoch* (2004):

E venne presso me quell’angelo, mi salutò con la sua voce e mi disse: “Tu sei il figlio dell’uomo nato per la giustizia . . . .”

And that angel came to me and greeted me with his voice and said to me, “You are that son of man who was born for righteousness . . . .”

The Ethiopic texts, in which alone the *Parables of Enoch* are preserved, thus emphasize that Enoch is that Son of Man.

**Jewish Character.** The Qumran fragments of the *Books of Enoch* prove that almost all of these Enoch books are pre-Christian Jewish compositions. No longer do scholars face the problem of defending the antiquity of four of the five sections. For example, in 1821 Laurence sought to show that the *Books of Enoch*, except for the interpolation of 65:1–68:1, predated the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. He was severely hindered. On the one hand, he could work only from one eighteenth-century Ethiopic manuscript and was forced to defend his position on the basis of a manuscript that was less than one hundred years old. On the other hand, he was obligated to explain how one can confidently be trusted to project back into pre-Christian Judaism ideas and beliefs so distinctly in tension with a putative “Orthodox Judaism.”

Today, a fresh wind blows over such once-barren regions of scholarship.<sup>15</sup> Numerous Ethiopic manuscripts of the *Books of Enoch* have been recovered and the oldest is Tānāsee 9-Kebrān 9 of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. All of the Aramaic fragments of the *Books of Enoch* antedate 70 C.E., some dating from as early as the late third century B.C.E.

One year after the publication of Milik’s book on Enoch, over forty of the international experts on the *Books of Enoch* met in Tübingen to debate the character and date of the *Parables of Enoch*. The sessions in 1977 were chaired by

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15. James H. Charlesworth, “Enoch: Ancient Sources,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (ed. Daniel H. Ludlow; 5 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1992) 1:459–60. To help the reader better comprehend my own insights into the importance of the *Books of Enoch*, I have noted my publications on this pseudepigraphon and they draw attention to hundreds of publications by leading experts.

Charlesworth, who published the proceedings.<sup>16</sup> All present agreed that the *Parables of Enoch* was composed by a Jew. All the manuscripts reveal that Enoch is the Son of Man. More recently, the members of the Enoch Seminar concluded that this section of the *Books of Enoch* was composed by a Jew.<sup>17</sup>

**Date.** Almost all the specialists who attended the sessions in Germany in 1977 concluded that the *Parables of Enoch* is pre-Christian. Since then more arguments have been brought forward to demonstrate that this section of the *Books of Enoch* dates from the Herodian period, or more precisely from 40 B.C.E. to about 20 C.E.<sup>18</sup> The members of the Enoch Seminar almost unanimously concurred that the *Parables of Enoch* were composed during the period of the Herodians.<sup>19</sup> There may also be a burgeoning consensus that *1 Enoch* 37–71 is most likely a unity since the final chapters are foreshadowed in the preceding chapters.<sup>20</sup>

Seven observations cumulatively disclose that the *Parables of Enoch* most likely was composed near the end of the reign of King Herod (20–4 B.C.E.) or sometime in the first two decades of the first century C.E. These seven are the following: irrelevance of the absence of the document from Qumran, the latest book in the corpus, non-Qumran character of the *Books of Enoch*, the date of the Parthian invasion, the curse on landowners, provenience, and the explanation of the absence of quotations from the book in the early scholars of the church. Let us now examine each of these seven.

**Irrelevance of the Absence of *1 Enoch* 37–71 from Qumran.** Too many Qumranologists or experts in the Pseudepigrapha assume that we have about 75 percent of the manuscripts that were originally hidden in the Qumran caves. The percentage is much lower, if we focus on the amount of material that has been recovered. Perhaps we possess only about 10 percent of the manuscripts that were in the Qumran caves before, or in, June 68 C.E. Moreover, perhaps Roman soldiers took or destroyed manuscripts that had been in Cave 4. Conceivably the caves reportedly discovered by Origen<sup>21</sup> and by the Nestorian Bishop Timotheus I (died in 823 C.E.) were also Qumran caves. Obviously, some Qumran scrolls were destroyed by Bedouin (and some are still in the possession of Arabs—and two of them are of *1 Enoch*, but not portions of chs. 37–71). Thus, the absence of identifiable fragments of the *Parables of Enoch* from Qumran is neither remarkable nor a viable reason for dating the composition.

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16. James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 54; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 102–6; idem, “The SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminars at Tübingen and Paris on the Books of Enoch,” *NTS* 25 (1979): 315–23.

17. See the publications of the Enoch Seminar in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005).

18. Charlesworth, “The Date of the Parables of Enoch (1 En 37–71),” *Henoch* 20 (1998): 93–98.

19. Charlesworth, “Can We Discern the Composition Date of the Parables of Enoch?” in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 450–68.

20. See the comments in the following pages.

21. See Giovanni Mercati, *Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica* (Studi e testi 5; Rome: Tip. vaticana, 1901).



**Latest Composition within the *Books of Enoch*.** The composition of the *Parables of Enoch* culminates the writings collected into the *Books of Enoch*. All Enoch specialists have known for decades that the *Parables of Enoch* is the latest work in the collection. Unfortunately, too many scholars, mostly New Testament specialists, miss this fact because the book appears near the middle of the Ethiopic collection. If it was the latest composition, then maybe its attractiveness would have prompted Romans to take it home as a treasure, since we know from Josephus that scrolls were taken to Rome (*Vita*). More importantly, since the *Parables of Enoch* is the latest book composed and since the earlier books of Enoch were taken to Qumran by the original generation of Qumranites, one may easily imagine why it would not have been taken to Qumran. Moreover, if the *Books of Enoch* fell out of favor with the Qumranites (as Milik claimed based on the date of the manuscripts), then one would not expect the latest Enoch book to be found at Qumran. Most important, however, is the fact that the elevation of Enoch as that Son of Man in *1 Enoch* 37–71 would have offended the Qumranites, who revered the Righteous Teacher to whom God alone disclosed all the secrets (1QpHab 7).

**The Non-Qumran Character of the *Books of Enoch*.** Clearly, the *Books of Enoch* were not composed at Qumran or nearby. They were taken to Qumran, perhaps from Upper Galilee. It is remarkable that any of these Enoch books were found at Qumran; it is not remarkable that the *Parables of Enoch* were not found there.

**The Parthian Invasion.** The author of *1 Enoch* 56 refers to a Parthian invasion. Since the Parthians more than once invaded Palestine, the scholar must decide which of these invasions is most probable. For most Enoch scholars, the most probable Parthian invasion is that of 40 B.C.E. According to Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*, the Parthian general occupied Syria in 40 B.C.E. and plundered Jerusalem, ravaging the countryside, even destroying Marisa (*Ant.* 14). Archaeologists found ample evidence of this invasion along the western littoral of the Dead Sea, and there seems to be evidence of this incursion in Acre.

**Curse on Landowners.** The author of the *Parables of Enoch* curses those “who possess the earth” (38:4). When the Son of Man appears “the kings of the earth and the strong who possess the dry ground . . . will not save themselves” (48:8). These are only excerpts that stress that the Jews curse: “All those who dwell upon the dry ground (*Yewaddequ wa-yesaggedu qedmēhu*)” (*1 En.* 48:5). Thus, this composition most likely curses the Herodian landowners and those who possess the dry land, taking land from Jewish farmers. Most Enoch scholars rightly align the “kings of the earth” with the Romans; it should follow, then, that those who have taken all the dry land from the Jews are the cursed “landowners” (*1 Enoch* 62); that is, the landowners are the Romans or the Romans in the guise of the Herodians, since many Jews lost their farmland to Herod, his descendants, and the Herodians (Josephus, *Ant.* 17).

**Provenience.** Ancient Palestine was defined by dry lands and swamps. Since the author of the *Parables of Enoch* represents a Jewish community that has lost

the dry land to the Romans and others, he must live in or near the wetlands or swamps. The most likely location, then, would be in or near the Hulah Valley, which was a swamp with mosquitoes and snakes. This cursed swampland dominated the eastern edge of Upper Galilee, extending from Banias to Capernaum.

Moreover, the Watchers, who are the evil angels, descend to earth and land on Mount Hermon in Upper Galilee. Thus, most likely Upper Galilee is the place for the composition of the *Books of Enoch*, including the *Parables of Enoch*.

The conclusion that Galilee is the provenience of the *Books of Enoch* would not have surprised Charles, who offered this opinion about the provenience of the Pseudepigrapha: "This literature was written probably for the most part in Galilee, the home of the religious seer and mystic."<sup>22</sup>

**Absence of Early Patristic Quotations.** One question has considerably bothered Enoch specialists: Why have no quotations from the *Parables of Enoch* been found in the writings of the early scholars of the church? The answer seems obvious. If Enoch is revealed by God to be the Son of Man, then the work cannot be used by those who believe that Jesus is the Son of Man. The emendations of the *Parables of Enoch* blinded New Testament and patristic scholars to this obvious conclusion.

### 6.3 Canonical Criticism: No Closed Canon before 70 C.E.

**Canon Was Not Closed.** Two generations of scholars, and perhaps more, were misled by H. E. Ryle's claim in *Canon of the Old Testament* (1892) that the biblical canon was closed in the first century C.E. at Jamnia, which was a "council." As reported earlier, with M. R. James H. E. Ryle published the *Psalmoi Solomōntos: The Psalms of the Pharisees* (1891), so Ryle was recognized as a trustworthy scholar. Now the leading scholars have shown that the canon was not closed in the first century. Thus, one should jettison the term "noncanonical" when evaluating compositions that date before 100 C.E.

**No Early Council Defined the Canon.** We have no proceedings of what happened at Jamnia (Yavneh) from the first century. It is misleading to name the Jews who gathered with Johanan ben Zakkai at Jamnia a "council." Their focused concern was not with limiting the canon or defining it.

**No Clear Barrier between "Canonical" and "Noncanonical."** During the latter parts of the twentieth century, two disciplines converged and strengthened the conclusions obtained separately. On the one hand, scholars (like L. M. McDonald) who have focused on canonical criticism proved that in early Judaism (ca. 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.) there was no closed canon and the concept of "biblical books" sometimes included works later not deemed part of the Bible. On the other hand, scholars dedicated to Qumranology (notably J. A. Sanders) and the Pseudepig-

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22. R. H. Charles, *Religious Development Between the Old and New Testament* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1914), 9.

rapha (viz. P. Sacchi and M. E. Stone) disclosed that many of these early Jewish documents were considered inspired Scripture by early Jews. Some documents branded “outside the canon” were judged to be superior, in some communities, to works later defined as canonical. That is, a recognition of the descending power of “canon” in pre-70 Judaism went hand in glove with the perception of the ascending importance of the so-called apocryphal works within many early Jewish communities, groups, or sects. The concomitant result was the disclosure of the inadequacies of such terms as “extracanonical” and “apocryphal.” In summation, the author of the *Temple Scroll* did not consider his work inferior to Deuteronomy; in fact, the passages of Deuteronomy that appear in it represent a more direct link with the Creator. The authors of the *Books of Enoch* believed that their source of inspiration, Enoch, was superior to Moses, who stands behind the Pentateuch, and David, who authenticates the Psalter; after all, did not Torah state that Enoch was perfect and was taken to heaven by God, from which he can help those covenanted with him?

### 7.1 Apocalyptic Thought Appreciated

In the past three decades, scholars have stressed the importance and attractiveness of early Jewish apocalyptic thought. Specialists now recognize that the documents in the Pseudepigrapha, generally speaking, give prominence to apocalyptic thought, ideas, and symbols. Almost all the apocalypses are in the Pseudepigrapha (esp. *1 Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, *2 Enoch*). These apocalypses tend to bifurcate time into two ages. The first age is grinding wearily to a halt, and the future age is about to dawn, bringing with it judgment and punishment for the wicked and a return to the blissful peace of Eden or transference to paradise for the righteous. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which, as we have seen, represent many types of Judaism, proved that apocalypticism was not an isolated phenomenon in Judaism. It is now clear that apocalyptic thought permeated many Jewish sects and groups, with the possible exception of the Sadducees.

Many scholars conclude that Christianity began as an apocalyptic movement and as a Jewish sect that proclaimed that the new age had begun to dawn in the life and teaching of Jesus. The claim that Jesus had been raised by God reflects the earlier Jewish resurrection belief, which appeared in many segments of Judaism, including apocalyptic theology. In 1899, few experts comprehended R. H. Charles when, in *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel*, he concluded: “[A]pocalyptic Pharisaism became, speaking historically, the parent of Christianity.”<sup>23</sup> Since the 1960s, scholars have been more attentive to E. Käsemann’s memorable and controversial, yet brilliant, argument in *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen* (1964) that apocalyptic theology “was the mother

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23. R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity, or, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian Eschatology from Pre-Prophetic Times Till the Close of the New Testament Canon, Being the First Jomett Lectures Delivered in 1898-99* (London: Adams and Charles Black, 1913), 196.

of all Christian theology.”<sup>24</sup> Since 1970, scholars have been especially attracted both historically and theologically by the perspectives and eschatological vision of Jewish apocalyptic theology. The theology of Jürgen Moltmann (1926–), especially his *Theologie der Hoffnung* (1966), helped make apocalyptic eschatology well known and attractive to historians and theologians.

The new perspective on early Jewish apocalyptic theology, while reflecting Charles’s position, is strikingly new. The new developments can be placarded by comparing G. F. Moore with R. H. Charles. Moore’s position is paradigmatically different from Charles’s perspective. For example, Moore claimed that it is “a fallacy of method for the historian to make” the Jewish apocalypses “a primary source for the eschatology of Judaism, much more to contaminate its theology with them.”<sup>25</sup> Earlier in his *Eschatology*, Charles rightly argued that “the main ideas” of eschatological thought are reproduced and developed in apocryphal and apocalyptic writings, that is, in the Pseudepigrapha.<sup>26</sup> What is new? Virtually no scholar would now agree with Moore’s denigration of Jewish apocalyptic theology.

**Summary of Section 1.** Three insights have been learned from this review of research on the OTP. First, Charles emended the text of the *Parables of Enoch*, without manuscript support, and portrayed Enoch looking for the coming of the Son of Man; thus, New Testament scholars could assume that the work was not Jewish and that Jesus might be the Son of Man, making the document a Christian composition. Second, Milik was too impressed with the absence of *1 Enoch* 37–71 from the Qumran Aramaic fragments of the *Books of Enoch*. He finally concluded that the work is a Christian composition, misleading New Testament experts into thinking that one can easily distinguish Jewish and Christian compositions and eventually removing from Second Temple Judaism one of the Jewish compositions closest to Jesus’ thought and the theology of the Palestinian Jesus movement. Third, Enoch specialists working in the Enoch Seminar have concluded, almost unanimously, that the *Parables of Enoch* is not only Jewish but was composed during the Herodian period, or more precisely sometime between 40 B.C.E. and 20 C.E., most likely somewhere in Galilee.<sup>27</sup>

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24. Ernst Käsemann, “Die Anfänge christlicher Theologie,” in *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 2:108.

25. G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, The Age of the Tannaim* (3 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927), 1:127.

26. R. H. Charles, *Eschatology, the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism, and Christianity: A Critical History* (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), 167. Charles’s *Eschatology* is a reprint of *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel*.

27. See James H. Charlesworth, “Summary and Conclusions: The Books of Enoch or 1 Enoch Matters: New Paradigms for Understanding Pre-70 Judaism,” in Boccaccini, *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 436–54; Charlesworth, “A Rare Consensus Among Enoch Specialists: The Date of the Earliest Enoch Books,” in *The Origins of Enochic Judaism* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 2002), 225–34.

## Section 2

### 8. The *Parables of Enoch* and the Apocalypse of John

#### 8.1 An Exploration

The second section of this work is an exploration.<sup>28</sup> One question unites our search: How and in what ways, if at all, has the *Parables of Enoch* influenced the author of the Apocalypse of John? Since the *Books of Enoch* or *1 Enoch* is massive and was composed by many Jews, I have focused only on chs. 37–71, or the *Parables of Enoch*, which I have argued for decades is probably a unity.<sup>29</sup> Since the abundance of research on this question is excessive and often confused, I will focus the following work on the opinion of R. H. Charles, according to his commentary on the Apocalypse of John and the second edition of his commentary on *1 Enoch*.

**Summary of the *Parables of Enoch*.** Since the *Parables of Enoch* will be placed under our microscope for minute examination, it is prudent to summarize the content of this pseudepigraphon. It is obvious that *1 Enoch* 37–71 contains three parables. They are unified by a common stress on the imminent destruction of the evil ones in the world (which in contrast to the earlier books of Enoch focuses on the punishing of kings and rulers), the coming judgment of all, and the triumph of God's righteous ones (the members of the Enoch group). As W. O. E. Oesterley stated in 1925, the author of the *Parables of Enoch* introduces "some new and important elements" and these "give special value to this book."<sup>30</sup> Oesterley was referring not only to other Jewish works but also to the earlier sections of the *Books of Enoch* that the author of the *Parables of Enoch* knew.

**First Parable (*1 Enoch* 38–44).** Enoch shares his apocalyptic vision of the appearance of the Righteous One and the coming judgment on the wicked ones, especially the mighty, the kings, the exalted, and those who possess the land of Israel. The vision is a warning on the wicked, probably the Romans and the Herodians. It also contains a promise and encouragement to the righteous ones (those especially in the Enoch group), since Enoch sees the abode of the righteous ones who are rejoicing (ch. 39). The righteous are resting with the holy ones, and

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28. Also see Charlesworth, "Did the Fourth Evangelist Know the Enoch Tradition?" in *Testimony and Interpretation: Early Christology and Its Judeo-Hellenistic Milieu. Studies in Honor of Petr Pokorný* (ed. J. Mrázek and J. Roskovec. London: T&T Clark, 2004), 223–39.

29. See also J. C. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in *1 Enoch* 37–71," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 169–91.

30. W. O. E. Oesterley in R. H. Charles's *The Book of Enoch* (Translations of Early Documents I; London: SPCK, 1925), xxi.

they are “praying for the sons of men” on earth (39:5).<sup>31</sup> The dwelling of “the Chosen One” or Elect One is “beneath the wings of the Lord of Spirits” (39:7). Enoch praises God, and the righteous on earth are protected, since the Lord of Spirits “fills the earth with spirits” (39:12). The face of Enoch is changed (39:14); this reference is important since it foreshadows his elevation in ch. 71. Heaven is filled with praises, especially from the thousands and thousands of angels, notably from the four archangels: Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel. Wisdom could not find a place on earth and so resides in heaven (ch. 42). Enoch sees all the secrets and all that is hidden from humans.

**Second Parable (1 Enoch 45–57).** The themes in the First Parable are significantly developed in the Second Parable. In central focus is a view of God’s Chosen One or the Elect One. He is enthroned gloriously as the judge: “On that day, my Chosen One will sit on the throne of glory, and he will <test> their [i.e., “the sinners who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits”] works” (45:3). The apocalypse contains the revelation that the Chosen One or the Elect One is a divine being: the Son of Man (46:2); this explanation also foreshadows chapter 71.<sup>32</sup> The Head of Days also sits on the throne of glory (47:3). It is possible that these two celestial beings might sit on two seats of the throne, if it is like a chariot with two seats (recall the beginnings of Merkavah Mysticism).

Exceptionally important in the Second Parable are three developments crucial for the understanding of the genesis of “Christian thought.” First is the protection provided by the Son of Man: The Son of Man is “named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits” (*samāy wa-semu taṣawwe’ā ba-qedma ‘egzi’a manāfest*) and “before the Head of Days” (*1 En.* 48:2). In biblical thought “naming” means to assign a new status, deliver a commission or mission, and clarify a purpose; thus, the Son of Man will be a staff to keep the righteous ones on earth from falling (*We’etu yekawwen batra la-šādeqān* [48:4]).

Second, the Son of Man is for all on the earth. He will be “the light of the nations” (*wa-we’etu berhāna ‘ahzāb*). This universalism would certainly be anathema to the Qumranites.

Third, the Son of Man will be worshipped, is probably preexistent, and will save. Note these excerpts: The Son of Man will be worshipped by all who dwell on the dry land (*Yewaddequ wa-yesaggedu qedmēhu k’ ellomu’ella yaxādderu diba yabs* [*1 En.* 48:5]), but he has been hidden before the world was created (48:6). The Lord of Spirits has revealed the Son of Man to the righteous on earth (through Enoch presumably), for “in his name they are saved” (48:7).

Again, the righteous on earth who are suffering from “the strong who possess the earth” or “the land” (so Charles) are encouraged, since the fountain of blessing for them is inexhaustible. They are to anticipate their vindication before

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31. Translations of *1 Enoch* are from G. W. E. Nickelsburg and J. C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation, Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* (ed. K. Baltzer; Hermenia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004).

32. Charles capitalizes the term (“that Son of Man”); Nickelsburg and VanderKam do not (“that son of man”).

the Son of Man and the Lord of the Spirits, because they have not “denied the Lord of Spirits and his Anointed One” (*1 En.* 48:10). The author includes his belief that the dead will be resurrected (ch. 51). Finally, the Righteous One is the Chosen or Elect One (53:6).

**Third Parable (*1 Enoch* 58–69).** The author now emphasizes the blessing of the righteous on earth and the final judgment of all humans (the evil angels are conspicuously absent; contrast *1 Enoch* 1–36). Notably, the kings, the mighty, the exalted, and “those who possess the earth” (*1 En.* 62:1; cf. 62:3, 6, 9; 63:1, 12)—presumably the landlords (those lords of the Land)—will be judged and punished, thus providing encouragement for the Jews suffering in Palestine. Enoch sees the punishment of the fallen angels (chs. 64–68—part of this is most likely from the *Book of Noah*). The judge is clearly the Son of Man: “And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the whole judgment was given to the son of man” (69:27). The ending of the three parables is pictorial and memorable:

And from then on there will be nothing that is corruptible;  
for that son of man has appeared.  
And he has sat down on the throne of his glory,  
and all evil will vanish from his presence.  
And the word of that son of man will go forth  
and will prevail in the presence of the Lord of Spirits.  
This is the third parable of Enoch. (*1 En.* 69:29)

Finally, in chs. 70–71, Enoch is revealed to be none other than the Son of Man, proving the Jewishness of the document. The elevation of Enoch, adumbrated in the earlier Enochian compositions and foreshadowed in the earlier chapters of *1 Enoch* 37–71, is complete.<sup>33</sup> Enoch, the great-grandfather of Noah (cf. also 67:4, 68:1), began evolving to an angelic status with the very first composition attributed to him. An angel (or God himself) makes the following declaration to Enoch:

You are that son of man who was born for righteousness,  
and righteousness dwells on you,  
and the righteousness of the Head of Days will not  
forsake you. (*1 En.* 71:14)

The final words of the last composition in the *Books of Enoch* are words of comfort. Those on earth in the Enoch group hear God’s comforting word: “[T] here will be length of days with that son of man, and there will be peace for the righteous . . . forever and ever” (*1 En.* 71:17).

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33. Has the Son of Man become a title in chs. 37–71? This is possible but far from certain. Both E. Sjöberg and M. Black claimed that the Son of Man becomes a title with ch. 71. See E. Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn in Äthiopischen Henochbuch* (Skrifter Utgivna av kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet in Lund 41; Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946); M. Black, *The Book of Enoch* (Leiden: Brill, 1985). If the author of chs. 37–71 did not intend “that Son of Man” to be a title, some of his readers would have imagined it was a title like “the Messiah.”

## 8.2 Charles's Position and an Evaluation

**Charles's Position.** After numerous decades of working on the OTP, publishing critical editions of many Pseudepigrapha, providing for at least two generations the definitive collection of the OTP, and publishing critical works on the Apocalypse of Daniel and the Apocalypse of John, Charles was clear which early Jewish document in the OTP had made the most influence on earliest "Christianity." He claimed that "the influence of I Enoch on the New Testament has been greater than that of all the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books put together."<sup>34</sup>

In 1920, when Charles was archdeacon of Westminster, he published his two-volume work on the Apocalypse of John. In volume 1 he included a section with the following title: "Passages dependent on or parallel with passages in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha."<sup>35</sup> Here are the passages he lists from *I Enoch*:<sup>36</sup>

Rev	<i>I Enoch</i>
4:1	14:15
6:11	47:3 · 4*
8:8	18:13
9:1	86:1
9:20	99:7
14:10	48:9*
14:14	46:1*
17:14	9:4
20:8	56:5–8*
20:13	51:1*
22:2	62:3, 5*

Asterisks signal the parallels between the Apocalypse of John and the *Parables of Enoch*. Obviously, from this list Charles is convinced that the *Parables of Enoch* has influenced the author of the Apocalypse of John more than all the other sections of *I Enoch* (i.e., six out of the eleven parallels, or over 50 percent); and the influences increases beginning with Revelation 14 (five of the six parallels).

**Evaluating Charles's Position.** As we have seen, Charles presented five verses in the Apocalypse of John that "depended on" or are "parallel with" the *Parables*

34. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, xxvii. The statement first appeared, in precisely the quoted form, in Charles's *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), xcv.

35. R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John* (2 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1920), 1:lxxxii.

36. Charles rightly was convinced that the conception of four winds found in *I Enoch* 37–71 and the Apocalypse of John does not indicate a relationship; see Charles, *Revelation of St. John*, 1:lxxxiii, 192, and 204 (see n. 13 on that page).



of Enoch. In order to evaluate the claim that the *Parables of Enoch* influenced the author of the Apocalypse of John, we will need to establish one or more of the following criteria:

- (a) Is the relationship one that highlights what is found only in the *Parables of Enoch* and the Apocalypse of John?
- (b) Is the parallel one of shared *termini technici* or a paradigm of thought and expression that is developed in an early document and mirrored or quoted in a later one?
- (c) Does the latter document know a symbol, graphic pictorial image, or story found only in the earlier one?
- (d) Are we examining a parallel that is caused by the commonality of the human and the need for symbolic language?
- (e) Is the parallel one that is due to a shared milieu or *Zeitgeist*; that is, is the relationship due to a dependence on a shared linguistic and symbolic culture?

Unfortunately, too many scholars misunderstand Samuel Sandmel's reason for warning about "paralleomania."<sup>37</sup> He was lamenting a tendency after the discovery of the Qumran Scrolls. Too many scholars were seeing parallels and assuming dependence, without examining issues and criteria, like those just outlined. Sandmel rightly warned about the tendency to see resemblances and assume dependence. He obviously knew that the New Testament writers were influenced by the documents in the "Old" Testament (Hebrew Bible) and other Jewish writings, even when there is no explicit attribution or quotation preceded by ὅτι or some similar sign.

Using these five criteria, which are suggestive of others dependent on them, we need to establish *levels of influence*. We should distinguish among the following influences:

- Relatively certain
- Highly probable
- Possible
- Conceivable
- Unlikely

Let us review now, with these five *criteria* and five *levels of influence*, Charles's insights or arguments, evaluating each seriatim, as he presented them. Are any persuasive and if so, why?

In evaluating Charles's list, we have to eliminate from consideration all parallels between the *Parables of Enoch* and the Apocalypse of John that could be

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37. Samuel Sandmel, "Paralleomania," *JBL* 81 (1962): 1–13.

caused by other documents. Documents potentially influential on the author of the Apocalypse of John would include all the documents in the Old Testament, in the Old Testament Apocrypha, and in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha that antedate the Apocalypse of John. In addition, we need to include the more than nine hundred Qumran Scrolls that may contain parallels that would have been unknown to Charles. The latter seemingly impossible task is aided by three factors: the Son of Man and the Chosen One do not appear in the Qumran Scrolls; we have guides to the messianic passages in the Qumran Scrolls;<sup>38</sup> and two concordances aid us in our evaluations.<sup>39</sup> Obviously, a parallel cited by Charles is meaningful only if the concept continues to be unique to the *Parables of Enoch* and the Apocalypse of John.

The present comparison should also consider the possibility that the author of the Apocalypse of John knew the Gospels or at least the oral traditions related to Jesus of Nazareth. Since Jesus was hailed to be the Messiah and the Son of Man, we finally need to ponder if a parallel is from the *Parables of Enoch* or conceivably from the Jesus traditions.

**The Uniqueness of the *Parables of Enoch*.** This Jewish document is unique on three accounts, and each of these increases the chances of discerning some relationship between the *Parables of Enoch* and the Apocalypse of John. First, although the Son of Man appears in Daniel and this text has influenced *1 Enoch* 37-71, only in the *Parables of Enoch* do we find messianic figures labeled “that Son of Man,” “the Elect One,” and “the Righteous One.” Second, only in this early Jewish document do we find an identity among these messianic figures; moreover, “the Messiah” is also found in this document.<sup>40</sup> Third, only in this document do we have highly sophisticated symbolic language and a memorably pictorial story about the elevation of the Son of Man who is enthroned on high (*1 En.* 62:29). That image, even if it is filtered through a culture, ultimately originates, and should be taken back, to the mind of the Jew who imagined and composed the *Parables of Enoch*.

The review of research, the development of criteria and levels of influence, as well as a highlighting of the symbolism unique to the *Parables of Enoch*, enables us now to explore and ask one focused question. How and in what ways, if at all, is the author of the Apocalypse of John influenced by the symbolism and traditions found only in, or developed uniquely only in, the *Parables of Enoch*?

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38. See esp. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema, eds., *Qumran-Messianism: Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998).

39. James H. Charlesworth et al., eds., *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991); and M. G. Abegg, J. E. Bowley, E. M. Cook, and E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* (2 vols.; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003).

40. See esp. Black and VanderKam in Charlesworth, *Messiah*.

**First Parallel (Rev 6:11 and 1 En. 47:3–4\*)<sup>41</sup>**

Rev 6:11	1 En. 47:3–4
They were each given a white robe and told to rest a little longer, until the  <i>number would be complete</i> both of their fellow servants and of their brothers and sisters, who were soon to be <i>killed as they themselves</i> <i>had been killed.</i>	In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory, And the books of the living were opened before Him, . . . . And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy;  Because <i>the number of the righteous</i> <i>had been offered</i> , And the prayer of the righteous had been heard, And <i>the blood of the righteous been</i> <i>required before the</i> Lord of Spirits.

Charles claimed that this parallel is significant because in both texts an author claims that “the end will come when the number of the martyrs is complete,” which is not only in the Apocalypse of John but “exactly as in our text [=1En].”<sup>42</sup> Charles was convinced of a relationship, since in both texts “the martyrs are regarded as an offering to God.”<sup>43</sup>

It is noteworthy that in both apocalypses *the number of the righteous to be slain* is related to the coming of the end-time; this parallel seems impressive, even though 4 Ezra 4:35 and 2 Bar. 23:4 mention that the number of those to be born must be completed before the new age is present. The parallel does highlight a pictorial scene and symbolic thought that is apparently unique to 1 Enoch 37–71 and the Apocalypse of John. Depending perhaps on how one would judge the following links, the level of influence seems to be conceivable, and perhaps possible, even though it is debatable that the martyrs are seen as an offering to God in the Apocalypse of John.

**Second Parallel (Rev 14:9–10 and 1 En. 48:9\*)**

Rev 14:9–10	1 En. 48:9
Those who worship the beast . . . will also drink the wine of God’s wrath, poured	And I gave them over into the hands of Mine elect:

41. All translations are from Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* and the NRSV; significant links are in italics.  
 42. Charles, *Revelation of St. John*, 1:1xxxii.  
 43. Ibid.

Rev 14:9-10	<i>1 En. 48:9</i>
unmixed into the cup of his anger, and they will be <i>tormented with fire</i>	As straw <i>in the fire</i> , so shall they burn
and sulfur <i>in the presence of the holy</i> angels and in the presence of the Lamb.	<i>before the face of the holy: . . . .</i>

At first glance this seems simply either a parallel caused by the commonality of the human or a parallel due to a dependence on a shared linguistic and symbolic culture. On examination, one cannot be certain about so easily dismissing this symbolic link. In both texts is a heavenly vision, a curse on those who will die in the fire and before the face of holy ones. Like the first parallel, this parallel is not easy to judge; given the apocalyptic narrative, however, perhaps it is at least possible.

### Third Parallel (Rev 14:14 and *1 En. 46:1-2\**)

Rev 14:14	<i>1 En. 46:1 2</i>
Then <i>I looked</i> , and there was a <i>white</i> cloud, and seated on the cloud was one like <i>the Son of Man</i> , with a golden crown on his head, and a sharp sickle in his hand.	And there <i>I saw</i> One who had a head of days, And his head was <i>white</i> like wool, And with him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man, And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels, And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning <i>that Son of Man</i> , who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days.

In evaluating this parallel, one should not forget that it is possible that a few verses previously the author of the Apocalypse of John may have been influenced by *1 Enoch* 37-71. If one focuses only on the descriptions of the Son of Man in each text, one will not be impressed with any possible link between the author of the Apocalypse of John and the earlier text. If one studies the development of the

Son of Man image from Daniel to the Apocalypse of John,<sup>44</sup> one is more hesitant to see influence from the *Parables of Enoch* on the Apocalypse of John—even though it is clear that the author of the Apocalypse of John has inherited the concept of “one like the Son of Man” from Daniel<sup>45</sup> and it is part of Jewish culture, as we know from many texts, including 4 *Ezra* 13:3.<sup>46</sup> The author of the Apocalypse of John seems to know about the development of Son of Man theology that appears in the *Parables of Enoch*, and it is certain that the author of the *Parables of Enoch* knows and develops the imagery found in Daniel.<sup>47</sup> The author of the Apocalypse of John develops and brings into focus his creative Christology by stressing the judgment given to the Son of Man, a theme created and developed in *1 Enoch* 37–71. Both texts describe a vision in heaven in which there are many angels. Hence, some link seems possible, and perhaps probable.

### Fourth Parallel (Rev 20:7–8 and 1 En. 56:5–8\*)

Rev 20:7-8	1 En. 56:5-8
When the thousand years are ended, Satan will be released from his prison and will come out to deceive the nations at the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, in order to gather them for battle; they are as numerous as the sands of the sea.	And in those days the angels shall return . . . And in those days Sheol shall open its jaws,

There does not seem to be a likely link here. Satan is not released according to *1 Enoch* and the reference to Gog and Magog is not found in it. Charles was convinced that the author of the Apocalypse of John was referring in Rev 20:7–8 to the “final attack of the heathen nations upon” the messianic kingdom. He then claimed that in *1 En.* 46:5–8 “we have a description of such an attack.”<sup>48</sup> The

44. James H. Charlesworth, “Il figlio dell’uomo, il primo giudaismo, Gesù e la cristologia delle origini,” in *Il Messia: Tra Memoria e Attesa* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Brescia: Morcelliana, 2005), 87–110.

45. Charles, *Revelation of St. John*, 2:20.

46. *Ibid.*, 1:xxxiii.

47. See esp. L. W. Walck, “Summary of the Exegesis of *1 En.* 48:2–7,” in “The Son of Man in Matthew and the Similitudes of Enoch” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1999), 161–62.

48. Charles, *Revelation of St. John*, 2:188.

possible link seems due to imagery and beliefs obtained from a shared Jewish culture.<sup>49</sup>

### Fifth Parallel (Rev 20:13 and 1 En. 51:1\*)

Rev 20:13	1 En. 51:1
And the sea <i>gave up</i> the dead that were in it,  Death and Hades <i>gave up</i> the dead that were in them, ....	And in those days shall the earth also  <i>give back</i> that which has been entrusted it,  And Sheol also shall <i>give back</i> that which it has received, And hell shall <i>give back</i> that which it owes.

Again, we seem to be examining a shared concept and thought. There is not necessarily any influence from *1 Enoch* 37-71 on the author of the Apocalypse of John. Charles's focus on the Jewish belief in a bodily resurrection caused him to see a link here;<sup>50</sup> but this Jewish concept permeates many writings from 1 Maccabees to 2 *Baruch* and beyond.

### Sixth Parallel (Rev 22:1-2 and 1 En. 62:3, 5\*)

Rev 22:1-2	1 En. 62:3, 5
Then <i>the angel</i> <i>showed me</i> the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb.	And I asked <i>the angel</i> who went with <i>me</i> , saying, "What things are these which <i>I have seen</i> ?" And he said unto me, "All these things which thou has seen shall serve the dominion  of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.

Charles was impressed that in both the *Parables of Enoch* and in the Apocalypse of John the "throne is the throne of God and of the Son of Man."<sup>51</sup> There should

49. R. Rubinkiewicz argues that the author of Rev 20:1-10 completed the tradition preserved in *1 Enoch* 10, with a new added element that is not necessarily created by Christian reflection. Rubinkiewicz is convinced that the author of Rev 20:1-10 used *1 En.* 10:4, 12. See his *Eschatologia HEN 9-11 a Nowy Testament* (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw, 1984).

50. Charles, *Revelation of St. John*, 2:195.

51. *Ibid.*, 1:1xxxiii.

be no doubt that in both apocalypses it is possible that two celestial beings sit on the heavenly throne, as is conceivable with Merkavah Mysticism, since in a chariot two may sit (or stand). In the *Parables of Enoch*, the two are God (as the Head of Days [*I En.* 47:3]) and God’s Associate or Representative (the Chosen One [*I En.* 45:3] and the Son of Man [*I En.* 62:29]). In the Apocalypse of John, God (Rev 5:1) and the Lamb (who while usually standing, does sit on a throne) may be imagined (if not clearly portrayed) sitting together on the heavenly throne; note especially Rev 3:21, “I myself conquered and sat down with my Father on his throne.” Perhaps this thought is reflected in Rev 22:1–2. Is the enthronement of the Son of Man behind the imagery of the Apocalypse of John? Obviously, the author of the Apocalypse of John portrays Jesus both as Son of Man (especially in Rev 1:12–16) and Lamb (*passim*); perhaps there is some influence here. It is difficult to discern if it is more than conceivable.

The parallels reviewed were presented by Charles in 1920 and in his commentary on the Apocalypse of John (as mentioned earlier). In 1912, in the second edition of his commentary on *I Enoch*, he offered more parallels that convinced him the *Parables of Enoch* had influenced the author of the Apocalypse of John.<sup>52</sup> Some of these should not be ignored. Here are those that seem significant:

### Seventh Parallel (Rev 3:10 and 1 En. 37:5)

Rev 3:10	1 En. 37:5
<i>I will keep you from the hour of trial that is coming . . . to test . . . the inhabitants of the earth.</i>	Now three parables were imparted to me, and <i>I</i> lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

The thought is similar and parallel, but no literary influence is obvious.

### Eighth Parallel (Rev 3:20 and 1 En. 62:14)

Rev 3:20	1 En. 62:14
. . . I will come in to you and <i>eat with</i> you, and you <i>with</i> me.	And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, and <i>with</i> that Son of Man shall they <i>eat</i> And lie down and rise up for ever and ever.

52. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch*, xcvi–xcix.

This parallel seems impressive. To what extent is it caused by influence from the *Parables of Enoch* on the author of the Apocalypse of John? Some literary influence is at least conceivable.

### **Ninth and Tenth Parallels (Rev 4:6 and 1 En. 40:2; Rev 4:8 and 1 En. 39:13)**

Rev 4:6	<i>1 En. 40:2</i>
Around the throne, and on each <i>side</i> of the throne, are <i>four living creatures</i> . Different from those that sleep not, . . .	And on the four <i>sides</i> of the Lord of Spirits  I saw <i>four presences</i> ,
Rev 4:8	<i>1 En. 39:13</i>
Day and night <i>without ceasing</i> they sing . . .	And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not . . . and say

The mention of four creatures in the Apocalypse of John may well have been influenced by Ezekiel's well-known vision of the chariot, especially the mention of "four living creatures" (Ezekiel 1). However, while Ezekiel is describing a wind, or a great cloud, in which is "something like gleaming amber," and in which is "something like four living creatures," the author of the Apocalypse of John is describing worship around the heavenly throne.

The closest parallel to such a description is in the *Parables of Enoch*, which may well have been influenced by Ezekiel. The description of the heavenly worship in Rev 4:1–11 has numerous rather impressive links with the imagery and symbolism in the *Parables of Enoch*. The "four living creatures" are none other than the "four presences." The singing of "the four living creatures," who sing "day and night *without ceasing*," may well be an echo of "those that sleep not." Recall that *1 En. 39:9–14* is about praising and blessing; note also "And before Him there is *no ceasing*" (*1 En. 39:11*). Those that "sleep not" are the angels who "bless Thee" (*1 En. 39:12*). The author of the Apocalypse of John seems to inherit earlier images and descriptions of the heavenly throne room and creatively reshapes them. It is probable that one of the sources may ultimately originate with the *Parables of Enoch*. Since the order of the images, shown above is different, perhaps the author of the Apocalypse of John is working from memory and had read the *Parables of Enoch*.

### **Eleventh Parallel (Rev 6:15, 16 and 1 En. 62:3, 5)**

Rev 6:15, 16	<i>1 En. 62:3, 5</i>
Then the	And there shall stand up in that day



Rev 6:15, 16	1 En. 62:3, 5
kings of the earth and the magnates and the generals and the rich and the powerful, ... hid in the caves ... calling ... "Fall on us and when they see hide us from the face of the one seated on the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb. . . ."	all the kings and the mighty, And the exalted and those who hold the earth, . . . And they shall be terrified, . . . And pain shall seize them,  that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory.

Again, this imagery is unique to the *Parables of Enoch* and the Apocalypse of John. Many scholars might conclude that these additional parallels, not found in Charles's commentary on the Apocalypse of John, are so impressive and unique as to raise the possibility that it is "highly probable" that the author of the Apocalypse of John was influenced, somehow, by the unique imagery and symbolism preserved in the *Parables of Enoch*.

We have observed that some of the parallels found in Charles's commentary on *1 Enoch* and not repeated in his commentary on the Apocalypse of John deserve discussion. They certainly increase the possibilities that the author of the Apocalypse of John was influenced by the *Parables of Enoch*.

**Summary.** None of the links between the *Parables of Enoch* and the Apocalypse of John proves a literary dependence. On the one hand, there is no convincing evidence that the author of the Apocalypse of John was dependent on the *Parables of Enoch*. On the other hand, it would be foolish to claim that he could not have known the work. In evaluating any link, we need to perceive that the *Parables of Enoch* antedate the Apocalypse of John by about a century, and the author of the Apocalypse of John clearly knows documents like those in the "Old Testament" but never quotes from them.

Only now, after a preoccupation with the primary sources, does it seem wise to report the insights and judgment of those who have spent their careers on the *Books of Enoch* and the New Testament or on the Apocalypse of John and early Jewish traditions. Two scholars are chosen, to keep some clear focus. The first is G. W. E. Nickelsburg; the second is David E. Aune. In his *1 Enoch 1*, Nickelsburg offers this sage advice:

Mark 13:26 and 14:62 quote Dan 7:14 in their reference to the coming of the Son of Man. But the judicial function of the Son of Man in these passages and in Mark 8:38 and its Q parallel (Matt 10:32-33 || Luke 12:8-9) reflects the *interpretation* of Daniel 7 in the *Parables of Enoch* rather than simple dependence on Daniel 7, where the one like a son of man is enthroned after the judgment. The

connection between 1 Enoch 62–63 and Mark 8:38 par. is especially close; both portray the Son of Man as the heavenly vindicator of the persecuted righteous. Another indication of the influence of Enochic Son of Man traditions appears in the Q saying in Matt 24:26–27, 37–39 || Luke 17:22–37, where the days of the Son of Man are likened to the days of Noah. This typology of flood and final judgment is typical of the Enochic texts in general . . . and appears also in the Book of Parables (chaps. 53–57; 60–63).<sup>53</sup>

Nickelsburg draws attention to the failure to perceive that some influences from Daniel on traditions preserved in the New Testament probably come through the *Books of Enoch* and reflect the interpretation of Daniel by subsequent Jews, especially those who composed the *Parables of Enoch*.

In his three-volume commentary on the Apocalypse of John, Aune argues that this apocalypse has two editions, and that the first edition “was probably compiled about A.D. 70 (i.e., from A.D. 68 to 74).”<sup>54</sup> In this massive commentary, Aune frequently cites the works in the OTP, including the *Books of Enoch* and wisely points out that the literary unity of the Apocalypse of John has been exaggerated. But, despite the importance of the *Books of Enoch* for his redactional theory, he never cites or benefits from the ideas, terms, or symbols in the *Parables of Enoch*. Aune thus serves as an example of those New Testament experts who habitually shy away from the use of what is now seen, by many experts in Second Temple Judaism, as one of the most important and advanced Palestinian Jewish apocalypses that antedate Jesus and the Palestinian Jesus movement.<sup>55</sup>

### 8.3 Conclusion

In evaluating the full influence of the *Books of Enoch* on the author of the Apocalypse of John, it is helpful to keep in mind that, about the same time as the Apocalypse of John, the author of Jude quoted from this pseudepigraphical book and considered it to contain prophecy that had been fulfilled. Thus, at least some of the *Books of Enoch* were known and influential in communities similar to the one represented by the Apocalypse of John.

In the present work I focused on the *Parables of Enoch* and did not include in the discussion the other earlier works collected into the *Books of Enoch*. While further Enoch influence on the author of the Apocalypse of John may increase the likelihood that the *Parables of Enoch* also influenced him, strictly speaking it also could be irrelevant in assessing any influence of the *Parables of Enoch* on the Apocalypse of John. Why? Around 100 C.E., these *Books of Enoch* were not

53. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 83–84.

54. David E. Aune, *Revelation* (3 vols.; Word Biblical Commentary 52A–C; Dallas: Word Books 1997–98) I:cxxiii; also see p. cxx.

55. Walck (“Son of Man in Matthew and the Similitudes of Enoch,” 380) has shown that it is conceivable that Matthew was literarily dependent on the *Parables of Enoch* and that “in a dynamic, creative manner Matthew has incorporated Enoch-like characteristics into his presentation of the Son of Man, and these characteristics have been shown to exist distinctively in *Sim. En.* and Matthew.”

one corpus; they circulated in separate scrolls, as we know from the Aramaic scrolls of Enoch that were recovered from the Qumran caves.<sup>56</sup>

In evaluating the influence of the *Books of Enoch* on early “Christian” thought we should observe that the work is pseudepigraphical but not extracanonical. Clearly, the canon of Scriptures was not closed by the time of the composition of the Apocalypse of John, as L. M. McDonald clearly demonstrates.<sup>57</sup> We should also recall that the Ethiopian Orthodox Church regards the *Books of Enoch* as inspired Scripture and part of the canon.

Recognizing the new, widely held view regarding canonical criticism, is there a consensus in other areas of biblical research? While some biblical scholars continue to think that Moses wrote the Pentateuch and that Matthew, Jesus’ disciple, composed Matthew, and while some today claim that the *Books of Enoch* were composed by Enoch, no scholar trained in the leading institutions of higher learning would agree with any of these conclusions. Most scholars conclude that the book of Isaiah contains at least two hands, the Gospel of John mirrors at least two layers, and the *Books of Enoch* comprise at least five sections. Divergent voices can always be heard; for example, Wossene Yifru contends that *1 Enoch* is a unity.<sup>58</sup> Knowing that certainty is almost always impossible for the critic, scholars should be aware of the dangers of seeking to represent a consensus. Truth does not need a consensus or a majority.

Is there a consensus on the possibility that the author of the Apocalypse of John knew and was influenced by the *Parables of Enoch*? No. Most exegetes of the Apocalypse of John have been hesitant to include the Enoch document in their research; they fear it may be a Christian composition. Now that this possibility is dismissed by Enoch specialists, however, more New Testament scholars should explore the relationship between the *Parables of Enoch* and the Apocalypse of John.<sup>59</sup> We have seen that it is conceivable, and sometimes possible, even twice “highly probable,” that the author of the Apocalypse of John may have been influenced by the images and concepts found uniquely in the *Parables of Enoch*.

## Conclusions

In the first section we observed that the *Parables of Enoch* is now reevaluated by a team of world-class experts working in the Enoch Seminar. They have con-

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56. L. T. Stuckenbruck has served New Testament experts and others well by publishing his work “Revision of Aramaic-Greek and Greek-Aramaic Glossaries in the *Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* by J. T. Milik,” *JJS* 41 (1990): 13–48.

57. L. M. McDonald, *The Biblical Canon: Its Origin, Transmission, and Authority* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2006).

58. W. Yifru, *Henok* (Washington, D.C.: Ethiopian Research Council, 1990). For decades I have been impressed with Charles’s arguments that the *Books of Enoch* are written by many different Jews and that the work has been interpolated from the otherwise lost *Book of Noah*.

59. As J. L. Trafton (*Reading Revelation* [Macon, Ga.: Smyth & Helwys, 2005], 12) rightly claims: “[R]eaders who familiarize themselves with” the OTAP “will find the imagery of Revelation to be much less foreboding”

cluded, unanimously, that the *Parables of Enoch* are Jewish. They have agreed, almost unanimously, that the *Parables of Enoch* were composed in the late first century B.C.E. or in the early decades of the first century C.E. The provenience of the *Parables of Enoch*, according to many Enoch experts, is most likely Galilee.

In the second section we explored how and in what ways, if at all, the *Parables of Enoch* may have influenced the author of the Apocalypse of John. We gradually learned that such influence is possible, and in two instances highly probable, that the author of the Apocalypse of John knew and was influenced by the imagery and symbolic world inherited and developed in unique ways by the author of the *Parables of Enoch*.

Charles's world is separated from us by World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and some copies of the OTAP among them, the establishment of the State of Israel, and the massive archaeological discoveries of pre-70 life in Galilee and Judea. In many ways, we who work on the OTAP, especially the *Books of Enoch*—and notably the masterpiece within them called the *Parables of Enoch*—feel a closeness to Charles's interpretation. But there is a difference: we also feel a closeness to the apocalypticists and an appreciation of Jewish apocalypticism that he never obtained. These Jews were the geniuses of hope before the time of the Mishnah. Sometimes we cannot comprehend our world without using complex symbolic language developed by the apocalypticists; always we need to hold on to hope, even when hope flees from us.<sup>60</sup>

How and in what ways should we conclude our search for possible influences from the *Parables of Enoch* on the author of the Apocalypse of John? Was the author of the Apocalypse of John influenced by the *Parables of Enoch*? One cannot be certain of a relationship since two issues need to be acknowledged. On the one hand, we do not know how and in what ways oral traditions and memory created a world of symbolism that shaped and influenced the author of the Apocalypse of John. Perhaps known literary works influenced oral traditions and within them more creative images evolved. On the other hand, we must acknowledge that we do not know what now-lost literary works may have been known to the author of the Apocalypse of John and could have influenced him.

It seems safe to conclude, in light of unknown oral traditions and compositions, that if the author of the Apocalypse of John was not influenced by these unknown factors, he was most likely influenced, perhaps directly, by the images and symbolism found only in the *Parables of Enoch*. We are forced to peer through centuries of thought dimly and not clearly. We may have heard the aorist imperative γράψον, but surely none of us would claim our writing deserves the accolade: οὔτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί.

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60. That does not mean we should be blind to the dangerous and unattractive elements in apocalyptic thought. See J. J. Collins, B. McGinn, and S. J. Stein's comments in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, Volume 1, *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (New York: Continuum, 1999), x.

# THE RECEPTION OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL (AND DANIELIC LITERATURE) IN THE EARLY CHURCH

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## 1. Introduction

The reception of the book of Daniel and Danielic literature in the early church is not a bad topic chosen for the “Seminar on ‘The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins’ and its final session on Revelation”: Daniel is a biblical book; Danielic literature is related to biblical literature; the book of Daniel belongs to the Writings in the canon of the Hebrew Bible, of which an important part includes wisdom literature, whereas in the Septuagint’s Greek translation and the subsequent Christian canon the book is counted among the Prophetic books; and, finally, the book of Daniel is considered to be an apocalyptic writing by modern scholarship.

Within this context the central question is: Does the book of Daniel deal with an aspect of Israel’s origin and history, a topic mostly dealt with in sapiential thinking and history or only with its future, a question foremost asked primarily with an eschatological or apocalyptic point of view? The answer is that the author sees some of the secrets of Israel’s future already revealed in its past. It is, therefore, in the process of investigating Israel’s history that apocalyptic eschatology and wisdom theology meet.

This aspect is then stressed even more in the later reception history of the book of Daniel as well as of writings ascribed to Daniel: if one wants to know something about Israel’s future in an ever-changing present situation, one needs to interpret the signs of the past. In particular, the interpretation of Israel’s place in political history and how the rise and fall of world powers influence Israel’s fate thus become central topics of interest.

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Paper read at the SNTS, Aberdeen, July 25–28, 2006, and the “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism and Early Christianity Section” of the Society of Biblical Annual Meeting, Washington, November 18–22, 2006. See also Gerbern S. Oegema, *Zwischen Hoffnung und Gericht: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der Apokalyptik im frühen Christentum und Judentum* (WMANT 82; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999), 49–112 and 113–84.

## 2. The Reception of Daniel by the Church Fathers

### 2.1. Irenaeus of Lyon

The first author of the early church who dealt with the book of Daniel was Irenaeus of Lyon (ca. 130/140–ca. 200 C.E.). In his most important work, written in Greek in the eighties of the second century C.E. and widely known under the title *Adversus Haereses* (*Haer.*), he clearly expresses his anti-Gnostic views.<sup>1</sup> After a detailed interpretation of the paradise narrative in *Haer.* 5.22–24 (Genesis 2 is explained with John 8:44),<sup>2</sup> in *Haer.* 5.24.1 he concludes his salvation-historical line of thought by saying: “Like he [sc. the devil] has lied in the beginning he also has done so at the end by falsely stating: ‘This all has been given to me, and I will give it to those, whom I choose to give it to’ (Luke 4:6).”<sup>3</sup>

Irenaeus then elaborates that the worldly power and the dominion of kings can lie only in the hand of God, after which in *Haer.* 5.24.2–3 there follows an excursus on earthly power: it is not a tool of the devil, but has been created by God as a “means to limit evil.”<sup>4</sup>

Following this, he deals with the *topoi* “antichrist” and “1,000-year reign.” As it was prophesied at the beginning of the world (Gen 3:15) and is indicated in the narrative about the temptation of Jesus (Matt 4:1–11), at the end of days Christ will besiege the great Seducer and finally destroy him. This, then, becomes the main theme in *Haer.* 5.25.1–30:4. Irenaeus begins to discuss the theme of the “antichrist” in detail, which until then had been only briefly touched on, in *Haer.* 5.25ff.<sup>5</sup> In this section he mostly refers to the key passages in Daniel 2 and 7–9; Matthew 24; 2 Thessalonians 2; and Revelation 13 and 17.

Whereas the expression “antichrist” is Christian, the image of an anti-divine ruler is much older and is found already in the Hebrew Bible and in the Jewish apocalypses of the Second Temple Period.<sup>6</sup> Besides Daniel 7 and 9:11, *Assump-*

1. Text in A. Rousseau and Louis Doutreleau et al., eds., *Contre les hérésies Livre IV: Édition critique d'après les versions arménienne et latine I*. 2 (SC 100; Paris: Cerf, 1965); *cidcm, Contre les hérésies: Livre V* (SC 152–53; Paris: Cerf, 1969). *Adversus Haereses* (see *Haer.* IV and V) is quoted here according to the edition of SC 100 and 152–53. For an introduction, see Antonio Orbe, “Irenaeus,” in *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* (ed. Angelo Di Berardino; Cambridge: James Clarke, 1992), 413–16; Hans Lietzmann, *Geschichte der alten Kirche I* IV (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1932–44), quoted here according to the reprint of Berlin: de Gruyter 1975, 2:206ff.; Brian E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 28ff.; Robert Frick, *Geschichte des Reich-Gottes-Gedankens in der alten Kirche bis zu Origenes und Augustin* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1928), 58–67. For *Haer.*, see Winfried Overbeck, *Menschwerdung: Eine Untersuchung zur literarischen und theologischen Einheit des fünften Buches Adversus Haereses des Irenäus von Lyon* (Bern: Lang, 1995).

2. See further Overbeck, *Menschwerdung*, 356ff.

3. See further *ibid.*, 368.

4. See also, e.g., Wis 6:1–11; Rom 13:3b–4a.

5. See Overbeck, *Menschwerdung*, 379ff.

6. See Wilhelm Bousset, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche: Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der Apokalypse* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895); Gregory C. Jenks, *The Origins and Early Development of the Antichrist*

tion of Moses 8, 4 Ezra 11–12, and 2 Baruch 39, one should think of the following passages: 1 John 2:18, 22 and 4:3; 2 John 7; 2 Thess 2:3–12; John 5:43; Revelation 13 and 17; Bar 4:1–5; *Mart. Ascen. Isa.* 4; *Sib. Or.* 8:88–89 and 139–59; as well as Justin's *Dial.* 31.2–32.4 and 110.2.

From these passages one can conclude that the image of an anti-divine ruler in the second century C.E. is still quite diverse and certainly not unified. This antichrist figure could either be identified with a political figure (Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Daniel 7–9 and 11, the last Roman emperor in 4 Ezra 11–12, *Nero redivivus* in Revelation 13 and *Ascen. Isa.* 4)<sup>7</sup> or be associated with expressions like “son of destruction,” “Satan,” and “antichrist,” as well as “false Prophet” and “Pseudo-Anointed.”<sup>8</sup>

Irenaeus, therefore, stands at the beginning of the development of a more and more consistent “antichrist theology”<sup>9</sup>—in which a cosmic battle between the antichrist and the Messiah/Christ is seen behind the struggle between Israel/the church and the world powers, starting already at the time of creation—and gives in *Haer.* 5.25.1 a detailed account of the expected sequence of events during the coming of the antichrist.<sup>10</sup>

## 2.2. Hippolytus of Rome

Hippolytus of Rome (first half of the third century C.E. [?], about whose life little is known), who according to Eusebius was a bishop, possibly in Palestine or surrounding area, was “a churchman who disdained profane science in order to cultivate the Scriptures. His works are essentially commentaries on sacred texts and nearly always on the OT, interpreted by a typological exegesis, which he applies to Christ and the church.”<sup>11</sup>

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*Myth* (BZNW 59; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991); Stefan Heid, *Chiliasmus und Antichrist-Mythos: Eine frühchristliche Kontroverse im Heiligen Land* (Bonn: Borengässler, 1993). See also Paul-Gerhard Völker, *Vom Antichrist: Eine mittelhochdeutsche Bearbeitung des Passauer Anonymus* (Kleine deutsche Prosadenkmäler des Mittelalters 6; Munich: Fink 1970); Overbeck, *Menschwerdung*, 384ff. See also Lambertus J. Liettaert-Pecrbolte, *The Antecedents of Antichrist: A Traditio-Historical Study of the Earliest Christian Views on Eschatological Opponents* (JSJSup 49; Leiden: Brill, 1996).

7. See also Jenks, *Origins*, 175–83, 199–207, and 274–83.

8. For the so-called “antichrist-myth” in the Greco-Roman period, see Jenks, op. cit. On the similar absence of a “messianic idea in Judaism”, see Gerbern S. Oegema, *Der Gesalbte und sein Volk: Untersuchungen zum Konzeptualisierungsprozeß der messianischen Erwartungen von den Makkabäern bis Bar Koziba* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1994), 305.

9. For the advancement of the antichrist legend in the early church apocalypses, see the literature specified above.

10. Reinhard Bodenmann, *Naissance d'une exégèse: Daniel dans l'Église ancienne des trois premiers siècles* (BGBE 28; Tübingen: Mohr, 1986), 263, quoted in Overbeck, *Menschwerdung*, 400.

11. So Pierre Nautin, “Hippolytus,” in Di Berardino, *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, 383–85 (quotation from 384); see also Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (1.–11. Jh.)* (2nd ed.; Frankfurt a.M.: Lang 1990), 227–28; and Lietzmann, *Geschichte*, 2:251.

His *Commentarium in Daniele*, which is preserved in Greek<sup>12</sup> and is one of the first Christian Bible commentaries, is of great importance for our topic.<sup>13</sup> A work that is also relevant is the older treatise *De antichristo*,<sup>14</sup> a florilegium of apocalyptic passages from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. Hippolytus expects the antichrist (chs. 6, 49), who will rebuild Jerusalem (ch. 6), but will be subordinated to the power of Rome, the “new Babylon” (chs. 30–36). The antichrist will seduce mankind (chs. 54–58) and persecute the church (ch. 59–63). At the end of days, John and Elijah (ch. 64; see also ch. 44ff.), and afterwards Christ himself (ch. 64), will come. Christ will execute judgment, after which the righteous will inherit paradise and the wicked ones will be punished in hell (ch. 65).<sup>15</sup>

In Hippolytus’s *Commentary on Daniel*, book 4 is particularly important, as it offers an interpretation of Daniel’s vision of the four animals (Daniel 7) and refers it to (1) the empire of the Medes, Assyrians, and Babylonians, (2) the empire of the Persians, (3) the empire of the Macedonians, Hellenes, or Greeks (4.3–4), and (4) “the presently ruling” empire of the Romans (4.5): “However, the now ruling animal is not one nation, but it is a collection of all languages and generations of mankind and is prepared to be a multitude of warriors, who are all called Romans, but do not originate from one country” (4.8).<sup>16</sup>

At the end of the four empires according to Dan 7:17–18, the heavenly reign will start (4.10). Christ is the firstborn, the Son of God, to whom everything on earth and in heaven has been subordinated, the firstborn “before the angels” and the firstborn “from the dead” (4.11).<sup>17</sup>

Hippolytus answers the question of when “the Seducer”<sup>18</sup> will come and on which day the *Parousia* of the Lord will be (4.16), with a peculiar calculation. The age of the world has been set at 6000 years, and as Christ was born 5500 years after the creation, the end of days will take place 500 years after that (4.23). The calculation of the age of the world is found (as can be found in earlier interpretations) on the basis of verses like Gen 2:3; Ps 90:4 (89:4 LXX); and 2 Pet 3:8. Afterwards Hippolytus in 4.35 interprets Dan 9:25–27 as referring to the second coming of Christ and the time of the resurrection of the dead.

After the sixty-two weeks have passed and Christ has returned, and the gospel

12. For a distinction between the works written by Hippolytus and those attributed to him, see Nautin, “Hippolytus,” 383–84.

13. Text and translation in Gottlieb N. Bonwetsch, ed., *Hippolyt’s Kommentar zum Buche Daniel und die Fragmente des Kommentars zum Hohenliede* (GCS 1,1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897); Hans Achelis, ed., *Hippolyt’s kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften* (GCS 1,2; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897). See also Daley, *Hope*, 38–41; Frick, *Geschichte*, 121–22; and Gottlieb N. Bonwetsch, “Zur handschriften Überlieferung des Daniel-Kommentars Hippolyts,” *NGWG* 3 (1918): 313–17.

14. Achelis, *Schriften*, 1–47.

15. For an introduction, see Daley, *Hope*, 38–39; see further David G. Dunbar, “The Eschatology of Hippolytus of Rome” (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1979); idem, “The Delay of the Parousia in Hippolytus,” *VC* 37 (1983): 313–27.

16. Text and translation after Bonwetsch, *Hippolyt’s Kommentar*, 205.

17. For the preexistence of Messiahs in Judaism, see *4 Ezra* 7:26–30; 12:32; 12:26; *1 En. (Ethiopic Apocalypse)* 46:1–2; 48:3; 62:7; *2 Bar. (Syriac Apocalypse)* 30:1; and *b. Pes.* 54a.

18. According to *De antichristo* 25, the antichrist is a Jew from the tribe of Dan; so also in Irenaeus’s *Haer.* 5.30.2; see also Schreckenberg, *Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, 1:227–28.



has been preached everywhere in this world and the time has passed, there is one week left, in which Elijah and Enoch will come, and in their midst appears the abomination of the antichrist, who will announce destruction to the world. Afterwards he will abolish the sacrifice (Dan 9:27), which has been sacrificed at every place and by every nation to God. Then in 4.49–50, Hippolytus gives an even more vivid description of the antichrist, about which “all scriptures, both the Prophets” speak, “the Lord has given testimony of, and the Apostles taught about; [and] his name was secretly revealed by John in the book of Revelation.”<sup>19</sup>

The text of Dan 9:26–27, which in earlier times had been linked to Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Hippolytus now applies to the antichrist and makes him—in connection with the Synoptic apocalypse and the Revelation of John—the basis of his detailed description of the end of days (cf. 4.51ff).

In summary, Hippolytus expected the coming of the antichrist, who would rebuild Jerusalem; the coming of Elijah and Enoch;<sup>20</sup> and the return of Christ, who would capture the antichrist, after which there would follow the resurrection and the final judgment. Hippolytus bases his interpretation on Genesis 1 (the six days of creation) and Revelation 20 (the capture of Satan and the 1,000-year reign), which he, with the help of Ps 90:4 and 2 Pet 3:8, joins to an all-embracing view of history.<sup>21</sup>

### 2.3. Origen

Origen (ca. 185–253/4 C.E.) was born in Alexandria, worked in Caesarea,<sup>22</sup> was one of the “most important Greek Church Fathers”<sup>23</sup> and at the same time is

19. Text and translation after Bonwetsch, *Hippolyt's Kommentar*, 278–81.

20. On the coming of Elijah and Enoch, see *Comm. Dan.* 4.35–37.

21. On Hippolytus's understanding of history, see Gerhard Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichs-eschatologie: Die Periodisierung der Weltgeschichte in den vier Großreichen (Daniel 2 und 7) und dem tausendjährigen Friedensreich (Apk 20): Eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Munich: Fink, 1972), 79–80: “Die Kontroverse um den zeitlichen Ansatz und die konkrete Beschaffenheit des tausendjährigen Interims ist zu seiner Zeit schon in vollem Gang, klare Fronten zeichnen sich ab. Doch wie sein Lehrer Eirenaios, beharrt auch Hippolytos auf einer mittleren Stellung. Einerseits wendet er sich gegen Gaius, der schon in der Menschwerdung Christi die Fesselung Satans auf tausend Jahre (Apk 20,2f) gegeben sah, mit dem Argument, daß die Verführungsmacht Satans keineswegs gebrochen sei, vielmehr erst am Ende der Zeiten vernichtet werde, und daß ferner die Zahl tausend nur den Zeitraum eines vollkommenen Tages symbolisiere (2 Petrus 3,8; Ps. 90,4 (LXX: 89,4), an dem die Herrschaft Christi aufgerichtet werde. Eine reale Zeitbestimmung scheint damit ausgeschlossen. Andererseits nimmt er aber die sechs Tage der Welterschöpfung wieder wörtlich und deutet sie—mit Verweis auf dieselben Schriftzitate, diesmal in umgekehrter Sinnrichtung genommen—auf die sechstausend Jahre Weltzeit, wobei jedoch der siebte Tag, der Sabbat, von der realistischen Deutung ausgenommen bleibt. [. . .] Tenor seiner Schriften bleibt die generelle Warnung vor schädlicher Neugier, verbunden mit der Mahnung zur Geduld.” See further Gottlieb N. Bonwetsch, *Studien zu den Kommentaren Hippolyts zum Buche Daniel und Hohen Lieds* (TU 16.2; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897), esp. 44ff.

22. For an introduction, see Henri Crouzel, “Origen,” in Di Bernardino, *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, 619–23.

23. Schreckenberg, *Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, 1:228; see further 228ff., and Lietzmann, *Geschichte*, 2:305ff.

“without doubt the most controversial figure in the development of early Christian eschatology.”<sup>24</sup> He was a student of the Neoplatonic Ammonius Saccas and possibly of Clement of Alexandria<sup>25</sup> and was well versed in Jewish Bible interpretations. He is the author/editor of the so-called *Hexapla*, an edition of the Bible in Hebrew, Hebrew in Greek transcript, as well as in the Greek translations of a recension of the Septuagint and those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotus.<sup>26</sup>

In his commentary on Matthew,<sup>27</sup> *Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei* XXXII–LIX, Origen deals with the Synoptic apocalypse (according to Matt 24:3–44).<sup>28</sup> In it he treats the following thematic topics: the “announcement of the destruction of the Temple” (chs. 29–31), the “beginning of the time of distress” (chs. 32–39), the “culmination of the time of distress” (chs. 40–47), the “Coming of the Son of Man” (chs. 48–52), and the “warnings for the end of days” (chs. 53–59). Here it will be of interest to quote from his interpretation of Dan 9:24–27 (about the seventy weeks and the “abomination”), in which he explains the characteristics of Christian Bible interpretation and refers, for example, to the destruction of Jerusalem:<sup>29</sup>

Die Reden Daniels wirklich zu verstehen, ist aber niemandem möglich außer dem Heiligen Geist, der in Daniel war, um die ganze Rede über die Wochen und über den Greuel der Verwüstung, von dem er spricht, offenbar zu machen. Wenn aber auch wir einiges zu dieser Stelle darlegen sollen, wie es uns richtig scheint, muß man sagen, daß diese Rede die siebenzig Jahre zu zeigen scheint, die nach der Ankunft unseres Heilandes waren. Diese Woche nämlich, die wegen der sieben Jahrzehnte Woche genannt wird, bestätigte das Vermächtnis für viele, als auch die Apostel Christi, die sich nach seiner Himmelfahrt dem Gebet und der Lehre widmeten, von Gott zur vollen Kenntnis des Willens der vom Heiligen Geist [eingeebenen] göttlichen Schriften erleuchtet wurden. In der Mitte der Woche aber, d.h. nach dreieinhalb Jahrzehnten, wurde das Opfer des Altares hinweggenommen, d.h. in fünfunddreißig Jahren wurde erfüllt, was geschrieben war: In der Mitte der Woche werden Opfer und Trankspende

24. Dalcy, *Hope*, 47; and Frick, *Geschichte*, 95–104.

25. For Clement of Alexandria, who is not treated here, see Dalcy, *Hope*, 44–47; and Frick, *Geschichte*, 82–95.

26. See PG 15–16:3; and Fredericus Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum: Oxonii, Etypographeo* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875).

27. Text in PG 13:1641–94; also in GCS 10–12. German translation after Hermann J. Vogt, *Origenes: Der Kommentar zum Evangelium nach Matthäus: Eingeleitet, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen* (3 vols.; GCS 10–12; Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1983–93).

28. Text in PG 13:1641ff.; translation (after GCS 10–12) in Vogt, *Origenes*, 3:92–166.

29. See Crouzel, *Origen*, 622 (includes an overview of editions and secondary literature); Dalcy, *Hope*, 48ff.; A. H. Cornélis, “Les Fondements cosmologiques de l’Eschatologie d’Origène,” *RSPT* 43 (1959): 32–80, 201–47; Adèle Monaci, “Apocalisse ed escatologia nell’ opera di Origene,” *Augustinianum* 18 (1978): 139–51; Celia Rabinowitz, “Personal and Cosmic Salvation in Origen,” *VC* 38 (1984): 319–29; moreover, see Henri Crouzel, “L’Exégèse origénienne de I Cor 3.11–15 et la purification eschatologique,” in *Epektasis (Festschrift J. Daniélou)* (ed. Jacques Fontaine and Charles Kannengiesser; Paris: Beauchesne, 1972), 273–83; Henri Crouzel, “Mort et immortalité selon Origène,” *BLE* 79 (1978): 19–38, 81–96, and 181–196; idem, “L’Hadès et la Géhenne selon Origène,” *Greg* 59 (1978): 291–331, and the bibliography in Dalcy, *Hope*, 274–75.

weggenommen'. Damals kam aber auch über den Tempel, der in Jerusalem war, der Greuel der Verwüstung von Tempel und Stadt, zu der Zeit nämlich, als sie die Stadt Jerusalem von einem Heer umgeben sahen' [Lk 21,20], damit sie erkennen sollten (entsprechend dem, was der Heiland über es prophezeit hatte), daß seine Verwüstung nahte' [Mt 23,38]. Und dieser Greuel der Verwüstung, der am Tempel von einem Heer angerichtet wurde, welches Jerusalem einschloß, wird vom Propheten als bis zur Vollendung der Zeit' dauernd bezeichnet, so daß die Vollendung der Welt über die Verwüstung Jerusalems und des Tempels, der in ihm ist, hereinbricht.<sup>30</sup>

## 2.4. Eusebius of Caesarea

Eusebius (ca. 265–340 C.E.) was bishop of Caesarea from 313 and was influenced by both Origen, whose library he inherited, and Origen's student, whose name (Pamphilus) he adopted.<sup>31</sup> The diligently historical and exegetical Eusebius became mainly known through his *Historia ecclesiastica*.<sup>32</sup>

His writing *Life of Constantine*<sup>33</sup> is a panegyric in four books on the first "Christian" emperor Constantine, whom he compares favorably with Cyrus, Alexander, and Moses. The final passage is worth citing here:

He alone of all the Roman emperors has honoured God the All-sovereign with exceeding godly piety; he alone has publicly proclaimed to all the word of Christ; he alone has honoured his Church as no other since time began; he alone has destroyed all polytheistic error, and exposed every kind of idolatry. (*Vit. Const.* 75)<sup>34</sup>

30. Translation according to Vogt, *Origenes*, 3:113–14 (no English translation available).

31. See Carmelo Curti, "Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine," in Di Berardino, *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, 299–301; Schreckenberg, *Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, 1:262–68. See also Dalcy, *Hope*, 77–78.

32. Text in GCS 2:1–3, referring to the *Hist. eccl.* after this edition. For the other works of Eusebius, see PG 19–24; SC 31, 41, 55, and 73 (*Hist. eccl.*) and 206, 228, 262, 266, 215 and 292 (*Praep. Ev.*); GCS 6 and 8,1 (*Dem. Ev. and Praep. Ev.*) as well as (concerning *Hist. eccl.*) the newer text-critical edition in GCS 58; See also Friedhelm Winkelmann, *Eusebius: Werke 1/1–VIII/2* (2nd and 3rd ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982–93. For an (older) German translation see Philipp Hacusser, *Des Eusebius Pamphili Bischofs von Cäsarea Kirchengeschichte aus dem Griechischen übersetzt* (Munich: Kösel, 1932); text and French translation likewise in G. Bardy, *Histoire ecclésiastique Livres V–VII: Texte grec, traduction et notes* (SC 41; Paris: Cerf, 1955), 45–59.

33. *Life of Constantine* was violently discussed in the research; see Curti, "Eusebius," 299: "apocryphal" and "panegyric." See also Harold A. Drake, "What Eusebius Knew: The Genesis of the Vita Constantius," *Classical Philology* 83 (1988): 20–38; and Brian H. Warmington, "The Sources of Some Constantinian Documents in Eusebius' 'Ecclesiastical History' and 'Life of Constantine,'" *Studia Patristica* 23 (1985): 93–98.

34. Translation following Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall, eds., *Life of Constantine* (Clarendon Ancient History Series; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999). See also P. J. M. Pfütsch, *Des Eusebius Pamphili Vier Bücher über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin und des Kaisers Konstantin Rede an die Versammlung der Heiligen* (Bibliothek der Kirchenväter; Kempten: Kösel, 1913), 190.

Gerhard Podskalsky describes and evaluates Eusebius's eschatological interpretation of the central passages of Daniel 2 and 7 in reference to the Roman Empire as follows and compares it with that of Origen:

[. . .] so sieht Origenes in ihr den ersehnten Anbruch eines weltweiten Friedens in einem geeinten Reich, durch den erst die Erfüllung der christlichen Mission ermöglicht wird. Und er erweckt den Anschein, als ob diese providentielle Aufgabe des Römischen Reiches andauerte. Damit ist eine neue Epoche in der Geschichte der Danielexegese angebrochen: ohne die wenig schmeichelhaften Attribute des letzten Weltreichs zu leugnen oder umzudeuten, werden sie durch anderorts entlehene, unabhängig motivierte Ergänzungen in ihrem Aussagegehalt suspendiert. Den vorläufigen Höhepunkt erreicht diese Wende mit Eusebios von Kaisarcea. Er übernimmt zunächst die vorsichtige Deutung des Origenes, versucht aber daneben, in einer für ihn bezeichnenden Weise, mit paränetisch-typologischen Begründungen, die beiden Danielvisionen zu harmonisieren [. . .]. Beide Autoren heben die Stärke, versinnbildet durch das Eisen, als wesentliches Merkmal des vierten Reiches hervor; Eusebios jedoch mit eindeutig positiver Akzentsetzung. Ähnlich wie bei Origenes, zeigt sich auch bei ihm das eigentlich Neue in seiner unabhängig vom Buch Daniel formulierten Meinung über das römische Reich, dessen entscheidende Zäsur von Kaiser Augustus auf Konstantin den Großen verschoben wird. Eusebios scheut sich nicht, den Vers Die Heiligen des Höchsten werden das Reich empfangen (Daniel 7,18) in seiner Tricennatsrede auf den Herrschaftsantritt Konstantins zu beziehen. Denn zusätzlich zu der durch die Geburt der Monarchie erreichten, friedlichen Einheit des Reiches kam mit Kaiser Konstantin auch das Licht der Frömmigkeit [. . .] und der Verfall der Gottlosigkeit [. . .] zum Durchbruch. Damit ist zwar nicht in Worten, aber in der Sache das römische Reich mit dem Reich Christi verschmolzen.<sup>35</sup>

## 2.5. Jerome

Jerome was born in 347 C.E. in Dalmatia, studied in Rome, and lived from 386 to his death in 419 C.E. in Bethlehem.<sup>36</sup> In his translation of the Bible, known as the Vulgate revised the various Latin translations of the New Testament. His translation contains all of the books of the New Testament as we know it today in the West.<sup>37</sup>

Jerome's eschatology is intrinsically connected with his knowledge of the Bible, his former admiration of Origen, his other personal contacts, and the many

35. Podskalsky, *Reichseschatologie*, 11-12.

36. Jean Gribomont, "Jérôme," in Di Bernardino, *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, 430-31. Text in PL 22-30; CSEL 54 and 59.

37. Robert Weber, *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975). However, see now Pietro Rossapo, "From the Vulgate to the New Vulgate," in *Translation of Scripture: Proceedings of a Conference at the Annenberg Research Institute, May 15-16, 1989* (ed. David M. Goldenberg; Philadelphia: Annenberg Research Institute, 1990), 193-202.

events in his long and ascetic life as a scholar.<sup>38</sup> In the context of his spiritual-personal, allegorical exegesis, he would interpret the apocalyptic future expectations mostly as a confrontation of the individual with death.<sup>39</sup> However, later in his life he would also take the apocalyptic tradition increasingly literally:

So his Commentary on Daniel (written in 399, to refute Porphyry's historicizing explanation of that book) interprets the Antichrist as a human figure, a Jew of humble origin, who will soon overthrow the Roman Empire and rule the world (2.7.7f.; 2.7.11; 4.11.21).<sup>40</sup>

Further, his commentaries on Isaiah, written between 408 and 410 C.E. (*Comm. Isa.* 4.14.1; 14.51.6; 16.59.14; 18.65.17–18), and Ezekiel, written after 411 C.E. (*Comm. Ezech.* 11.36.38),<sup>41</sup> express his latter-day expectations, which may have been influenced by the attack of the barbarians at the beginning of the fifth century C.E.: the Roman Empire will soon fall, the antichrist is near, and the appearance of heretics within the church is a sign of the coming end.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, in his commentary on Daniel (*Explanatio in Daniele*), it becomes obvious that he does not look upon the biblical books from a historical distance, as is the case with Neoplatonic Porphyry, but the book of Daniel is still very relevant for the time in which Jerome lived, as is stressed by Podskalsky:

Gegen die rein historisch-kritische Deutung des Porphyrios betont er leidenschaftlich die eschatologische Zielrichtung des Buches Daniel als exegetisches Prinzip: den Verweis auf zukünftiges Geschehen sieht er schon im Wort εἰκόων (Daniel 2,31) allegorisch ausgedrückt; seinem Gegner wirft er vor, nicht nur Authentizität und Inspiration des Buches Daniel als einer prophetischen Schrift zu leugnen, sondern auch, sich mit seiner Vorentscheidung, alle Gesichte nur auf Vergangenes zu deuten und damit das römische Reich nicht zu berücksichtigen, in unlösbare Widersprüche zu verwickeln bezüglich des fünften, ewigen Reiches. Er selbst dagegen legt · unter gleichzeitiger Zurückweisung des Chiliasmus · die für den Okzident klassisch gewordene Abfolge der Weltreiche so fest: dem Reiche der Babylonier folge das der Meder und Perser, das auch die Babylonier einschlieÙe, das makedonische Reich Alexanders und seine Nachfolgestaaten und endlich das römische Reich. Bei letzterem hebt er besonders die Schwächung durch die Barbareneinfälle seiner Zeit hervor. [ . . ]

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38. Daley, *Hope*, 101–4; Schreckenberg, *Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, I:333–39. On the messianic interpretation of prophetic passages, see Félix M. Abel, "Saint Jérôme et les prophéties messianiques," *RB* 13 (1916): 423–40; 14 (1917): 247–69.

39. Daley, *Hope*, 101.

40. So Daley, *Hope*, 101. Text in PL 25:491–584. For the Jewish background of the antichrist, see Schreckenberg, *Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, I:336–37.

41. Text in PL 24 and 25.

42. Likewise, see John P. O'Connell, *The Eschatology of Saint Jerome* (Mundelein, Ill.: Seminarium, 1948); T. Larriba, "El comentario de San Jerónimo al Libro de Daniel: La profecía de Babilonia y el Anticristo," *Scripta Theologica* 7 (1975): 7–50.

Beachtung verdient jedoch die skeptische Haltung zum römischen Reiche, dem er—ohne zeitliche Festlegung—ein baldiges (?) Ende voraussagt.<sup>43</sup>

When the western Goths attacked Rome in the year 408, Jerome thought this was a sign of the end of days, but after the city had been taken and the end did not come, he softened this acute expectation of the end.<sup>44</sup>

## 2.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has offered a few examples from the reception history of the book of Daniel in the early church, and specifically has asked whether the analysis of a political situation from a faith perspective is an interpretation of a past, present, or future situation. Coming back to our original question, we can now state that the church fathers also reflected on the future of the church within the context of the Roman Empire by investigating Israel's origin and past as well as its Scripture, especially the book of Genesis and the book of Daniel. The church fathers understood the struggle between the church and the Roman Empire as a cosmic battle between the antichrist and Christ, in much the same way as the author of the book of Revelation or, going back even further in history, as the authors of the books of Genesis and Daniel had described.

We can furthermore make the important observation that in the period from the second to the fifth century C.E. there was a shift away from focusing on the antichrist and the interpretation of the Fourth Empire of the book of Daniel as the Roman Empire to a more friendly approach to the Roman Empire at the end of the fourth century. The empire became understood in an ever more Christian way and was perceived as being endangered by evil powers from outside, that is, the barbarian invasion.

In all of this it can be shown that elements of political analysis and political theology can serve a purpose of comforting a faith group in an ever-changing historical situation. The church fathers did not care much whether their political interpretation was typical cosmogonic, sapiential, eschatological, or apocalyptic exegesis, although they knew the many rhetorical advantages of these and other genres. For them these approaches were means to interpret the past in order to find out more about the future.

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43. Podskalsky, *Reichseschatologie*, 13; see also Dalcy, *Hope*, 101.

44. See Karl-Heinz Schwarte, "Apokalyptik/Apokalypsen V: Alte Kirche," *TRE* 3 (1978): 267–68.

# VI

## Postscript





# ANCIENT BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS AND THE BIBLICAL CANON

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## Introduction

It is well known that the early churches frequently made use of books that were not eventually included in the Bible and also that they often had fewer books in their sacred collections than are in our current Bibles. For several centuries some so-called noncanonical writings functioned as sacred literature for various churches, and many Christians developed their theological positions without the use of the same biblical books and texts that we use today. It is an unresolved question what their theology might have looked like had the early Christians possessed the same Bibles that are current in churches today. The noncanonical literature was present not only in some of the earlier biblical manuscripts, but remarkably also in some of the later ones as well.

It is most likely that all surviving manuscripts of religious documents functioned as Scripture in those communities that copied and used them, even those manuscripts that were produced rather poorly. In the early centuries of the church, there was no uniform view on which books were sacred even after the emergence of various fixed catalogues of New Testament<sup>1</sup> Scriptures in the fourth and fifth centuries, as well as three church council decisions on the scope of the New Testament (Hippo in 393, Carthage in 397, and Chalcedon in 451). The life, ministry, and theology of the ancient churches were all rooted in the interpretation and use of sacred texts, and initially considerable variation existed in what the churches viewed as sacred texts.

Many if not most of the New Testament books, as well as the so-called apoc-

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1. The term "New Testament" is a later designation for the Christian writings, and there is no record of its use as a designation for Christian writings before 170 C.E. in the writings of Irenaeus (*Haer.* 4.28.1–2; 4.15.2), Melito (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.26.13–14), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 15.5.85), and later, Origen (*Princ.* 4.11). Since there is considerable distance between these writers, it is likely that the term originated before any of them, but this is difficult to establish. There is no reference to either testament being closed, however, before the fourth century.

ryphal and pseudepigraphical books, circulated in the early churches very soon after they were written. For example, some New Testament writers indicated that their own writings should be passed on among the churches (see 1 Cor 7:40; Gal 1:2; Col 4:16; Jas 1:1; 1 Pet 1:2; 2 Pet 3:15–16; Rev 22:18–19). Because the Gospels tell the story of Jesus, the most significant authority figure in the early church, they had no doubt an implied authority attached to them right away. The early Christian writings, however, are not *generally* called Scripture or even referred to by name until the mid to late second century. They nevertheless functioned authoritatively in many churches even in the first century because they told the mission, teachings, and fate of Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

The sacredness of the Gospels was perceived in churches well before their scriptural status was stated near the end of the second century, even though their value in the churches was recognized much earlier. When churches began recognizing the sacred status of Christian writings, they did not always recognize the same books. By the fourth and fifth centuries, there was widespread agreement on the canonical Gospels, Acts, and most of the letters attributed to Paul, but there was no unanimity on the Catholic Epistles, Revelation, or several so-called noncanonical writings such as the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*, or in regard to several of the OT apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books. Earlier, *Enoch*, Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, and other texts now called apocryphal or pseudepigraphical books also circulated among the Christians as sacred texts in various locations.

The processes that led to the listing of New Testament writings in fixed catalogues of sacred scriptures *began* in the first century, but the stabilization or fixing of these catalogues took place largely in the fourth and fifth centuries. In other words, it took centuries for most churches to show any interest in a *fixed* collection of sacred books. The Gospels, especially Matthew and John, and Paul's letters gained widespread acceptance in many early churches because of their ability to support the theological foundation of the church and to clarify its mission. Some Christians began collecting and circulating Paul's writings no later than the end of the first century at the latest, perhaps first among the seven churches to which he wrote but later to other churches as well.<sup>3</sup> It took much lon-

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2. D. Moody Smith argues this point convincingly in "When Did the Gospels Become Scripture?" *JBL* 119 (2000): 3–20. See also Lee M. McDonald, "The Gospels in Early Christianity: Their Origin, Use, and Authority," in *Reading the Gospels Today* (ed. S. E. Porter; McMaster New Testament Studies; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004): 150–78; and the more recent Richard Bauckham's *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006).

3. David Trobisch's view that Paul himself collected, edited, and circulated his writings in the churches is both novel and unsupported. There is virtually no evidence for this supposition, and scholars who cite his work as evidence for this often fail to examine carefully Trobisch's arguments. What *could* have happened is not evidence that it in fact *did* happen. See my review of Trobisch's *Paul's Letter Collection: Tracing the Origins* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995) for *Critical Review of Books in Religion* 8 (1995): 311–14, but see S. E. Porter, "When and How was the Pauline Canon Compiled?" in *The Pauline Canon* (ed. S. E. Porter; Pauline Studies; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 113–27, for a more detailed analysis of Trobisch's arguments.

ger for *all* of the New Testament writings, including some of Paul's (the Pastorals) to gain widespread acceptance in the churches, and even longer for the churches to place them in *fixed* collections of sacred Scriptures.

In what follows, I will focus on three important sources that had an impact on the origin and stabilization of the New Testament canon. First, I will draw attention to the books in the various biblical manuscripts—what I call the *operative* biblical canons of the churches, then to the actual texts in them, and finally to the various early translations of these sacred books that reflect the variety of Scriptures in these non-Greek collections. These collections, whether in Greek or in other ancient languages, were the Scriptures in the ancient churches. A discussion of these resources will clarify some of the complexity that surrounds the processes of canon formation. As we will observe, the Scriptures of the early churches are not always the same as what we use today, especially in the fringe areas of the biblical canon such as the Pastoral Epistles, some Catholic Epistles, Hebrews, and Revelation, but also in some noncanonical writings. It is far too frequently assumed that the Bibles that we have today are the same as what obtained currency in the earliest churches.

## The Codex and Sacred Books

As is well known, before the third century, papyri codices seldom exceeded three hundred pages and more often were considerably smaller in size. For example, p<sup>46</sup>, the oldest papyrus codex containing Paul's writings, originally had 208 pages (the last fourteen pages are missing). All four Gospels would occupy some eighty feet of scroll space, but this is almost three times longer than the average scroll in the first two centuries. On the other hand, all four Gospels and Acts could fit on one single quire codex, as in the case of p<sup>45</sup>, which originally contained all four canonical Gospels and the book of Acts in some 224 pages. In the fourth century, and by contrast, the major scriptural majuscule codices were well over one thousand pages. For example, the fragmentary Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲙ, 01) has 1,460 pages and Codex Vaticanus (B, 03) has approximately 1,600 pages.<sup>4</sup> The technology necessary for including in one volume all of the books that the churches at that time deemed sacred was not available before the middle of the fourth century. At that time the codex became a more significant factor in identifying the literature that functioned canonically in the churches. Before the time of Constantine, there is no record of a complete New Testament in one manuscript, let alone a complete Bible with both Old Testament and New Testament.

In the last half of the second century, when churches regularly transmitted their sacred writings in papyrus codices, the vast majority of these manuscripts were smaller in size than what we find in p<sup>45</sup> and p<sup>46</sup>. There was often only enough room in these small books for one or more Gospels, several epistles, or

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4. For a description of this manuscript, see Eldon Jay Epp, "Issues in the Interrelation of New Testament Textual Criticism and Canon," in *The Canon Debate* (ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 499 and 510–12.

some combination of them, but none of them had the capacity to contain all of the New Testament writings.  $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$ , a multiple collection of writings with Jude and 1–2 Peter, has seventy-two pages. Only one papyrus manuscript contains all four Gospels plus Acts (p<sup>45</sup>) and only four papyrus manuscripts have more than one gospel: p<sup>44</sup> (Matthew and John), p<sup>4</sup> + p<sup>64</sup> + p<sup>67</sup> (Matthew and Luke; these three papyri are now widely believed to be from the same manuscript),<sup>5</sup> p<sup>75</sup> (Luke + John), and p<sup>84</sup> (Mark + John).<sup>6</sup>  $\mathfrak{P}^{53}$  has both the Gospel of Matthew and Acts. Only thirteen papyrus manuscripts of the existing 118 have more than one book in them and none of them has the whole New Testament.<sup>7</sup> This raises questions about the significance of the codex for canon studies before it could contain all of the books of the New Testament. What it says is that the manuscripts that survived antiquity probably played some important role in the life of a church or churches that received and used them.

There are some fifty-two papyrus manuscripts containing apocryphal literature both Jewish and Christian, much of which was found near the sites where biblical manuscripts were discovered. These books are seldom mentioned by scholars, who are more focused on the New Testament literature and its text and use in early Christianity. These apocryphal religious texts include but are not limited to the following: *Apocalypse of Elijah*, *Odes of Solomon*, *Testament of Solomon*, *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, *4 Esdras*, *Enoch* (several copies), *Apocryphon of Ezekiel*, *Sibylline Oracles*, several Gospel fragments, sayings or *logia* of Jesus, *Gospel of Peter*, *Protevangelium of James*, *Acts of Peter*, *Acts of Andrew*, *Acts of John*, *Acts of Paul*, *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, the Corinthian correspondence with Paul, *Letters from Abgar to Jesus and Letters from Jesus to Abgar*, *Acts of Andrew and Matthew*, *Apocalypse of Peter*, and *Apocalypse of Paul*.<sup>8</sup> Other texts were also found, including fragments of texts that are not widely known. As a result of these finds, our understanding of early Christianity, at least in the second and third centuries, has been expanded. The presence or absence of writings in a codex at this time does not reflect any canon formation, but only what religious writings were most important to the communities where this literature was found. Accounting for what was *not* in the

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5. Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (4th ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 53.

6. The most recent update of the Aland lists and categories of Greek New Testament Papyri are in Wieland Willker online at <http://www-uncr.uni-bremen.de/~wic/textc/Papyri-list.html>.

7. These include: p<sup>30</sup> (1, 2 Thess; third century), p<sup>34</sup> (1 Cor, 2 Cor; seventh century), p<sup>44</sup> (Matt, John; sixth to seventh century), p<sup>45</sup> (Matt, Mark, Luke, John; third century), p<sup>46</sup> (Rom, 1 Cor, 2 Cor, Gal, Eph, Phil, Col, 1 Thess, Heb; ca. 200), p<sup>53</sup> (Matt, Acts; ca. third century), p<sup>61</sup> (Rom, 1 Cor, Phil, Col, 1 Thess, Titus, Phlm; ca. 700), p<sup>4</sup> + p<sup>64</sup> + p<sup>67</sup> (Matt, Luke; ca. 200), p<sup>72</sup> (1 Pet, 2 Pet, Jude [+ *Nativity of Mary*], correspondence of Paul, *3 Corinthians*, apocryphal letter from the eleventh *Ode of Solomon*, Melito's *Homily on Passover*, hymn fragment, *Apology of Phileas*, Pss 33 and 34); third to fourth century), p<sup>74</sup> (Acts, Jas, 1 Pet, 2 Pet, 1 John, 2 John, 3 John, Jude; seventh century), p<sup>84</sup> (Mark, John; sixth century), p<sup>92</sup> (Eph, 2 Thess; third to fourth century).

8. These are listed with particular information on their date and provenance in Joseph van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Série "Papyrologie" I; Paris: Publications de La Sorbonne, 1976), 199–220.

manuscripts is a challenge at best during the early centuries, when most if not all of the surviving manuscripts are fragmentary. We can go no further than the surviving evidence allows in surmising what was in and not in early Christian collections of Scriptures.

In the fourth century, when the codex had developed sufficiently to be able include all of the books of both testaments, it was still unusual to find all of the books that were later classified as canonical—and only those works—in one volume. Catalogues or listings of biblical books began to emerge in the fourth century, when it was possible for the first time to include all of the sacred books in one codex. At that time, some stabilization of the sequence of books began to take place.

Strangely, there are no known biblical manuscripts produced before or during the fourth century that contain *all* of the books of the New Testament and *only* those books. Indeed, it is rare to find any manuscript with all of the New Testament books—and only those books—before the year 1000, and only rarely do we find them thereafter. Generally speaking, the most valued manuscripts for establishing the text of the New Testament include some seventy-five manuscripts, and they are a mixed collection. The earlier ones (before the fifth century) are fewer in number, and most of them are both fragmentary and incomplete. For instance, none of the papyri has 1 and 2 Timothy, and only two of them have portions of Titus, namely, p<sup>32</sup> (ca. 200) and p<sup>61</sup> (ca. 700). The latter can be ignored, but clearly there is early evidence for the use of Titus. Almost all of the larger uncial or majuscule manuscripts on parchment from the fourth century and following do have the Pastoral Epistles in them, but why is there such scant evidence for them earlier? Of these manuscripts that are generally considered to have priority in establishing the Greek New Testament, only ten have the book of Revelation. Likewise, twenty-seven of the major manuscripts used by scholars do not have the Gospels in them!<sup>9</sup> What to make of that is difficult to tell. Bart Ehrman, owing to an observation from Michael Holmes, notes that of the thousands of Greek biblical manuscripts fewer than ten contain the entire Bible. Of these, only four predate the tenth century, and those manuscripts are missing several pages of text.<sup>10</sup> Of all of the sixty to sixty-one surviving manuscripts that reportedly contain the whole New Testament, most are missing something, whether complete books or portions of texts from books. Daryl Schmidt claims that manuscripts reportedly containing complete New Testament manuscripts are in fact incomplete if we ask whether they contain only the canonical New Testament books and nothing else or less! He notes that the two earliest “com-

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9. These seventy-eight lists of the ancient uncial and minuscule manuscripts and their contents are identified conveniently by Reuben Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines Against Codex Vaticanus. Romans* (Wheaton: Tyndale House, 2001), 385–91. He begins with the Greek text produced by Erasmus in 1516 (which is not considered here) but does not list the major papyrus manuscripts.

10. Bart D. Ehrman, *Misquoting Jesus: The Story Behind Who Changed the Bible and Why* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), 222–23 n. 13. See also Daryl D. Schmidt, “The Greek New Testament as a Codex,” in *Canon Debate*, 469–84, who makes a similar observation.

plete New Testament” codices (nothing more or less), namely, codices 1424 and 175, date from the ninth and eleventh centuries, respectively.<sup>11</sup>

Most biblical manuscripts cited as having all sections or groups of the entire New Testament seldom have *all* of the books in them, even if the four categories of all canonical groups are present. Likewise, a papyrus manuscript is often cited as containing one or more New Testament writings, but the complete texts of any New Testament writing are found only in p<sup>72</sup>, which has the complete texts of 1–2 Peter and Jude.<sup>12</sup> Sometimes the later manuscripts include noncanonical books as well and sometimes fewer books than are in our current New Testament. Four early majuscule or uncial manuscripts that are often cited as containing the whole New Testament illustrate this point. The well-known codices Vaticanus (B 03), Sinaiticus (Σ 01), and Alexandrinus (A 02), along with the palimpsest Ephraemi Rescriptus (C 04), reportedly have a complete Bible, but a closer examination of them shows that their Old Testaments and New Testaments are either incomplete (fragmented) and/or they contain so-called noncanonical books, as we have observed above. Of the some 5,735 New Testament manuscripts from antiquity (and the number continues to grow),<sup>13</sup> only about fifty of the sixty to sixty-one reported to contain a whole New Testament in fact do, and those manuscripts (mostly minuscules) often have important parts missing (e.g., Revelation), variable sequences of books, and occasionally additional noncanonical texts. Among the most important minuscule manuscripts that include the complete New Testament, according to Kurt and Barbara Aland and noted by Daryl Schmidt, only those numbered 61, 69, 209, 241, 242, 522, 1424, 1678, 1704, and 2495 are complete.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, since almost all of the minuscule manuscripts are of the Byzantine text-type, they are generally ignored and many have not yet been studied carefully. The number of “complete” manuscripts is determined more by their containing the four or five categories of literature commonly known as “e a p r” or “e a p c r” than by their actual contents.<sup>15</sup> What this means is that while all

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11. Schmidt, “Greek New Testament as a Codex,” 470–75.

12. This observation comes from Stanley E. Porter, “Why So Many Holes in the Papyrological Evidence,” in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text* (ed. Scot McKendrick and Orlaith O’Sullivan; London: British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2003), 173.

13. Almost yearly new finds in libraries are reported and so the numbers of ancient biblical manuscripts increase. Porter (“Why So Many Holes,” 178–79) reports that he has seen nine large file boxes of Byzantine papyri that have never been studied, edited, or even added to the number of available manuscripts for study. Bruce Metzger (“The Future of New Testament Textual Studies,” in McKendrick and O’Sullivan, *Bible as Book*, 203) also speaks of known manuscripts that await study and classification.

14. Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (2nd ed.; trans. E. F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 138–40. See also Schmidt, “Greek New Testament as a Codex,” 470–71, who points out the exceptions to this list.

15. The fold-up inserts or charts of manuscript listings provided in the various editions of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* is often misleading. They use the “e a p r” designations to identify the canonical groups in the manuscripts. For example, the lists indicate whether a manuscript has the Gospels (e), Acts and the General Epistles (a), Paul’s letters (p) and Revelation (r). The UBS<sup>4</sup> uses the letter “c” for Catholic Epistles and separates Acts from the Catholic Epistles as a

of the groups may be represented, the full number of books in each manuscript may not be.

The earliest New Testament papyrus manuscripts date from early to middle second century to roughly the eighth century and are fragmentary and incomplete. The earlier New Testament manuscripts have fewer books generally and occasionally other books that are not in the current New Testament (p<sup>72</sup>). Two of the oldest known New Testament papyri contain fragments of John 18:31–33 and 37–38 (p<sup>52</sup>, ca. 125–150 C.E., but possibly as early as 110–125 C.E.)<sup>16</sup> and another of John 18:36–19:7 (p<sup>90</sup>, ca. 140–150 C.E.), both discovered in the Oxyrhynchus papyri. The earliest known codex containing Paul's letters, p<sup>46</sup> (ca. 200 C.E., discussed below), is fragmentary and contains all of Paul's letters except 2 Thessalonians, the Pastorals, and Philemon. In view of how many pages of that manuscript are missing, it is highly unlikely that they contained the Pastoral Epistles. There is, however, almost a hundred years with little or no manuscript evidence for the books and texts of the New Testament, and we cannot say with certainty what was in the various collections of sacred texts circulating among the churches at that time, though we can make some educated guesses by a study of the citations in the early church fathers.

Of the surviving New Testament manuscripts, only roughly 8 percent include *most* of the New Testament, and many more contain only smaller portions of the NT writings. Many of the papyrus, uncial, and minuscule manuscripts are fragmentary. In 2003, the Institute for New Testament Textual Research in Münster, Germany, the official registry of biblical manuscripts, listed 5,735 Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, but more will undoubtedly be added to that number in the near future. The latest number of New Testament papyrus manuscripts (the oldest collection of manuscripts dating from the second to the sixth or seventh century) now stands at 118. The number of majuscule manuscripts, or capital-lettered manuscripts without spaces between the words (the next oldest collection dating from roughly the fourth to the tenth century), now stands at 315.<sup>17</sup> There are 2,877 minuscule, or lower case, manuscripts with running letters

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designation (this is, of course, uncommon in the manuscripts), and when Acts precedes the Catholic Epistles, the UBS has e a c p r in the sequence instead, as in the case of p<sup>72</sup>, ⌘, or A. The letters, however, only indicate the *kinds* or *groups* of materials (Gospels, letters, etc.) in the New Testament, not what is actually in them and nothing is said about the noncanonical writings in them. The letter "p" may refer to a large collection of Paul's writings as in the case of p<sup>46</sup>, or it could refer only to one of Paul's letters, or to a fragment of a letter, as in the case of p<sup>92</sup>, which has only two small fragments containing a few verses of Ephesians, 1 Thessalonians, and 2 Thessalonians 1:4–5. Both manuscripts in the fold-up chart are assigned the letter "p". The unsuspecting viewer of these charts would never guess that p<sup>4</sup> has four pages from the Gospel of Luke, since the chart simply reports an "e." Likewise, p<sup>64</sup> consists of one only leaf with verses from Matthew 26, but this one also gets an "e" designation, and p<sup>72</sup> also contains only three of the Catholic Epistles (Jude and 1–2 Peter) and several noncanonical writings, but the chart has only a "c" for the manuscript. These fold-up inserts offer some useful information, but they often confuse the students they are designed to help.

16. This indicates that the Gospel of John probably circulated in churches in Egypt within twenty to thirty years of its composition, if not sooner.

17. See Peter Head's listing of these in his *Early Greek Bible Manuscript Project: New Tes-*

(roughly from the ninth to the fifteenth century), and some 2,432 Greek lectionaries (selected portions of Scriptures that were read in churches), which are often discussed and seldom considered in textual evidence of any reading, even though they may date much earlier than some other manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> According to Eldon Epp's analysis of the surviving manuscripts, there are 2,361 that contain Gospels, 792 that contain letter(s) of Paul, 662 that contain Acts and the Catholic or General Epistles, and 287 containing the book of Revelation.<sup>19</sup> In his study of Paul, David Trobisch claims that fewer than 8 percent of all known manuscripts with collections of Paul's writings contain the whole of the New Testament.<sup>20</sup>

There are several ancient "libraries"<sup>21</sup> that have been discovered in Egypt with large collections of New Testament books and a number of noncanonical writings. These libraries have a considerable number of manuscripts dating from the late second or early third century through the fourth century and include the Chester Beatty papyri, the Bodmer papyri, and the Oxyrhynchus papyri. A fourth important library discovered in roughly the same area in Egypt is the Nag Hammadi papyrus collection, which contains no biblical books, but a number of Gnostic religious texts with apostolic names attached to them. This, of course, suggests that they were viewed as authoritative documents. We will look at these libraries briefly.

(1) The Chester Beatty papyri (early third to fourth century), discovered in the Nile Valley in Egypt in the early 1930s, included a large number of papyri containing Old Testament and New Testament writings as well as some other works.<sup>22</sup> The New Testament part of that collection has the Gospels and Acts (p<sup>45</sup>), the earliest collection of Paul's letters, without the Pastorals and Philemon (p<sup>46</sup>), and Revelation (p<sup>47</sup>). Although it is an argument from silence, it is a wonder that other books of the New Testament were not found there. Since p<sup>46</sup> is a frag-

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tament Uncial Manuscripts on his Web site: <http://www.tyndale.cam.ac.uk/Tyndale/staff/Head/NTUncials.htm>.

18. These numbers are listed in the most recent edition of Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 50. The figures change almost annually as more manuscripts are found and placed in the public domain. By the time this paper is published, the number of known biblical papyrus manuscripts will likely have increased.

19. Epp, "Issues in the Interrelation of New Testament Textual Criticism and Canon," 505.

20. See Trobisch's Web site: <http://www.bts.edu/faculty/trobisch.htm>. According to him, only fifty-nine of 779 manuscripts that contain the letters of Paul also contain the whole New Testament. This, of course, means portions of the whole New Testament, since most of the manuscripts are fragmentary. Trobisch also discusses here Codices Alexandrinus, Ephraemi Rescriptus, Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Boernerianus, and Augiensis; and p<sup>46</sup>.

21. The use of the term "libraries" here is somewhat misleading, since some of the collections include other than religious works, and it is not altogether clear what kind of collections they were. But the presence of a large number of Christian writings in one place suggests that some Christian community was present that had use for this literature. It is most likely that a Christian group used this literature in an authoritative manner in their worship and catechetical instruction.

22. The Old Testament portion of that collection includes Genesis, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, but lacks Exodus and Leviticus, all of the Former Prophets, the Psalms, and all other wisdom literature. Included in the Latter Prophets are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, but the collection also includes Ecclesiasticus, *Enoch*, and a homily by Melito.



mented codex, it is likely that other books were a part of that collection, but at present it is not clear which one or ones were intended.

(2) The Bodmer Papyri (early third to sixth century) were discovered in Upper Egypt in the early 1950s along with a large collection of classical texts and correspondence. The library contains both Old Testament and New Testament books dating from the third to the seventh centuries, as well as a number of noncanonical religious texts.<sup>23</sup> The New Testament collection (p<sup>66</sup>, p<sup>72</sup>, p<sup>73</sup>, p<sup>74</sup>, p<sup>75</sup>) is missing Mark and all of Paul's writings except Romans and 2 Corinthians, as well as Hebrews and Revelation. On the other hand, the collection includes the *Protevangelium of James*, *3 Corinthians*, *Acts of Paul*, the *Apology of Phileas*, the *Vision of Dorotheos*, *Shepherd of Hermas*, an apocryphon, other liturgical hymns, and three of Melito's homilies. There is no accounting for the New Testament books that are missing or for the presence of those that are not in the New Testament. They are not distinguished in the Bodmer library.

An important example of a Bodmer papyrus manuscript that contains some New Testament writings, as well as some noncanonical writings, is p<sup>72</sup> (third to fourth century), which is generally identified as the oldest surviving manuscript of Jude and 1–2 Peter (in that order). What is often ignored is that p<sup>72</sup> also contains several other writings besides these New Testament writings, including the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians and *3 Corinthians*,<sup>24</sup> an apocryphal letter from the eleventh *Ode of Solomon*, then Jude, followed by Melito's *Homily on the Passover*, a hymn fragment, the *Apology of Phileas*; Psalms 33 and 34, and finally 1–2 Peter. This manuscript was not produced by one hand, and the writings in it are not from the same time.

(3) The famous collection of Oxyrhynchus papyri (from ca. late third to fourth century to around the late sixth or early seventh century and designated POxy. followed by a number) includes many New Testament writings and non-canonical works, but without any marks or notations to distinguish them. This collection includes the largest number of New Testament papyri found in any one location, and it warrants a closer look. The earlier manuscripts include Matthew, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1–2 Thessalonians, Hebrews, James, 1 John, Jude, and Revelation, but it is missing Mark, 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, 1–2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, 1–2 Peter, and 2–3 John. Mark and 1 Peter were included in the later Oxyrhynchus papyri.<sup>25</sup> This, of course, raises canonical questions about why some New Testament books were omitted and why some noncanonical books were included. What did

23. The Old Testament lacks Leviticus, Judges, Ruth, the Samuels, the Kings, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Ezekiel, and the Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets, but it contains Susanna, Tobit, 2 Maccabees, and the eleventh *Ode of Solomon*. The classical texts include writings of Homer, Menander, Thucydides, Cicero, and others.

24. Some of this literature was accepted as Scripture in the Syrian as well as Armenian churches in the fourth century and for several centuries after. For a discussion of this literature, see Epp, "Issues in the Interrelation of New Testament Textual Criticism and Canon," 491–93.

25. The later Oxyrhynchus source for Mark is 069 and for 1 Peter is 0206.

this mean to the community that preserved these writings in the late third and fourth centuries?

The presence of more than one copy of a manuscript in an ancient collection likely indicates the special status the document had in the community that preserved it. The multiple and single copies of noncanonical books at Oxyrhynchus include: *Shepherd of Hermas* (seven copies),<sup>26</sup> *Gospel of Thomas* (three copies), *Gospel of Mary* (two copies), *Acts of Peter* (one copy), *Acts of John* (one copy), *Acts of Paul* (one copy), *Didache* (one copy), *Sophia Jesus Christi* (one copy), *Gospel of Peter* (two copies), *Apocalypse of Peter* (possibly one copy), three unknown Gospels or sayings of Jesus, and *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. Epp notes that all of these books, except perhaps the *Letter of Abgar* (not listed above), were second-century writings and all may have been candidates for inclusion in the New Testament. He further observes that there was nothing found at Oxyrhynchus that distinguishes the New Testament books from the noncanonical books.<sup>27</sup> The community that produced, copied, and received these religious manuscripts most likely received all of them as sacred literature. Other examples include p<sup>42</sup> (ca. seventh or eighth century), which contains portions of Luke 1–2 in Greek and Coptic, but also an extensive collection of odes or hymns taken from the Jewish Bible and apocryphal literature, and p<sup>apr</sup> (or p<sub>2</sub>, a palimpsest), which includes Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and Revelation, as well as fragments of 4 Maccabees.

(4) The famous Nag Hammadi library, discovered near Jebel et-Tarif east of Nag Hammadi, Egypt, in 1945, is a collection of sacred texts containing thirteen codices with some fifty-two tractates (six of which have duplicates), written in Coptic. Curiously, this collection of Gnostic literature has no biblical books, but the religious texts were part of a Christian sacred collection in the Nag Hammadi region. Of the forty new texts, thirty are fairly complete and ten are fragmentary. The fact that many of those documents, such as the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Gospel of Philip*, the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*, and others, have the names of apostles in their titles strongly suggests that this religious literature was also considered sacred and inspired literature for those Gnostic Christian communities that received and transmitted it.<sup>28</sup>

Except for the Nag Hammadi library, the above examples have both canonical and noncanonical writings in the papyrus codices, but none of them is complete. The Bodmer and Oxyrhynchus papyri have not only New Testament writings, but also works that were not later canonized. The Chester Beatty papyri have

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26. Carolyn Osiek (*The Shepherd of Hermas: A Commentary* [Hermencia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999], 1) correctly observes: “no other non-canonical writing was as popular before the fourth century as the *Shepherd of Hermas*. It is the most frequently attested post-canonical text in the surviving Christian manuscripts of Egypt well into the fifth century.”

27. Eldon Jay Epp, “The Oxyrhynchus New Testament Papyri: ‘Not without Honor Except in Their Hometown?’” *JBL* 123 (2004): 5–55, esp. 10–30.

28. For a description of this collection, see Bastiaan van Elderen, “Early Christian Libraries,” in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition* (ed. J. L. Sharpe III and Kimberly van Kampen; London: British Library, 1998), 45–60.

noncanonical writings (*Enoch*, *Ecclesiasticus*) among the Old Testament books as well as a homily by Melito. None of these libraries has a complete collection of the New Testament writings.

Scholars tend to assume that the NT canon was closed no later than the fourth or fifth century, but Daryl Schmidt brings to our attention that as late as the twelfth century two biblical manuscripts included noncanonical writings. Specifically, minuscule 339, now missing, which, according to Schmidt, was reported by F. J. A. Hort to contain not only the four Gospels, but also the *Epistle of Pilate and Reply*, *On the Genealogy of the Virgin*, *Revelation*, *Synaxarion*, Acts, the Catholic Epistles, the letters of Paul, *Lives of the Apostles*, and a Psalter. Additional material is found also in the minuscule 180 also from the twelfth century.<sup>29</sup> There is little doubt that the majority of churches had accepted the canonical Gospels, Acts, and the letters of Paul by that time, but that these and other books were included in some codices at that time suggests that some non-canonical writings were used in churches long after the decisions about the canon were made in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Codex Vaticanus (B 03) is missing 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Revelation.<sup>30</sup> Although the manuscript is fragmented and concludes in the middle of Heb 9:14, some scholars insist that Vaticanus must have included the missing New Testament books since it is similar to Codex Sinaiticus in some ways. However, the evidence does not allow for firm conclusions about additional books. Sinaiticus is a fragmentary codex and is missing several pages of text at the end. Its complete ending will likely be published before long by Professor James Charlesworth, who has had access to the missing pages of this codex.<sup>31</sup> Some scholars see close textual parallels between p<sup>46</sup> and Vaticanus, and since neither includes the Pastorals, the previous argument may be moot. The palimpsest codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (C 04, ca. fifth century) reportedly contains all of the New Testament books, but it is not certain that 2 John and 2 Thessalonians were included in it.<sup>32</sup> Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲛ), ca. mid to late fourth century, contains

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29. Schmidt ("Greek New Testament as a Codex," 474) took this reference from F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students* (4th ed.; ed. Edward Miller; 2 vols.; London: George Bell, 1894), 200.

30. Epp ("Issues in Interrelation of New Testament Criticism and Canon," 503) has noted that these same books are missing from the earlier p<sup>46</sup>, which has several textual similarities to Vaticanus.

31. Professor Charlesworth has shared with me that he is not currently able to publish the contents of these missing pages due to restrictions from Eastern Orthodox officials, but he hopes to receive permission to publish them soon. See James H. Charlesworth, "St. Catherine's Monastery: Myths & Mysteries," *BA* 42 (1979): 174-79; and idem, "The Manuscripts of St. Catherine's Monastery," *BA* 43 (1980): 26-34. These missing pages have been known for a number of years, and the late Raymond E. Brown took note of this unpublished discovery in his *Recent Discoveries and the Biblical World* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1983), 47-48. Other scholars at the 2006 SNTS meetings reported that they also had seen these pages on display at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai desert.

32. The oldest and most complete New Testament manuscripts (Codices Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, Ephraemi Rescriptus, and Alexandrinus) and others have Acts combined with the Catholic Epistles and not with the letters of Paul. In fact this is true in the majority of the ancient manuscripts,

all of the New Testament books, but also *Epistle of Barnabas* and *Shepherd of Hermas*. Codex Alexandrinus (A), fifth century, includes all of the New Testament as well as 1–2 *Clement* and *Psalms of Solomon*. Codex Bezae (D), of the fifth century, contains the Gospels and Acts. Codex Claramontanus (D<sup>p</sup>, sixth century) includes most of Paul's letters but also *Epistle of Barnabas*, *Shepherd of Hermas*, *Acts of Paul*, and *Apocalypse of Peter*. It omits Philippians, 1–2 Thesalonians, and Hebrews.

Interestingly, there is little evidence before the fourth century that 2 and 3 John were widely acknowledged as sacred Scripture in the churches, though there are a few brief and vague allusions to these letters in the second and third centuries.<sup>33</sup> The witness to them is such that there is no clear evidence that they were accepted as a part of a sacred collection of the church until the fourth century. Even then, these letters continued to be rejected by the Syrian church, and their authenticity was even doubted by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 3.25.3).<sup>34</sup> The difficulty that some churches had in accepting these letters probably had to do with their brevity as well as with lack of significant theological content. The same can be said of Jude, but in that case the difficulty may have been a result of its citing *1 Enoch* as Scripture (v. 14). The absence of the Pastoral Epistles in papyrus manuscripts (except for Titus in two manuscripts noted above) is difficult to explain, unless perhaps some church leaders believed that they were not written by Paul and were not *initially* acknowledged in churches as Pauline literature. From the fourth century on, they are included in most of the large uncial and minuscule manuscripts.

## The Text of the New Testament

With one exception, namely, the book of Revelation (Rev 22:18–19; cf. Deut 4:2), there is no evidence that the writers of the New Testament books were aware that they were producing sacred or inspired literature. Similarly, those who made the initial copies of those texts showed little awareness that they were preserving *sacred* texts. By the end of the second century, many Christians had begun recognizing the sacred status of several Christian Scriptures, and several books that were later included in the biblical canon began to be called Scripture at this time. In addition, several writings that were not later included in the biblical

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and the General Epistles generally come before the letters of Paul in the collections, except in Codex Sinaiticus.

33. For example, there are some possible parallels in language in the apostolic fathers, but they are not conclusive. The earliest and clearest references to 2 and 3 John are in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 2.15.66) and Irenaeus, who quotes 2 John 11 and 7 (*Haer.* 3.17.8). Neither Irenaeus nor Tertullian refers to 3 John, and none of these early references calls 2 and 3 John Scripture. See Lee Martin McDonald, *The Biblical Canon: Its Origin, Transmission, and Authority* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2006), 372.

34. Rudolf Schackenburg, *The Johannine Epistles: A Commentary* (trans. Reginald and Isic Fuller; New York: Crossroad, 1992), 42–47.

canon were also called Scripture in the late second and third centuries. Many changes were made in the texts of these books during their transmission, and those changes were multiplied in subsequent copies made from earlier ones. Within a generation, the autographs or original manuscripts were lost, destroyed, or worn out, and new copies of the manuscripts were made from existing texts. Early on, all copies of the church's sacred writings were made from other copies. Those who copied the NT manuscripts often not only reproduced the errors of the earlier copies but also introduced additional changes in their copies. No two ancient copies of Scripture manuscripts are exactly alike, and while we are much closer now than ever before to the autographs of the Bible, it is overly optimistic to say that we have now recovered the originals.

All of the manuscripts in each of the primary text families, namely, the *Alexandrian*, *Western*, and *Byzantine* text families, as well as the so-called *Caesarean* text,<sup>35</sup> differ from each other. Bart Ehrman has observed that "the texts of these books were by no means inviolable; to the contrary, they were altered with relative ease and alarming frequency. Most of the changes were accidental, the result of scribal ineptitude, carelessness, or fatigue. Others were intentional, and reflect the controversial milieu within which they were produced."<sup>36</sup>

Changes in the biblical texts continued until the invention of movable type and the printing press, when copies of biblical texts could finally be reproduced exactly alike. Helmut Koester reminds us that the most significant changes in the New Testament Gospel texts came during the first and second centuries.<sup>37</sup> This coincides with the fact that while several New Testament writings were read and cited in the second-century churches, often with more frequency than many Old Testament texts, generally speaking they were not called "Scripture" before the end of that century.

Intentional textual changes were often made with the aims of clarifying or improving the meaning of the biblical text, correcting the perceived errors in the text, or sometimes to harmonize variant texts. These changes tend overwhelmingly toward orthodoxy. There are, of course, examples of well-copied manuscripts, such as p<sup>75</sup> and many manuscripts in the Alexandrian family of biblical

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35. These text families are described in Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 4–7, and in Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 276–80, 306–13.

36. Bart D. Ehrman (*The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1993], 275) also claims that many of the debates over Christology affected the accuracy of the transcription of the New Testament manuscripts (pp. 274–80). For a helpful discussion of the kinds of errors or mistakes and changes made in the transmission of the ancient manuscripts, see Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 250–71.

37. Helmut Koester, "The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission* (ed. W. L. Petersen; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 3; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 37.

manuscripts. Generally speaking, those who copied the Western family of texts were not as careful as those who copied the Alexandrian manuscripts.<sup>38</sup>

Accidental errors are more frequent, even among the best-copied manuscripts. Well-intentioned and well-trained scribes were still capable of a careless moment. The ancient biblical manuscripts differ from one another in greater or lesser degrees in quality of transmission and the variations in the biblical texts, patristic citations, and lectionaries are considerable. The copier of p<sup>75</sup>, for instance, displays skillful attention to the details of the text. In personal correspondence, Michael Holmes indicated that: “the scribe of p<sup>75</sup> is one of the best workmen ever to copy a biblical text” and added that, unlike this example, the later “scribe of Beza—quite apart from the character of the text he was copying—is not a careful workman.”<sup>39</sup>

Some text-critical scholars have noted that the number of textual variants, most of which are obvious copying errors, appears to be greater than the number of words in the New Testament.<sup>40</sup> Some changes to the text were intentional, however, with the aim of promoting a particular bias such as bringing the biblical texts in line with the beliefs and practices of the communities that received and used these texts. These changes make the work of text-critical scholars highly complex, and frequently their conclusions are educated guesses. All ancient biblical manuscripts were copied by hand from earlier copies, and the changes in the manuscripts multiplied in transmission over many centuries. The trained eye can generally identify deliberate changes, but what accounts for them is not always clear. Textual scholars know that these alterations to the New Testament texts were incorporated into the manuscripts and were received as sacred literature in the early churches. They also know that the task of recovering the earliest New Testament texts is a daunting challenge.

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38. Metzger and Ehrman (*Text of the New Testament*, 276–77) describe the characteristics of the Western text family that was used by Marcion, Irenaeus, and Tertullian. The chief witnesses of the Western text include p<sup>48</sup>, p<sup>38</sup>, as well as Codex Bezae (D) and Old Latin versions. For a useful discussion of the variants in these and other New Testament manuscripts, see Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 282–316; and Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 186–206. Some of these changes are also summarized with illustrations in Paul D. Wegner, *The Journey from Texts to Translations: The Origin and Development of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker 1999), 225–26, and in Arthur G. Patzia, *The Making of the New Testament: Origin, Collection, Text & Canon* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1995), 138–41. Patzia also gives a number of examples of intentional changes (pp. 141–46).

39. Michael Holmes in personal correspondence, August 16, 2005.

40. Ehrman (*Misquoting Jesus*, 89–90) claims that there are between 200,000 and 400,000 known variants in the more than 5,700 known Greek manuscripts of the New Testament! He earlier notes that in 1550, John Mill, fellow of Queens College, Oxford, surveyed some one hundred New Testament manuscripts, as well as patristic citations and versions of the New Testament, and made the disturbing discovery of some 30,000 variants in them (pp. 83–88). Eckhard J. Schnabel (“Textual Criticism: Recent Developments,” in *The Face of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research* [ed. Scot McKnight and Grant Osborne; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004], 59) claims that of the more than 5,600 Greek New Testament manuscripts known at the time of his writing, and the approximately 9,000 versional manuscripts, there are some 300,000 variant readings!

Until the fourth century, when Christianity received official sanction from the emperor Constantine and churches began to prosper, those who copied the Christian Scriptures were generally less trained than the skilled scribes who copied formal literature. This is especially true in the Western text-type manuscripts that originated in the middle to late second century. The rapid spread of the Christian churches in the first few centuries led to the production of more copies of the church's sacred writings, and those who made those copies sometimes made them in haste. Paleographers have identified four basic types of handwriting that produced the ancient manuscripts, namely, the "professional hand," which showed careful attention to detail and excellent craftsmanship (p<sup>46</sup>, p<sup>75</sup>); the "documentary hand," which was that of an experienced literate copier (ca. 200–225); the "reformed documentary hand," which was that of one experienced in copying literary documents, using what is called a "book hand" or "literary hand"; finally, the "common hand" of one semi-literate and untrained in making documents, often characterized by an inelegant cursive style.<sup>41</sup> Because literate amateurs produced the earliest copies of the New Testament writings, it is not surprising to find many errors and deliberate changes in the copies they produced.<sup>42</sup> Metzger and Ehrman explain why New Testament manuscripts of the first two centuries are considerably more prone to error:

The earliest copyists would not have been trained professionals who made copies for a living but simply literate members of a congregation who had the time and ability to do the job. Since most, if not all, of them would have been amateurs in the art of copying, a relatively large number of mistakes no doubt crept into their texts as they reproduced them. It is possible that after the original was placed in circulation it soon became lost or was destroyed, so all surviving copies conceivable have derived from one single, error-prone copy made in the early stages of the book's circulation.<sup>43</sup>

Several ancient writers speak of the diversity and errors in the texts of the New Testament writings that were circulating in the churches, but little overall was done to correct the problem. Irenaeus (ca. 170), when discussing the number 666 in Rev 13:18, acknowledged the problem of errors in existing copies of manuscripts as well as the lack of original texts to correct them. He concluded that the evidence supports the number 666, but then adds: "I do not know how it is that some have erred following the ordinary mode of speech, and have vitiated the middle number [6] in the name . . ." He goes on to say that he is "inclined to

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41. Philip W. Comfort and David P. Barrett, eds., *The Text of the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts* (rev. ed.; Chicago: Tyndale, 2001), 15. Emanuel Tov has shared with me in personal communication that the number of variants in the Hebrew Bible manuscripts is probably around 900,000! It seems that Jewish copyists were also susceptible to the same kinds of errors and also made deliberate changes to the biblical texts.

42. Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 24–25. They note that "speed of production sometimes outran the accuracy of execution" (p. 24).

43. *Ibid.*, 275. Again, the life expectancy of a biblical manuscript that was regularly used seldom exceeded thirty years.

think that this occurred through the fault of copyists, *as is wont to happen*, since numbers are also expressed by letters; so that the Greek letter which expresses the number of sixty was easily expanded into the letter Iota of the Greeks." After explaining how changes may have happened, Irenaeus goes on to warn those who deliberately change the sacred texts adding, "there shall be no light punishment [inflicted] upon him who either adds or subtracts anything from the Scripture."<sup>44</sup> Eusebius observes that Irenaeus also warns those who would later copy his own work to take extra care in their work. In his treatise *On the Ogdoad*, Irenaeus wrote the following colophon at the end of his manuscript:

I adjure thee, who shalt copy out this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ, by his glorious advent when he comes to judge the living and the dead, that thou compare what thou shalt transcribe and correct it with this copy whence thou art transcribing, with all care, and thou shalt likewise transcribe this oath and put it in the copy. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.20.2 [Oulton, LCL])

Origen also expressed his concern about eliminating the errors in biblical transmission and establishing an authoritative and accurate biblical text when he produced his *Hexapla* (or Six-Columned Bible) in the third century. He included critical marks in his text to say what he thought should be omitted and what he thought should be included in the translation, which was his attempt to revise the Septuagint (LXX) from the Hebrew text.<sup>45</sup> Jerome was also aware of the accidental and deliberate changes in the biblical texts and was commissioned by Pope Damasus in 384 to produce a Latin text that eliminated these errors. His Latin Vulgate was received with wide acclaim in the church, but Jerome's concern about errors in the manuscripts was not widely shared and only rarely did the early church take steps to deal with those errors. Until the time of Erasmus in the sixteenth century, little attention was given to stabilizing the New Testament texts and dealing with the many errors present in them.<sup>46</sup>

The Alexandrian text family, with roots most likely in Egypt, originated in the early to middle second century and is generally known for its faithful preservation of the biblical text and its careful transmission. The chief witnesses to the Alexandrian text include the well-known p<sup>66</sup>, p<sup>77</sup>, Codex Vaticanus (B), and Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲛ).<sup>47</sup> Codex Vaticanus, a mid-fourth-century uncial manu-

44. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.30.1 (ANF), emphasis added.

45. See Bruce M. Metzger, "Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. N. Birdsall and R. W. Thomson; Freiburg: Herder, 1963); repr. in B. M. Metzger, *Historical and Literary Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 78–95. I first learned of these works in personal correspondence with Michael Holmes and in his "Textual Criticism," in *New Testament Criticism & Interpretation* (ed. D. A. Black and D. S. Dockery; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991), 101–34.

46. For a discussion of this concern, see B. M. Metzger, "St Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings in Manuscripts of the New Testament," in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament presented to Matthew Black* (ed. Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 179–90.

47. Sinaiticus and Vaticanus occasionally disagree, however, as in the case of the ending of Mark 1:1 (the last two Greek words). John J. Brogan, following an earlier study by Gordon Fee,



script produced mostly in three columns per page probably originated in Alexandria, Egypt, as its text-type suggests, and it is often acknowledged as the oldest codex manuscript containing both the Old Testament and New Testament books. Its beginning is fragmentary with more than forty chapters of Genesis missing, and the New Testament part of the volume breaks off in Heb 9:14 in the middle of a word (καθα/ριεῖ). A later copier supplied the rest of Hebrews and added Revelation to the manuscript in a minuscule, or lower-case, script with spaces between the words. Vaticanus is one of the most important and most reliable ancient New Testament texts, but it is also an edited text that is both fragmentary and defective in places. It does not contain all of the letters attributed to Paul, though it may have included some writings of the apostolic fathers, as did other uncial, or majuscule, manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries (Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Alexandrinus), but that is uncertain. Its Old Testament portion includes without distinction several apocryphal or deuterocanonical books. They are mixed in with the Old Testament canonical books and not located at the end of the manuscript.

The Western text emerges at roughly the same time as the Alexandrian text, and possibly earlier, but it was generally not as carefully produced. According to Metzger,

the chief characteristic of Western readings is fondness of paraphrase. Words, clauses, and even whole sentences are freely changed, omitted, or inserted. Sometimes the motive appears to have been harmonization, while at other times it was the enrichment of the narrative by inclusion of traditional or apocryphal material.<sup>48</sup>

There are a few instances in which the Western text appears to preserve a more reliable reading than the Alexandrian text,<sup>49</sup> but that is unusual and text-critical scholars generally prefer readings from the Alexandrian text family. The later Byzantine (Syrian or Koine) text-type, sometimes known as the “majority text” or even the “Ecclesiastical” text (roughly middle to late fourth century in its early stages), took on many characteristics of the earlier texts, but its copiers did not hesitate to make changes or corrections they deemed necessary by smoothing out harshness of language or divergent parallel passages, and conflating two

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observes that Sinaiticus sometimes displays Western text-family characteristics as in John 1–8. See Brogan, “Another Look at Codex Sinaiticus,” in McKendrick and O’Sullivan *Bible as Book*, 18–19. Fee concludes that “Codex Sinaiticus is a leading Greek representative of the Western Textual tradition in John 1.1–8.38,” in his “Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: a Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships,” *NTS* 15 (1968–69): 23–44.

48. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 6.

49. Westcott and Hort earlier dubbed these few instances “Western non-interpolations,” but they preferred generally what they identified as the so-called Neutral Text of the New Testament manuscripts characterized by the Alexandrian text family. These so-called Western non-interpolations include Matt 27:49; Luke 22:19–20; 24:3, 6, 12, 36, 40, 51, and 52. Other passages may be in this category, but those in Luke and the one in Matthew are the ones most often listed by text-critical scholars.

or more textual traditions. This text became popular in Constantinople and in time also in the majority of the Greek-speaking churches in later centuries, but the text is not known for its fidelity to the earliest manuscripts and is not as useful in establishing the earliest biblical text. The Byzantine text is the text from which the King James Version was prepared and is characterized by inferior and secondary readings.<sup>50</sup>

For the most part, the early church was not able to employ professional scribes with the skills to produce careful copies of its sacred Scriptures and the use of amateur copiers is obvious in many of the earliest manuscripts of the New Testament. As a result, errors and intentional changes in the biblical texts were passed on in subsequent copies.<sup>51</sup> The care in producing copies of the New Testament texts improved in the fourth century, when it was more common to use professional scribes to produce copies of the Scriptures.

Some intentional changes in the biblical texts were introduced to clarify and support various theological issues and concerns facing the church. Ehrman cites a number of these deliberate theological changes in the second to the fourth centuries that reveal the orthodox tendencies to deal with the various “heresies” present in the churches. The best-known “corruption” of the biblical text for christological purposes is, of course, the *Comma Johanneum* (or the “Johannine Comma”), whereby the trinitarian addition to 1 John 5:7–8 was introduced. The Johannine Comma includes the words: “For there are three who bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one. And there are three who bear witness on earth, the spirit and the water and the blood, and these three are one.” These additional words are not found in any known Greek manuscript, but Erasmus likely translated them from the Latin Sixtine (Sixto)-Clementine edition of the Vulgate and, under pressure from his contemporaries, inserted them into the second edition of his Greek New Testament. This addition was, of course, intended to support the church’s understanding of the Trinity, but it has no Greek textual support. In the third century, Cyprian may have known of this addition, and it may have originated in North Africa, but that is uncertain.<sup>52</sup>

Likewise, the various additions to the end of Mark’s Gospel following 16:8 suggest a common belief that the original Gospel did not end at 16:8 with the words “for they were afraid” (Greek: ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ). A later scribe added 16:9–20, which is a partial summary of the conclusions of the other three canonical Gospels. It is likely that a well-intentioned scribe added what was thought to be a more appropriate conclusion to a Gospel about good news (see Mark 1:1) instead of ending it on a note of fear. How Mark concluded his Gospel continues to concern scholars today, but the majority of them, according to N. Clay-

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50. Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 218–22, 279–80.

51. *Ibid.*, 15.

52. Ehrman (*Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 91–99) describes the history of this passage in the Christian Bible. For a brief discussion of this passage, see Schnackenburg, *Johannine Epistles*, 44–46.

ton Croy's research, do not believe Mark ended with 16:8.<sup>53</sup> Interestingly, Codex Vaticanus ends in 16:8 in the middle column with scribal marks in the margins, suggesting some question about the text. Uncharacteristically, it also leaves a blank column (the third column, or right-hand column, on the page) following the ending of that Gospel. The copier may have known that something else was needed to complete Mark, but was unsure what it was, so room was left for a later hand to complete it.

There are also some twenty variations of the New Testament texts on marriage and divorce in the Synoptic Gospels. The early churches had considerable stake in this issue and a number of additions or changes were introduced to bring clarity to the matter. Obviously, it is often difficult to identify the original text of the New Testament, and variants are plentiful. Nevertheless, the variants in the manuscripts were accepted as canon in the communities that received the texts that were passed on in the churches.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, the role of women in the church was clearly an issue of contention for some churches, as we see in the variants in the texts that mention Priscilla (or Prisca), who is diminished in stature in several ancient texts. The reference to Junia as an apostle in Rom 16:7 is also challenged in several late Greek texts, even though the early church fathers all agreed that she occupied that role. One can also see in the problematic texts of 1 Cor 14:34–35 and 1 Tim 2:8–15 that some early churches marginalized the role of women in the church's ministries.<sup>55</sup>

Many intentional changes were introduced before the end of the second century and before the scriptural status of the New Testament writings was recognized, but later changes were also introduced and these are more difficult to explain.<sup>56</sup> All of the various biblical manuscripts functioned authoritatively or canonically in the churches that possessed and read these texts, even though a simple comparison of manuscripts shows that some New Testament texts varied considerably. Epp aptly concludes: "our multiplicities of texts may all have been canonical (that is, authoritative) at some time and place. . . ."<sup>57</sup> The second cen-

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53. For a careful discussion of the conclusion of Mark's Gospel and the various theories and texts that relate to it, see N. Clayton Croy, *The Mutilation of Mark's Gospel* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2003).

54. Epp ("Issues in the Interrelation of New Testament Criticism and Canon," 514–15) discusses this point and cites as support the work of David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 78–93.

55. In the case of Priscilla, see Dominika A. Kurck-Chomycz's recent article, "Is There an 'Anti-Priscan' Tendency in the Manuscripts? Some Textual Problems with Prisca and Aquila," *JBL* 125 (2006): 107–28. In the latter cases, see Eldon Jay Epp, *Junia: The First Woman Apostle* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005). In his discussion of 1 Cor 14:34–35, Epp calls to our attention the two dots in the left margin of this text in Codex Vaticanus that point to the doubts of the copier about this text. He also notes (pp. 14–20) the relocation of these verses after 14:40 in several ancient texts. It is quite likely that Paul never wrote these verses, since it would be impossible for women to pray or prophesy not only with their heads covered (1 Cor 11:5) but also with their mouths shut (14:34–35)! In the case of 1 Tim 2:8–15, most New Testament scholars rightly see this passage not as a Pauline text but as coming instead from a later hand written in the name of Paul.

56. See the discussion of this in McDonald, "Gospels in Early Christianity," 150–78.

57. Eldon Jay Epp, "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Criti-

ture has been called the period of most intense changes to the biblical texts,<sup>58</sup> perhaps because at that time their sacred status had not yet been established. That factor may have contributed to many changes during this formative period.<sup>59</sup>

Some scholars continue their goal of recovering the original biblical manuscripts (autographs) through text-critical efforts, thereby eliminating all of the ambiguities in the present texts; but they appear to be a minority.<sup>60</sup> Some textual critics are of the opinion that we are now about as close to an original text as we will get unless there is a major new discovery.<sup>61</sup> The methodologies employed to establish the earliest New Testament texts have limitations, and those who investigate the ancient manuscripts are well aware that they are involved in both science and art. Doubts about the methodologies used to establish the earliest New Testament texts linger among scholars who are more skeptical about establishing an original text.<sup>62</sup> Epp, for instance, contends that we must now speak differently about an original text: "It is therefore indisputable, in my view, that the often simplistically understood term *original text* has been fragmented by the realities of how our New Testament writings were formed and transmitted, and *original* henceforth must be understood as a term designating several layers,

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cism," *HTR* 92 (1999): 245-81, esp. 274-79; repr. in idem, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays, 1962-2004* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 551-81.

58. For discussion of this, see Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 275-76, 295-302. See also his "Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century," 19-21, 30-31.

59. Ehrman (*Misquoting Jesus*, 84-89) has understood the seriousness of this problem and observes that the variations in the surviving New Testament manuscripts actually outnumber the words in the NT! While there is considerable agreement on most of the texts, there remain many unsolved issues regarding the originals. See also Epp, "Multivalence," 245-81, who discusses the problem of determining an original text of the New Testament and draws attention to the implications of that inquiry (see p. 561 in the reprinted version).

60. Philip Wesley Comfort (*The Quest for the Original Text of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992], 19-40) contends that this goal is attainable, but his arguments are not convincing and appear more theologically motivated than carefully constructed. He does not deal adequately with the numerous intentional changes that the early copyists made in the biblical text.

61. Schnabel ("Textual Criticism: Recent Developments," 75) makes this observation.

62. See Hyon Woo Shin, *Textual Criticism and the Synoptic Problem in Historical Jesus Research: The Search for Valid Criteria* (CBET; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 4-9. Throughout his study the usual criteria are challenged and additional criteria are employed to determine the authentic biblical text and, consequently, the authentic Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels. Brevard Childs also raises important questions about the criteria employed by text critics. See his Excursus I, "The Hermeneutical Problem of New Testament Criticism," in his *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 518-30. He correctly concludes that there is no "neutral text" from which one can draw a "pure textual stream" because "the early period reflects highly complex recensional activity from the outset" (p. 525). He is no doubt correct that the NT text "reflects a pattern of much fluidity with multiple competing traditions at its earliest stage which only slowly over several centuries reached a certain level of textual stability" (p. 526). See also the challenges to the methodologies by J. K. Elliott, "The Case for Thoroughgoing Eclecticism," in *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. David A. Black; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 139-45; Stanley E. Porter, "Why So Many Holcs," 167-86; Metzger, "Future of New Testament Textual Studies," 201-8.

levels, or meanings, though I prefer to call them *dimensions* of originality.”<sup>63</sup> He sees a significant change in the direction of this discipline, which includes the “diminution or even the abandonment of the traditional search for the original text in favour of seeing in the living text and its multiplicity of variants the vibrant interactions in the early Christian community,” and he concludes that the term “original” has “exploded into a complex and highly unmanageable multi-valent entity.”<sup>64</sup>

Because of the complexity of tracking the textual variants in the New Testament manuscripts, many text-critical scholars no longer depend on a single family of texts to establish the earliest text of the New Testament and have instead opted for an eclectic approach to the ancient manuscripts; that is, they appeal to selective multiple textual traditions to determine the earliest and most reliable New Testament texts, hence a so-called “eclectic text” of the Scriptures.<sup>65</sup> These scholars call for a greater understanding of the differences between the surviving manuscripts and the social contexts that account for them.<sup>66</sup>

Textual scholars are generally not yet ready to ascribe originality to any current text of the Greek New Testament, and the eclectic text that is represented in both the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th ed.) and the United Bible Societies’ *The Greek New Testament* (4th ed.),<sup>67</sup> so far as can be determined, never functioned canonically in any identifiable ancient church, nor did it serve to advance any known church’s worship, instruction, theology, or mission.

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63. Eldon Jay Epp, “Issues in New Testament Textual Criticism: Moving from the Nineteenth Century to the Twenty-First Century,” in Black, *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism*, 75. He also challenges the notion that the original New Testament text can be discovered (“Multivalence,” 264–65). See also Kent D. Clarke, “Original Text or Canonical Text? Questioning the Shape of the New Testament Text we Translate,” in *Translating the Bible: Problems and Prospects* (ed. S. E. Porter and R. S. Hess; JSNTSup 173; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 285–95, who raises important questions about the ability of scholars to retrieve the original text.

64. Epp, “Issues in New Testament Textual Criticism,” 76.

65. According to Gordon Fee (“Textual Criticism of the New Testament,” in Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon Fee, *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* [SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 15), an eclectic methodology of dealing with the biblical manuscripts means that the “original” or earliest text of the biblical manuscripts is selected “variant by variant, using all the principles of critical judgement without regarding one MS or text-type as necessarily preserving that ‘original.’” Some textual scholars follow what is called a “reasoned eclectic method,” which seeks to employ both the documentary evidence that examines internal criteria as well as the external manuscript traditions in seeking to recover the most reliable biblical text. According to Epp (“Decision Points in Past, Present, and Future New Testament Textual Criticism,” in Epp and Fee, *Theory and Method*, 35), this recognizes that “no single criterion or invariable combination of criteria will resolve all cases of textual variation, and it attempts, therefore, to apply evenly and without prejudice any and all criteria—external and internal—appropriate to a given case, arriving at an answer based on the relative probabilities among those applicable criteria.”

66. For a discussion of this, see Epp, “Issues in New Testament Textual Criticism,” 71–75. In the same volume, Elliott (“Case for Thoroughgoing Eclecticism,” 124) states: “It may well be that modern textual criticism is less confident about the need to, or its ability to, establish the original text and that its best contribution to biblical studies is to show how variations arose, ideally in what directions, and to explain the significance of all variants.”

67. Both of these Greek New Testament texts are the same. Only the footnote apparatus varies.

It is a modern construct that fills a useful role today, but it may not do so in the future if further discoveries are made in the places where early Christians lived. In other words, it is still theoretically possible that scholars will be able to get even closer to the elusive original manuscripts, but considerable uncertainty is attached to the pursuit.

Through either “reasoned eclecticism” (Michael Holmes) or “thoroughgoing eclecticism” (J. K. Elliott, Bart Ehrman), contemporary New Testament textual critics seek to establish the most reliable New Testament text and to make more informed decisions about it.<sup>68</sup> Ehrman, however, is skeptical about any significant changes in what we know about the original text and concludes that the practice of textual criticism today “amounts to little more than tinkering” with the text rather than significantly altering it. He, like others, suggests instead that the most important task of textual scholars today is to write a history of the development of the biblical text clarifying how the various social influences had an impact on its transmission.<sup>69</sup>

One of the problems we face today is that we cannot point to any ancient biblical manuscripts that are the same as the standard eclectic Greek New Testament text constructed for scholarly use today. While it is now the best text we can establish of the New Testament writings and is closer to the originals than any previous edition of the Greek New Testament, there are no ancient examples of it in the churches. The significance of that may be more theological than practical, but it raises the question of the canonical text of Scripture for the churches today. All ancient texts have some variance with the biblical texts we use today, including our earliest and most reliable manuscripts (the Alexandrian text family). Textual critics have solved many of the textual problems for the church today, but many still remain. Whatever the original texts looked like, at this point we cannot say with assurance that scholars have found it, but as with the early Christians, that does not prevent them from using what they have to establish Christian identity and mission, and to facilitate worship.

## Translations of the Bible

By the year 2000, there were some 6,809 known living languages and dialects in the world, and the whole Bible had been translated into 371 of them. Portions of the Bible have been translated into 1,862 other languages and dialects.<sup>70</sup> By the early seventh century, many of the New Testament writings had been translated

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68. These scholars' positions are explained in Michael Holmes, “The Case for Reasoned Eclecticism,” and J. K. Elliott, “The Case for Thoroughgoing Eclecticism,” in Black, *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism*, 77–100 and 101–24, respectively.

69. Bart D. Ehrman, *TC* (1998): 22 (an online journal of biblical Textual Criticism). Epp expresses the same conclusion (“Multivalence”). See also his “Decision Points,” 17–44; idem, “Issues in New Testament Textual Criticism,” 17–76, esp. 70–76; and idem, “Issues in the Interrelation of New Testament Textual Criticism and Canon,” 485–515.

70. These figures come from Bruce M. Metzger, *The Bible in Translation: Ancient and English Versions* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 8–9.

into various languages, especially Old Latin, Gothic, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, and Sogdian in the East. Generally speaking, the early translations were of poor quality and none of them included all of the books of the New Testament and *only* those books. When movable type and the Gutenberg printing press were invented in 1456, the Bible had been translated into thirty-three languages, but several versions contained only portions of the Bible.

The use of translations has been a part of the churches' life almost from its beginning. When Jesus spoke, it is generally agreed that he usually spoke in Aramaic and probably Hebrew, even if he may have had some facility in Greek. All four of the canonical Gospels were written in Greek, so whatever words Jesus originally said were first translated into Greek before they were included in the canonical Gospels. One of the oldest traditions about Matthew comes from Papias of Hierapolis (60–130 C.E.), who claims that Matthew collected "oracles" of Jesus in the Hebrew language, and "each teacher interpreted [or translated] them as best he could" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.16). The Gospel of Matthew as we now have it, however, was written in Greek, and it is difficult to say what was gained or lost in this initial translation of Jesus' sayings, but the early Christians took their Gospel about Jesus to various places *in Greek* and there is no indication that they thought they were taking something with them that was second rate because it was a translation. The following discussion focuses on the use and significance of translations in the early church.

The first translation of the Hebrew Scriptures (the First or Old Testament) was, of course, a translation of the Law or Pentateuch into the Greek language in the early part of the third century B.C.E. (281 B.C.E.) at the instigation of Ptolemy II of Alexandria.<sup>71</sup> Demetrius of Phalerum, his chief librarian, compiled the largest library in the ancient world with estimates of up to 450,000 volumes. While most scholars acknowledge the legendary and apologetic nature of the *Letter of Aristeas*, certain elements in the letter may have some degree of plausibility or authenticity. For instance, the author of that letter claims that Demetrius requested that the king include in his library a copy of the Jewish Scriptures, but noted that they would need to be translated by competent persons before being placed in the sacred museum (or royal library) in Alexandria. While it is unlikely that the Jews initiated this translation,<sup>72</sup> they subsequently made considerable use of it in their synagogues in the Mediterranean world. The initial translation of the Law or Pentateuch was expanded over time to include other sacred writings of the Jews, some of which did not eventually make it into the final corpus that constituted the Hebrew Bible and the Protestant Old Testament. The initial translation is generally known as the "Septuagint" and is abbreviated "LXX."<sup>73</sup> This

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71. It is, of course, likely that some translation from Hebrew to Aramaic took place earlier when the returning remnant of Jews from Babylon heard the Scriptures (the Law of Moses) from Ezra (Neh 8:8).

72. Nina Collins (*The Library in Alexandria & the Bible in Greek* [VTSup 82; Leiden: Brill, 2000], 117–37) argues this point cogently and also describes the Greek translation of the Law that was placed in the Alexandrian library.

73. It is commonly believed that the term "Septuagint," or LXX, derives from the tradition passed on in the *Letter of Aristeas* that there were *seventy-two* translators (six from each of the

designation has subsequently been applied to all of the literature in the Old Greek Bible. There is much that we can say about this translation, but the point here is that the precedent of a translation of the Scriptures was already established well before the time of Jesus.

Approximately nine thousand manuscripts of versions or translations of the New Testament texts have survived antiquity, but they have received little attention from biblical scholars. They have an important lesson, however, for those interested in the formation of the New Testament. While some early translations have been lost, the ones that survive are an important source for indicating which writings the translators believed were sacred. They also help textual critics piece together the earliest possible text of the New Testament. The early Christians freely translated their Scriptures into several languages including Syriac, especially the Syriac Peshitta, Old Latin, and Armenian. On the problems of the early translations, Metzger and Ehrman share Augustine's wistful comments. He writes: "anyone who happened to gain possession of a Greek manuscript and who imagined that he had some facility in both Latin and Greek, however slight that might be, dared to make a translation" (*De doctrina Christiana* 2.11.16).<sup>74</sup>

Given the complexity of producing a translation, one may assume that when a translation of the Christian writings began, its value for worship, instruction, and mission was recognized on the part of those who translated the texts and those who made use of them. It may also be assumed that recognition of the texts as sacred or inspired writings was well on its way, if not already in place. The date of the translations and what is in them are therefore considerably important. The following early translations have considerable significance for an understanding of the development of the Christian biblical canon.<sup>75</sup>

(1) The *Old Syriac* version (end of the second or beginning of the third century). Although only the four canonical Gospels are preserved in two fragmented manuscripts of this translation dating from the fourth or fifth century, the translation itself probably dates from the end of the second century and the Eastern church fathers who used this translation also refer frequently to Acts and the letters of Paul.

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twelve tribes of Israel) who worked on the translation. The number "seventy-two" could have been rounded off to "seventy," hence "Septuagint," but it is also quite possible that the number LXX derives from the tradition of the seventy elders of Exod 24:1, 9 who accompanied Moses to Mount Sinai where he received the Law from Yahweh on tablets of stone. If this is the case, then the use of the term "Septuagint" by the Jews is likely an acknowledgment of an early Jewish and Christian belief in the divinely inspired status of the translation, that is, that it authentically and faithfully conveyed the full intent of the divine Law given to Moses. The tradition related to this translation and the term "LXX" technically should be applied only to the Greek translation of the Pentateuch and not to the rest of the OT Scriptures, but the term eventually came to be used in reference to the other books of the Jewish Scriptures as well. According to the author of the Prologue to Sirach (grandson of Sirach?), by 130 B.C.E. and later, the Prophets and some other sacred Jewish writings were likewise translated into Greek, a tacit implication of their sacredness.

74. Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 24–25.

75. The following is a summary of information available in Metzger, *Bible in Translation*, 25–51.



(2) The Peshitta, or *Syriac Vulgate*, designated Syr<sup>p</sup> (beginning of fifth century), contains twenty-two New Testament books (it omits 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation).

(3) The *Philoxenian* version (perhaps early sixth century) is also known as the *Harclean* version because of a later revision by Thomas of Harkel in the early seventh century. For the first time in this translation the Catholic Epistles and Revelation were added to the Syrian churches' collection of Scriptures.

(4) The *Palestinian Syriac* version (ca. fifth century). Only a few fragments of this translation exist, and they include the Gospels, Acts, and several (not all) of the letters of Paul.

(5) The *Old Latin* versions (perhaps late second to early third century). There were a number of Old Latin manuscripts produced during the third century and later that fall generally into two categories: African and European versions. In the surviving fragments, portions of the four canonical Gospels, Acts, and portions of Paul's letters survive, along with a few fragments of Revelation. It may be that Tatian (ca. 170) used an Old Latin version for his *Diatessaron*, but he may also have used a Greek text that was translated into Syriac.

(6) The *Latin Vulgate* version produced by Jerome (late fourth century) in Palestine (Bethlehem). There are a good number of surviving copies of this version containing the whole Bible, but there are two codices (Codex Dublinensis, ca. eighth century, and Codex Fuldensis, ca. sixth century) that also contain the apocryphal letter of Paul to the *Laodiceans*. The apocryphal book *3 Corinthians* has also been found in two Latin Vulgate manuscripts (Milan and Laon). Earlier, Ephraem Syrus (ca. 360) believed it was a genuine Pauline text and it was added to the Syrian Bible.<sup>76</sup>

(7) The Coptic versions (ca. beginning of third century). Those versions in the Sahidic and Boharic dialects are the most important among the various manuscripts that have survived, and the contents of these versions include the four Gospels, Acts, and the Pauline Letters.

(8) The Gothic version (ca. middle to end of fourth century). The earliest manuscripts of this version include the four Gospels and some Pauline letters along with a portion of Nehemiah 5–7.

(9) The Armenian versions (ca. late fourth to early fifth century). The fifteen hundred or more copies that have survived date from the eighth century and later. Some have all of the NT writings, though others are missing various books. The Armenian version included the apocryphal *3 Corinthians* (ca. 170), written to refute Gnostic claims about Jesus. This book was taken over from the Syrian Bible.

(10) The Georgian version (fourth or fifth century). The oldest surviving manuscripts date from the ninth century and it contains the four Gospels, Acts, and the Catholic Epistles. Near the end of the tenth century, the book of Revelation was translated and added to the collection.

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76. For a discussion of this book, see Bruce M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 176, 182, 219, and 223.

(11) The Ethiopic version (ca. early fourth or as late as the seventh century). Most of the surviving manuscripts of this version are after the thirteenth century, and currently it is not possible to know how much of the New Testament was translated into this language at the earliest stages since only partial manuscripts have survived. This version is the largest known Bible, containing more than eighty books, and it includes not only the twenty-seven books of the New Testament, but also *Sinodos*, *1 Clement*, the *Book of the Covenant*, and *Didascalia*.

Other later and less important translations for our purposes include in the Arabic versions (eighth to nineteenth century) the Sogdian (or Middle Iranian) version (ninth to eleventh century) and the Old Church Slavonic version (ninth century), which was especially important for the Bulgarians, Serbians, Croats, and Eastern Slavs. In the late third to early fourth centuries, some churches were planted in Nubia, but when the Arabs to the north essentially cut them off from the rest of Christendom, they declined numerically and eventually disappeared. There was considerable growth in the church there during the sixth century, and it is likely that a vernacular Nubian version was produced between the third and the sixth centuries, but it is not clear exactly when it was translated or what it included.<sup>77</sup>

These translations do not contain the same books and often do not have several New Testament books. They have in common their use of the four Gospels and Paul, but generally several books are absent. Only one of the translations (the Ethiopic version) contains all of the New Testament books, but it contains others besides. With the exception of Jerome's *Latin Vulgate*, none of these early translations was carefully prepared. Some of the difficulties with these early translations had to do with the problem of translating the various nuances of Greek into other languages. Metzger and Ehrman explain that not only were incompetent translators involved in preparing many of these translations, but there were also features of Greek syntax that are not easily transferred to another language. For example, they note that "Latin [unlike the Greek] has no definite article; Syriac cannot distinguish between the Greek Aorist and perfect tenses; Coptic lacks the passive voice and must use a circumlocution. In some cases, therefore, the testimony of these versions is ambiguous."<sup>78</sup>

These various ancient translations tell us which books were received as authoritative Scriptures at various times and places, as well as something about the churches that used and transmitted them. None of the translations *before* the fourth century includes all of the New Testament books, and very few for several centuries after that do. There is much that we do not know about the contents of these translations, since some exist only in fragments and only a few of them have been studied adequately. Our point, however, is still valid, namely, that most of the early versions contained *some* of the books of the New Testament, but not all of them. In time, *some* of these versions were expanded to include more of the canonical books and some noncanonical books, as in the case of the Ethiopic version.

77. For a summary of this version, see Metzger, *Bible in Translation*, 50-51.

78. Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, 95.

## Conclusion

It is not always clear why the early churches recognized as Scripture some New Testament books as well as other early Christian writings. We can discern in some communities of faith that issues of apostolicity, orthodoxy, antiquity, and widespread use were of some value in identifying their sacred literature, but that is more obvious in later churches and is rare in the second and third centuries. The focus of this paper is not on the criteria employed to determine the books of the Bible, however, nor why some books functioned as Scripture in the churches and others did not—a fairly complex matter.<sup>79</sup> Some books were rejected that are just as “orthodox” and as early as some of those that were included (e.g., *Didache*, *Epistle of Barnabas*, *1 Clement*, *Shepherd of Hermas*), and they were often cited more frequently than some of the New Testament literature, especially the Pastorals, 2–3 John, 2 Peter, and Jude. The scanty information that we now possess suggests a lack of interest in most of the canon questions that concern scholars today, and it reveals a broader understanding of sacred literature than what eventually obtained currency in the churches.

The New Testament of the earliest Christian churches differs in a number of respects from the one that most Christians use today, both in terms of the books contained in it and the text of those books. Some early Christian communities produced copies and translations of the New Testament texts from weaker textual traditions circulating among their churches and either did not know or chose not to use all of the books that currently make up our New Testament canon. Some Christians may have adopted something like a “canon within a canon” by teaching and preaching only those books that had more relevance for their communities of faith. Perhaps this can be seen in the lectionaries, but it is more likely that many early churches simply did not have access to all of the books in the current biblical canon. Some early churches initially accepted other books that are now considered noncanonical writings but eventually were excluded from most collections and later did not obtain canonical status. This suggests something akin to “decanonization” in the early church. Both inclusion and rejection of some ancient Christian writings were present in various early churches at various stages of its development.

The churches with Scriptures in translation *generally* had fewer books available to them than those who had Greek Bibles, and there are no ancient views of inspiration that distinguished translations from sacred texts in their original languages. Those who received their Scriptures in translation also believed that God had inspired their Scriptures. In general and remarkably, the church’s oldest theological beliefs developed without the aid of complete or carefully copied or carefully translated New Testament manuscripts.

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79. These criteria are discussed in Lec M. McDonald, “Identifying Scripture and Canon in the Early Church: The Criteria Question,” in McDonald and Sanders, *Canon Debate*, 416–39.



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These groundbreaking essays arose from the five meetings of the pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins seminar of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas held from 2000 to 2006 and attended by renowned experts from around the world. In these important meetings, the relation between the Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament was discussed systematically and intensively in a way never approached before. The scholars focused upon the use, adaptation, reinterpretation and further development of non-canonical traditions in the canonical writings of Early Christianity. The fruit of their labours are gathered around the following topics: The Pseudepigrapha and the Synoptic Gospels, the Gospel of John, the Epistles of Paul, the Other New Testament Writings, and the Revelation of John. This collection is essential for scholars working in the field today.

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