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## Current Trends in Jesus Research



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**Editorial**

# Current Trends in Jesus Research

Die aktuelle Jesusforschung ist ein spannendes, deutlich in Bewegung befindliches Gebiet der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft. Die Koordinaten, die die Diskussion – jedenfalls in der deutschen protestantischen Exegese – lange Zeit bestimmt haben, haben sich dabei erkennbar verschoben. Zu den wichtigsten Kennzeichen der neuen Forschungsphase gehört die Wiederaufnahme historischer Fragestellungen, die zugunsten der hermeneutischen Problematik des Verhältnisses von „historischem Jesus" und „kerygmatischem Christus" längere Zeit in den Hintergrund getreten waren.

Für diese Entwicklung lassen sich verschiedene Gründe nennen. So steht das neu erwachte Interesse am „historischen Jesus" im Kontext literarischer und archäologischer Forschungen über das Judentum der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit. Die dabei zutage getretene Mannigfaltigkeit des antiken Judentums führte nicht zuletzt zur Frage nach der Einordnung Jesu (wie auch des Paulus) in dieses Spektrum. Durch die Ausgrabungskampagnen in Galiläa, die seit den siebziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts vornehmlich von amerikanischen und israelischen Forschern durchgeführt werden, präzisierten sich zudem die Fragen nach dem Einfluss griechischer und römischer Kultur auf das ländliche Galiläa, nach der Existenz von Synagogen in Galiläa vor dem Jahr 70 sowie nach der kulturellen Prägung der galiläischen Städte Sepphoris und Tiberias, neuerdings auch Magdala. Damit werden in der älteren Forschung bereits diskutierte Fragen wieder aufgegriffen und für den aktuellen Diskurs fruchtbar gemacht.

Zu den Gründen für die neue Offenheit, historisch nach Jesus zu fragen, gehört weiter, dass die Plausibilität der mitunter überscharf gezeichneten Alternative von Historie und Glaube geringer geworden ist. So richtig die Feststellung bleibt, dass historische Forschung den Glauben nicht begründen kann, gilt doch auch, dass dies die methodischen Möglichkeiten und die theologische Notwendigkeit, mit den zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen und methodischen Instrumentarien die Anfänge

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des christlichen Glaubens zu erforschen, nicht in Frage stellt. In diesem Spektrum bewegt sich auch die Frage nach dem historischen Jesus.

Ein dritter Grund der erneuten Zuwendung zu den historischen Konturen des Wirkens und Geschicks Jesu liegt in dem interdisziplinären und internationalen Charakter der gegenwärtigen Forschungslandschaft. Weit davon entfernt, nur auf die Interpretation neutestamentlicher Texte bezogen zu sein, wird die Frage nach Herkunft, Selbstverständnis und Wirkung Jesu im Kontext religiöser, kultureller, politischer und soziologischer Rahmenbedingungen diskutiert, die hierfür zu berücksichtigen sind.

Vor diesem Horizont widmet sich das zweite Themenheft von „Early Christianity" der gegenwärtigen Jesusforschung. Dabei sollen bewusst solche Fragestellungen aufgegriffen werden, die für den gegenwärtigen Diskurs von Bedeutung sind. Dagegen erscheint es nicht länger notwendig, die Kontroverse über die Bedeutung der apokryphen Evangelien für die Frage nach dem historischen Jesus fortzuführen. Der Versuch, diese Schriften auf Quellen aus dem ersten Jahrhundert zurückzuführen, ist als gescheitert anzusehen. Das schließt nicht aus, dass im Einzelfall alte Überlieferungen in apokryphen Texten bewahrt sein können. Die theologiegeschichtliche Perspektive dieser Schriften gehört dagegen in eine spätere Zeit als diejenige der ins Neue Testament gelangten Evangelien.

Weiterführend ist dagegen, den historischen Kontext Jesu so genau wie möglich zu beschreiben. Dem widmen sich die Beiträge des hier vorgelegten Heftes aus unterschiedlicher Perspektive. *James Dunn*, dessen groß angelegte Monographie „Jesus Remembered" aus dem Jahr 2003 zu den gewichtigsten Gesamtdarstellungen der aktuellen Jesusforschung gehört, fragt danach, wie sich die „thought world" Jesu beschreiben lässt. Dabei geht es selbstverständlich nicht um vordergründiges Psychologisieren, sondern um die Sprach-, Denk- und Bildungsvoraussetzungen Jesu als eines galiläischen Juden des ersten Jahrhunderts. Die These eines „heidnischen Galiläa", auch in der neueren Forschung gelegentlich vertreten, wird dabei mit Recht zurückgewiesen. Jesus stand als Jude fest in den Glaubenstraditionen Israels, was in den Evangelien deutlich erkennbar wird. Er wusste sich zur Erneuerung Israels gesandt, wogegen sich das Konzept einer „Heidenmission" erst später herausbildete. Auch die politischen Umstände seiner Zeit scheinen Jesus nur am Rande beeinflusst zu haben.

*Roland Deines* fragt danach, wie es zu verstehen sei, dass das Wirken Jesu einerseits im Kontext der jüdischen Traditionen seiner Zeit zu interpretieren ist, andererseits aber darin offensichtlich nicht aufgeht. Dies

führe zu der Problematik, die am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts schon einmal virulent war, als das Verhältnis von historischem Jesus und biblischem Christus intensiv diskutiert worden war. Gegenwärtig stelle sich die Aufgabe, einen biblischen Horizont für die Deutung der Person Jesu als des in jüdischen Texten erwarteten Messias wiederzugewinnen.

Der Doyen der Galiläaforschung, *Sean Freyne*, geht einer Frage nach, die er bereits in zahlreichen Beiträgen, nicht zuletzt in seiner Jesusdarstellung „Jesus. A Jewish Galilean" von 2004 bedacht hat, nämlich der Bedeutung Galiläas für die historische Rekonstruktion des Wirkens Jesu. Das kulturelle Milieu Galiläas wird als jüdisch bestimmt, wobei durchaus Beziehungen zu den umliegenden heidnischen Territorien bestanden hätten. Im Blick auf die sozioökonomischen Bedingungen zur Zeit des Antipas bezieht Freyne in der gegenwärtigen Kontroverse einen moderaten Standpunkt: Eine ökonomische Prosperität unter Antipas könne durchaus angenommen werden, sie habe aber auch soziale Spannungen mit sich gebracht. Jesu Kritik an Ortschaften in der fruchtbaren Gegend von Ginnosar (Kafarnaum, Chorazin, Bethsaida) lasse sich vor diesem Hintergrund ebenso verstehen wie die Seligpreisungen der Armen und Hungernden. Hinsichtlich der Bedeutung Galiläas für die Wirksamkeit Jesu setzt sich Freyne kritisch mit der These einer Feindschaft zwischen Galiläa und Jerusalem auseinander und versteht die Wirksamkeit Jesu stattdessen als in seiner jüdischen, galiläischen Herkunft wurzelnd und auf ganz Israel, einschließlich Jerusalems, bezogen.

*Martin Ebner*, der sich bereits in seiner Jesusdarstellung von 2003 mit sozialgeschichtlichen Aspekten der Jesusforschung befasst hatte, fragt vor dem Hintergrund der kontroversen Diskussion über die soziale und politische Situation Galiläas zur Zeit Jesu danach, ob sich der Jesusüberlieferung selbst diesbezüglich Hinweise entnehmen lassen. Ausgehend von den politischen und ökonomischen Rahmenbedingungen unter römischer Herrschaft wendet sich der Beitrag vier synoptischen „Beispielgeschichten" zu, die Ebner zufolge implizite Hinweise auf soziale und ökonomische Strukturen der erzählten Welt enthalten. Die Analysen gelangen zu überraschenden Ergebnissen. Die jesuanischen Geschichten berichten den vorgeschlagenen Deutungen zufolge von subversivem Widerstand gegen Ungerechtigkeiten der herrschenden ökonomischen Strukturen. Erst im Laufe der Überlieferung wären sie zu „Gleichnissen" umgeformt worden, die in metaphorischer Weise vom Verhalten Gottes und Jesu erzählen.

*Samuel Byrskog* fragt unter Zugrundelegung des in der Jesusforschung seit einiger Zeit etablierten Erinnerungsbegriffs nach Ursprung und

Überlieferungsformen der frühen Jesusüberlieferung. Die Anfänge ließen sich mit dem soziologischen Modell des Lehrer-Schüler-Verhältnisses beschreiben. Verschiedene Bemerkungen in den Paulusbriefen, aber auch der Jakobusbrief, zeigten sodann, dass das Urchristentum die Jesusüberlieferung sehr bald als „Paradosis" geformt und für paränetische Zwecke dienstbar gemacht habe. Diese Formung habe bei der Bewahrung der Jesusüberlieferung und ihrer Verwendung in neuen Situationen eine grundlegende Rolle gespielt, was der Beitrag am Beispiel von Chrien aus dem Markusevangelium verdeutlicht.

Auch der Beitrag in der Rubrik „New Discoveries" steuert Gewichtiges zum Thema dieses Heftes bei. *Jürgen Zangenberg* gibt einen instruktiven Überblick über neuere Ausgrabungen in Galiläa. Er konzentriert sich dabei auf Tiberias (südliches Tor, römisches Theater) und Magdala (hellenistische Stadtanlage, Entdeckung der tatsächlichen Synagoge) sowie auf die *surveys* in ländlichen Regionen, die interessante Resultate zutage gefördert haben.

In der Rubrik „New Books" werden zwei kürzlich erschienene Monographien vorgestellt: *Matthias Morgenstern* bespricht das ambitionierte Werk von Peter Schäfer, The Origins of Jewish Mysticism, *Jörg Frey* den von Florentino García Martínez herausgegebenen Band eines Leuvener Symposiums vom Dezember 2007, das der Verhältnisbestimmung von Qumran und Neuem Testament gewidmet war.

Schließlich werden in der Rubrik „New Projects" zwei Forschungsprojekte vorgestellt. *Katell Berthelot und Thierry Legrand* informieren über eine zweisprachige Ausgabe der biblischen und außerbiblischen Qumrantexte (mit französischer Übersetzung), in die auch die Texte aus Masada und der Kairoer Geniza einbezogen werden. *Andrew Gregory und Christopher Tuckett* führen in die von ihnen herausgegebene neue Reihe „Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts" ein, in der kritische Ausgaben außerkanonischer Evangelientexte mit ausführlichen Einleitungen erscheinen sollen (und z. T. schon erschienen sind).

Das Heft hat somit einen klaren Schwerpunkt auf der gegenwärtigen Jesusforschung. Es informiert darüber hinaus über weitere aktuelle Entwicklungen auf den Gebieten der Erforschung des antiken Christentums und Judentums.

Berlin Jens Schröter

**James D.G. Dunn**

# The Thought World of Jesus

Der Aufsatz prüft kritisch, inwieweit wir heute in die Gedankenwelt Jesu vordringen können, und zieht dann Rückschlüsse aus Bildung und Erziehung zu einem gläubigen Juden durch fromme Eltern im ländlichen Galiläa (I.). Die Jesusüberlieferung ermöglicht es weiterhin, Jesu Blickwinkel als einen von Gott her bestimmten zu erfassen (II.), sein von der Schrift bzw. der Tora bestimmtes Leben, einschließlich seiner Meinungsverschiedenheiten mit den Pharisäern über die Auslegung der Tora (III.) und seine auf Israel konzentrierte Sendung, die dennoch eine Hoffnung für Nichtjuden einschloss, zu beschreiben. Der Aufsatz schließt mit einer kurzen Reflexion über das Verhältnis Jesu zur Politik seiner Zeit (IV.).

*Keywords:* Jesus, God, Scripture/Torah, Israel, kingdom of God, angels/demons, Pharisees, Gentiles, politics

Jesus can be set in his immediate context fairly easily, but only in broad terms. The more detail we try to elicit the more speculative we unavoidably have to become. In fact, most of what we can say about Jesus in particular has to be inferred from what we can say about someone (a man) growing up in Galilee in the early decades of the first century CE.[1]

## I. Jesus in historical context

Whatever we make of the story of Jesus' birth in Bethlehem (Matt 2:1–8; Luke 2:4, 15), we can be sufficiently confident that his upbringing took place in Nazareth,[2] a small village in lower Galilee.[3] As a member of the family of a *tektôn*, a carpenter, wood-worker or builder (Mark 6:3), in a

1 I draw much of what follows from my *Jesus Remembered* (Grand Rapids 2003).

2 Mark 1:9; Matt 21:11; John 1:45–46; Acts 10:38; he was known as 'Jesus the Nazarene' (*Nazarênos*), that is, 'Jesus of/from Nazareth' (Mark 1:24/Luke 4:34; Mark 10:47; 14:67; 16:6; Luke 24:19).

3 J.L. Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus* (Harrisburg, PA 2000) reckons a population of less than 400 (131f).

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period of relative quiet[4] we can envisage an upbringing which was not poverty stricken but familiar with poverty.

## 1. Education in rural Galilee

To speak of Jesus' thought world we need to say something about his education, the thought world into which he and Jews like him were educated. This is the sort of detail where a generalized picture will not suffice but beyond which we cannot progress very far. For instance, there is a strong presumption of widespread illiteracy among the lower social groups in the Roman empire at this time.[5] What we do not know is the extent to which this generalization has to be qualified by the great emphasis which second Temple Judaism placed on the study of Torah.[6] According to Josephus (Ap. 2.204), it was expected that children should be taught to read (to learn their letters, *grammata paideuein*). The *Testament of Levi* similarly sets forth the ideal of the father teaching his children their letters, so that they may 'unceasingly read the Law of God' (T. Levi 13.2). And the great number and range of scrolls at Qumran presumably implies a substantial reading ability among its members. At the same time, the prominence of 'scribes' within the Gospel narratives,[7] is a reminder that such a profession was necessary since so few could write (or read) for themselves. So the question still stands as to how many in a small village like Nazareth could read and write competently. And the possibility that Jesus himself was illiterate or only semi-literate should not be dismissed. But neither should the alternative possibility, that a Galilean villager of some ability might well have benefited from the instruction of a dedicated or sympa-

4 According to Josephus, Galilee was involved in the unrest and rebellion which followed the death of Herod the Great (4 BCE), during which Sepphoris was set on fire and its inhabitants sold as slaves (Bell. 2.56; Ant. 17.289), but otherwise during Jesus' life there is no evidence of Roman activity in Galilee.

5 Recent estimates are of less than 10 % literacy in the Roman Empire under the principate, falling to perhaps as low as 3 % literacy in Roman Palestine; see particularly W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA 1989), and M. Bar-Ilan, "Illiteracy in the Land of Israel in the First Centuries CE", in *Essays in the Social Scientific Study of Judaism and Jewish Society* (Vol. 2; ed. S. Fishbane and S. Schoenfeld, with A. Goldschläger; Hoboken, NJ 1992) 46–61.

6 C. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen 2001) concludes that average Jewish literacy in the first century was more likely lower than the average Roman rate (496f).

7 *Grammateus* ('scribe') is used in the Synoptic Gospels 57 times.

thetic priest.[8] Jesus' quite widely attested challenge, 'Have you not read?',[9] probably presupposes his own reading ability, so that the picture painted in Luke 4:16–17 is in essence quite credible.[10]

## 2. The religious mind-set in rural Galilee

Fundamental to the world-view of a rural Galilean would be his religious upbringing and education. Here we begin to run into some difficulty. How Jewish was Galilee? The question arises because Galilee as part of the northern kingdom of Samaria had been overrun and depopulated in the wake of the Assyrian campaigns of the late eighth century BCE, the population largely replaced by settlers from Mesopotamia (2 Kgs 17:6, 23–24). In consequence, some have taken the ancient description of Galilee as 'Galilee of the nations/Gentiles'[11] and deduced from it that Galilee was not Jewish.[12] The fact that the chief city of Galilee, Sepphoris, had a Hellenistic character in turn has encouraged some to speculate that Cynic philosophy was familiar among its residents. And since it lay only five kilometers from Nazareth, a further round of speculation is that Jesus must have visited Sepphoris regularly[13] and been influenced by such philosophy.[14]

However, the evidence of text and archaeology speaks strongly against such hypotheses. (1) Josephus reports that the Hasmonean rulers of Judea had been able to gain control of the territory in late second century BCE and were able to impose Jewish law therein (Ant. 13.318). (2) The archaeological evidence is that the region had been devastated by the Assyrian campaigns, but that there was a rapid rise of new settlements in the

8 R. Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer* (WUNT II/7; Tübingen 1981) marshalls what evidence there is in favour of an elementary/primary school functioning in Nazareth at the time of Jesus (228–232).

9 Mark 2:25 par.; 12:10 par.; 12:26 par.; Matt 12:5; 19:4; 21:16; Luke 10:26. Harris, however, points out that the question is posed (in Matt 12:3, 19:4 and 21:42) to Pharisees or chief priests and scribes; "*they* presumably had read" (*Ancient Literacy* [see n. 5], 281 f).

10 See e. g. T.E. Boomershine, "Jesus of Nazareth and the Watershed of Ancient Orality and Literacy", in *Orality and Textuality in Early Christian Literature* (ed. J. Dewey; Semeia 65; Atlanta 1995) 7–36.

11 Isa 9:1; 1 Macc 5:15; Matt 4:15.

12 Infamously W. Grundmann, *Jesus der Galiläer und das Judentum* (Leipzig 1941) could argue that "Galilee was Gentile" and "Jesus was no Jew".

13 R.A. Batey, *Jesus and the Forgotten City: New Light on Sepphoris and the Urban World of Jesus* (Grand Rapids 1991) encourages us to imagine the youthful Jesus working as a carpenter in the rebuilding of Sepphoris by Herod Antipas.

14 Particularly B. Mack, *Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Philadelphia 1988); F.G. Downing, *Christ and the Cynics* (Sheffield 1988).

wake of the Hasmonean conquest.[15] (3) Archaeology has also provided considerable evidence of Galilean faithfulness to Torah purity requirements – particularly stone vessels, plastered step pools, that is, Jewish ritual baths (*miqwaoth*), and absence of pork remains. (4) Sepphoris is hardly to be called a Hellenistic city, like Caesarea and Scythopolis. Again the archaeological evidence is decisive: a "thin veneer of cosmopolitan culture", and the same indications of Jewish religious identity.[16] (5) There are strong literary traditions of Galileans supporting local priests and attending the pilgrim festivals in the Jerusalem temple.[17]

So far as Jesus is concerned, then, and presumably also other young men from small Galilean villages, the suggestion of strong Hellenistic and weak Jewish influence should be heavily discounted. The complete absence of any mention of Sepphoris in the Jesus tradition may well indicate that Jesus steered clear of it, perhaps because he wanted to avoid such Hellenistic influence as there was there.[18] So we can give due weight to the evidence from the Gospels as to Jesus' Jewishness and the implicit Jewishness of his thought world.

## 3. Jesus and common Judaism

The piety of Jesus' parents can be deduced from the names they gave their children (Mark 6:3) – James/Jacob (the patriarch), Joses/Joseph, Judas/Judah, Simon/Simeon (three of Jacob's 12 children, and heads of the resultant tribes), not to mention Jesus/Joshua. Luke's report that Jesus' parents "went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the Passover" (Luke 2:41) may be exaggerated, but otherwise is entirely plausible.[19] The story of Luke 2:41–51 suggests that (preparation for) Jesus' transition to manhood would have been regarded as a particularly appropriate occasion for a pilgrimage.[20] At any rate, he would have been familiar with the Temple and its functionaries, priests who served locally as teachers and magistrates

15 Reed, *Archaeology* (see n. 3), 28–52.
16 Reed, *Archaeology* (see n. 3), 84, 134, 217f.
17 Josephus, Bell. 2.43, 232; Ant. 17.254; 20.118; Mark 1:44 par.; Luke 2:41–43; John 7:10.
18 See further S. Freyne, "Jesus and the Urban Culture of Galilee", in *Galilee and Gospel* (WUNT 125; Tübingen 2000) 183–207.
19 E.P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE* (London 1992) estimates that between 300,000 and 500,000 would attend the Passover (Herod's temple could accommodate 400,000 pilgrims) out of a Palestinian Jewish population of between 500,000 and 1,000,000 (127f).
20 Mishnah tractate Niddah 5.6 implies that the thirteenth birthday marked a boy's transition to adult responsibility in legal and religious matters.

(Mark 1:44 par.),[21] and the requirements of tithing (Matt 23:23/Luke 11:42) and purity.[22] He no doubt said the *Shema* (Deut 6:4), probably as a daily obligation (cf. Mark 12:29–30 par.), and prayed, probably two or three times a day (cf. Jos., Ant. 4.212).[23] We can also assume that the adult Jesus observed the sabbath, attended the synagogue, and "gave every seventh day over to the study of our customs and law" (Jos., Ant. 16.43), even though only Luke 4:16 indicates that synagogue attendance was his normal custom. The references to the 'tassels' of his garment suggest that he himself was a pious Jew who took his religious obligations seriously.[24]

In sum, we can be confident that Jesus was brought up as a devout Galilean Jew, who may well have attained an unusually high level of literacy. Such an upbringing and education must have shaped his mental attitude. What more, then, can be said about the thought world of Jesus the Galilean Jew? Three aspects call for attention.

## II. A God-determined perspective

It is not too much to say that God dominated Jesus' thought world. Whether we could be so emphatic regarding first century Jews as a whole, or Galilean Jews in particular, the evidence requires us to say this of Jesus.

### 1. Jesus' God-talk

Having mentioned the likelihood that Jesus, brought up as a devout Jew, would almost certainly have repeated the *Shema* as a daily obligation, we should remind ourselves that the *Shema* was an affirmation of the oneness of God, that God alone was worthy of worship. If second Temple Judaism can be described as 'monotheistic', then Jesus was a monotheist.

We should also note the corollaries that Jesus drew from this confession. For Jesus evidently drew upon the *Shema* in his own teaching. Ac-

21 Sanders, *Judaism* (see n. 19), 177.

22 Mark 1:40–44 par.; Mark 7:15–23/Matt 15:11–20; Matt 23:25–26/Luke 11:39–41. In order to enter the temple, Jesus, of course, had to observe the required purity ritual.

23 J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus* (1966; ET London 1967) 66–81; also *New Testament Theology. Vol. One: The Proclamation of Jesus* (London 1971): "It is hardly conceivable that the earliest community would have observed the hours of prayer had Jesus rejected them" (186–191).

24 Matt 9:20/Luke 8:44; Mark 6:56/Matt 14:36; with reference to the instructions of Num 15:38–39 and Deut 22:12 (note also Zech 8:23).

cording to Mark 12:28–31,[25] when asked what is the first commandment, Jesus responded by citing the *Shema* in total:

> Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength.

According to the same passage, the second commandment is drawn from Lev 19:18: "you shall love your neighbour as yourself" (Mark 12:31 par.). The point to be noted here is that Jesus is remembered in earliest Christian tradition not simply for putting the love commandment ("love your neighbour as yourself") at the heart of his teaching (Mark 12:31 pars). He is remembered as also putting the love command second to the primary command, to love *God* with all one's being (Mark 12:30 par.). This is one of the most striking features of Jesus' teaching, for the command to "love your neighbour as yourself" (Lev 19:18b) is plucked, somewhat arbitrarily, from a diverse list of social obligations. And so far as we can tell, Jesus was the first Jewish teacher to give Lev 19:18b such prominence and primacy within the extensive list of Torah rulings.[26] So we cannot deduce here a general mindset which Jesus shared. But for Jesus it would appear that the second commandment went with the *Shema* as fundamentally determinative of the whole orientation of life. It is not the case that Jesus' ethic can be boiled down to 'love of neighbour'. On the contrary, the implication is that the two commands go together and perhaps also that the second is only possible in long term reality as the corollary to the first.[27]

Here we should add the evidence that Jesus prayed to God regularly. And not just in a ritual repetition of set prayers. The Jesus tradition remembers Jesus as a man of prayer, who rose early to pray or prayed into the night.[28] Luke has extended the motif, presumably to present

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25 Matthew and Mark sum up the significance of the teaching in regard to the law in different but complementary words (Matt 22:40; Mark 12:31b). And Luke has given the teaching an intriguing twist by having the key command uttered by a lawyer, with Jesus approving (Luke 10:27–28).

26 Explicit references to Lev 19:18 are lacking in Jewish literature prior to Jesus, and such allusions as there are give it no particular prominence, though subsequently the opinion is attributed to Rabbi Akiba (early second century) that Lev 19:18 is "the greatest general principle in the Torah" (*Sipra* on Lev 19:18).

27 The implication of Mark 10:17–18 should also be noted: that for Jesus, only God is worthy of the praiseworthy epithet 'good'; by implication, God alone is the source of goodness.

28 Mark 1:35; 6:46 par.; 14:32–42 par.

Jesus as a pattern of prayer,[29] but there need not be any doubt that he was further illustrating a well remembered feature of Jesus' piety. This speaks strongly of Jesus' sense of dependence on God, for wisdom, for strength of will to fulfill the mission which he believed God had given him. The tradition that he addressed God with unusual intimacy, as 'Abba' ('Father') is also sufficiently well attested (though not so much in the Gospels)[30] and presumably indicates Jesus' reliance on God's fatherly care and authority in his mission. For Jesus, God was the solid and strong foundation of his whole life and mission.

## 2. The kingdom of God

The centrality of the kingdom of God in Jesus' preaching is one of the least disputable, or disputed, facts about Jesus. The phrase 'kingdom of God' occurs regularly in the Evangelists' recollection of Jesus' words.[31] It is hardly possible to explain such data other than on the assumption that Jesus was remembered as speaking often on the subject. And hardly possible to doubt that the phrase expressed something absolutely fundamental for Jesus. Mark catches the importance of the theme for Jesus' mission by headlining the launch of the mission: "Jesus came into Galilee proclaiming the good news of God and saying, 'The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God has drawn near; repent and believe the good news'" (Mark 1:14–15). And Matthew and Luke recall that Jesus instructed his disciples to deliver precisely the same message: "the kingdom of God has drawn near" (Matt 10:7/Luke 10:9). To proclaim the kingdom of God was the whole point of Jesus' mission.

Here we should also note the first three petitions with which Jesus began the prayer which was remembered and used as the prayer he taught his disciples. The first petition prayed, "Hallowed be your name" (Matt 6:9/Luke 11:2). Basic to the idea of 'holiness', of the adjective 'holy' and the verb 'hallow/sanctify', is the thought of otherness, set-apartness from everyday usage. As referred to God, holiness denotes the wholly otherness of God, a factor which explained the Jewish rejection of all attempts

29 Luke 3:21; 5:16; 6:12; 9:18, 28–29; 11:1.

30 Jesus' use of 'Father' – Mark 14:36 par.; Matt 11:25–26/Luke 10:21; Matt 26:42; Luke 23:34, 46; John 11:41; 12:27–28; 17:1, 5, 11, 21, 24–25. 'Abba' as such appears only in Mark 14:36, but Rom 8:15–16 and Gal 4:6–7 are clear evidence that the prayer-form was remembered as distinctively expressive of Jesus' sonship now shared by those who believed in him. See also Jeremias, *Proclamation* (see n. 23), 63–68; Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 1), 711–718.

31 Mark 13x; Matt/Luke 9x; + Matt 28x and Luke 12x.

to configure God as a projection of human ideals (a man-made idol). The prayer, in other words, is a further expression of Jewish belief in God as one, as alone worthy of worship. God's know-ability to humankind, that is, God in/as his name, depends on humankind according him/his name absolute respect; anything less will simply mean that his name is not apprehended and God is not known.

Equally noteworthy is the second petition of the Lord's Prayer, "May your kingdom come" (Matt 6:10/Luke 11:2). Implicit here is the thought that in the kingdom of God, God is *King*, God alone; God *alone* as king, the *only* God as ruler over all (including all other so-called gods), God as the only one worthy to command complete and singular loyalty and obedience. Hence also the third petition, though it appears only in Matthew: "May your will be done on earth, as it is in heaven" (Matt 6:10). God's kingdom will have come when God's will is done on earth.[32] As with what Jesus regarded as the two greatest commands (to love God and one's neighbour), the fulfillment of obligation is only possible as the doing of God's will. Only then can there be a realistic hope of God's kingly rule becoming a reality on earth. In the kingdom of God the (human) subject owes unconditional obedience to the king; a double allegiance is impossible (Matt 6:24/Luke 16:13). The king, and the king alone has the power to determine the eternal destiny of his subjects (Matt 10:28/Luke 12:4–5).

## 3. Angels and demons

In first century Israel/Palestine belief in God meant also belief in a spiritual realm of reality which overlapped and interacted with the reality of everyday life. For second Temple Judaism this included belief in messengers of God (angels) and unseen forces of evil (demons, unclean spirits). Thus God was believed to have sent an angel to communicate with prophets;[33] and an interpreter angel appears regularly in apocalyptic visions and as companion in heavenly journeys.[34] Jewish thought also included specially significant angelic messengers. In the early patriarchal narratives we often encounter 'the angel of God/the Lord' who closely represents God himself.[35] And in Israel's later thought there appears to be a burgeoning ange-

32 The third petition may have been added to what Jesus originally taught, but as a way of expressing what the coming of the kingdom would mean, what would be the evidence of its coming. See Jeremias, *Proclamation* (see n. 23), 193–196.

33 E.g. 1 Kgs 13:18; 19:5, 7; 2 Kgs 1:3, 15; Zech 1:9.

34 As in Dan 9:21–22; 1 En. 19.1; 72.1; 4 Ezra 2.44–48; 10.28–59.

35 E.g. Gen 16:7–13; 21:17–18; 31:11–13; Exod 3:2–6; 14:19–20, 24.

lology with supreme angels, or archangels, standing in especially close relation to God, "the angels of the presence".[36] Four are most prominent – Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and the variously named Sariel/Uriel/Phanuel.[37] A motivating factor in the growth of such an angelology will almost certainly have been the desire to depict Yahweh with the imagery of an all-powerful king who commanded a powerful army and whose majesty was attested by his extensive and glorious court retinue, as in the depiction of the heavenly counsel in Job 1:6 and 2:1.

It was natural in a world view which took the existence of a spiritual realm for granted, as in many societies in contemporary Africa, for example, to find explanation for things that go wrong (droughts, illness, failure in business enterprise, etc.) in the activity of malevolent forces operating in and from the spiritual realm. It is convenient to denote the whole aspect of the ancient thought world under the heading of 'demons', though the language was much more diverse and the conceptuality much more confused than in the case of 'angels'.[38] Illustrations of the lack of clarity in thought here are the early readiness to attribute the fits of king Saul to "an evil spirit from the Lord" (1 Sam 16:14; 18:10–11; 19:9–10) and the first appearance of 'the Satan' as a judicial 'adversary' acting at God's behest (Job 1:6–12; 2:1–7).

When we turn to Jesus himself a somewhat curious feature emerges. On the one hand, although angels are referred to in the narratives of the Evangelists,[39] Jesus is remembered as speaking about angels typically as they will be involved in the last days,[40] only occasionally about their contemporary role,[41] and never in relation to his own mission in Galilee. This may again speak of Jesus' sense of intimate relation with God, and of drawing his resources directly from God and his Spirit (Matt 12:28) rather than through some intermediary angel. On the other hand, 'demons' or 'unclean spirits' feature regularly in Jesus' mission, particularly in reference to his evident well-known success as an exorcist.[42] Jesus is recalled as

36 Jub. 1.27, 29; 2.2; etc.; T. Levi 3.5; T. Jud. 25.2; 1QH 6.13.

37 Dan 8:16; 9:21; 10:13; Tob 12:15; 1 En. 9.1–2; 20.1–8; 40; 1QM 9.15; 4QSl 37–40; 4 Ezra 5.20.

38 See e.g. J.K. Kuemmerlin-McLean, "Demons: Old Testament", *ABD* 2.138–140.

39 E.g. Mark 1:13; Matt 4:11; Luke 2:13; 24:32; an 'angel of the Lord' (Matt 1:20, 24; 2:13, 19; 28:2; Luke 1:11; 2:9), 'Gabriel' (Luke 1:19, 26).

40 Mark 8:38 par.; 12:25 par.; 13:27 par.; Matt 13:39, 41, 49; 25:31.

41 Mark 13:32; Matt 18:10; 26:53; Luke 15:10; 16:22.

42 E.g. Mark 1:34 par.; 1:23 par., 3:11, 15; 3:22 par.; 5:2, 13 par.; 6:7 par.; 7:25 par.; 9:17 par. in Jesus' own words (Mark 5:8; 7:29; Matt 10:8; 11:18/Luke 7:33; 12:27–28/Luke 11:19–20; Luke 13:32).

also taking up the onlookers' accusation that he cast out demons by (the power of) Beelzebub, the prince of demons (Matt 11:27/Luke 11:19) – also 'Satan' or 'the devil'.[43] Here the conceptuality is of a demonic force, with a leading figure ('the devil and his angels' – Matt 25:41), equivalent to the archangel Michael as captain of a protective host of angels ('twelve legions of angels' – Matt 26:53). Whether the conceptuality was quite so clear cut is uncertain. For example, in the story of the Gerasene demoniac the number of demons involved varies between singular and plural: "My name is Legion, for we are many" (Mark 5:9). So we cannot be sure whether the conceptuality was of a single source of evil (the devil) or of a multiform expression of evil (demons). Nevertheless, the point remains clear that the thought world of Jesus and his contemporaries conceived of evil spiritual forces as often (not always) behind the ailments and tragedies of human existence, and they treated the victims accordingly.

We should conclude this brief review of the data by noting again that Jesus was remembered as one of the most successful exorcists of his time. It was not simply that he followed the normal pattern of attributing certain severe ailments to demons. More to the point, and one of the chief reasons for the success of his mission in Galilee, was the fact that he was remembered as acting powerfully to deal with these problems as they were conceived. This too for Jesus was a manifestation of the blessings of God's kingdom: that the blind received their sight, the lame walked, lepers were cleansed, the deaf hear, and demons were exorcised (Matt 11:5; 12:28). There was certainly evil aplenty loose and active in God's world, but God was king and well able to bind the strength of the devil and overcome his evil works. To live in light of this conviction and to live out this conviction was to experience and express God's kingly rule.

## III. A Scripture/Torah-guided life

A first century Jew would understand him- or herself as a member of the people or nation which God had chosen from among all the peoples and nations to be his own special portion (Deut 32:8–9). God had committed himself by promise and oath to Abraham and his seed through Isaac, and had rescued Israel from bondage in Egypt and given them the land of Canaan in fulfilment of that promise to their fathers. The covenant God had made with them through Moses at Sinai required of the people

43 Mark 3:23, 26 par.; 4:15 par. Matt 4:10; 13:39; Luke 8:12; 10:18; 22:31.

of Israel, in turn, that they order their lives in accordance with the commandments given at Sinai. This fundamental nation-constituting story is recalled repeatedly in Deuteronomy, "the book of the covenant"[44], as illustrated, for example, in Deut 7:6–11. Any Second Temple Jew would know this story well and understand him- or herself and the nation to be both defined and obligated by it. This thought world is variously and diversely documented in the several 'sects' or factions at the time of Jesus (Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes) and in the post-biblical Jewish literature which has survived from that period (e. g. the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira, Jubilees, the Psalms of Solomon, and the Dead Sea Scrolls). Jesus fits well, though distinctively, within that diversity.

## 1. Jesus and the Scriptures

It is clear from any reading of the Gospels that the Evangelists were strongly motivated to demonstrate that Jesus fulfilled the prophetic hopes for the climax of this age and the character of the age to come. We need only think of the oft repeated, "as it is written",[45] or Matthew's "in order that it might be fulfilled" motif,[46] or Luke's portrayal of the risen Jesus opening up the scriptures to demonstrate that "everything written about (him) in the law of Moses, the prophets and the psalms (had been) fulfilled" (Luke 24:27, 32, 44–46). This feature alone would be sufficient to demonstrate the centrality of the scriptures in shaping the expectations and hopes of the Jews who became believers in Jesus as Messiah. However, the later perspective evident in the use of that motif should not be allowed to cloak the degree to which Jesus himself, his life and mission, was guided and determined by the sacred writings of Israel.

It is probable that Jesus' own sense of mission and conception of his mission was shaped by the direct influence of Isa 61:1–3. This conclusion is not dependent solely on Luke 4:14–28, which may have been an elaboration of a briefer account (Mark 6:1–6) to bring out the importance of Isa 61:1–2 for understanding Jesus' mission. There are sufficient hints in Matt 11:5/Luke 7:22 and Matt 5:3–4/Luke 6:20–21 that Jesus was recalled as himself drawing upon Isa 61:1–2 to explain his mission. Matt 11:5/Luke 7:22, indeed, is composed of a sequence of allusions to and echoes of

44 It is generally accepted that 'the book of the covenant' found during the reign of Josiah, and the basis for his reforms, was Deuteronomy (2 Kgs 22:1–25).
45 Matt 26:24; Mark 1:2; 9:13; 14:21; Luke 2:23; John 6:31; 12:14.
46 Matt 1:22; 2:15, 16, 23; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:35; 21:4; 26:54, 56; 27:9.

Isaiah's characterisation of the age to come,[47] so that it can be judged very likely that Jesus' conception of his mission was to a large extent determined by Isaiah's prophecies. In any case, it is certainly the case that Jesus was regarded as a prophet, probably by the bulk of those who encountered him or his teaching.[48] This very fact is a reminder of the extent to which the understanding of the first century Jew of how God communicated with his people and fulfilled his will was shaped by Israel's prophetic history, as already embodied in Israel's scriptures.

More controversial is the question whether Jesus' conception of his mission was shaped by Isaiah's fourth 'Servant song' (Isa 52:13–53:12), a possibility which cannot be excluded but which is difficult to demonstrate.[49] Almost as controversial is the similar question whether Jesus' expectation and hope for the outcome of his mission was determined or influenced by Daniel's vision of 'one like a son of man', representing the saints of the most High after horrendous suffering and (to be) given dominion, glory and kingship (Dan 7:13–14).[50] But even if the issue of Jesus' own conceptuality is obscured by subsequent Christian reflection drawing on these passages, the data of the Gospels on the subject show how natural it was for Jews brought up and taught within Israel's prophetic heritage to shape their understanding of how God's saving purpose was working out by reference to these scriptural images.

That Israel's scriptures also determined how Jesus lived out his mission has already been demonstrated with regard to the influence of the *Shema* (Deut 6:4) on Jesus' own devotion and priorities (see above II.1). Similarly with his central convictions regarding the kingdom of God; although the precedents for use of the phrase itself are not extensive in Jewish literature, the understanding of God as king reflects a deep familiarity with the Psalms and a form of thought shaped by the piety of the Psalms. The same point can also be demonstrated from the way Jesus was remembered

47 Blind seeing – Isa 29:18; 35:5; 42:7; lame walking – Isa 35:6; deaf hearing – Isa 29:18; 35:5; dead raised – Isa 26:19; good news preached to the poor – Isa 61:1. The remarkable parallel in 4Q521 shows that such fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecies was part of a broader messianic expectation; see Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 1), 448f.

48 Mark 6:15 par.; 8:28 par.; Matt 21:11, 46; Luke 7:16, 39; 24:19.

49 But see particularly B. Janowski and P. Stuhlmacher (eds.), *The Suffering Servant: Isaiah 53 in Jewish and Christian Sources* (Grand Rapids 2004).

50 In the explanation provided in Daniel 7 itself, the 'one like a son of man' is regarded as such a representative figure (Dan 7:7–8, 19–27). It is much less clear, though an even greater subject of dispute, that there was already a distinct Son of Man speculation regarding a hoped-for redeemer figure within Second Temple Judaism, a speculation on which Jesus also drew; see full discussion in Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 1), chap. 16.3–5.

as using scriptural language, or expounding particular scriptures or quoting scripture to justify his teaching on particular points.[51] Even if we cannot be sure as to the level of Jesus' literacy, it is clear beyond doubt that he was fully familiar with the scriptures of his people and had reflected long and deeply on what they say and that his thought world was peopled with the imagery and language of these scriptures.

## 2. Interpreting the Torah

The same passages just reviewed or referred to also demonstrate that Jesus was not content merely to read the law and prophets in a superficial or formal way. His exaltation of Lev 19:18b as summation of so much of the law was exceptional and without precedent for his time. If he thought of himself as a prophet, it was not merely as another prophet, like John the Baptist, but as the eschatological prophet of Isa 61:1. His exorcisms marked him out not simply as another exorcist, but manifested the power of the eschatological Spirit. If he was influenced in the conception of his mission by Daniel's vision, he may well have been the first to identify the man-like figure of Daniel's vision as a particular person within history – himself, probably.

It would appear that in his interpretation of Torah in its application to everyday life Jesus was still more radical. In the antitheses of Matthew 5, Jesus is remembered as setting his own teaching on various subjects over against previous rulings on the subjects, but also as radical interpretations of particular scriptures.[52] The antitheses are misunderstood, however, if they are seen as Jesus overturning or rejecting or abrogating the laws at issue. On the contrary, they are best understood as pressing home or pressing behind some specific law to the more fundamental issue within or behind the law.[53] Over all, they call for a more fundamental reorientation of human and social relationships than can be achieved or maintained by legislation.[54] Not just murder is condemned, but unjustified anger, insult or

51 E.g. Mark 7:6–7 (Isa 29:13); 7:10 (Exod 20:12; 21:17); 9:48 (Isa 66:24); 10:6–8 (Gen 1:27; 2:4); 10:19 (Deut 5:16–20); 11:17 (Isa 56:7; Jer 7:11); 12:26 (Exod 3:6); 13:24–25 (Isa 13:10; 34:4); 14:27 (Zech 13:7); 15:34 (Ps 22:2).

52 Bultmann's argument that 5:21–22, 27–28, 33–37 have been drawn from pre-Matthean tradition and "have given rise to analogous formulations, in which unattached dominical sayings have found a home" (*The History of the Synoptic Tradition* [1921; ET Oxford 1963] 134–136) has proved influential. See e. g. the brief survey of opinion in R.A. Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Waco 1982) 178, also 265–271.

53 "Jesus radicalized rather than abrogated the law. . . . it is not against the law to be stricter than the law requires" (E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* [London 1985] 260).

54 See further Guelich, *Sermon on the Mount* (see n. 52), 237–255.

sneering dismissal of another (Matt 5:21–22); not just adultery, but lust (5:27–28); not just false oaths, but casual oath-taking and calculating equivocation (5:33–37). Doing what is right cannot be reduced to outward acts and set formulae. The one antithesis which seems to 'abolish' a law,[55] on retaliation (5:38–42), is again better heard as pressing behind a law, specifically intended to limit retaliation and prevent blood-feuds developing, to a more fundamental sense of right and responsibility as expressed in a practice of non-retaliation and positive response when personally threatened.[56]

Here we see how the thought world of one first century Jew was shaped by the Torah given by God to Israel to regulate Israel's social life. Jesus understood it not as requiring a straightforward and unquestioning obedience. But it still shaped his thought. It gave him insight into what God looked for in his human creation and in its interrelatedness. It provoked him to inquire more deeply into the basic ethical and social principles expressed in the particular rulings. The particular commandments pointed to deeper and more foundational considerations which should determine conduct at a more basic attitudinal and motivational level. The same point comes out still more clearly in the disputes Jesus was engaged in with those who disagreed with him.

## 3. Jesus and Pharisees

Of course, Jesus was not the only one to recognize that the Torah needed to be interpreted and to engage in such interpretation. All the principal factions in second Temple Judaism (Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, etc.) were engaged in a similar exercise. The concern in each case was to understand better how the law was to be obeyed, in the same conviction that it was Israel's covenant obligation to observe the law fully. As Deuteronomy, and the fact that so much of Israel had been dispersed out of the land of Israel, made clear: for the covenant to be maintained and Israel to prosper as God's people, the whole law, all that God required of his people, must be observed faithfully. The problem was that the different factions could not agree on what faithful observance of the Torah meant in practice. The Pharisees bore the nickname *p*$^{e}$*rushim* ('separated ones'),[57] pre-

55 The law in question, *lex talionis*, is Exod 21:24; Lev 24:20; Deut 19:21.

56 For fuller discussion, see particularly H.D. Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis 1995) 277–284.

57 From *parash*, 'to separate'; see e.g. A.J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Edinburgh 1988) 220–225.

sumably because they chose to separate themselves from other Jews (particularly in their table fellowship), no doubt because they feared that association with fellow Jews who were not fully observant of the law would render those who associated with them impure.[58] The Essenes were even more separatist in their retreat down to the Dead Sea at Qumran. In a letter evidently sent by them to the leaders of Israel they explained that they had had to separate from the rest of the people, because their interpretations of various laws regarding priesthood, sacrifice and purity were not being observed (4QMMT).

Jesus was caught up in some of these controversies, and about the underlying principle: how to know and do what God wills as best for his people? The most prominent feature of the Jesus tradition at this point is his controversies with various Pharisees. Some have questioned whether there were Pharisees in Galilee during Jesus' mission; apart from anything else, the importance of the Temple in Pharisaic thought and life meant that Jerusalem was their main centre. And it is certainly true that Matthew adds to the references to Pharisees in the Gospel tradition by identifying earlier unidentified opponents of Jesus as Pharisees.[59] But even so there are sufficient references to Jesus' disagreement with Pharisees in the early Jesus tradition for us to be confident that such confrontations did take place.[60] And if Pharisees were concerned, as is likely, to extend holiness throughout the holy land (on the basis of Exod 19:5–6),[61] then visits or visitations to Galilee would naturally be part of their strategy, particularly where a controversial prophetic figure like Jesus was involved.

The interesting feature for us to emerge from these confrontations is not that Jesus objected to the Pharisaic desire to observe the law, but rather

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**58** See further Saldarini, *Pharisees* (see n. 57), 212–216, 233–234, 285–287, 290f; H.K. Harrington, "Did the Pharisees Eat Ordinary Food in a State of Ritual Purity?", *JSJ* 26 (1995) 42–54; J. Schaper, "Pharisees", in *Judaism. Vol. 3: The Early Roman Period* (ed. W. Horbury et al.; Cambridge 1999) 402–427, here 420f.

**59** Matt 3:7; 9:34; 12:38; 15:12; 16:11, 12; 21:45; 23:2, 13; also 5:20; 23:15; 27:62; see my "The Question of Anti-Semitism in the New Testament Writings of the Period", in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways AD 70 to 135* (ed. J.D.G. Dunn; WUNT 66; Tübingen 1992) 177–211, here 204–206.

**60** Mark 2:16, 24; (3:22); 7:1; 8:11; 10:2; 12:13, (28, 35).

**61** E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes and F. Millar; 4 vols. Edinburgh 1973–87) 2.396–400; A.F. Segal, *Rebecca's Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World* (Cambridge, MA 1986) 124–128; J. Milgrom, *Leviticus* (AB 3; 2 vols.; New York 1991) observes that "the priestly laws of impurity (Lev 11–15) rest on the postulate that impurity incurred anywhere is potentially dangerous to the sanctuary", and that "the priestly legislators are very much concerned with the need to eliminate, or, at least, control the occurrence of impurity *anywhere in the land* – whether in the home, on the table, or in the bed" (1.1007).

disagreed as to how that objective is best realized. So in response to Pharisaic objection that Jesus' disciples were "doing what is not lawful on the Sabbath", Jesus both cited a precedent from Israel's history, about unlawful acts which were considered quite appropriate in the circumstances (1 Sam 21:1–7), and maintained that the Sabbath was given for the benefit of the people, not people for the benefit of the Sabbath (Mark 2:23–28). Here Jesus is recalled as recognizing the value and importance of the Sabbath, but as penetrating behind the Sabbath regulations, much elaborated in Pharisaic halakhah, as in the interpretation of other factions of the time,[62] and as arguing from God's purpose in establishing the Sabbath as a day of rest. Similarly in the other famously recalled dispute on the same point (Mark 3:1–5) Jesus is recalled as justifying what Pharisees regarded as unacceptable work on a Sabbath by arguing that it could hardly be contrary to God's will to do good and to save life on a Sabbath. Here again we see a shared concern to do God's will, but a disagreement as to how to discern and to live in accordance with that will.

In a similar disagreement regarding the maintenance of purity, Jesus is recalled as pointing out that the heart is a much more serious source of impurity than the ritual purity on which Pharisees seemed to focus (Mark 7:1–23). There is disagreement here as to whether in so arguing Jesus intended to abrogate the laws of clean and unclean, which were so foundational of and definitive for the life-style of the most devout (as today, still, for orthodox Jews). Mark certainly seems so to interpret Jesus' teaching (Mark 7:19 – "Thus he declares all foods clean"). But with such clear or explicit teaching it is hard to understand how subsequent controversies on the same subject could arise between Jewish and Gentile believers (Rom 14:1–15:6; cf. Acts 10:14). It is likely, then, that Jesus' teaching was more ambiguous, as Matthew's version implies (Matt 15:11, 17–20), focusing primarily on the greater importance and more serious nature of an impurity which stems from within – in the same way that he pressed behind the commandments against murder and adultery to the attitudes and motivations of the heart – whereas Mark 7:19 shows how Jesus' teaching was being interpreted in Gentile churches.[63] The point, once again then, is that Jesus affirmed the vital na-

62 Jub 2.17–33; 50.8–12; CD 10.14–11.18. The importance of the sabbath in Jewish tradition is clear; see particularly Gen 2:2–3; Exod 20:8–11; 31:16–17; Deut 5:15; Neh 9:13–14; Isa 56:6; Ezek 20:16; 1 Macc 1:43; Jos., Ant. 11.346; 14.241–246, 258, 263–264; Philo, Abr. 28–30; Decal. 102; Spec. Leg. 2.59, 70; Leg. 155–158; Eus., Praep. Ev. 13.12.9–16; see further E. Lohse, "sabbaton", *TDNT* 7.2–14.

63 Fuller discussion in Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 1), 573–577.

ture and necessity of purity and of dealing with impurity, as clearly indicated in scripture and tradition. His own thoughts and priorities reflected a similar concern and were shaped by that Torah teaching; in his own attendance at the Temple Jesus would have observed the purity rituals laid down for worshippers. The disagreement with Pharisees was not so much over what should be counted as (im)purity but on the emphases to be given to the different kinds of impurity.

One other interesting example is Jesus' teaching on divorce. In the key passage (Mark 10:2–12) Jesus in effect is invited to comment on the Torah legislation on the subject (Deut 24:1), that divorce is permitted when a husband finds "some indecency in her". The Pharisaic schools (Hillel and Shammai) evidently interpreted the key phrase differently, the latter interpreting the phrase rigorously and allowing divorce only on grounds of unchastity, while the former interpreted it more liberally and allowed divorce on a more extensive number of grounds. As in the other passages already looked at, Jesus again cuts behind the most directly relevant Torah ruling and refers to the more basic characterization of marriage in Gen 2:24. The creation of humankind as man and woman (Gen 1:27; 2:21–23) points to the conclusion, "Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh" (2:24). Divorce is thus to be understood as a falling short of that ideal, and Jesus probably pressed the logic of the ideal by turning his face against divorce and remarriage in principle.[64] Here again we see a first-century Jew's attitude to one of the most fundamental human relationships (husband and wife) determined by scripture, but with a consciousness of the diversity within scripture and a readiness to draw his values from first principles rather than relying exclusively on the most relevant commandments.[65]

In all these cases it would be very misleading to infer that Jesus rejected the Torah and formed his ethical code on some other basis; Gen 2:24 was also part of the Torah. Jesus disagreed with Pharisees in their interpretation of Torah, but he did not dispute or reject the source which gave the

64 It should also be noted that in a society where only the husband could initiate divorce, and where the *'erwah* of Deut 24:1 could be interpreted liberally ("even if she spoiled a dish for him" – m. Git. 9:10), an absolute prohibition of divorce was a way of protecting the wife.

65 In Matthew's retelling the question put to Jesus is presented as more explicitly about the interpretation of Deut 24:1: whether it was lawful for a man to divorce his wife "for any cause" (Matt 19:3). In response, Jesus concludes that divorce is only allowable in cases of unchastity (19:9) – Jesus thus in effect siding with the stricter interpretation of Shammai.

Pharisaic rulings their ultimate authority. The issue was not whether scripture/Torah expressed the will of God, but *how* it expressed God's will. But for Jesus, as much as the Pharisees, doing the will of God was the primary and binding concern.

## IV. An Israel-focused motivation

A first-century Jew could not but think of him- or herself as a member of the people of Israel, and of Israel both as the medium through which God would bring his purpose to its ordained climax and as the main beneficiary of that climactic outcome. This was also the rationale behind the various Jewish sects' narrowing their conception of Israel to the faithful remnant which they represented – to ensure that there was a faithful Israel in whom, through whom and for whom God's purpose would be achieved. For most Jews there was no place for the other nations in the hoped-for climax, except as the defeated foes in the last great battle, or as servants of eschatological Israel, or, most often, as pilgrims to Mt Zion and converts (proselytes) to Judaism.[66] Was Jesus part of the same thought world?

### 1. The restoration of Israel

If the recognition that Jesus was a Jew has been difficult for a Christianity which defined itself over against Judaism, then the further recognition that Jesus saw his mission primarily as a mission to the nation of Israel is probably still more uncomfortable. But this is the conclusion which many scholars have found it necessary to draw over the last quarter of a century.[67] And it is a conclusion difficult to avoid.

For one thing, Jesus' choice of twelve disciples has an inescapable symbolism. That just twelve were chosen must be because Jesus saw their role as analogous to that of the twelve patriarchs of Israel. As Israel was constituted by the twelve tribes, so the fact that Jesus gathered twelve around him implies that he saw them as the representative core of eschatological Israel. This was Jesus' equivalent to the Pharisees' 'association' and the Qumran 'monastery', a setting apart of the core of the Israel that was to

66 See the data gathered in Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 1), 394f and n. 69–71. For the eschatological pilgrimage of the nations see J. Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* (London 1958) 56–62; T.L. Donaldson, "Proselytes or 'Righteous Gentiles'? The Status of Gentiles in Eschatological Pilgrimage Patterns of Thought", *JSP* 7 (1990) 3–27.

67 Particularly Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (see n. 53), Part One ("The Restoration of Israel"); N.T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God* (London 1996) *passim.*

be. The fact that Jesus is recalled as envisaging the twelve sitting on (twelve) thrones to judge the twelve tribes (Matt 19:28/Luke 22:30) is probably sufficient confirmation that we are on the right track in taking this inference seriously.

Matthew is the only Gospel to retain a memory of Jesus sending out the twelve in mission to Israel: "Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt 10:5–6). And only Matthew gives Jesus' response to the appeals of the Canaanite woman, "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (15:24). It is unlikely that Matthew introduced this motif into his record or simply took over a narrow Jewish-Christian tradition to this effect, since Matthew himself makes a point of emphasizing a much more open vision of mission.[68] So it is more likely that the other Evangelists, or their versions of Jesus tradition, have allowed the traditions of Matt 10:5–6 and 15:24 to lapse, more accustomed as they were to the well-established reality of the Christian Gentile mission. It is also possible that Jesus took his mission to "the borders of Tyre (and Sidon)" (Mark 7:24/Matt 15:21) and across the lake to the region of the Decapolis (Mark 5:1–20 par.; 10:1 par.) out of a concern to reach all the children of Israel within the full range of the land promised to Abraham and settled by the twelve tribes. In such a context Matt 15:24 makes a lot more sense.

A similar deduction could be made from the memory that Jesus characterized his mission as intended for *sinners*.[69] This should not be taken to mean that Jesus spent his time with criminals. 'Sinner' certainly meant 'law-breaker'.[70] But the point here is that in a factional Israel, each faction with its own definition and halakhic rulings of what faithful membership of the covenant people required, those who disagreed with the faction and did not follow their halakhic rulings were deemed by them to be law-breakers, that is, sinners.[71] Typically, the faithful in each faction regarded themselves as 'righteous' over against the non-observant 'sinners'. The best illustration of this is the near Pharisaic *Psalms of Solomon*, written two generations before Jesus, in which self-justification of the 'righteous' repeatedly matches condemnation of the 'sinners' (probably the Hasmo-

68 Particularly Matt 8:11–12; 21:43; 28:19–20.

69 Mark 2:15–17; Matt 11:19/Luke 7:34; Luke 15:1–2, 7, 10; 18:13–14; 19:7–10.

70 Exod 23:1; Deut 25:2; Pss 1:1, 5; 10:3; 28:3; etc. (Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* [see n. 1], 529 n. 190).

71 Those behind the composite writing known as 1 Enoch regarded other Jews as 'sinners' because the latter followed what 1 Enoch regarded as the wrong calendar in the calculation and observance of the annual feasts (e.g. 1 En. 82.4–7)

nean Sadducees who controlled the Temple cult).[72] So when Jesus asserts that he "came not to call the righteous but sinners" (Mark 2:17), the clear implication is that he was setting himself against such dismissal of fellow Jews as 'sinners'. That is, Jesus was in effect protesting against the view that many Israelites had put themselves outside the covenant, beyond God's covenant grace, simply because they did not agree with or follow Pharisaic halakhah. A similar inference may be made from Jesus' encouragement to show special concern for "the poor, the crippled, the blind and the lame" (Luke 14:13, 21), since these were the very ones excluded from the assembly at Qumran, governed as its membership was by rulings that reinforced priestly purity.[73] In contrast, Jesus seems thereby to indicate his concern for the restoration of *all* Israel, not just Israel as defined by the different factions.

Other images and references point towards the same conclusion: that Jesus was concerned with the restoration of Israel. More than once he evokes imagery of Israel as the flock of Yahweh familiar in the Jewish scriptures.[74] The third beatitude promises the meek that they "will inherit the land" (Matt 5:5), a clear allusion to Ps 37:11 and to Yahweh's commitment to Abraham that his descendants would inherit the promised land.[75] If the language of 'covenant' or 'new covenant' was used in the words of institution at the Last Supper (Luke 22:20/1 Cor 11:25), then the implication is again clear – Israel's constitutive covenant theology was being drawn upon and possibly also the promise of Jer 31:31–34 of a new covenant to be made with Israel. More tentative is the possibility that Jesus spoke of the *ekklêsia* to be built on the rock provided by Peter (Matt 18:17), since the allusion to the *qahal Yahweh* or the *qahal Israel* is clear enough.[76] Ironically it is perhaps the opening of the book of Acts which strengthens the probability that we are on the right lines here. For it depicts the disciples after the resurrection asking one and only one question of the risen Christ: "Lord, is this the time when you will restore the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:6).

Quite how Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God dovetails with this data is not clear. But enough data has been marshalled here to confirm

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**72** Pss. Sol. e. g. 3.4–12; 4.8; 13.5–12; 15.3–13; see further Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 1), 528–532.

**73** See Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 1), 603–605.

**74** Matt 18:12/Luke 15:4; Mark 6:34 (cf. Num 27:17); Mark 14:27/Matt 26:31 (Zech 13:7); Luke 12:32; as well as Matt 10:6 and 15:24.

**75** Gen 12:7; 13:15; 15:18; etc.

**76** *Ekklêsia* is the standard Greek translation of the Hebrew *qahal* ('assembly') in the Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures (LXX); see further Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 1), 513f.

that the thought world of Jesus, as also of so many of his Jewish contemporaries, was substantially shaped by Israel's history and Israel's self-understanding formed from its scriptures.

## 2. A hope for Gentiles

The more attention is paid to the Israel-focus of Jesus' mission, the more embarrassing this aspect of the Jewishness of Jesus can become for subsequent Christianity, which soon became distinguished among the other sects of late Second Temple Judaism for its missionary outreach to Gentiles. If we take the evidence of Matt 10:5–6 seriously, it would be hard to argue that Jesus himself intended or foresaw a substantial mission beyond the boundaries of Israel. Yet, Jesus' response to two non-Jews who asked for his help is recalled as essentially positive – the Capernaum centurion (Matt 8:5–13/Luke 7:1–10), and the Syrophoenician or Canaanite woman (Mark 7:24–30 par.). In both cases Jesus is remembered as being impressed by their faith. And Matthew takes the opportunity of the story of the centurion's faith to add in Jesus' prediction that "many will come from east and west and will eat with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, while the heirs of the kingdom will be thrown into outer darkness" (Matt 8:11–12/Luke 13:28–29).

The saying suggests that Jesus shared the wider Jewish hope that in the climax of history Gentiles would make pilgrimage to Zion to share in Israel's restoration. And the suggestion is strengthened by the clear allusion to one of the Isaianic texts which explicitly links the incoming of the nations with Israel's restoration (Isa 56:1–8) in the episode commonly known as 'the cleansing of the Temple'. For there Jesus is recalled as justifying his action by quoting Isa 56:7: "my house shall be called a house of prayer", that is "for all nations", as Isa 56:7 states (Mark 11:17 par.).[77] Other passages, such as the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:29–37) and the implication which Matthew drew from the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Matt 21:33–46; 21:43) add to the impression that Jesus was both critical of the priestly establishment of his time and quite prepared to give heroic or exemplary status to non-Jews.

A further point may be worth noting: that if Jesus protested at the way boundaries around faithful Israel were being drawn tighter, to effectively exclude fellow Israelites from God's covenant with Israel, then the implication may well be justified that he would equally have protested against

77 Only Mark 11:17 includes the phrase "for all nations", but the quotation of Isa 56:7 is so clear that anyone who knew the text would hear the "for all nations" implied.

any suggestion that other nations were beyond the grace of God because they were not part of God's covenant with Israel. As he protested against internal boundaries within Israel, so, when the further issue arose, as it only did occasionally, he also protested against an exclusive boundary round Israel. Here once again we face the problem of seeing and interpreting Jesus within the contemporary thought world, while at the same time trying to be alert to the degree to which Jesus questioned or reacted against some of the theologically and socially givens of his time.

## 3. Jesus and the politics of his day

The thought world of a typical Jew of Jesus' time had a dark cloud overshadowing it. The cloud was the political reality that Israel, the small nation state of Judea, was under Roman domination. We hear surprisingly little of this in the Gospel narratives – surprisingly, since in modern experience, occupation by another enemy nation so determines the whole of daily living that reference and allusion to the occupiers and oppressors can hardly be avoided. In fact, however, the ruling hand of Rome in Israel was fairly light. Even in Judea, where Rome exercised direct rule from 6 CE, the Romans were content to leave administration largely in the hands of the High Priest. The Roman prefect was based in Caesarea, with only a relatively small military force under his command, and he came to Jerusalem with a smaller cohort only for the pilgrim feasts, when crowds of pilgrims could give occasion for unrest. As for Galilee we should not even speak of occupation, since in accord with Roman policy, rule was left in the hands of the client king (Herod Antipas).

How was the thought world of Jesus affected by these circumstances? Not very much, it would appear. He would have known of the fate of the Baptist at the hands of Antipas (Mark 6:17–29). Luke recalls Jesus as referring dismissively to Herod as "that fox" (Luke 13:32). And possibly some of Jesus' crossings of the Sea of Galilee were partly to remove himself from Herod's territory. Otherwise from the hints and allusions of Jesus' actions and particularly his parables, we gain a nuanced picture of the society and social conditions in which he moved – absentee landlords and stewards, tenant farmers and day-labourers, fishermen and toll-collectors, scribes and priests. When we set all this within what we know from other historical sources we can broaden the picture, but not much more from the Gospels themselves.

The most intriguing episode, of course, is the question put to Jesus about paying tribute to Caesar (Mark 12:14–17 par.). The question is a re-

minder of the shadow of Roman domination always present in the society of the time, but Jesus' reply in effect indicates that the issue was not a major one for him, and not one over which he agonized or agitated. The saying about going the "second mile", if compelled by a military patrol to give some assistance (Matt 5:41), indicates a similarly relaxed attitude on the subject. The only protest we can attribute to Jesus, apart from his protest against factional condemnation of 'sinners', is the 'cleansing of the Temple', as, probably, a protest against the way the high priesthood were administering Israel's centre of worship. And that was serious enough, probably, to seal his death warrant. But again, this is a reminder that Jesus' and most first-century Jews' thought world was dominated by religious and ethical concerns more than by the politics of the day, about which they could do nothing anyway.

Trying to reconstruct or to enter the thought world of Jesus is about as challenging an exercise as the Christian historian can imagine. (S)he is pulled two ways: to draw as much as critically possible from the historical context of Jesus, what we know about first century Galilee and Judea and about late Second Temple Judaism, to illuminate both Jesus' own mind-set and that of those who reacted to him (favourably or unfavourably); and at the same time to be alert to the distinctives of Jesus' own grasp of reality and response to his historical situation. In the latter case, the Christian historian is again pulled two ways: not wanting his/her approach to be determined or unduly influenced by the high christologies of subsequent Christianity; but alive to the likelihood that the influence which Jesus exercised on his disciples must have contributed significantly to the subsequent Christian evaluation of him (christology). To negotiate between these different pressures and concerns is the task and art of NT scholarship.

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# Jesus and the Jewish Traditions of His Time[1]

Die letzten 30 Jahre Jesusforschung haben den jüdischen Kontext von Jesus in einem bisher unerreichten Umfang beleuchtet, so dass ein un- oder gar anti-jüdisches Verständnis Jesu nicht mehr länger möglich ist. Gleichwohl lassen sich Zeichen dafür erkennen, dass diese gegenwärtige Phase der Jesusforschung an ein Ende kommt. Der Aufsatz vergleicht diese Situation mit der zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts, als ebenfalls nach neuen Wegen gesucht werden musste. Ausgangspunkt dafür ist das paradoxe Ergebnis der Frage nach dem jüdischen Jesus: Es ist eindeutig, dass Jesus nur innerhalb der jüdischen Traditionen seiner Zeit angemessen verstanden werden kann, aber innerhalb derselben geht er nicht vollständig auf. Der Grund dafür ist, so wird hier behauptet, dass die Erinnerung an Jesus sich von Anfang an nicht primär auf den jüdischen Mann (Prophet, Heiler usw.) von Galiläa richtete, sondern ihn als die eine biblische Gestalt verstand, die die jüdischen Heiligen Schriften von der Zukunft erwarteten. Zukünftige Jesusforschung sollte darum stärker als bisher die autoritative Vorordnung der Heiligen Schriften gegenüber den davon abgeleiteten Traditionen beachten. Eine weitere Aufgabe sollte es sein, neu darüber nachzudenken, was es für das historische Verständnis der Geschichte bedeutet, dass in dem Juden Jesus von Nazareth Gott Mensch geworden ist.

*Keywords:* First Quest, Third Quest, Albert Schweitzer, Martin Kähler, Jesus and Scripture, historical and theological methodology

## I. The Importance of Jesus' Jewishness

The most important achievement of Jesus scholarship in the last century is the acknowledgement of the foundational significance of Jesus being a Jew, appreciated and supported not only by those interested in the historical Jesus but also by the followers of the biblical Jesus who is venerated by Christians around the globe. Official church documents have confirmed repeatedly in the last two decades the basal importance of Jesus' Jewishness for a proper historical as well as theological understanding. That early

1 I am indebted to the members of our "Informal Biblical Seminar" at the University of Nottingham (Emily Gathergood, Chris Ochs, Matt Malcolm, Andrew Talbert, Peter Watts and Joseph Vnuk) for their helpful comments and editorial support for this article.

 

Christianity as a whole is not understandable without its rootedness within Judaism is also the legacy of Martin Hengel. In his last monograph with the telling title *Jesus und das Judentum*,[2] he summarised in conclusion of his lifelong research: "Daß das Urchristentum auf jüdischem Mutterboden gewachsen ist, bezweifelt heute wohl kein christlicher Theologe mehr", but he concedes that only a minority would accept the addition of "completely", on which he insisted. Earliest Christianity is from a historical point of view "vollständig ein Kind des Judentums".[3] With this statement Hengel underlines the opening sentence in the revised version of Schürer: "Since it was from Judaism that Christianity emerged in the first century A.D., nothing in the Gospel account is understandable apart from its setting in Jewish history, no word of Jesus meaningful unless inserted into its natural context of contemporary Jewish thought."[4]

It will undoubtedly be one of the lasting merits of the so-called third questers that the Jewishness of Jesus is now so deeply incised into Jesus research that a non-Jewish Jesus no longer seems to be a possibility. Even Jesus research that is not done under the flag of the third quest regularly considers the question of Jesus the Jew and sees him within his Jewish context. The difference between the variant approaches is therefore not whether the Jewish traditions of Jesus' time are of primary importance for understanding him, but rather which of them need to be applied, and to what degree, to contribute to a correct perception of Jesus. The 'New Schürer's' second sentence expresses this more specific agenda most eloquently: "The task of the New Testament scholar, when enquiring into the phenomenon of the birth of Christianity, is to relate Jesus and the Gospel, not only to the Old Testament, but also, and above all, to the Jewish world of his time. Such an aim involves a full assimilation of the findings of students of inter-Testamental Judaism and of Hellenistic and Roman Palestine." This appeal made in 1973 did not go unheeded.

As a result Jesus research nowadays is for most – although with notable exceptions and estimable results[5] – to a large degree research within the

2 M. Hengel and A.M. Schwemer, *Jesus und das Judentum* (Tübingen 2007).

3 Hengel and Schwemer, *Jesus* (see n. 2), 21.

4 E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Black; Edinburgh 1973) 1. It is worthwhile to compare this first sentence in the rendering of Pamela Vermes, the literary editor of the 'New Schürer', with the opening of the 'Old Schürer'.

5 Cf. for example J. Becker, *Jesus of Nazareth* (transl. J.E. Crouch; New York 1998; German: *Jesus von Nazareth* [Berlin and New York 1996]); K. Berger, *Jesus* (München 2004); J.M. Robinson, *The Gospel of Jesus: A Historical Search for the Original Good News* (New York 2005); J. Ratzinger (Pope Benedict XVI), *Jesus of Nazareth: From the Baptism in the Jor-*

field of Second Temple Judaism.[6] Galilee research features especially prominently and seems to offer a never-ending reservoir of new ideas about the historical Jesus.[7] To understand Jesus historically,[8] one needs

*dan to the Transfiguration* (London 2007); J. Ringleben, *Jesus: Ein Versuch zu begreifen* (Tübingen 2008).

6 To substantiate this point it is enough to look through the most ambitious attempts of contemporary Jesus research and the amount of scrutiny and energy given to describing the Jewish context of Jesus. Perhaps the most obvious example is N.T. Wright, who in his monumental project *Christian Origins and the Question of God* dedicated the largest part of his first volume *The New Testament and the People of God* (London 1992) to "First-Century Judaism within the Greco-Roman World" (145–338). Again in the third volume, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (London 2003), a long chapter is devoted to the Jewish context (85–206). Cf. further J.D.G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (Christianity in the Making 1; Grand Rapids 2003) 255–326 ("The Historical Context"); Hengel and Schwemer, *Jesus* (see n. 2), 39–168 ("Das Judentum unter römischer Herrschaft im 1. Jahrhundert vor und nach Christus"). The four volumes of J.P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew* (ABRL; New York 1991–2009) contain lengthy chapters on the Jewish traditions relevant to Jesus. For the Jewish social world vol. 3 (*Companions and Competitors*, 2001) is especially noteworthy. For a similar summarising judgement see P.R. Eddy and J.K. Beilby, "The Quest for the Historical Jesus: An Introduction", in *The Historical Jesus: Five Views* (ed. J.K. Beilby and P.R. Eddy; London 2010) 9–54, esp. 48–49.

7 Among recent publications see e. g. P.F. Craffert, *The Life of a Galilean Shaman: Jesus of Nazareth in Anthropological-Historical Perspective* (Eugene, OR 2008); D. Fiensy, *Jesus the Galilean: Soundings in a First Century Life* (Piscataway, NJ 2007); H. Moxnes, *Putting Jesus in his Place: A Radical Vision of Household and Kingdom* (Louisville, KY 2003). For some critical reflection see R. Deines, "Galiläa und Jesus – Anfragen zur Funktion der Herkunftsbezeichnung 'Galiläa' in der neueren Jesusforschung", in *Jesus und die Archäologie Galiläas* (ed. C. Claußen and J. Frey; Biblisch-Theologische Studien 87; Neukirchen-Vluyn 2008) 271–320; J. Schröter, "Jesus of Galilee: The Role of Location in Understanding Jesus", in *Jesus Research: An International Perspective* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and P. Pokorný; Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK 2009) 36–55.

8 For the (unsolved) terminological problems of the adjective 'historical' (often understood in contrast to 'earthly', 'actual' or 'real'), see Meier, *Marginal Jew* (see n. 6), 1.1–2, 21–40; 4.5–8, who defines the label "historical Jesus" as "that Jesus whom we can recover or reconstruct by using the scientific tools of modern historical research as applied to ancient sources". He concedes that the result "is a modern abstraction and construct" and "not coterminous with the full reality of Jesus of Nazareth". He further insists on a sharp line between "our knowledge of a Palestinian Jew of the 1st century named Yeshua of Nazareth and our faith-knowledge of Jesus Christ" (4.6) but promises to bring these two sides together in the end. For him the historical quest became blurred in the last two centuries: "More often than not, it was an attempt at a more modern form of christology masquerading as a historical quest." One problem is that scholars use the term "historical" in very different ways, see e. g. Schröter, "Jesus of Galilee" (see n. 7), 37–38; Eddy and Beilby, "Introduction" (see n. 6), 36–37. A helpful differentiation between ontological naturalistic historians, critical theistic historians and methodologically naturalistic historians is proposed by R.L. Webb, "The Historical Enterprise and Historical Jesus Research", in *Key Events in the Life of the Historical Jesus: A Collaborative Exploration of Context and Coherence* (ed. D.L. Bock and R.L. Webb; Tübingen 2009) 9–93, esp. 39–55. For a critique of "the way in which history is taken as a measure for theology" and the 'real' Jesus, see L.T. Johnson, *The Real Jesus: The Misguided Quest*

to understand his precise place within the Jewish world and its traditions during his time and within his geographical horizon. This is the major idea behind the impressive piles of knowledge about Second Temple Judaism that dominate so many modern Jesus books. One often gets the impression that the task is now even seen by some the other way round, namely to reconstruct a specific Jewish setting into which Jesus is made to fit. For such an approach the title of this article would more accurately be "The Jewish Traditions and Jesus' Place in Them".[9] So, one of the questions that need to be answered especially within contemporary Jesus research is to what extent Jesus needs to be seen as subject or object regarding the contemporary Jewish traditions of his time. Is he fully formed by them, or only influenced to a certain degree? Was he able to use them in a creative way and make them comply with his own message? But putting the question in this last way already presupposes that he had his own message as distinct from the traditions available at his time. Or is it even possible to say that he was hardly influenced at all by them and just followed his own vocation? At least the Gospels seem to be interested in giving this impression when they let Jesus' contemporaries acknowledge that his words and deeds are unheard of and unseen before.[10] That at some

*for the Historical Jesus and the Truth of the Traditional Gospels* (New York 1996); id., *Living Jesus: Learning the Heart of the Gospel* (San Francisco 1998); id., "The Humanity of Jesus: What's at Stake in the Quest for the Historical Jesus", in J.D. Crossan, L.T. Johnson, W.H. Kelber, *The Jesus Controversy: Perspectives in Conflict* (Harrisburg, PA 1999) 48–74; id., "Learning the Human Jesus: Historical Criticism and Literary Criticism", in *The Historical Jesus: Five Views* (ed. J.K. Beilby and P.R. Eddy; London 2010) 153–177.

9 Cf. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 6), 57 n. 155; Johnson, "Humanity" (see n. 8), 65. The insistence of J.G. Crossley on social history and social sciences extends this position to an extreme, see his *Why Christianity Happened: A Sociohistorical Account of Christian Origins (26–50 CE)* (Louisville, KY and London 2006) 5–21. Adopting his line about Hitler ("… something like what happened in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s would have happened even if Hitler had not been born" [15]) in relation to Jesus, one can say (and the title of his book implies it) that Christianity would have happened even without Jesus. Cf. also Eddy and Beilby, "Introduction" (see n. 6), 42–43. Significant here is G. Theißen's reminder that "social history" is concerned with groups and society and "not with individuals", which is why "its contribution to research into Jesus' life is only an indirect one", see his "Jesus as an Itinerant Teacher: Reflections from Social History on Jesus' Role", in *Jesus Research: An International Perspective* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and P. Pokorný; Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK 2009) 98–122, here 98.

10 Cf. Mark 1:27; 2:12; 6:2 etc. Unfortunately, the distinctiveness of Jesus was often used as a way to denigrate Judaism and to emphasise its difference from Christianity over the similarities. Dunn's "protest" against this malpractice within Jesus research is legitimate, cf. J.D.G. Dunn, "Remembering Jesus", in *The Historical Jesus: Five Views* (ed. J.K. Beilby and P.R. Eddy; London 2010) 199–225, here 216–224.

point he was brought in line with the prophets of old (Mark 6:14–16; 8:27–28 etc.) does not contradict this, but supports it even further: obviously the people around Jesus could think of no other analogy to him than those glorified figures of the distant past, and for them – as for now – it was obviously necessary to find at least something within the Jewish heritage with which he could be compared. So it is not just modern curiosity that needs to find an answer as to how Jesus fits into the Jewish world of his time.

At the moment Jesus scholarship is in a position where the third quest is bringing in its full harvest with some of the most ambitious projects connected to it being in their final state and close to completion: N.T. Wright, who coined the phrase "third quest for the historical Jesus"[11] and is one of its most prolific defenders, has already finished three volumes of his impressive project *Christian Origins and the People of God* which is now projected to six (originally five) volumes, the fourth on "Paul and the Faithfulness of God" being expected soon. John P. Meier has already finished his fourth volume of *A Marginal Jew* and covers intensively and most widely (although these humble words are not enough to describe his herculean endeavour) the Jewish context of Jesus. No end is in sight here. Almost modest in comparison to Wright and Meier are James Dunn's projected three volumes *Christianity in the Making* the first two of which have already been published. Worth mentioning as well is the first volume of Martin Hengel's (together with Anna Maria Schwemer) *Geschichte des frühen Christentums* which covers *Jesus und das Judentum*, and the fine collection *Key Events in the Life of the Historical Jesus.*[12] Finally, it has been announced by Brill that the four volume set *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus* will appear in mid-2010.[13] The number of smaller-scale books on Jesus that place themselves within the third quest is growing constantly, as are related dictionaries.[14] A plethora of research summaries in the form of articles and shorter books is necessary in the meantime to access this wealth of scholarly production which one can hardly hope to

11 In S. Neill and T. Wright, *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861–1981* (2nd ed.; Oxford 1988) 388.

12 D.L. Bock and R.L. Webb (eds), *Key Events in the Life of the Historical Jesus: A Collaborative Exploration of Context and Coherence* (Tübingen 2009). For the other books mentioned see n. 6 above.

13 Edited by Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter.

14 J.B. Green, S. McKnight, and I.H. Marshall (eds), *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (Downers Grove, IL and Leicester, UK 1992); C.A. Evans (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Historical Jesus* (New York 2008).

read through properly within a single lifetime.[15] The best critical text-book introduction is that of Gerd Theißen and Annette Merz, not least because they bring in the best results from the second quest and the German exegetical tradition as well.[16]

The sheer amount of impressive and fascinating new insights based on a significantly increased number of primary texts, documents, archaeological data and the more highly sophisticated methodology can be gauged from the growth of the first reference work of the new literary genre that accompanied the appearance of this new field of studies, Emil Schürer's *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte.* This first appeared as a one-volume edition in 1874 and expanded for the fourth and final edition into three volumes under the new title (used since the second edition) *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, reflecting the development within the last quarter of the 19th century.[17] The 'New Schürer' under the editorship of Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar and Matthew Black (1973–1987), can be seen as the starting line of the new wave which has not yet subsided and which runs parallel to the third quest, the starting date of which is often connected with the publication of Geza Vermes' *Jesus the Jew* and E.P. Sanders' *Jesus and Judaism*.[18] New journals, monograph series and web-based projects are witnesses to the copiousness of what was once called "Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte" but has long since left behind its narrow focus on the New Testament.

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15 Cf. the lament of D.C. Allison Jr., *The Historical Christ and the Theological Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK 2009) 13: "The number of publications has become as the sand of the sea. Attending the displays of new books at the annual Society of Biblical Literature meetings produces in me mostly despair, because I know that, amid the myriads of throw-away books, are thousands of valuable pages that I will never turn." Happily, I am not the only one who is overtaken by this kind of despair. For a more profound analysis of this dilemma for the whole discipline of New Testament studies see M. Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word: Refocusing New Testament Study* (Studies in Theological Interpretation; Grand Rapids, MI 2006) 33–36.

16 G. Theißen and A. Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (Philadelphia 1998).

17 The fourth edition appeared between 1901 and 1909 and was supplemented with an index volume in 1911. For the bibliographical and historiographical details see R. Deines, *Die Pharisäer: Ihr Verständnis im Spiegel der christlichen und jüdischen Forschung seit Wellhausen und Graetz* (WUNT 101, Tübingen 1997) 68–95; M. Hengel, "Der alte und der neue 'Schürer'", *JSS* 35 (1990) 19–72 (= M. Hengel, *Judaica, Hellenistica et Christiana: Kleine Schriften II* [WUNT 109; Tübingen 1999] 157–199).

18 Cf. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 6), 88–89; G. Vermes, *Providential Accidents: An Autobiography* (London 1998) 171–179, 210–224. Vermes' Jesus book and volume I of the 'New Schürer' appeared "almost simultaneously" in the summer of 1973 and "the two together made something of a splash" (212).

This plethora of scholarship has unfortunately at least one serious disadvantage: it presents the academic as well as the more popular audience with a pick-and-choose situation. There is a Jesus for everything and from everywhere, or what Charlesworth calls "a chaos of opinions".[19] Every Jewish tradition that could be isolated has been connected with Jesus: prophecy, eschatology, apocalyptic expectations, restoration hopes, wisdom, halakha, merkavah mysticism, the Dead Sea Scrolls, Pharisaism, Essenism, Zealotism and so on – whatever tradition may be identified within Second Temple Judaism has been brought into conversation with Jesus.[20] Sometimes, as Johnson assumes (probably correctly), this was done mainly because a book with "Jesus" in the title sells better, but this is hardly the only reason, because many of these contributions make a valid point. Jesus was indeed something like a prophet,[21] some of his teaching strongly parallels the way of other wisdom teachers,[22] even if his eschatological focus on the coming judgement as well as his miracles seems not to sit well with it. He can be compared with other healers and charismatics, but again, the analogies are only partial and at their heart leave as much unexplained as they explain. Vermes' résumé at the end of *Jesus the Jew* can serve as an example: "Second to none in profundity of insight and grandeur of character, he is in particular an unsurpassed master of the art of laying bare the inmost

19 J.H. Charlesworth, "Introduction: Why Evaluate Twenty-Five Years of Jesus Research?", in *Jesus Research: An International Perspective* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and P. Pokorný; Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK 2009) 1–15, here 1.

20 For similar (and even longer) lists see Johnson, *Real Jesus* (see n. 8), 85–86; Johnson, "Humanity" (see n. 8), 53–54, 65; Eddy and Beilby, "Introduction" (see n. 6), 52–53 (this volume itself contains "five views").

21 That Jesus appeared to many of his contemporaries as a prophet-like figure (and that he understood himself at least partly in such a way) is widely accepted although this very general category of prophet/prophetic leaves plenty of room for all kinds of prophets, cf. S. McKnight, "Jesus and Prophetic Actions", *BBR* 10 (2000) 197–232 (199–201 gives a list of the various ways in which Jesus has been understood as prophet); cf. further B. Witherington, *The Jesus Quest: The third search for the Jew of Nazareth* (2nd ed.; Downers Grove 1997) 116–161; Hengel and Schwemer, *Jesus* (see n. 2), 499–501, and the many books dealing explicitly with Jesus as prophet like D.C. Allison, *Jesus of Nazareth: Millenarian Prophet* (Minneapolis 1998); B.D. Ehrman, *Jesus: Apocalyptic Prophet of the New Millennium* (Oxford 1999); W.R. Herzog, *Prophet and Teacher: An Introduction to the Historical Jesus* (Louisville, KY 2005); M.D. Hooker, *The Signs of a Prophet: The Prophetic Actions of Jesus* (London 1997).

22 It needs to be kept in mind that the label 'wisdom teacher' is much less concrete than 'prophet' and 'teacher' or even 'miracle worker'. Jesus is referred to only once as σοφὸς ἀνήρ in Jos., Ant. 18.63, and in this designation Josephus placed him alongside Solomon and Daniel rather than any of his contemporaries, cf. Meier, *Marginal Jew* (see n. 8), 1.63; Witherington, *Jesus Quest* (see n. 21), 162, 185, where he concedes that 'sage' is merely the best "heuristic category" to understand Jesus alongside other characterisations like 'healer' and 'prophet'.

core of spiritual truth and bringing every issue back to the essence of religion, the existential relationship of man and man and man and God" (224).[23] Similar statements can be found quite often. What they have in common is the concession that Jesus cannot be placed in a single category only, or, whenever this attempt is made, Jesus stands out as somehow 'unique-ish'. He cannot be understood without the analogies provided by the Jewish world he lived in but at the same time he is not fully encapsulated by them.

The same can be said about the titles used by Jesus or attributed to him. They have without doubt Jewish parallels and a Jewish tradition history, and their use within the Jesus tradition cannot be understood without their rootedness in the Jewish thought-world of his time. But again, there is no other figure witnessed besides Jesus that attracted so many titles, and nevertheless none of them fits unqualified.[24] Jesus stands out not in spite of, but because of the similarities. It is the unique combination of his life and teaching with his transempirical, miraculous deeds, his death on the cross and the resurrection, which is an inseparable element of the Jesus-tradition,[25] that transcends all too narrowly defined categories. The topic "Jesus and the Jewish Traditions of His Time" should therefore not be solely addressed in the way that a more or less complete list of possible parallels, similarities, and analogies from Jewish sources are accrued and reviewed. The question seems to be, rather, what comes next after we have seen that everything in Jesus' life and message is inextricably interwoven with his Jewish context.

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23 J. Neusner, *Ancient Judaism: Debates and Disputes* (BJS 64; Chico, CA 1984) 189–193, at 192, rejects in a review of Vermes' book this praise of Jesus' religious significance and uniqueness by referring to Hillel and other first century sages "who have taught pretty much the same ethical and moral message as Jesus". Neusner's comment notwithstanding, the difference remains that Hillel and his colleagues were remembered as sages and teachers only, without any messianic titles or eschatological meanings attached to them. They are not remembered in addition to their teaching as miracle workers, and none of them was believed to have been resurrected. This even includes those who died for their faith like Rabbi Akiba, despite martyrdom and the belief in resurrection being so closely interwoven in Judaism.

24 Cf. Hengel and Schwemer, *Jesus* (see n. 2), 526–548.

25 Cf. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 6), 825–827: The resurrection is an inseparable part of how Jesus was remembered by his followers, indeed it is the "crystallization" of the impact he made on them. Christianity is historically not understandable without the conviction of Jesus' followers that his resurrection really happened. See also Wright, *Resurrection* (see n. 6), 562–563, 736–737; Hengel and Schwemer, *Jesus* (see n. 2), 626–627.

## II. Approaching a crossroads again? A look back at Schweitzer and Kähler

So one might be permitted to pause for a moment in the never-ending run after the newest development on the media-sponsored Jesus-market and its publicly organised debates and the blogosphere consecrated around it, and try to evaluate what has been achieved so far.[26] This is all the more necessary as there seems to be developing a growing unrest within the third quest as to how to proceed. According to the pre-published table of content the first volume of the *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus* will contain an article by Ernst Baasland on a possible "Fourth Quest", while others dispute the validity of the sorting into "quests" as misleading right away.[27] And Dale Allison, after he has written (at least) three historical books about Jesus in a relatively short period of time has suddenly realised that his activities have "religious implications"! The result is a further book on Jesus, but this time playing in the title with the famous lecture of Kähler[28] and trying to map out a more theological or faith-based approach to Jesus. The new impetus for theological interpretation throughout the field can be taken as a further sign that the historical road is approaching a crossroads once again.[29] Two opposite directions are presenting themselves: one still sees too many theological interests and biases involved within Jesus research and urges an even more strictly historical and sociological understanding without any recourse to transempirical or metahistorical realities and faith-based experiences.[30] The

26 Admittedly, this presupposes what is called simply impossible just a few pages above (see n. 15), namely an in-depth engagement with all the above-mentioned publications.

27 E.g. F.B. Rubio, "The Fiction of the 'Three Quests': An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Historiographical Paradigm", *JSHJ* 7 (2009) 211–253; C. Marsh, "Quests of the Historical Jesus in New Historicist Perspective", *BibInt* 5 (1997) 403–437, cf. also D.L. Bock and R.L. Webb, "Introduction to Key Events and Actions in the Life of the Historical Jesus", in *Key Events in the Life of the Historical Jesus: A Collaborative Exploration of Context and Coherence* (ed. D.L. Bock and R.L. Webb; WUNT 247; Tübingen 2009) 1–8, here 1–4.

28 Allison, *Historical Christ* (see n. 15), ix.

29 Cf. for a short overview Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word* (see n. 15), 55–59, and esp. the last chapter in this book "Seeing the Son of David" (189–228). Similarly Eddy and Beilby, "Introduction" (see n. 6), 47, consider if "the quest has hit a dead end".

30 Cf. for example J.G. Crossley, "Writing about the Historical Jesus: Historical Explanation and 'the Big *Why* Questions', or Antiquarian Empiricism and Victorian Tomes?", *JSHJ* 7 (2009) 63–90; also more traditional scholars with a positive attitude towards faith support this claim, as the chapter "Renewed Historicism" in Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word* (see n. 15), 40–47, shows; cf. further Webb's description of "Ontological Naturalistic History" ("Historical Enterprise" [see n. 8], 40–45).

other side seeks to overcome the limitations of the purely historical approach through a stronger emphasis on literary analysis, hermeneutics and theological approaches.[31]

This present constellation allows one to see some astonishing similarities with that of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries,[32] when the question of Jesus the Jew was already disputed between Jewish scholars like Heinrich Graetz, Abraham Geiger and Joseph Klausner, liberal Christians like Ernst Troeltsch and Adolf von Harnack, critical and historically oriented protestant scholars like Emil Schürer, Robert H. Charles, Albert Schweitzer, Wilhelm Bousset and William Wrede, and their more conservative counterparts like Franz Delitzsch,[33] Gustav Dalman, Adolf Schlatter and of course most famously Martin Kähler. With Emil Schürer's *History of the Jewish People*[34] and the detailed coverage of Second Temple Judaism in the Jewish world histories of Graetz and Geiger, with Dalman's contributions to the Aramaic language of Jesus, as well as many other historical, editorial and linguistic achievements during this period, the available knowledge of the Jewish world in the centuries around Jesus has exceeded all previous centuries by far.[35] But instead of enlivening Jesus research it ended in a crisis: Jesus research freed itself from the historical constraints to remain meaningful for the life of individual Christians and Christianity as a whole, whereas the historical exploration of the Jewish world of Jesus became more and more the area of specialists, some of whom even turned into anti-Semites who used their

31 Cf. Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word* (see n. 15), 47–55 ("Final-Form Literary Approaches"); B. Roberts Gaventa and R.B. Hays (eds), *Seeking the Identity of Jesus: A Pilgrimage* (Grand Rapids, MI 2008).

32 The enlarged last chapter in the second editions of A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (first complete edition [= *Quest*$^2$]; ed. J. Bowden; London 2000) 478–487, fits mutatis mutandis astonishingly well with the present situation. For the much shorter "Results" in the first edition see id., *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* (transl. W. Montgomery, with a preface by F.C. Burkitt; London 1910) 396–401.

33 Delitzsch's contributions to the understanding of the historical Jesus within his Jewish context are nearly forgotten, although they contain (based on the knowledge of the 19th century) many aspects about the Galilean setting of Jesus including political, social, and geographical aspects, cf. F. Delitzsch, *Ein Tag in Kapernaum* (Leipzig $^3$1886) = *A Day in Capernaum* (trans. G.H. Schodde; New York 1887 [repr. Charleston, NC 2009]); id., *Jüdisches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu: Nach den ältesten Quellen geschildert* (Erlangen $^3$1879) = *Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Jesus, According to the Oldest Sources* (transl. B. Pick; New York 1883).

34 See n. 4.

35 For an initial overview see W. Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, vol. 2: *From Jonathan Edwards to Rudolf Bultmann* (Minneapolis 2003) 195–261; S. Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus* (Chicago 1998).

knowledge to promote a de-judaized form of Christianity and to support the Nazis in their fight against the Jewish people and Judaism as a whole.[36] The growing emphasis placed on the Jewishness of Jesus after the Second World War and the Holocaust is not least the result of this dismal and shameful epoch of parts of Christian New Testament scholarship.

As Jesus research is facing a similar situation to that of a century ago, it is worth asking why this first spring of Jewish studies as a fundamental part of the study of the historical Jesus has not ripened more enduring fruits. Albert Schweitzer himself might provide a clue: he recognized in his study of the history of Jesus research the increased interest in the Jewish world of Jesus as due to the fact that the Gospels as the main sources for the historical Jesus are deliberately *limited* in what they actually reveal about the personality and self-consciousness of Jesus. This reduction of historical memories to a minimum can be seen first in Paul (with 2 Cor 5:16 becoming a landmark verse[37]). Historical facts, so Schweitzer argues, would have threatened the theological convictions that are "wholly in the future with the Christ who was to come".[38] The eschatological, coming Christ of faith could be believed in *only* if the historical knowledge was ignored and allowed to fall into oblivion, because the eschatological expectations of the historical Jesus regarding his return as heavenly judge missed their fulfilment and turned out to be a fatal error.

Schweitzer was one of the first scholars who understood Jesus mainly from *one particular Jewish tradition only*. The result was the eradication of any historical base for the development of the post-Easter tradition about Jesus after what Schweitzer sees as his failure at the cross. The history and belief of earliest Christianity, in this perspective, is nothing more than a crutch to maintain some importance for Jesus, but the Jesus fabricated by the disciples after Easter is not the real one, not the historical one who died on the cross. Their motives might have been described by Schweitzer in a more noble way than Reimarus did when he made the whole resurrection story into a fraudulent deception of the disciples, who were no longer used to or willing to work hard for their living. But the final result is not that different: the Jesus of the faith tradition after

36 Gerhard Kittel and Walter Grundmann are the two best-known examples, cf. R. Deines, V. Leppin and K.-W. Niebuhr (eds), *Walter Grundmann: Ein Neutestamentler im Dritten Reich* (Arbeiten zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte 21; Leipzig 2007); S. Heschel, *The Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany* (Princeton and Oxford 2008); Deines, *Pharisäer* (see n. 17), 413–448.

37 Cf. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 6), 74, 181 n. 45; Eddy and Beilby, "Introduction" (see n. 6), 23.

38 Schweitzer, *Quest* (see n. 32), 4.

Easter (which for Schweitzer is the dogmatic Jesus) *does not have much to do with* the one before, because only the reconstructed and recovered historical Jesus was real in any historical sense, whereas the one believed in after Easter owes his existence, his teaching and the expectations connected to him solely to the faith of the disciples. But to maintain a form of identity between "the supra-mundane Christ and the historical Jesus of Nazareth" they "had to be brought together into a single personality both historical and raised above time". The deliberate reduction of the tradition by "primitive Christianity" to "detached sayings, a few miracles, his death and resurrection" was necessary to escape "the inner split" between history and faith, and this is why "primitive Christianity […] handed down to us only Gospels, not biographies of Jesus".[39] With the decisions at Chalcedon in 451 the doctrine of the two natures "cut off the last possibility of a return to the historical Jesus".[40] Only after the dogma had been "shattered" in the 18th century could the quest for the historical Jesus be raised anew and the gaps so deliberately left by the evangelists filled again with elements from the 'historical' fund. This quest, as Schweitzer makes clear, is "an ally in the struggle against the tyranny of dogma"[41] and as such a liberation story.[42]

But having said this it is also necessary to recall the final chapter of his famous history (cf. n. 32). Here he describes vividly – without using Kähler's terms – how the *biblical* Jesus of the Gospel narratives is still able to convince and to call into his service.[43] This Jesus, freed from an all too narrow understanding of the historical quest, is true in an existential sense that pure historical analysis cannot even imagine. For Schweitzer it is Jesus' eschatological outlook onto the world (even if it failed in the end) that makes him so fascinating. Eschatology for Schweitzer means first and foremost "that he looks beyond the consummation and salvation of the individual to a consummation and salvation of the world and to an

39 Schweitzer, *Quest* (see n. 32), 4.

40 Schweitzer, *Quest* (see n. 32), 5.

41 Schweitzer, *Quest* (see n. 32), 5.

42 Cf. also Johnson, *Real Jesus* (see n. 8), 54–56; id., "Humanity" (see n. 8), 51; Dunn, "Remembering Jesus" (see n. 10), 203, with reference to R.W. Funk, *Honest to Jesus: Jesus for a new Millennium* (New York 1996), and others.

43 "In fact the real Jesus is more easily made known than the modernized Jesus, once we allow that elemental quality to speak to us which makes him real for us, so that we too are convinced by the passion of his preaching rather than by any breadth of scholarship" (Schweitzer, *Quest*[2] [see n. 32], 485). For this see J. Carleton Paget, "The Religious Authority of Albert Schweitzer's Jesus," in *Scripture's Doctrine and Theology's Bible: How the New Testament Shapes Christian Dogmatics* (ed. M. Bockmuehl and A.J. Torrance; Grand Rapids, MI 2008) 75–90.

elect mankind. He is completely filled with and determined by desire and hope for the kingdom of God" (480). Decisive for Jesus' eschatology is the conviction of "the moral consummation of all things" (482 = "die sittliche Endvollendung der Welt" [636]), in other words a reconciliation between the divine and the human realm with God visibly acting in this world (cf. 391). But for Schweitzer, this desire for God's direct intervention can no longer be held in the modern era, so only the ethical task remains to follow (485).

But who can claim the authority to exclude God from acting and accordingly from the agenda of theologians as well as theologically oriented historians?[44] This is where the systematic theologian Martin Kähler (1835–1912) steps in, who is regularly described as an intellectual forefather of the kerygmatic Jesus of dialectic theology as represented by Karl Barth and Rudolf Bultmann. He insists that faith "in the living Christ" came into being not as the result of later projection on Jesus "but because he himself evokes such faith from us".[45] What happens with his first followers and the evangelists repeats itself through the centuries: Jesus is ex-

44 In Jesus scholarship this big question addressed (but not solved) by E. Troeltsch, "Historical and Dogmatic Method in Theology" becomes evident again and again (for the text see G.W. Dawes [ed.], *The Historical Jesus Quest: A Foundational Anthology* [Tools for Biblical Study Series 2; Leiden 1999] 27–53). The crucial point is to what extent, and at which stage of the critical examination of a past event, has historical methodology to be adjusted to the acceptance of divine interferences, if it wants to avoid the notion that ontological prejudices inhibit the description of events and their cause. For Meier (see above n. 6), who is representative of many, the two realms must be kept separate until the historical task is completed. I think this underestimates the totalitarianism or implicit dogmatism of the historical method, because the moment its work is properly done everything has found a historical explanation, which necessarily excludes anything like God as a cause from the outset. Troeltsch allows no loopholes and also no later addition of a theological meaning. This is where J. Ratzinger makes a contribution, see J. Ratzinger, "Biblical Interpretation in Conflict: The Questions of the Basic Principles and Path of Exegesis Today", in id., *God's Word: Scripture – Tradition – Office* (ed. P. Hünermann and Th. Söding; transl. H. Taylor; San Francisco 2008) 91–126, cf. R. Deines, "Can the 'Real' Jesus be Identified with the Historical Jesus? A Review of the Pope's Challenge to Biblical Scholarship and the Ongoing Debate", in *The Pope and Jesus of Nazareth: Christ, Scripture and the Church* (ed. A. Pabst and A. Paddison; Veritas; London 2009) 199–232, and the other essays in this volume.

45 M. Kähler, *The So-Called Historical Jesus and the Historic Biblical Christ* (transl., ed., and with an introduction by Carl E. Braaten, Philadelphia 1964) 87 (= Der sogenannte historische Jesus und der geschichtliche, biblische Christus [ed. E. Wolf; TB 2; München $^{4}$1969] 68); cf. Schweitzer, *Quest*$^{2}$ (see n. 32), 480: "What does the historical Jesus mean for us when we dissociate him from all false justification of the past by the present? We are immediately aware that his personality, despite all that is strange and enigmatic in it, has great significance for us. There is something there for all periods of time, so long as the world exists"; Johnson, *Real Jesus* (see n. 8), 141–142.

perienced as a compelling and living counterpart through the gospels and the other New Testament witnesses "to which we are indebted for our knowledge of historical revelation. Even today these books offer to every receptive heart that knowledge of the living God and of his acts through which it has pleased him continually to create trust in himself in the hearts of men."[46] The starting point for Kähler is therefore not the ethical residue after critical investigation has stripped off allegedly contrahistorical dogmatics but the actual experience of the biblical, living Christ within his communities and ignoring, on his part, the ever-so-often changing reconstructions of the life of Jesus research of his days. Like Schweitzer, he acknowledges the gaps within the available sources to write a biography of Jesus which would "measure up to the standards of contemporary historical science",[47] and this is why the "life-of-Jesus" authors must therefore resort to their own imaginations and the trajectories of their own psychological and spiritual experiences to supplement what is missing.[48] For Kähler, this is impossible because Jesus simply was *not* like us, and therefore analogy (which he accepts as one main element of gaining understanding) cannot be applied to him.[49] So Kähler

46 M. Kähler, "Do Christians Value the Bible Because it Contains Historical Documents?", in id., *The So-Called Historical Jesus and the Historic Biblical Christ* (see n. 45), 100–148, here 128. For the German original "Besteht der Wert der Bibel für den Christen hauptsächlich darin, daß sie geschichtliche Urkunden enthält?" see Kähler, *Der sogenannte historische Jesus* (see n. 45), 81–126, esp. 106.

47 M. Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 48 (German 21).

48 Similarly Schweitzer, *Quest*$^2$ (see n. 32), 8: The "yawning gaps" of the Synoptics can be filled "at best with historical fantasy" but any attempt to combine "the fortuitous series of episodes" into a historically reliable biography are hopeless because no "clearly defined personality" can be distilled from the Gospels that would allow us to give these episodes "an intelligible connection"; see, in the same vein, also R. Bultmann, *Jesus* (Tübingen 1926) 11–12. The problem with the described position is that they put the alternatives in an all too simplistic fashion: Either 'exact historiography' or fiction, fantasy and existentialist reflection, whereas sober historiography always knew that the retelling of history implies selection, interpretation and construing connections and causalities that are not necessarily obvious, cf. J. Schröter, *Jesus und die Anfänge der Christologie: Methodologische und exegetische Studien zu den Ursprüngen des christlichen Glaubens* (Biblisch-Theologische Studien 47; Neukirchen-Vluyn 2001) 6–36.

49 M. Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 53 (German 25f): "Will anyone who has had the impression of being encountered by that unique sinless person, that unique Son of Adam endowed with a vigorous consciousness of God, still venture to use the principle of analogy here once he has thoroughly assessed the situation? We must not think that we can solve the problem with a pantograph, reproducing the general outlines of our own nature but with larger dimensions. The distinction between Jesus Christ and ourselves is not one of degree but of kind (…) In view of this fact we would all do well to refrain from depicting his inner life by the principle of analogy." The *exceptionality of Jesus* is also recognized and accepted by Troeltsch, when he – despite his emphasis on

denies, based on theological argumentation, that normal procedures of historical research can be applied to Jesus. Schweitzer made the same case, although for different reasons, conceding that "the problem of the life of Jesus has no analogy in the field of history" and that "every ordinary method of historical investigation proves inadequate to the complexity of the conditions".[50] Both agree further, that imagination and trajectories from more general human experience, as necessary as they are, offer no satisfactory additional insight beyond what can be found in the Gospels. And they also agree *that the study of the Jewish context cannot fulfil this task either.* For Schweitzer, the lack of knowledge about "the nature of the contemporary Jewish world of thought" makes it impossible to project from a certain, generally accepted "expectation of the Messiah" to the self-consciousness of Jesus. In other words, the available knowledge about Judaism in the time of Jesus *does not enable one* to fill in the gaps in the Gospels, so as to add to and aid our knowledge of Jesus.[51] In Kähler's words "the historical analogy" where "one goes back to the conditions and the thought world of Jesus' environment and to the historical records and Jewish literature which still survive from that period" is not "very promising". He illustrates this with a comparison between Paul and Jesus:

"If we compare the Jesus of our Gospels with Saul of Tarsus, we do in fact see a great difference between the disciple of the Pharisees and the Master. On the one hand we see the true Jew, so profoundly and indelibly influenced by the cultural forces of his people and epoch; and on the other hand we see the Son of Man, whose person and work convey the impression of one who lived, as it were, in the timeless age of the patriarchs."[52]

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analogy – made quite an unexpected concession: "Only at one point was this limitation [of the divine force to empower the human spirit (R.D.)] broken through. This point, however, was located at the center of great contemporary and subsequent religious developments, namely, in the religion of the prophets of Israel and in the person of Jesus. Here a God distinct from nature produced a personality superior to nature with eternally transcendent goals and the willpower to change the world" ("Historical and Dogmatic Method" [see n. 44], 48; for further inconsistencies in Troeltsch's argument see Webb, "Historical Enterprise" [see n. 8], 43–45).

50 Schweitzer, *Quest*$^2$ (see n. 32), 7. Cf. further Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 92 (German 74f).

51 Schweitzer, *Quest*$^2$ (see n. 32), 9. This initial statement is not fully confirmed in his representation, when he, for example, discusses positively the contribution of Aramaic for the study of Jesus and the understanding of the Son of Man-title (221–233). Also his own portrayal of Jesus depends heavily on the eschatological thinking in the time of Jesus, cf. 248–261, 315–354.

52 Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 54 (German 26). Cf. also his very critical remarks at the end that these "lengthy discourses about first century history … keeps the listener preoccupied with things which, after all, are merely the vehicles of the events in the Gospels and keeps him from the real thing …" (70, German 48).

Kähler's observation, despite its obvious limitations, is not without a kernel of truth. Jesus, especially in comparison to Paul and according to the available sources, as a fellow human being is less concrete and more "biblical". This impression is true not only for John but also for the Synoptics. The available sources (and this is somehow true even for the non-canonical sources) present him as an "elusive Messiah",[53] but not as an inaccessible one. As they stand, the Gospels allow knowledge and communication with Jesus,[54] because they present the historic Jesus devoid of historical contingencies and therefore in its true meaning as "Lord".[55] Two requirements were necessary to arrive at this conclusion: The *resurrection*, "based on experience, and *the witness of the Scriptures.* As the living Lord he was for them the Messiah of the Old Covenant."[56] The primary frame of reference to understand how the "unpretentious Rabbi" Jesus came to be venerated as Lord is for Kähler therefore not contemporary Jewish theology or eschatology but first of all Scripture.

Kähler's point is not to deny the value of "historical research" from the outset but he is keen to emphasize its relatively minor contribution for the understanding of Jesus:

> "Obviously we would not deny that historical research can help to explain and clarify particular features of Jesus' actions and attitudes as well as many aspects of his teaching. Nor will I exaggerate the issue by casting doubt on the historian's capacity to trace the broad outlines of the historical institutions and forces which influenced the human development of our Lord. But it is common knowledge that all this is wholly insufficient for a biographical work in the modern sense."[57]

Kähler wrote this at the end of the 19th century, when the historical, scientific study of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism were fully established for the first time and achieved impressive results which have lasted until today. In the meantime, new sources and methodologies have enriched our picture of Second Temple Judaism to a degree not imaginable

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**53** R. Martin, *The Elusive Messiah: A Philosophical Overview of the Quest for the Historical Jesus* (Boulder, CO and Oxford, UK 2000).

**54** Cf. Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 60f (German 34f).

**55** Cf. Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 63f. (German 37–39).

**56** Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 65 (German 42; emphasis R.D.). The coincidence of Kähler's short summary with Wright's result in his book on the resurrection is striking (given the fact that Wright is not very fond of Kähler): The belief that Jesus was indeed the Messiah was held by the early Christians "because of his resurrection" (Wright, *Resurrection* [see n. 6], 554), and the further step that this Messiah is "the world's true lord" and somehow close to God himself "is rooted firmly in the Psalms" (563). In other words, the resurrection and the testimony of Scripture allowed for the confession that this Jewish man from Nazareth named Jesus was and is the Lord of all.

**57** Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 54f.

for Kähler and his contemporaries. Also, the understanding of a biography of a person from antiquity (and what was conceived as properly biographical in that time) has changed dramatically. So one might conclude that the limitations of historical analogy from Jesus' contemporary Jewish world might have been true in the time of Kähler but are not so any longer. But is this the case? Luke Timothy Johnson, admittedly a "Kähler-like" Jesus scholar,[58] came to a very similar conclusion around a hundred years after Kähler, namely that all this new information from Qumran to Nag Hammadi, from archaeology and epigraphy, "while wonderfully illuminating virtually every aspect of life in Jesus' world, does not add substantially to our knowledge of his life in that world".[59] One might like to think that this is the statement of one with less interest in the more historical questions and therefore not fully aware of the achievements the study of the Jewish context is able to provide,[60] but a close look at some recent publications from strongly historically-oriented scholars reveals a similar reservation. Jürgen Zangenberg, for example, concludes an article about Jesus and Galilee by saying: "Je mehr wir über die Vielfalt Galiläas erfahren, desto deutlicher wird, wie wenig repräsentativ Jesus von Nazareth für Galiläa gewesen sein könnte."[61] Sean Freyne, one of the pioneers of modern Galilee research, describes the arrival at a sound judgment on the reliability and historical framework of the Gospels as the most that can be hoped for in the study of the social and cultural world of Galilee with regard to Jesus studies.[62] What is more, Freyne in his book *Jesus: A Jewish Galilean*, points to a strange omission within modern Jesus scholarship, namely the influence of Jewish Scriptures on Jesus:

> "In most studies of Jesus' Jewish background there would appear to be a reluctance to envisage the idea that he himself, as distinct from his followers, might have been influenced by the Jewish Scriptures of his day." Instead scholars "have turned to the more esoteric collections such as the Dead Sea Scrolls or to apocryphal works such as 1 Enoch in their search for suitable 'background'".[63]

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58 Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 6), 58 n. 156.

59 Johnson, *Real Jesus* (see n. 8), 88–89; id., "Humanity" (see n. 8), 55.

60 Although Johnson keenly defends himself against this accusation, see "Humanity" (see n. 8), 65. Nevertheless he insists: "None of the new knowledge (or reexamined old knowledge concerning Judaism in the first century) appears to touch on Jesus himself."

61 J. Zangenberg, "Jesus – Galiläa – Archäologie: Neue Forschungen zu einer Region im Wandel", in *Jesus und die Archäologie Galiläas* (ed. C. Claußen and J. Frey; BThSt 87; Neukirchen-Vluyn $^{2}$2009) 7–38, here 37.

62 S. Freyne, "Jesus in Galiläa", in *Jesus und die Archäologie Galiläas* (ed. C. Claußen and J. Frey; BThSt 87; Neukirchen-Vluyn $^{2}$2009) 209–226, esp. 212, cf. id., *Jesus, A Jewish Galilean: A New Reading of the Jesus-Story* (London 2004).

63 Freyne, *Jewish Galilean* (see n. 62), 19; id., "Jesus in Galiläa" (see n. 62), 213–216.

Consequently, Freyne tries to reconstruct how Jesus might have experienced Galilee as a 'biblical' landscape and how the biblical narratives formed the horizon of his ministry.

## III. Scripture as the Touchstone of Traditions

Freyne's reminder regarding Scripture can be enriched by Kähler's phrase "the historic, *biblical* Christ", from which only the first part has been received approvingly within form criticism and the second quest, namely that the "real Christ is the Christ who is preached" and "the Christ who is preached … is precisely the Christ of faith".[64] As a consequence the Gospels were taken as documents of this very faith. But the second element from Kähler's title, namely that Jesus is described as the *biblical* Christ has not received enough attention even though it is a remarkable *historical* phenomenon that a person from the most recent past – at a time when his closest family members were known and still alive, and whose disciples experienced him not only as 'special' but at the same time as a 'normal' human being who was hungry, thirsty, tired and mournful – is remembered and venerated immediately after his death (maybe even during his lifetime) with a biblical imagery and language that places him as close as possible to God himself.[65]

This was conceivable, and here again Kähler and Schweitzer share a similar insight, through *a reduction of the collective memory* of his followers to a core tradition that transcends historical contingencies. But what, in Schweitzer's eyes, is a distortion of the historical Jesus that needs to be corrected by critical scholarship is for Kähler the transformation from the mere historical into the historic.[66] For those who confessed him as Lord

64 Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 66 (German 44).

65 A short selection of available titles must suffice: S. Gathercole, *The Preexistent Son: Recovering the Christologies of Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK 2006); M. Hengel, *Studien zur Christologie* (ed. C.-J. Thornton; WUNT 201; Tübingen 2006; esp. noteworthy are *Der Sohn Gottes* [1975, $^{2}$1977]; "'Setze dich zu meiner Rechten!': Die Inthronisation Christi zur Rechten Gottes und Psalm 110,1" [1993]; "Abba, Maranatha, Hosanna und die Anfänge der Christologie" [2004]); W. Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London 1998); L.W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK 2003); id., *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God?* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK 2005).

66 Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 63–64 (German 37–38). What is transmitted from Jesus "are not the reports of impartial observers" but "testimonies and confessions of believers in Christ" (92/75).

"only the activity of Jesus as a grown man" was of any importance, and in these testimonies he is described as "prophet" (in relation to John the Baptist), "master teacher" (in his relation to the wider and narrower circle of disciples), "resolute Messiah" (the one who is able to read the signs and to direct his life towards God's ends) and "the royal sufferer". But above all he is known as the one "who rose from the dead, a stranger to his table and travel companions, and yet, at the same time, familiar to them beyond all doubt".[67] The truly remarkable development for Kähler is that, for the followers of Jesus after his death, these things and these things alone are the memorable references of his life, although they certainly knew "many fascinating and winsome details about him, inasmuch as, like ourselves, he lived a busy and active life subject to the routine tasks of the day". But they ignored everything trivial about his life and whatever they reported was "for the sake of its religious significance".[68] The historical reductionism of the canonical Gospels (which Kähler sees in line with the paucity of Jesus narratives in the Pauline corpus) is actually their greatest achievement. By stripping off the merely historical, they allowed their readers to meet and to experience what he called the biblical or the real Christ.[69]

This emphasis on the *biblical* Christ can serve as a helpful reminder for the task at hand, which is indeed a historical one even if this was part of a more defensive "Flight from History" for Kähler.[70] It includes a number of related aspects: 1) Jesus and Scripture, meaning the question of how the earthly Jesus understood himself and his mission in light of Scripture;

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**67** Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 93 (German 75f).

**68** Kähler, *Historical Jesus* (see n. 45), 93 (German 76–77), cf. also 87–91 (German 68–74).

**69** This reduction to what was regarded as essential took place again in the 2nd century with the introduction of the regula fidei and a "canonical principle" ("Kanonprinzip"), cf. O. Cullmann, *Tradition: Die Tradition als exegetisches, historisches und theologisches Problem* (Zürich 1954) 45: "Durch die Einführung eines Kanon*prinzips* hat die Kirche … unter die apostolische Tradition einen Strich gesetzt und damit erklärt, daß von jetzt an jede spätere Tradition durch die apostolische *überprüft* werden müsse. Das besagt mit anderen Worten: hier ist die Tradition, welche die Kirche *begründet* und die sich ihr aufgedrängt hat. Damit hat sie gewiß nicht der Fortentwicklung der Tradition ein Ende setzen wollen. Aber sozusagen *durch eine Tat der Demut* hat sie jede aus ihr hervorgegangene spätere Tradition dem Maßstab der in den Heiligen Schriften festgelegten apostolischen Tradition unterstellt."

**70** Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 6), 71–73, discusses Kähler in his chapter "The Flight from History" (67–97), which is a well-established reading of Kähler, although others insist that he has a different approach to history, and that he sees in the Gospels a reliable source for the real Jesus despite the fact that they were written from a perspective of faith, cf. H.-G. Link, *Geschichte Jesu und Bild Christi: Die Entwicklung der Christologie Martin Kählers in Auseinandersetzung mit der Leben-Jesu-Theologie und der Ritschl-Schule* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975) 9–10 (see also 225–267).

2) the reappraisal of the nature of Scripture as constitutive word of God against the Jewish traditions as derived from Scripture; 3) the historical evaluation of the fact that Jesus, from the earliest available testimonies on, is depicted as a biblical figure who lived by Scripture (understood as God's word, cf. Matt 4:4 par. Luke 4:3, quoting Deut 8:3b; cf. also John 4:34), saw himself guided by scripture (e.g. Mark 9:11–12; 10:3–9; 11:16–17; 12:10–11, 24–37), fulfilled Scripture through his ministry (e.g. Luke 4:17–21; Matt 11:2–6 par. Luke 7:18–23), and could be more fully understood retrospectively through a fusion of his followers' experience with the earthly Jesus and a scriptural horizon (e.g. Rom 1:1b–4; 1 Cor 15:3–5) which resulted in a double transformation: Jesus became fully the biblical Christ and Scripture became a testimony for him (cf. Luke 24:25–27, 32, 45–48).[71]

There is not much room to develop this further at this point. But I share the astonishment of Sean Freyne that in all the large works about Jesus mentioned above, one does not find a chapter on Jesus and Scripture. That is not to say that this question is not addressed at all,[72] but seldom in a way that allows one to see Jesus' own understanding of his mission as primarily based on his specific and personal application of Scripture, although this is the only Jewish tradition he knew for sure. There is an immense amount of literature on the use of the Old Testament in the individual New Testament writings, and it is well-established that their authors used Scripture as their primary, one can even say their only explicit reference text. But it is much less obvious and hardly emphasised at all to what extent the extensive use of Scripture in the New Testament and especially in the Gospels needs to be understood as a consequence of *Jesus' own application of Scripture* to his ministry.[73] Quite regularly he asks his

71 Cf. O. Hofius, "Das apostolische Christuszeugnis und das Alte Testament: Thesen zur Biblischen Theologie" (1995), in id., *Neutestamentliche Studien* (WUNT 132; Tübingen 2000) 329–339.

72 Often Jesus' knowledge and learning of Scripture is discussed in connection with his upbringing and education, see R. Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer* (WUNT II/7; Tübingen $^{3}$1993) esp. 224–245; Meier, *Marginal Jew* (see n. 6), 1.268–278 (although narrowed down in focus to the question "Was Jesus Illiterate?"); Theißen and Merz, *Jesus* (see n. 16), 319–321; C.A. Evans, "Context, Family and Formation", in *The Cambridge Companion to Jesus* (ed. M. Bockmuehl; Cambridge 2001) 11–24, here 15–21.

73 What R.T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission* (London 1971) 13, observed in the midst of the second quest is still true despite the changes brought upon by the third questers: "The reason is not far to seek. The prevalent attitude to the words of Jesus recorded in the Gospels is one of scepticism as to their dominical origin. The quotations of the Old Testament attributed to him are tacitly, and sometimes explicitly, regarded as reflecting the scriptural

opponents "have you not read" and by this refers to a biblical event or saying (Mark 2:25–26 par. Matt 12:3–4, [5–7]; Luke 6:3–4; Mark 12:10–11, 26 par. Matt 21:42, 31–32; Luke 20:17, 37; Matt 19:4–5). Or if he understood John the Baptist as the foretold Elijah who is to come to prepare his way (Matt 11:7–11 par. Luke 7:24–28, quoting Mal 3:1 in combination with Exod 23:20), should we then not assume that he understood his own life similarly as part of the 'biblical' history through which the God of Israel interacts with his people?[74] But more often than not, these and other sayings where Jesus quotes scripture are dismissed "as probably a Christian reflection added to an authentic logion of Jesus concerning the Baptist", although Meier concedes that "Jesus would be a very strange Jewish teacher in 1st century Palestine if he had never quoted, commented on, or argued about the meaning of the Jewish Scriptures".[75] In the chapter about Jesus' education Meier rightly observes that Jesus

> "is presented by almost all the Gospel traditions as engaging in learned disputes over Scripture and halaka with students of the Law, that he was accorded the respectful – but at that time vague – title of rabbi or teacher, that more than one Gospel tradition presents him preaching or teaching in the synagogues (presumably after and on the Scripture readings), and that, even apart from formal disputes, his teaching was strongly imbued with the outlook and language of the sacred texts of Israel."

Therefore he argues, and rightly so, that "it is reasonable to suppose that Jesus' religious formation in his family was intense and profound, and included instruction in reading biblical Hebrew".[76] The teaching techniques and especially the memorisable forms that are distinguishable in Jesus' sayings are likely to reflect the influence of the good education he had received from either his father or another teacher. The Gospel of Luke contains more than one hint that the wider family of Jesus was well connected

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interpretation not of Jesus himself, but of the churches in which the Gospels emerged." For a new approach to this topic and a reflection on the history of scholarship see E.B. Powery, *Jesus Reads Scripture: The Function of Jesus' Use of Scripture in the Synoptic Gospels* (BIS 63; Leiden and Boston 1999) 15–22; B. Chilton and C.A. Evans, "Jesus and Israel's Scripture", in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (ed. B. Chilton and C.A. Evans; NTTS 19; Leiden 1994) 281–336; C.A. Evans, "'Have You Not Read …?' Jesus' Subversive Interpretation of Scripture", in *Jesus Research: An International Perspective* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth and P. Pokorný; Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK 2009) 182–198.

74 For a concise summary see P. Stuhlmacher, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (vol. 1; Göttingen 1992) 40–161 ("Die Verkündigung Jesu").

75 Meier, *Marginal Jew* (see n. 6), 2.141–142.

76 Meier, *Marginal Jew* (see n. 6), 1.276.

with literate Jerusalem,[77] and Freyne is right to question the nearly unanimously held assumption that Jesus originated from a rather poor family background (which in Judaism does not by any means equal illiteracy).[78] But if this is so, why does it not influence the way Jesus' ministry is depicted? Most of the creative exegesis that can be found in the Gospels is granted to the evangelists and hardly anything to Jesus himself,[79] which is less than convincing if one takes seriously that Jesus is regularly described and addressed as teacher.[80] But it would also be much too narrow to focus solely on the explicitly marked quotations in the sayings of Jesus. To be shaped by a scriptural mindset and to have the word of God as daily bread goes far beyond the textual surface.

This leads to the second suggestion: What seems necessary is a stronger differentiation between an authoritative tradition and the interpretation of this authoritative tradition. This distinction gets lost (to take just one example) when in the otherwise helpful chapter of Meier on the background of Jesus' message of the Kingdom of God, the Old Testament tradition is placed as the first in a row, followed by "God's Kingly Rule in the Pseudepigrapha", and "at Qumran",[81] and thus creating the impression as

77 Cf. Luke 1:63: Zechariah, the uncle of Jesus, is supposed to be able to write and the composition of the Benedictus in 1:67–79 is attributed to him; the Magnificat in 1:46–55 is a further carefully drafted early Christian psalm full of biblical imagery. Although it is impossible to demonstrate Mary's part in its composition, it cannot be ruled out that these texts reflect the spiritual atmosphere of Jesus' extended family. U. Mittmann-Richert, *Magnificat und Benedictus* (WUNT II/90; Tübingen 1996) 97–144, assumes these hymns originated very early in the history of the Jerusalem church (132), which means at a time when Mary and the brothers of Jesus were part of it (cf. also Luke 2:19, 51: Mary as a source for tradition about Jesus' childhood). The phrases that Jesus "was filled with wisdom" (2:40 πληρούμενον σοφίᾳ) and "made progress in wisdom" (2:52Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτεν [ἐν τῇ] σοφίᾳ, cf. Gal 1:14, Paul's hint to his pharisaic education in Jerusalem: καὶ προέκοπτον ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ), which frame the visit of the 12 year old Jesus to the temple need not imply that no formal education through teachers took place.

78 Freyne, *Jesus* (see n. 62), 21.

79 Cf. as an example D.C. Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* (Harrisburg, PA 2000). The book displays in great detail the scriptural intertextuality of Q, which reveals how nearly every saying is immersed in biblical allusions. But the most often deployed subject in Allison's analysis is "Q": Q refers, Q agrees, Q follows etc., and only on the last pages (213–222) does he discuss (affirmatively, at least) the possibility that some of the scriptural allusions actually go back to Jesus himself. Here he is willing "to entertain the possibility that the intertextual Jesus of Q is not a misleading representative of the historical Jesus" (215), only to retract it partly in his latest book (id., *Historical Christ* [see n. 15], 16–17).

80 Cf. Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer* (see n. 72); id., "Jesus as Preacher and Teacher", in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (ed. H. Wansbrough; JSNT.SS 64; Sheffield 1991) 185–210; Hengel and Schwemer, *Jesus* (see n. 2), 358–360.

81 Meier, *Marginal Jew* (see n. 6), 2.237–288.

if these derived traditions would be on the same level as the scriptural source for them. A similar pattern can be found in many monographs on a specific New Testament topic when the tradition history of a given topic needs to be explored. The usual way to do this is to start with the Hebrew Bible, and then follow the tradition in the presumed chronological order. But this is hardly the way Jewish teachers in the first century would have approached their tradition. If anything can be learned from the Jewish literature in the centuries around the turn of the era it is that the Jewish Scriptures held such an unsurpassable authority that virtually all Jewish literature known today can be labelled as biblically inspired in one way or the other. There is hardly any preserved Jewish literature[82] for which Scripture is not the definitive intertext and point of departure.[83] In other words, Scripture is the *single authoritative tradition* which is always accessed directly and is not mediated by anything in between. There is of course a difference if someone accesses Scripture in the original Hebrew, via a Greek translation, or a Targumic rendition,[84] but this does not undermine the argument. The Jewish world is – judged on the basis of the extant literature – a community formed and held together by its ongoing recourse to Scriptural pre-texts[85] and the institutions (land, nation, priest-

82 Freyne, *Jesus* (see n. 62), 19–20; Allison, *Intertextual Jesus* (see n. 79), 213.

83 The authoritative status of Scripture as different from other writings (some of which though might aspire to scripture-like authority) does not presuppose an already fixed canon, cf. Meier, *Marginal Jew* (see n. 6), 1.274–275. Also the fact that different text-forms of Scripture were available and used in Second Temple Judaism does not hamper the argument.

84 For the assumption that Jesus used Isaiah in a targumic version see B.D. Chilton, *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible* (Wilmington, DE 1984).

85 Cf. as example the bold statement in the letter sent by the High Priest Jonathan and the Jewish people to the Spartans in which a reference is made to a former exchange of friendship declarations (… τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς διεσαφεῖτο περὶ συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας; 1 Macc 12:9), before it continues: "We are not in need of these (declarations) because we have as encouragement the holy books that are in our hands" (ὄντες παράκλησιν ἔχοντες τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια τὰ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἡμῶν). The importance of the Temple library containing the books of the kings, the prophets, David, and archival documents (the Torah is not mentioned explicitly but is surely presupposed) is also mentioned in 2 Macc 2:13–14. The diaspora community in Egypt was formally invited to use it and to fill the gaps within their own libraries if necessary. The shared possession of Scriptures serves in this ideal and probably unhistorical description as the band of unity between Judaea and the Diaspora. For the influence of Scripture in Second Temple literature see the research project of the University of Vienna (Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold), "The Meaning of Ancient Jewish Quotations and Allusions for the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible", which offers an online database for quotations of and allusions to passages of the Hebrew Bible in Second Temple Jewish literature (http://www.univie.ac.at/judaistik/Forschungsprojekte.htm). For Philo's use of Scripture, not covered by this database, see J. Allenbach et. al. (eds), *Philon d'Alexandrie* (Bib-

hood, temple) derived from them. New social and religious developments in search of recognition had to fall in line within a biblical trajectory to win acceptance and following and no religious legitimacy or authority was possible without biblical backing.

For the understanding of the Jewish tradition for Jesus and his time this is crucial, because the decisive source from which all other traditions derive their authority is Scripture. And that means that a religious teaching within a Jewish context needed to be justified with reference to Scripture. At least this is what can be seen – admittedly with varying emphases – with regard to written traditions. The Pharisaic idea of a non-written, authoritative tradition can be seen within this world as an astonishing invention, but the further development demonstrates that at some point the connectivity with scriptural authority needed to be regained, as the emergence of the concept of the dual Torah demonstrates. In this way the rabbinic halakhah is ideally connected with Moses and the giving of the Torah on Mt Sinai which then provides a scriptural framework for the oral Torah as well.[86]

For Jesus as a man with a theological message for his people it was, therefore, essential to locate himself within the scriptural world. He could expect that people would ask him about what he thought of certain laws of Moses, or specific sayings of Isaiah or one of the other prophets etc., but there is hardly any evidence that there was any need to justify oneself with regard to other traditions. So however widespread the theological thinking as preserved in the Qumran scrolls might have been there is no evidence within the preserved Jewish literature that their specific theology was discussed outside their community or used as a kind of 'hermeneutical lens' through which Scripture was accessed. It might have been the case within the community that group-specific exegetical insights and traditions were used as hermeneutical guidelines in the approach to Scripture, but in the main even within the Qumran corpus the biblical texts were accessed directly. This can be demonstrated by the fact that the individual texts contain regularly a certain amount of scriptural quotations but hardly any others. So I disagree with Meier's judgement that "a treatment of Jesus and the Law that does not seriously engage the Dead Sea

lia Patristica suppl.; Paris 1982); N.G. Cohen, *Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and Writings: Evidence for a* Haftarah *Cycle in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 123; Leiden and Boston 2007).

86 Cf. J. Neusner, *Uniting the Dual Torah: Sifra and the Problem of the Mishnah* (Cambridge 1990); Deines, *Pharisäer* (see n. 17), 325–334.

material is in essence flawed".[87] It is true that important facets of the interpretation and application of the Torah in first century Judaea would be missed without the scrolls, but there is no way to make a direct link from them to Jesus' perception of it. What the scrolls provide are additional simultaneous readings of the Torah next to that of Jesus, and by this they shed light on how Jesus' position may have been perceived by members of their community or someone close to it. Consequently, the question of Jesus and the Jewish traditions needs to be addressed by comparing Jesus' approach to the Scriptural heritage with that of other Jewish groups or individuals in the first century. Scripture is the spring of Jewish traditions and many parallel streams originated at the same time from the same spring without necessarily influencing each other. Additionally, the established hierarchy within Scripture (Torah, Prophets and Writings were authoritative in a descending order) should perhaps be taken more seriously when Jewish traditions are used to describe Jesus within Judaism.

## IV. The biblical Jesus as a historical task

Perhaps it is time that we – informed now by three quests – accept that approaches to Jesus the Jew which seek to understand him solely on the basis of what can be hypothesized about the man from Galilee behind the Gospel narratives and on the basis of historical analogies from his Jewish context, do not bridge the gap between the life of Jesus up to his death in Jerusalem and what was believed about him after Easter. No Jewish teacher, prophet, charismatic healer or sage known from the centuries around Jesus was placed into a biblical trajectory in any way similar to him. In this respect, Schweitzer, Kähler and many others are right in their insistence that any historical inquiry needs to accept that the way Jesus was remembered by those close to him is a unique phenomenon in history. And as the principle of equality has it, it is necessary that unequal things are treated *unequally*, which is missed when Johnson postulates that the task of reconstructing the historical circumstances of Jesus' life should be done in the same way as those "of Socrates or Napoleon or Christopher Columbus".[88]

The Gospel writers' reduction of the historical details of Jesus which Kähler and others perceptively recognized, enabled the fusion of horizons through which this first century Jew almost immediately after his death

87 Meier, *Marginal Jew* (see n. 6), 4.4.
88 Johnson, "Human Jesus" (see n. 8), 157.

was perceived as a biblical figure, and what is more, became the only biblical figure who, in the biblical traditions, was anticipated from the future: the Messiah, the heavenly judge, the fulfiller and restorer of righteousness, the saviour of his people and the blessing for all the nations of the earth, the one through whom God himself is present amidst his creation as a shepherd and king. Jesus Christ, hailed as Lord, is none other than this first century Jew, Jesus from Nazareth in Galilee who was remembered by those close to him as the pre-existent Son of God incarnate. To conceive Jesus in this way as the biblical Christ is not possible without a biblical horizon, and attempts to replace the biblical colouring of his portrait by a more 'realistic' first century social landscape fail to convince not only the followers of the biblical Christ but also their more secular colleagues as the endless flow of contradictory books about the so-called real historical Jesus demonstrates. What can be done instead, and what is already done successfully in many contributions, is to understand Jesus alongside the other Jewish traditions of his time that originated, like the tradition that he initiated, in Israel's scriptural heritage and the therein embodied experience with Israel's God, who is a God in communication with his people in various forms.

The biblical heritage was the origin of the wealth, depth and beauty of the Jewish traditions that were alive during the first century. Therefore, most of them allow us to understand individual aspects of Jesus' life better (or, to take up the metaphor from above, individual colours of his portrait). They help to contextualize what would otherwise look bizarre or extreme. But they fail if singled out to comprehend Jesus solely within these set limitations. They supply the colours rather than the details. Jesus participated in them but he is not exhausted by them. In what is remembered about him, he transcends all these categories by being either less or more. He is not comprehensible without the messianic titles provided by Scripture-inspired tradition and the eschatological expectations connected to them, but the given traditions do not easily function as prooftexts for his ministry.

In the future, retrospectively, this might become the major theological achievement of the third quest (even if its contribution to theology is sometimes unwittingly given), when the results of the quest will be clearly visible: all attempts to narrow down Jesus into one particular tradition simply failed to convince. The more determinedly its proponents attempted this, the more convincing is the negative result. The zealous one-sidedness of some Jesus scholars to promote their understanding of Jesus serves the discipline well, because it allows for those who are historically inter-

ested in the real Jesus (and not only in his historical shadow[89]) to see him even better as the biblical Son of God. What was for Kähler a negative result, namely that the Jewish contexts are unable to fill all the gaps left by the evangelists, can now be acknowledged in a positive sense. It is indeed essential that the person Jesus of Nazareth is to be understood within the Jewish traditions of his time, but at the same time it is equally true that he cannot be fully captured by any or even all of these traditions. As a result the historically informed judgement can be made that Jesus Christ the Lord who is known and venerated by the Christian communities from the beginning is a likely and plausible recollection of the person Jesus of Nazareth within a biblical horizon. The historical Jesus and the historic, biblical Jesus can be differentiated but are not different. That the available testimonies about Jesus were almost completely given by those who believed in him did not, after all that we know about Second Temple Judaism and its traditions, distort the image of Jesus in a way that he would no longer be recognizable as a first century Jew from Galilee.[90] The somewhat dated enlightenment mission of rescuing the historical Jesus from the dogmatic, faith-bound distortions of the Church is no longer promising new results but turns out rather repetitive. Similarly repetitive are the attempts to separate the story from history and to be content with a meaningful narrative about Jesus. The future quest needs to think through what it means

89 I understand Meier's statement according to which the "historical Jesus" is only a "modern abstraction" that does not cover the "full reality of Jesus of Nazareth" (see above n. 6) in this way. Meier obviously presupposes a 'deeper' reality of what Jesus was than one which can be addressed by the "scientific tools of modern historical research". This reality behind the purely historical Jesus is only accessible through faith-based propositions. Nevertheless, these transempirical assumptions about Jesus are regarded as true. I assume that for Meier, as for most other Christians, the real Jesus is the pre-existent Son of God who became human in the person of Jesus of Nazareth and who is now reunited with his heavenly father. But if this is true (even if this truth can be accessed only by faith) how can it be gated out from a historical enquiry? If the chosen (secular) methodological tools do not allow one to describe the transempirical, what do they describe? A part of Jesus' true reality that leaves room for the undescribable elements of his full reality to be added by those who want to do so?

90 Cf. especially Dunn, "Remembering Jesus" (see n. 10), 207: "We cannot realistically expect to find a Jesus different from the Jesus of the Jesus tradition."

historically and, therefore, for the understanding of history, that in the Jew Jesus of Nazareth God came into this world.

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# Jesus of Galilee: Implications and possibilities

*In Memory of Professor*
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Die Frage nach Jesus und Galiläa ist bereits seit über 150 Jahren Gegenstand einer lebhaften Debatte. Gleichwohl hat sie in letzter Zeit wieder an besonderer Bedeutung gewonnen, zum einen aufgrund intensiver archäologischer Untersuchungen über das Galiläa der römischen Zeit, zum anderen wegen des wiedererwachten Interesses am historischen Jesus. Dieser Aufsatz untersucht drei Aspekte, die in der Diskussion eine Rolle spielen: das kulturelle Ethos Galiläas in hellenistischer Zeit, die sozioökonomischen Bedingungen in dieser Region während der Herrschaft des Antipas und die Gestalt der jüdischen Praxis in Galiläa. Dabei wird versucht, Person und Wirken Jesu innerhalb dessen zu verstehen, was zu diesen Fragen begründet festgehalten werden kann.

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From an early stage in the history of the Jesus movement "Jesus of Nazareth" rather than "Jesus of Galilee" became the established name for its founder. This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that according to the earliest records Jesus' ministry was "to all the synagogues of Galilee" and that on the occasion of his one return to Nazareth, he received less than a hearty welcome home (Mark 1:39; 6:1–6). Somewhat ironically, therefore, recent discussion of the historical Jesus has shown little interest in Nazareth itself, whereas Galilee as a region has been the centre of considerable attention.[1] Regional study of Galilee did not arise initially from the renewed quest for the historical Jesus, however. Indeed the beginnings of this latter project – the so-called third wave in the 19th century quest – showed little interest in differentiating between the various regions of Pal-

1 Cf. most recently, the discussion by M. Hengel and A.M. Schwemer, *Jesus und das Judentum*, vol. 1 of *Geschichte des frühen Christentums* (Tübingen 2007) 273–296 and 343–350.

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estine, and were slow to engage with the results of the archaeological data emerging from surveys and excavations of the region.

My own initial interest in the study of Galilee was prompted by the issue of Hellenisation's impact in Galilee in the light of Martin Hengel's monumental study, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (1973). The epithet "Galilee of the Gentiles" had become a bye-word in scholarly accounts of the region and this had serious consequences for the way in which Jesus and his ministry were understood, as we shall see. The earliest archaeological work there was mainly engaged with the question of the origins of Israel, with only passing interest in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. However, Galilee's role, as home to the emerging rabbinic movement from the second century CE, sparked interest in the history and development of the synagogue, not just as an institution but also as an architectural expression of Jewish worship, now that the temple no longer functioned. Gradually, the picture began to change as the literary accounts were confronted by new and different evidence emanating from various sites in both upper and lower Galilee.[2]

In this article I propose to begin by discussing aspects of previous scholarship dealing with the issue of Jesus and Galilee, pointing to the various biases that were at work. This exercise will provide a point of reference for my own understanding of the evidence and act as a warning with regard to the latent biases that can be present. If the quest for the historical Jesus is fraught with hermeneutical pitfalls, the same is equally true of the search for the historical Galilee of the Roman period.

## I. Locating Jesus in Galilee: Some Interpretative Pitfalls

In a series of insightful articles, the Norwegian N.T. scholar Halvor Moxnes has analysed the ways in which the "Galilee and Jesus" question has played itself out over the different phases of the Quest for the Historical Jesus. While the issues are framed differently over the century and a half, it is still possible to discern traces of the dominant ideologies and intellectual interests of different periods in both the manner of posing the question and in the solutions that have been offered.[3] Thus, e. g. a focus on the con-

2 For a brief history of archaeological exploration in Galilee, cf. S. Freyne, "Galilee, Jesus and the Contribution of Archaeology", *ET* 119 (2008) 573–581.

3 H. Moxnes, "The Historical Jesus: From Master Narrative to Cultural Context", *BTB* 28 (1999) 135–149; id., "The Construction of Galilee as Place for the Historical Jesus", *BTB* 31 (2001) 26–37 and 64–77.

nection between land, people and nation – a recurring issue of 19th century Europe's preoccupation with the nation state – lead, in the writing of Friedrich Schleiermacher, to a construal of Galilee as an integral part of the Jewish land, and its people as constituting the Hebrew nation. David Friedrich Strauss on the other hand presents Galilee as different from and in opposition to Judea, the former representing freedom from political and religious domination and the latter in thrall to Roman power and the bastion of conservative orthodoxy in religious matters. Such a construal reflected Strauss' own positions within liberal German Protestantism and his opposition to state bureaucracy in the true spirit of the Reformation ideals. His influence on the ways that both Galilee and Jesus are understood continues to have an enduring appeal to the present day, as we shall see.

The French scholar Ernst Renan, who was greatly influenced by Strauss' writing on the historical Jesus, developed further this contrast between Galilee and Jerusalem/Judea. His depiction of the Galilean landscape was highly romantic, yet deeply flawed. Relying on contemporary ideas of a causal connection between natural environment and human characteristics, his idyllic picture of Galilee and Galileans is used to establish a sharp contrast between them and their Judean neighbours. Galilee is for him, like a "fifth gospel, torn but still legible" – a unique land for a unique figure. He describes the contrast as follows:

"A complete absence of love of nature, bordering on something dry, narrow and ferocious, has stamped all the works of Jerusalem with a degree of grandeur, though sad, arid and repulsive. […] The north alone made Christianity. Jerusalem on the contrary is the true home of that obstinate Judaism, which, founded by the Pharisees and fixed by the Talmud has traversed the middle ages and come down to us."

On the other hand Galilee and Galileans were more free and unencumbered:

"A beautiful external nature tended to produce a much less austere spirit […] which imprinted a charming and idyllic character on all the dreams of Galilee […] Galilee on the contrary [to Judea] was a very green, shady, smiling district […]. During the two months of March and April the country forms a carpet of flowers of an incomparable variety of colours […] In no country in the world do the mountains spread themselves out with more harmony or inspire higher thoughts. Jesus seems to have a peculiar love for them. […] It was there that he was most inspired, it was there that he held secret communion with the ancient prophets, and it was there that his disciples witnessed his transfiguration."[4]

4 E. Renan, *The Life of Jesus* (trans. C.E. Wilbour; New York 1991) 56f.

As Susannah Heschel explains, Renan's Jesus, though Jewish originally, had been able to transcend Judaism's narrow confines. "After visiting Jerusalem Jesus was no longer a Jew", he declares.[5] In an earlier work Renan had claimed that Jesus was the first to recognise that the Semitic race represented an inferior representation of human nature to that of the Indo-Europeans/Aryans.[6] This latter term had received a currency in German discussions prior to Renan as a fairly generalised description of the non-Semitic peoples who were deemed to have achieved a higher degree of intellectual and religious understanding, as manifested in their linguistic and mythological sophistication.[7] Ideas of race were not as yet based on immutable characteristics such as blood lines, so that Jesus' transcending his Semitic/Jewish origins, thanks to his Galilean experiences, was indicative of the superiority of the religion which he initiated – a monotheism that was less rigid and more mythological than that of the Jews and Muslims. Galilee was already a mixture of different peoples and its linguistic/religious expressions were more varied, thereby giving rise to a richer admixture in accordance with Darwinian biological theory of natural selection.

These samples from the 19th century show just how fraught with ideological biases the efforts to locate Jesus in Galilee could become. While they are drawn from the maelstrom of Europe's enlightenment concerns and the impact of its emerging political system, religious concerns of a more sober kind could also colour the accounts. Two examples come to mind, one from a Scottish Presbyterian of a rather evangelical disposition, the historical geographer, George Adam Smith, and the other, the historian of Israelite religion, Albrecht Alt, a German Lutheran of deep evangelical piety. Smith's geography of the Holy Land went through 25 editions between 1894 and 1931 and Alt's series of articles on Galilee and its neighbours were originally published between 1931 and 1949.[8]

Smith shares Renan's romantic views of the Galilean landscape, but he is also concerned with the ways in which the geography of Galilee was likely to have shaped the lives of the inhabitants. He differs, however, from the romantics in declaring his interest in discerning "between what physical

5 Renan, *Life* (see n. 4), 124.
6 S. Heschel, *The Aryan Jesus. Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany* (Princeton 2008) 33–38.
7 Heschel, *Aryan Jesus* (see n. 6), 31f.
8 G.A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (4th ed.; London 1896); A. Alt, "Die Stätten des Wirkens Jesu in Galiläa territorialgeschichtlich betrachtet" (1949), in id., *Kleine Schriften der Geschichte Israels,* 3 vols. (Munich 1953–64) 2.436–455.

nature contributed to the religious development of Israel and what was the product of purely moral and religious forces". The scope of his geography was much broader than that of the Galilee of Jesus' day, yet, as Moxnes points out, his Christian faith was clearly a major motivating factor for his study:

> "For our faith in the Incarnation, a study of the historical geography of Palestine is a necessary discipline. Besides helping us to realise the long preparation of history, Jewish and Gentile, for the coming of the Son of God, a vision of the soil and climate in which He grew and laboured in is the only means of enforcing the reality of his Manhood."[9]

In describing Galilee, Smith shares the view that the differing landscapes of Galilee and Judea mirror the character of the inhabitants. Thus the sharp contrast between Galileans and Judeans, familiar from Strauss and Renan is retained, drawing on Josephus' description of the Galileans' temperament as being volatile, manly and ready for novelty (Jos., B.J. 3.40). However, he also recognises the possibilities and challenges that the differing landscapes and the surrounding regions had to offer. Moxnes highlights e.g. the importance in Smith's view of the road system for understanding the broader influences on Galilee. Even Nazareth was close to the network of roads that linked the Mediterranean coast and the interior Decapolis region, he claims. It was, therefore, not immune from the temptations that the Greek world had to offer. Yet Jesus did not succumb to any of these: "The chief lesson that Nazareth teaches is the possibility of a pure home, and a spotless youth in the very face of the evil world."[10] Likewise, journeys to the north and in the lake-district confronted Jesus with other forms of temptation that come from the human environment, namely Roman Imperial power as reflected in the temple of Augustus at Banias, and the lure of the luxurious life over against that of the simple life of the chosen fishermen. In each case Jesus resists the temptation, opting for God rather than Caesar and poverty rather than opulence. Thus, unlike Renan, Smith in his construal of the "moral geography" of Galilee is guided by human activity rather than natural environment alone in interpreting Jesus' response to his world.

Albrecht Alt's treatment of Jesus in Galilee comes in a 1949 essay that follows on from a series of articles dealing with the territorial/administra-

9 H. Moxnes, "George Adam Smith and the Historical Geography of Galilee", in *A Wandering Galilean: Essays in Honour of Sean Freyne* (ed. Z. Rodgers, M. Daly-Denton and A. McKinley Fitzpatrick; Leiden 2009) 237–257, here 240.

10 Smith, *Historical Geography* (see n. 8), 434f, cited by Moxnes, "George Adam Smith" (see. n. 9), 248.

tive history of the region from the Persian to the Roman periods. Even though Alt was writing about Galilee in the Nazi period, he did not succumb to the temptations of other German scholars, including his own teacher Gerhard Kittel, of engaging in the de-Judaisation of Jesus and the Hellenisation of Galilee that was quite a feature of the period, most notably in the work of the Jena professor of New Testament, Walter Grundmann. This latter had published his *Jesus der Galiläer* in 1940, in which he argued that with great probability Jesus was not a Jew, because Galilee "heidnisch war". This conclusion was based on a long history of German scholarship, emanating from Strauss as we have seen, which claimed that the population of Galilee was heathen on the basis of the LXX translation גליל הגוים in Isa 8,23 as Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν.[11] As an Old Testament specialist, Alt was not part of this tradition, and he had written an earlier article on the Isaian text, claiming that it referred, not to the relatively small territory that was later identified as political Galilee, but to the surrounding gentile nations who would share in the redemption to come, which the oracle of salvation promised.[12] Furthermore, in his series of articles on Galilean problems he had argued for the continued presence of an Israelite population in Galilee after the Assyrian invasion of the 8th century, when, he claims, only the upper, ruling class was deported by Tiglathpilessar III. Unlike the conquest of Samaria some 10 years later by his successor, Sargon II, Alt noted that there had been no mention in the sources of the introduction of an Assyrian ruling elite into Galilee. When eventually the Hasmoneans established an independent Jewish state in the 2nd century BCE, the north entered it freely and became an integral part of the enlarged and autonomous Jewish territory.[13] We shall discuss this account of Galilee's history later, but for now it helps to explain Alt's very different position with regard to the cultural/religious affiliations of Galilee in Jesus' day.

In a later article Alt wrote about the places in Galilee that Jesus visited during his public ministry from the perspective of *Territorialgeschichte*, that is, taking account of the local administrative patterns in the region

11 E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (trans. and ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Black; 4. vols.; Edinburgh 1973–87) 2.7–10; W. Bauer, "Jesus der Galiläer", in *Festschrift für Adolf Jülicher* (Tübingen 1927) 15–34; G. Bertram, "Der Hellenismus in der Urheimat des Evangeliums", *ARW* 32 (1935) 265–281; W. Grundmann, *Jesus der Galiläer und das Judentum* (Leipzig 1940).

12 A. Alt, "Jesaja 8,23–9,6. Befreiungsnacht und Krönungstag", in id., *Kleine Schriften der Geschichte Israels* (3 vols. Munich 1953–64) 2.206–225.

13 A. Alt, "Galiläische Probleme, 1937–40", in id., *Kleine Schriften der Geschichte Israels* (3 vols. Munich 1953–64) 2.263–435, esp. 407–423.

and the impact they were likely to have made on the lives of the inhabitants of the different toparchic sub-regions within Galilee. This structure, whereby some five central places functioned as administrative centres for different clusters of villages in Galilee dates back to the Hasmonean conquest of the north at least, and is known to Pliny in the Roman period. It points to the fact that the Jewish territory was mainly rural and that the Hellenistic *polis* style of administration was not imposed there until much later.[14] Thus, in contrast to Smith, Alt is much more concerned with the impact of human historical interventions on the lives of the inhabitants than with that of the natural environment, familiar though he is with its details. Indeed, the only occasion in which he would seem to deviate from this approach is in his discussion of Nazareth's possible relationship with Sepphoris, where he suggests that from a landscape perspective the two places are not so closely connected as is assumed on the basis of their proximity alone. This issue is of continuing importance for the construal of Jesus' life, as recent discussions about his possible visits to Sepphoris indicates. In Alt's view, the fact that Nazareth belonged to the toparchy of Legio, in the Plain of Esdraelon, rather than to that of Sepphoris, meant that it lay somewhat remote from its administrative centre and so it was possible, as he puts it, "to continue undisturbed with its remote, rural life".[15] One can find echoes here of the more romantic view of Galilean village life that we have already encountered in Renan and Smith. Yet, Alt does not press this point, noting that borders are determined by historical rather than natural factors. He points out that the nearest village to Nazareth, less than 3 Kms. away on the same ridge, is the village of Japha, known to us for its strong resistance to the Romans in the first revolt, according to Josephus.

In the light of more recent studies of Galilee, Alt's discussion of the significance of the Lake-district for Jesus is quite prescient. It is there that the old Israelite way of life which, he claimed, had continued over the centuries, was most under threat, and this provides a context for Jesus' seeming concentration on the area. The impact of the Hellenisation process can be more easily discerned in this region also, as e. g. in the fact that in founding Tiberias in 19 CE Antipas compelled inhabitants from every quarter to come and live in the new settlement, ignoring Jewish concerns about respect for burial grounds (Jos., Ant. 18.36–38). Yet Tarichaeae/Magdala

14 M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab Conquests (536 B.C. – A.D. 640): A Historical Geography* (Grand Rapids 1966) 34 and 95–97.

15 Alt, "Die Stätten" (see n. 8), 444.

nearby was an older foundation that functioned not just as a toparchic capital, but also as the centre of a thriving fish industry. The very fact that the older Semitic name Migdal Nunieh (Fish Tower), forms of which are retained in various gospel references, was already in the second century BCE rendered in Greek as Tarichaea, referring to the salting of fish, is a clear indication of the cultural as well as the ethnic mix that the place represented, possibly even prior to the Hasmonean expansion.[16] Thus, for Alt, the parlous situation of the older way of life in this region, which may even have touched villages such as Capernaum and Corazin, explains why Jesus moved the centre of his operations from the interior to this "border" region. This concern would have applied equally to his movements beyond the Jordan and to the north.

Alt's work represents an important milestone in terms of laying the foundations for the modern study of Galilee, especially when compared with the blatant biases of the earlier studies. His intimate knowledge both of the natural and historical geography of the region, combined with an awareness of the impact of different periods on the cultural and social life of the region is impressive. From the perspective of our more detailed archaeological data, which has been accumulated over the past decades, he can be seen to have over-emphasised the continuities rather than the changes that occurred. Yet there can be little doubt that in terms of a "Jesus in Galilee" project, the longer historical view and the awareness of Galilee's importance for issues other than that of the historical Jesus brought an objectivity of approach to his treatment that compares very favourably with what had previously been the case. Thus he lays down an important marker for our own construal, namely, that the reconstruction of the Galilean social and cultural world and the locating of Jesus in Galilee are two separate, though overlapping scholarly enterprises. They call for both a critical hermeneutic of awareness and suspicion, if the mistakes of the past are not to reoccur.

## II. Jesus in Galilee: Returning after John's Arrest

Each of the Synoptic Gospels has a distinctive nuance in their description of the beginning of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, but they all agree that he was returning to the region in the wake of John's arrest, thereby suggesting

16 Alt, "Die Stätten" (see n. 8), 449–451; K.C. Hanson, "The Galilean Fishing Economy and the Jesus Tradition", *BTB* 27 (1997) 99–111.

that, though originally from Galilee, he had spent some time elsewhere and was likely to have come under different influences (Mark 1:14f; Matt 4:12; Luke 4:14). By contrast, the author of the Fourth Gospel does not highlight the Galilean aspect of Jesus' ministry in the narrative, since his main focus is on Jerusalem/Judea, and he highlights the connection with John the Baptist to the south, much more than the Synoptic authors. This presentation should alert us to the fact that, though raised in Galilee, Jesus' relationship with his homeland should not be construed as one of undifferentiated affirmation of the Galilean ethos in which he was reared. Whatever the hometown influences of his upbringing in Nazareth may have been, it is quite obvious that on his return there he was deemed by both family and neighbours to be an errant son, whose wisdom and behaviour was not consonant with the familial and village values that a son might be expected to uphold (cf. Mark 3:21, 31–34; 6:1–6).[17] His return to the region, therefore, was not a homecoming but a mission with a prophetic and urgent message for his fellow Galileans.

Our question, therefore, becomes: what were the conditions in Galilee that Jesus was likely to have encountered on his return there, and how might these have contributed to the shape that his ministry was to take? Three issues seem to have repeatedly emerged in the previous discussion, though they were answered in very different ways, as we have seen. Similar topics continue to dominate contemporary Galilean studies, despite some changes in their formulation over the years. They are: 1) the extent to which Galilee was influenced by the Hellenistic ethos of the eastern Mediterranean, giving rise to a mixed population; 2) the economic and social conditions that prevailed for different strata of the population, especially in the reign of Antipas, coinciding as it did with Jesus' ministry; 3) the nature of Galilee-Jerusalem relations in religious matters, so that it could be deemed appropriate or otherwise to speak of a Galilean Judaism that was substantially distinct from that in Judea.

## 1. Hellenisation in Galilee: Syncretism or Selection?

The impact of Hellenisation on Jewish belief and practice has in the past been discussed mostly in terms of two opposing and implacable forces, *Hellenismos* and *Ioudaismos,* based on the highly apologetic accounts of 1 and 2 Macc. However, following the studies of Bickerman, Hengel, Gruen, Collins and Levine, there has been a major shift in perspective

17 R.F. Talbott, "Nazareth's Rebellious Son: Deviance and Downward Mobility in the Galilean Jesus Movement", *BTB* 38 (2008) 99–113.

among scholars.[18] Archaeology also has played its part in changing the picture. It is now generally recognised that the serious attempt to transform the Jerusalem cult centre into a shrine of Zeus, the head of the Greek pantheon, by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the mid-2nd century BCE, was a brief interlude. Like other indigenous peoples of the Near East, the Jews were able to accommodate their own unique beliefs and practices to the new and emerging *Zeitgeist*, while also benefiting from the advantages that this new world-order brought to the eastern Mediterranean. The accommodations that took place varied from period to period and from place to place. The decline of both the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, the dynasties that were built on Alexander's legacy in Egypt and Syria respectively, meant that indigenous peoples, like the Judeans, the Nabateans and the Itureans were able to reclaim ethnic independence, and continue to function as client kingdoms, even under Roman imperial rule.

That is not to suggest that the arrival of the Greeks in the east had no impact on the overall culture of the region. In an important article dealing with the Hellenisation of the Phoenician cities, ancient historian Fergus Millar has pointed out that because of their extensive sea-faring exploits in the Mediterranean the Phoenicians had a long acquaintance with the Greek world, prior to Alexander's campaigns in the East. This meant that cultural change associated with the process of Hellenisation was one of translation rather than wholesale change.[19] Greek became the *lingua franca* of trade and commerce from the third century BCE, with inevitable consequences for the interior Galilean region also, bringing Greek technical expertise in fishing, pottery making and other local industries. The native gods were often given an equivalent Greek name, but without changing their basic character. Thus, Melqart, the city god of Tyre is renamed Herakles, the Greek hero who was also celebrated as the founder of cities. Similarly, Eshmun who had a healing sanctuary in Sidon becomes Asklepius, the Greek god of healing, and he has a consort, Astarte, also

18 E. Bickermann, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge 1988); M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus. Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts vor Christus* (WUNT 12; Tübingen 1973); E. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism. The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley 1998); J.J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem. Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (New York 1983); L. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity. Conflict or Confluence?* (Peabody, MA 1998).

19 F. Millar, "The Phoenician Cities: A Case Study of Hellenisation", *Proceedings of Cambridge Philological Society* 209 (1983) 57–71.

celebrated as "a goddess who listens".[20] The ancient city of Betshean in the Jordon valley received a new name, Scythopolis, possibly referring to the presence of a Scythian military colony in this important gateway city to the east. The added designation to its coins of Nysa is a clear allusion to its association with the wine god Dionysus, as an *Interpretatio Graeca* of the old Semitic wine god. In a later inscription Dionysus is described as the "founder" of the city. His close companion in the Hellenistic age, the god of flora and fauna and the patron of outdoor life, Pan, had a sanctuary in the foothills of Mount Hermon, as the Greek name Paneion/Banias indicates.[21] Thus Galilee was indeed encircled (as the actual name suggests) with evident signs of Greek culture during the Hellenistic age. Little wonder that the militantly nationalist author of 1 Macc can allude to the Isaian description of the region in depicting the beleaguered situation of some pious Jews in the Galilee on the eve of the Maccabean revolt. Significantly, however, he replaces the more neutral ἐθνῶν by the – from a Judean perspective – more negative ἀλλοφύλων/heathen to designate "the nations round about" (1 Macc 5:15; Isa 8:23).[22]

Yet that is by no means the whole story and archaeology has helped considerably to fill in, and in some instances correct, the rather partisan accounts of the literary sources. For centuries Galilee had served as a supplier of wheat, wine and oil to the city of Tyre, whose original territory was quite limited. This relationship was to continue into the Roman period and would explain the prevalence of Tyrian coinage at sites in both upper and lower Galilee, and the use of the Tyrian half sheqel as "the coin of the sanctuary" despite its bearing the image of Tyre's city god, Melqart/Herakles. An incident reported in 2 Macc 4:18–20 is indicative of Jewish ambivalence in this regard. On the occasion of the quadrennial games at Tyre, Jason, the leader of the pro-Hellenistic party who had occupied the position of high-priest briefly and had established a Greek-style gymnasium in Jerusalem, sent a delegation, described as "the Antiochian

20 S. Freyne, "Galileans, Phoenicians, Itureans. A Study of Regional Contrasts in the Hellenistic Age", in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel* (ed. J.J. Collins and G. Sterling; Notre Dame 2001) 184–217, esp. 184–188.

21 S. Freyne, "Dionysos and Herakles in Galilee: The Sepphoris Mosaic in Context", in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine. Old Questions, New Approaches* (ed. D.R. Edwards; London and New York 2004) 56–69; id. "Jesus the Wine Drinker, Friend of Women", in id., *Galilee and Gospel, Collected Essays* (WUNT 125; Tübingen 2000) 271–286.

22 M. Karrer, "Licht über dem Galiläa der Völker: Die Fortschreibung von Jes 9,1–2 in der LXX", in *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee* (ed. J. Zangenberg, H. Attridge and D. Martin; WUNT 210; Tübingen 2007) 33–54.

citizens from Jerusalem", with an offering of 300 silver drachmas to honour the patron god of the games, Herakles. However, on arrival in Tyre the delegation decided that such use of the money was inappropriate and allowed it to be used instead for the building of triremes, thus boosting Tyrian sea-power. Religious belief, Greek culture and economic realities all intermingle in this incident, and it is noteworthy that despite the way in which the delegation is given a decidedly Greek profile, they demurred at appearing to worship the pagan god. In all probability this attitude is indicative of the relationships that continued to prevail into the first century CE. Even those who might have benefited from the new possibilities of the Greek world and were prepared to participate drew the line when it came to worshipping a god other than Yahweh.

The gradual emergence of the Hasmonean state during the late second and early first centuries BCE did not involve turning the clock back with regard to the on-going process of Hellenisation. On the one hand the Judean expansion to the north involved Greek military strategy and even the use of foreign mercenaries, yet it was aimed at reclaiming "ancestral lands" according to the author of 1 Macc 15:33. Archaeology can fill out the story further in terms of the disappearance at this time of sites such as the important Persian/Greek cultic site, Har Mispey Yamim, as well as other lesser settlements in Galilee where the evidence from pottery remains would point to a non-Jewish population previously.[23] At the same time other new sites began to appear, which, on the basis of various identity markers are assumed to be Judean settlements, the result of immigration from the south. According to several surveys conducted in the region as a whole the number of these sites increased exponentially during the Roman period.[24] While surface surveys alone can be unreliable, wherever detailed excavations have taken place a consistent pattern seems to be emerging with regard to the presence of stone vessels, oil lamps and household pottery similar to those found in Jerusalem/Judea. In addition, the presence of stepped pools, usually identified as *miqva'oth* or ritual baths at various village sites and in domestic settings, as well as the distinctive modes of burial common in Judea, all point to the fact that these settlers were of Judean

23 S. Freyne, "Galilean Studies: Old Issues and New Questions", in *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee* (ed. J. Zangenberg, H. Attridge and D. Martin; WUNT 210; Tübingen 2007) 33–52, esp. 15–20.

24 M. Aviam, "Distribution Maps of Archaeological Data from the Galilee: An Attempt to Establish Zones Indicative of Ethnicity and Religious Affiliation", in *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee* (ed. J. Zangenberg, H. Attridge and D. Martin; WUNT 210; Tübingen 2007) 115–132.

origin.[25] Despite their new situation, however, these recent arrivals into Galilee seem to have availed of the possibilities that their environment had to offer, opportunities that involved benefiting from the natural resources of Galilee's soil, water and climate, and finding ways to export their produce to other regions, such as Tyre, the Dekapolis and Judea also. In a word they availed of the increased opportunities that Hellenisation offered, while still remaining staunchly loyal to their Judean roots, even if this meant that some at least of the population may have acquired some facility in the Greek language in addition to the older Aramaic which had held sway since Persian times.

It could be argued that the Herodian period saw an even more intensified process of Hellenisation, in that Roman imperial aspirations took on a decidedly Greek colouring in architecture, artistic representation and other aspects of the luxurious life-style: "Captured Greece, conquered the arms of its capturers" was the way that one Roman poet described the fascination with Greek culture among Roman elites. When one compares the ways in which the Hasmonean and the Herodian elites in Palestine embraced aspects of the Greek way of life, it can be said that while the former "acted Greek without becoming Greek", as the issue has been pithily described, the latter embraces it with enthusiasm and alacrity.[26] It must be remembered that the Herodians were client kings of Rome, and were therefore more likely to follow the trends that were set at the centre. Yet Herod was indeed a convinced Hellene as his architectural legacy as well as other aspects of his rule make clear. A trend in recent scholarly portraits of this enigmatic character is to suggest that his concerns for his Jewish subjects were real, so much so in fact that he may even have seen himself as a Solomonic figure because of his desire to rebuild the Jerusalem temple on a grander scale than before (cf. Jos., Ant. 15.385). While this portrayal may owe more to Josephan rhetoric than to historical fact, what is certain is that the three temples built by Herod in honour of Roma and Augustus were located outside recognised Jewish territory, namely, at the two Caesareas (Maritima and Philippi) and Sebaste/Samaria. Thereby any direct offence

25 J. Reed, "The Identity of the Galileans: Ethnic and Religious Considerations", in id., *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg, PA 2000) 23–61; D. Adan Bayewitz, "Preferential Distribution of Lamps from the Jerusalem Area in the Late Second Temple Period (Late First Century b.c.e.–70 c.e.)", *BASOR* 350 (2008) 37–85.

26 B. McGing, "Hellenism, Judaism and the Hasmoneans", *Simbolos: Scritti di Storia Antica* 1 (1995) 57–74.

to Jewish sensitivities was avoided.[27] It was only with the advent of his son Antipas as tetrarch of Galilee that direct Herodian influence on the region can be discerned from the archaeological record. Given Antipas' personality and his marital difficulties, giving rise to war with the Nabateans, there was no aggressive attempt to further Hellenise/Romanise the region, even though we do meet a new group, the Herodians of the gospels (Mark 3:6; 12:3), who presumably would have subscribed to the values and ethos of the Herodian court.

Jesus' ministry in Galilee coincided with the reign of Antipas, yet curiously, the tetrarch is only a vague figure in the background of the ministry as reported in the gospels. This is all the more surprising in view of the preemptive strike against John the Baptist as a potential troublemaker because of his espousal of justice for all, as Josephus reports (Jos., Ant. 18.116–119). How is this virtual silence to be explained? Was it a question of Jesus deliberately avoiding Antipas and his court, to the point that the Tetrarch was confused as to his identity, thinking of him as John *redivivus* (Mark 6:14–16)? Certainly, Jesus' encomium of his own mentor, reported in an early Q passage, suggests that he is much more impressed by John's ascetic lifestyle that with those who are 'dressed in fine garments and dwell in royal palaces' (QLuke 7:24–27/Matt 11:7–10). This allusion could plausibly be seen as an oblique reference to Antipas and his royal residence in Tiberias, which was founded in 19 CE when Jesus was a young adult. It is noteworthy that it is only Luke, with his special interest in the Herodians, who has Antipas meeting Jesus directly (Luke 23:6–12), and then the encounter has no significance, other than to portray Antipas as ineffectual and dilettantish. As a new foundation, Tiberias would appear to have had a more Hellenised ethos, at least on the basis of Josephus' description of the royal palace there, decorated with animal representations and imported Greek-style furnishing, which was plundered by local fanatics in 66 CE (Jos., Vita 65–68). Furthermore, it could boast a στάδιον for Greek athletic games and presumably also γυμνάσια since we also hear that Justus, one of the chief citizens and an implacable enemy of Josephus, was not ignorant of Greek παιδεία and was a skilled rhetorician (Jos., Vita 40).[28]

The suggestion that Jesus visited Sepphoris and participated in the displays of Greco-Roman culture that might have been performed in the the-

27 S. Rocca, *Herod's Judea. A Mediterranean State in the Classical World* (TSAJ 122; Tübingen 2008) 36–52; M. Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus* (SNTSMS 134; Cambridge 2005) 71–99.

28 M. Hørning Jensen, *Herod Antipas in Galile* (WUNT 215; Tübingen 2006) 135–147.

atre there, has won little support among modern scholars.[29] Apart from his apparently principled avoidance of Herodian centres, such an assumption would entail his knowing Greek to some extent at least, a supposition that is by no means certain. Mark Chancey has investigated thoroughly all the indications for use of Greek in Galilee and has concluded that for the first century CE the evidence is meagre indeed. For the early part of that century, the life-time of Jesus, a lead weight inscription with the designation ἀγοράνομος (market manager) and the legend on Antipas' coins is all that there is of Greek inscriptions produced in Galilee. Neither item can give a true indication as to what if any knowledge of Greek a Galilean villager might have had.[30] Those who take a maximalist position on this issue of the widespread use of Greek in Galilee are drawing inappropriately on much later evidence when we know that the linguistic habits of the region differed considerably from those of the first century and the practice of epigraphy had become widespread.[31]

In assessing the extent to which Jesus might have encountered aspects of Greek culture during his public ministry in Galilee it is important to note that he is never said to have visited either of the two Herodian centres.[32] In describing his visits to the "surrounding regions of Galilee" Mark, the earliest evangelist, pays careful attention to the geographic and administrative situation that obtained there. Thus we hear of his journeying to the "borders" of Tyre, "the villages" of Caesarea Philippi, "the territory" of the Gadarenes, and "the borders" of the Dekapolis. Yet he is never said to have entered any of the actual cities where Greek language and culture were undoubtedly more dominant than in the adjacent countryside. It is on the borders of Tyre that Jesus meets the woman, Syro-Phoenican by birth, whom Mark also describes as Ἑλληνίς, that is, culturally a Greek woman (Mark 7:24–29). This double designation is highly significant in the light of our earlier discussion of Tyre. The woman retains her ethnic identity, while at the same time she participates in the larger cultur-

29 Cf. R. Batey, *Jesus and the Forgotten City. New Light on Sepphoris and the Urban World of Jesus* (Grand Rapids 1991).

30 Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture* (see n. 27), 122–165; id. "The Epigraphic Habit of Hellenistic and Roman Galilee", in *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee* (ed. J. Zangenberg, H. Attridge and D. Martin; WUNT 210; Tübingen 2007) 83–98.

31 Cf. e. g. B. Mack, *The Lost Gospel. The Book of Q and Christian Origins* (New York 1993) 51–68.

32 S. Freyne, "Jesus and the Urban Culture of Galilee", in id., *Galilee and Gospel, Collected Essays* (WUNT 125; Tübingen 2000) 183–207.

al ethos.[33] The story highlights the reluctance of the Judean prophet/healer to transgress the ethnic boundaries until the woman persuades him on the basis that they both belonged potentially at the same table, albeit with different ascribed roles. Most commentators see this story as a later creation to do with the beginnings of the mission to the gentiles. Yet this judgement overlooks the realistic character of both the situation and the actors in the context of our knowledge of Tyre/Galilee relations and ethnic tensions previously discussed. Far from depicting Jesus as reflecting an open and universalistic outlook, he is presented as supporting a thoroughly ethno-centric point of view. On the basis of his stated position regarding gentiles his journeys to these outlying regions were not for the purpose of opening up his mission but rather to gathering the "lost sheep of the house of Israel", many of whom were living in villages that were now situated within the territories of these pagan cities, as we learn from the archaeological surveys and other ethnic indicators.[34] It is the woman who has the universal outlook, as befits a true Hellene, and it is she who is able to cross the prevailing boundaries, ethnic, religious and gender, that separate the two characters.

This sketch of the Hellenistic influences in Galilee of Jesus' day presents us with a very different picture to that suggested by Renan and others interested in the de-Judaising of Jesus by suggesting a Hellenised Galilee. Likewise, more recent efforts to describe Galilee as home to the Cynics, leading to a claim that this popular philosophy and life-style had made a deep impression on the Jesus movement, may be judged to be a modern version of the older tendency to see Galilee as thoroughly Hellenised and a suitable home for a non-Jewish Jesus.[35] Nor is there any archaeological evidence for a mixture of different ethnicities through inter-marriage or the like, evidence on which the notion of a superior race had been posited. The Roman geographer, Strabo, had indeed spoken of "mixed tribes of Egyptians, Arabians and Phoenicians inhabiting Galilee, Jericho, Philadelphia and Samaria" (Geogr. 16.2.34), and it may well be that this ancient reference served Renan's picture of a mixture of races inhabiting Galilee. What

33 G. Theissen, *The Gospels in Context: Social and Political History in the Synoptic Gospels* (trans. L.M. Maloney; Edinburgh 1991) 61–80; T. Schmeller, "Jesus im Umland Galiläas: zu den Markinischen Berichten vom Aufenthalt Jesu in den Gebieten von Tyros, Caesarea Philippi und der Dekapolis", *BZ* (1994) 44–66.

34 R. Frankel et. al., *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee: Archaeological Survey of Upper Galilee* (IAA Reports 14; Jerusalem 2001) 108–114.

35 J.D. Crossan, *The Historical Jesus. The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (Edinburgh 1991) 72–88; H.D. Betz, "Jesus and the Cynics. Survey and Analysis of a Hypothesis", *JR* 74 (1994) 453–475.

archaeology has shown (as in the case of Har Mispey Yamim e.g), is that traces of these different ancient peoples do indeed appear in the greater Galilee as elsewhere, but that this occurred successively rather than concurrently. The arrival of the Judeans from the mid-second century BCE added another element to the ethnic history of the region. When traces of these begin to appear in the archaeological record it becomes quite clear that they inhabited certain zones within the larger region and were able to maintain a separate identity, while living in proximity to people of different ethnic origins. Interaction in various aspects of every-day life, such as styles of domestic architecture, methods of wine-making, water collection, soil cultivation and the like are visible, yet the way in which ethnic strife could and did easily erupt suggests underlying tensions that could not be easily erased.

## 2. Economy and Society in first-century Galilee

Discussion of Galilean cultures has inevitably raised the issue of economic and social relations in the region. Cultural change in the sense of language, religion, art and architecture and the like, inevitably involves both external and internal factors related to population shifts, arrival of new technologies, different needs and changed communications with the outside world. Well before the first century CE – the primary focus in this paper – many of these factors can be seen to have been operating in Galilee. The changes that occurred in the early Hellenistic period set the pattern for subsequent periods, therefore, including the reign of Antipas. Changes which may have been prompted by outside political factors can in the space of a few generations become indigenised and form an integral part of the native resources for coping with life in a particular region. In a pre-industrial world land was the primary resource, always in high demand and in scarce supply as far as the ruling elites are concerned. The land-owning patterns that were established by the Hellenistic period seem to have undergone little change under subsequent regimes.

While it has become customary to speak in this connection of large estates, it must be admitted that the evidence for these in Galilee proper, as distinct from the Plain of Esdraelon to the south, is quite limited. Undoubtedly, both the Ptolemaic and Seleucid regimes retained some royal estates in the better land for their own benefit and that of their agents, and there is evidence that this pattern continued on into Herodian times. The inference of an increase in absentee landlords and landless serfs during the first century is often based on the assumption that Jesus' parables

reflect the actual rather than the imagined social world of Galilee. These images may indeed have been drawn from first-hand experience, yet they need not have all been drawn from Galilee. Both the literary and archaeological records suggest that at least from the Hasmonean conquest of the north the biblical pattern of private ownership of individual plots of land became the norm, a pattern continued also by Herod, as can be seen from his policy of allotments for his military personnel.[36]

It must be said at the outset that despite intense discussion and study of Galilean social life over the past three decades at least, no broad consensus has thus far been reached. Broadly speaking, two differing views have emerged, the one based on the notion of the ancient city as parasitic on the countryside, and the other claiming that increased urbanisation and growth in population betokens increased prosperity for the population as a whole. The reign of Antipas provides a useful focal point for testing the first scenario, since in a relatively short space of time two urban centres emerged within the heartland of lower Galilee, namely Sepphoris, rebuilt by Antipas after it had been destroyed by the Roman general Varus in 4 BCE, and Tiberias, founded to honour Augustus' successor in 19 CE.[37] These developments took place during Jesus' own lifetime and are likely to have left some impression on the Jesus tradition, even if he avoided such places for principled reasons, as was suggested earlier. The proposal is that both projects were not only an immediate and direct drain on the Galilean economy, giving rise to alienation among the rural peasants, but that they are also symbols of a power system that are typical of aristocratic empires.

Members of the Context Group, which promotes the use of social scientific approaches to the study of the New Testament, have emphasised the need for models in exploring the social systems that were operative in first century Palestine. According to a pyramid-style model, drawn from cross cultural examples, aristocratic empires concentrate all the power in a small ruling elite that is served by a retainer class of artisans, scribes, tax collectors and other officials who are both sufficient and necessary for the maintenance of order. At the base of the pyramid of power

36 For a discussion with differing points of view on land-ownership cf. S. Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian. A Study of Second Temple Judaism* (Wilmington and Notre Dame 1980, Repr. Edinburgh 1998) 156–169; D. Fiensy, *The Social History of Palestine in the Herodian Period: The Land is Mine* (Lewiston, NY and Queenston, ON 1991) 21–74; R.A. Horsley, *Galilee, History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, PA 1995) 207–221.

37 S. Freyne, "Herodian Economics in Galilee: Searching for a Suitable Model", in *Modelling Early Christianity. Social-scientific Studies of the New Testament in its Context* (ed. P.F. Esler; London 1995) 23–46. Reprinted in *Galilee and Gospel* (see n. 21), 86–113.

are the urban poor, slaves and other expendables, with the landed peasantry just above them in this hierarchical network of relationships.[38] In a similar vein Richard Horsley has in various publications consistently placed a strong emphasis on the Roman imperial presence as the dominant social structure that shaped Galilean life by highlighting its demands on subject peoples, demands that led to the "disintegration of the fundamental forms of social life that accompanied these economic burdens".[39] For Horsley, therefore, Jesus should not be thought of as a wandering charismatic healer but as a prophet engaged in a programme of renewal of village life that had come under severe pressure from a politically controlled economy.

Before opting for this apparent consensus in terms of both Galilee's social and economic conditions and Jesus' role there, it is important to consider the alternative claims of other scholars and the evidence that they bring to the discussion. To begin with the respective roles of Sepphoris and Tiberias, it is worth reconsidering the extent to which claims about the former's significance for first-century Galilee are warranted. The fact that the site of Sepphoris could be thoroughly investigated from an archaeological point of view, whereas Tiberias is a modern city, whose ancient remains can only be uncovered in a piece-meal fashion, may well have led to exaggerated claims about the former site. In fact the evidence of first century remains from Tiberias has indeed a decidedly Roman character, something that corresponds to Josephus' description of the place also.[40] Sepphoris was situated close to Nazareth and inevitably this drew the attention of historians to its possible influence on Jesus. Furthermore, its refurbishment under Antipas, described by Josephus as constituting it as "the ornament of all Galilee", gave rise to the temptation of conflating the discoveries from different periods and attributing them all to the first century. Yet, many of the more dramatic discoveries such as the villas with the mosaics, the synagogue and even the theatre (at least in its more expanded form) are to be dated to the second century and later when the name of the place was changed to Diocaesarea and it had a much more important role in the Roman administration of the region, than was the case under Antipas.

The implications of down-grading Sepphoris' role in the reign of Antipas would pose a question mark with regard to its fitting the typology of

38 K.C. Hanson and D.E. Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus, Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (Minneapolis 1998) 63–98 and 161–163.

39 Horsley, *Galilee, History, Politics, People* (see n. 36), 221.

40 Z. Weiss, "Josephus and Archaeology on the Cities of the Galilee", in *Making History. Josephus and Historical Method* (ed. Z. Rodgers; Leiden 2007) 385–414.

'consumer city' as described by Finley.[41] Nevertheless, as a toparchic capital – one of five in Galilee – Sepphoris still had a role to play within the Galilean social and economic systems, where certain larger places operated as both distributive and administrative centres for the surrounding associated villages. Thus, Josephus can declare that Sepphoris could have adopted a more independent stance in the first revolt against Rome had it chosen to do so, "situated in the centre of Galilee and surrounded by many villages" (Jos., Vita 346). On the basis of archaeological evidence emanating from the excavation of various village sites several scholars have argued for an understanding of those systems as being much more integrated than that suggested by the consumer city model. Thus in his important study of Antipas' reign Mørten Jensen has examined the evidence from four recently excavated village sites in lower Galilee/Golan, namely, Jotapata, Gamla, Caphernaum and Khirbet Qana, and claims that there is no evidence of any decline at these sites in the first century.[42] Douglas Edwards, who participated in the excavations at the former site and was, up to his untimely death, the director of the dig at the latter, has been a consistent supporter of the view that in the early Roman period Galilean villages participated in the economic opportunities and dangers inherent in the Mediterranean system. In his opinion "it would be a mistake to assume that the Jesus movement operated in a cultural, political or economic isolation from major urban centres".[43]

The evidence for these claims comes from a more sophisticated approach to our understanding of the Galilean economy. Edwards points to the importance of the road system for the movement of goods and services. In terms of tracing these movements and their significance, pottery has become an important aspect of the material remains. Several villages are known as important centres of local production, Kefar Hanayia on the borders of upper and lower Galilee, and Shikin close to Sepphoris, being the best known, because of the support for their products in the Jewish

41 M. Finley, *The Ancient City* (Berkeley 1973); id. "The Ancient City from Fustel de Coulange to Max Weber", *CSSH* 19 (1981) 305–327.

42 Jensen, *Herod Antipas* (see n. 28), 162–186.

43 D. Edwards, "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos of the Lower Galilee in the First Century: Implications for the Nascent Jesus Movement", in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (ed. L. Levine; New York 1992) 53–74, here 72. Cf. also, id. "Identity and Social Location in Roman Villages", in *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity* (ed. J. Zangenberg, H. Attridge and D. Martin; WUNT 210; Tübingen 2007) 357–374; id. "Walking the Roman Landscape in Lower Galilee: Sepphoris, Jotapata and Khirbet Qana", in *A Wandering Galilean. Essays in Honour of Sean Freyne* (ed. Z. Rodgers, M. Daly-Denton and A. McKinley Fitzpatrick; Leiden 2009) 219–236.

literary sources.[44] The wares from Kefar Hananyia are to be found at both Jewish and non-Jewish sites such as Tel Anafa and Acco/Ptolemaios, suggesting a wide distribution area that was determined more by commercial interests rather than religious or cultural differences. As an example of the competition that these Galilean wares faced, he instances Meiron, a thoroughly Jewish foundation in upper Galilee: Kefar Hananyia ware and imported Eastern Sigillata wares are almost equally represented in the remains at the site. This evidence, allied to the discovery of dove cotes, oil presses, flax growing for weaving, boat making, especially in the Valley region, quarries for stone masonry etc. convince Edwards of the existence of varied and complex market conditions, that cannot be subsumed under the general rubric of a "politically controlled economy".[45]

Yet not everybody is so convinced by the inference of a 'vibrant economic environment' based on this evidence alone. With regard to the pottery, Andrea Berlin, e. g. has shown that a special type, which she describes as Phoenician semi-fine ware that was probably produced in the environs of Tyre, is found at a range of sites in the circumference of Galilee, but never in the interior of Galilee proper.[46] She further claims that imported household wares that in the first century BCE were to be found at Gamla and other Jewish sites, disappear in the first century CE, coinciding with what she describes as a native resistance to Romanisation, associated with the reign of the Herods.[47] In a similar vein the change in patterns of coinage from Tyrian to native Hasmonean, found at a Jotapata in the same timeframe, points to similar dis-engagement from the larger region.[48] Thus, it would seem, the use of archaeological evidence alone to determine the economic realities cannot be decisive. Circumstances vary from place to place and period to period. Generalised ideas about a 'Mediterranean

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**44** D. Adan Bayewitz, *Common Pottery in Roman Galilee. A Study of local Trade* (Ramat-Gan 1993); D. Adan Bayewitz and I. Perlman, "The Local Trade of Sepphoris in the Roman Period", *IEJ* 40 (1990) 153–172; J. Strange, D. Groh and T. Longstaff, "Excavation at Sepphoris: The Location and Identification of Shikin", *IEJ* 44 (1994) 216–227 and 45 (1995) 171–187.

**45** Edwards, "Identity and Social Location" (see n. 43), 366.

**46** A. Berlin, "From Monarchy to Markets: The Phoenicians in Hellenistic Palestine", *BASOR* 306 (1997) 75–88.

**47** A. Berlin, "Romanization and anti-Romanization in pre-Revolt Galilee", in *The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History and Ideology* (ed. A. Berlin and A. Overman; London and New York 2002) 57–73; id. "Jewish Life Before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence", *JSJ* 36 (2005) 417–469; id., *Gamla I. The Pottery of the Second Temple Period* (IAA Reports 29; Jerusalem 2006) esp. 133–155.

**48** D. Adan Bayewitz and M. Aviam, "Iotapata, Josephus and the Siege of 67: Preliminary Report of the 1992–94 Seasons", *JRA* 10 (1997) 131–165.

economy' in which Galilee could participate, need to be tempered by local circumstances, where factors other than commercial do in fact seem to have impacted on trade and commerce, at least to some extent.

Faced with this division of opinion with regard to the economy of Galilee in the first century, it might appear unwise to draw any inference with regard to the nature of Jesus' ministry there. However, it does seem possible to find some middle ground that could prove helpful to the quest. It would be highly unlikely that the immediacy of the Herodian presence, signified by Antipas' building projects, modest though they are in comparison with those of his father elsewhere, did not cause some problems for Galileans. Mark's gospel gives us an insight into the social stratification that occurred with his mention of military officers (χιλιάρχοι), grandees (μεγιστᾶνες) and the leading men of Galilee (οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς Γαλιλαίας) present at the tetrarch's birthday celebrations (Mark 6:21). To this list we might add the Herodians (Mark 3:6; 12:13), who may have been a new land-owning class, and the ubiquitous tax collectors as a reminder of the demands being made on the natives in terms of both a *tributum capitis* and *tributum soli.*

The benefits of 'the peace under Tiberius' of which Tacitus speaks may not have touched everybody in Galilee, as elsewhere, equally. There are definite signs of social stratification in some of the larger villages such as Jotapata, with its Second Pompeian style mosaics and wall paintings on one of the residences, but this is only half the story of the 204 settlements in Galilee, of which Josephus speaks. At the time of the revolt we hear of the residents of the smaller hamlets retreating to places like Jotapata and Gamla to escape the Roman onslaught. Placing these people on the social scale in Galilee is not so easy. If we were to take Mark's picture of Galilee, written about the same time as Josephus' account of his own sojourn in the province, we find reference to villages with market places (Mark 6:56), people with money who could be expected to purchase their own provisions (Mark 6:36); those engaged in the fish industry having hired servants (Mark 1:20); synagogues, at least in the sense of local communities, even if we cannot be sure that all had buildings pre-70 (Mark 1:39); medical practitioners who expected payment for their services (Mark 5:26; cf. Jos., Vita 403). Clearly, Galilee's social organisation was mixed, as was its economy, and we cannot assume that all shared equally in the prosperity, if that is what we should call it, that is associated with Antipas' rule.

Despite the uncertainties, it seems possible to suggest an important social niche for the Jesus movement within this complex web of relation-

ships. The failure to convince the inhabitants of Bethsaida, Capernaum and Corazin to adopt the values being suggested and lived by the itinerant prophet, as reflected in the woes addressed to these places, tells its own story (QLuke 10:13–15; Matt 11:20–24). All three were located in the fertile plain of Gennosar, and in the case of the latter two places, had the benefit of the natural resources of the lake also. They may have been delighted to have a healer in their midst who could tend to their needs without the expenses of the professional doctors living in the region, but the notion of leaving home and possessions to form a fictive kin group around this person who had "nowhere to lay his head" was for most of the population a step too far (Mark 10:28–31). It is significant that the lightly veiled reference to the Herodian court in Jesus' reference to those "dressed in fine garments" inhabiting "royal palaces" it is the opulence of the court rather than the abuse of power that is referred to (QLuke 7:25; Matt 11:8).

While challenging the relative opulence of the better off, Jesus also addressed a series of blessings for the poor, the hungry and the mourners, in contrast to the woes pronounced on the rich, the well-fed and those who currently rejoice (QLuke 6:20–25; cf. Matt 5:2–10). Richard Horsley and others interpret these pronouncements as descriptive of the actual social conditions in Galilee, whereas others, such as John Meier are inclined to see them "as a proclamation of the end of the world, not its reformation". John Kloppenborg on the other hand seeks to understand their import in the context of the whole 'inaugural sermon' in Q, which he interprets as "a critique of existing social states and a proposal for an experiment in transformative behaviour".[49] I would rather prefer to understand them concretely in the context of what Gerd Theissen describes as Jesus' "values revolution", which challenges both the existing social order of Roman imperial values and Deuteronomic theology as to what constitutes signs of God's favour now.[50]

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49 R. Horsley, *Archaeology, History and Society in Galilee. The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis* (Valley Forge, PA 1996) 66–87 on the political economy of Galilee; id. "Jesus and Galilee: The Contingencies of a Renewal Movement", in *Galilee through the Centuries. Confluence of Cultures* (ed. E. Meyers; Winona Lake 1999) 57–74; id. "Power Vacuum and Power Struggle in 66–7 c.e.", in *The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History and Ideology* (ed. A. Berlin and A. Overman; London and New York 2002) 87–109; J. Meier, *A Marginal Jew. Rethinking the Historical Jesus* (The Anchor Bible Reference Library; 4 vols.; New York 1991–2009) 2.330–332; J. Kloppenborg, "Discursive Practices in the Sayings Gospel Q and the Historical Jesus", in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (ed. A. Lindemann; Leuven 2001) 149–190, esp. 179–186 on the use of the beatitudes in Q.

50 G. Theißen, "Die Jesusbewegung als charismatische Werterevolution", *NTS* 35 (1989) 343–360.

## 3. Jesus and a Jewish Galilee

As discussed in the earlier part of this paper, the De-Judaisation of Jesus and the Hellenisation of Galilee have often been closely linked in scholarly discussion. Hopefully, the distinction between these two quite separate, if related topics has already been made clear. Yet it remains to determine what is meant by a Jewish Galilee, and where should Galilee *and* Jesus be located within the possible spectrum of beliefs and practices that belong to what has recently been described as "a common but complex Judaism".[51] It was E.P. Sanders who first challenged the way in which Judaism had been construed by Christian scholars largely around the four philosophies (Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes and Zealots) as described by Josephus. Sanders pointed out that the majority of first century Jews were not members of any of these parties, but rather shared a number of practices and beliefs in common, arising from a shared history that dates back to the return from the Babylonian exile, when according to Josephus the name Ἰουδαίος was first used in relation to the inhabitants of the Persian province of Yehud (Jos., Ant. 11.173). It is interesting to note that in his discussion of those beliefs and practices, as well as in his study of Jesus and Judaism, Sanders makes little or no distinction on geographic grounds between Judea and Galilee.[52] More recently a sharp discussion has arisen among some scholars as to the appropriateness of using the terms "Jew" and "Jewish" for the first century, arguing that such a usage is anachronistic, and that first century Ἰουδαίοι never used the term as a self-designation. Consequently, it is suggested that 'Judean' is the proper way to designate all those who followed the customs and practices associated with the Jerusalem temple. To some extent the discussion is semantic, and I continue to use both, resorting to 'Judean' only when there is need to distinguish between Judea (in the narrow sense of the old tribal territory of Judea and Benjamin) and Galilee.[53]

As already discussed, it was the archaeological evidence for the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods (2nd century BCE to 1st century CE) that has seriously challenged the idea that the inhabitants of Jesus' Galilee were gentile. Ironically, it was the same evidence, to do with the presence of

51 S. Miller, "Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels and Other Identity Markers of a 'Complex Common Judaism'", *JSJ* 41 (2010) 214–243.

52 E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London 1985); id. *Judaism, Practice and Belief 63 b.c.e.–66 c.e.* (London 1992).

53 S. Mason, "Jews, Judeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorizing in Ancient History", in id., *Josephus, Judea, and Christian Origins. Methods and Categories* (Peabody, MA 2009) 141–184.

stone vessels, oil lamps, *miqvehs* and burial customs identical with those found in Jerusalem, that also challenged Alt's view of a continued Israelite presence there, spanning the centuries between the Assyrian conquest of the north in the 8th century BCE and the arrival of the Hasmoneans in the 2nd century BCE. In my earliest study of Galilee (1980) I accepted Alt's position over against the views of those who wished to make Galilee thoroughly pagan. However, regional surveys, excavations at various sites, as well as the publication of the Assyrian records for the period have convinced me that there was a break in the Israelite presence from the 7th to the 4th century BCE. This need not have meant that Galilee was an "empty land" in the intervening centuries, but that effectively the inhabitants were neither ethnically nor religiously Israelite. It was from the mid-second century BCE that the unmistakable signs of Judean practices began to appear at various new sites in Galilee, while those of the older inhabitants, such as Har Mispey Yamim, began to be abandoned.[54]

Richard Horsley is the most prominent scholar to challenge this growing consensus about a Judean presence in Galilee, but unlike Alt, he does not accept that the north entered the Hasmonean state willingly and gladly. Rather he speaks of the Judeans forcibly imposing their own laws and customs on the inhabitants of Galilee, thereby introducing a tension between the little tradition of the (Israelite) peasants and the newly arrived Judeans in the second/first centuries BCE as bearers of the great, or official tradition based in Jerusalem. Horsley acknowledges that over the century and a half before Jesus' arrival on the scene, the Galilean culture would indeed have become closely conformed to that of Jerusalem, yet "it would still have remained solidly rooted in Israelite traditions".[55] Thus, he argues, the Jesus movement, like other Judean renewal movements, about which we hear from Josephus, is thoroughly grounded in older Israelite traditions. He therefore understands the earliest records of this movement, namely, Q and Mark, as reflecting a renewal of a more general kind among Galilean villagers of Israelite origin.

One can agree with Horsley that the restoration of Israel, often with a strong territorial claim on a greater Israel that stretched from the Great Sea to the Euphrates, was grounded in the hopes of renewal as these are expressed in several strands of the literature of the Second Temple period. The symbolic selection of the Twelve at the centre of the Jesus movement is indicative of its self-understanding in this regard. However, this appeal

54 Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian* (see n. 36), 23–26.
55 Horsley, *Galilee, History, Politics, People* (see n. 36), 67.

to the mythic past, associated with the figures of the Patriarchs, rather than Moses or David, does not mean that it is the product of a Galilean Israelite tradition, as Horsley maintains. Its roots can more plausibly be traced to dissident Judean groups who were dissatisfied with their own leadership's embracing of the values of Hellenistic kingship and its association with imperial power. The *Psalms of Solomon* e.g. reflect dissatisfaction not only with the Hasmoneans who had usurped the high-priesthood, but also with Roman intrusion into Judean affairs by Pompey in 67 BCE. Psalms 17 and 18 in particular look to a just ruler to come who will purify Jerusalem *and* gather the lost tribes, a task that was elsewhere ascribed to the northern prophet Elijah by the Jerusalem scribe, Ben Sira (Sir 48:10). Thus both specifically Judean/Jerusalem and older Israelite hopes find a single expression in the pious circles, whose hopes this collection of Psalms reflect.[56]

Writing about the earliest collection of Jesus traditions represented by the putative document Q, Jonathan Reed expresses the matter clearly and succinctly:

> "The prophetic elements in the Q with a particular 'Northern' spin do not represent the revival of indigenous Northern Israelite traditions by their later genealogical heirs in Galilee, an idea the archaeological evidence rules out. Rather they represent one particular Galilean community's carefully crafted epic imagination to locate themselves on their social map. They pictured themselves as in the role of prophets proclaiming new rules for social intercourse and personal relationships, and critiqued aspects of the Galilean economic and political structures."[57]

For Reed and other Q specialists, this collection of sayings represent not a general Galilean outlook, but rather the views of a small prophetic movement based on the memory and practice of Jesus of Nazareth. Its northern bias must have been inspired by the memory of other prophets from the region such as Jonah and Elijah. This latter challenged the ruling elite of his day in the Northern kingdom with its easy assimilationist attitude to the practices of surrounding peoples. However, both Reed and others, while insisting that Q represents the point of view of a group rather than a more general climate of opinion in the north, consider that this group was hos-

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**56** J.J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star. The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York 1995) 49–56; S. Freyne, "The Herodian Period", in *Redemption and Resistance. The Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity* (ed. M. Bockmuehl and J. Carlton Paget; London and New York 2007) 29–43.

**57** J.L. Reed, "Galileans, 'Israelite Village Communities,' and the Sayings Gospel Q", in *Galilee through the Centuries. Confluence of Cultures* (ed. E.M. Meyers; Winona Lake 1999) 87–108, here 107.

tile to Jerusalem and its religious elite, pointing to such statements as QLuke 13:34f/Matt 23:37 Jesus' so-called lament for an unrepentant Jerusalem.

I disagree with the views of both Reed and Kloppenborg in seeing this saying as a rejection of Jerusalem on the part of the Galilean Jesus, because he deemed it to be "a spiritually barren city" (Reed) or "the focus of unbelief and non-acceptance" (Kloppenborg).[58] The very rhetorical force of the question ποσάκις/"how often?" suggests to me a deep and continued concern for Jerusalem and its spiritual condition on the part of the country prophet and his followers, almost Johannine in its emphasis on repeated visits to the holy city and the desire to see it share in the coming restoration. In both its present gospel contexts (QLuke 13:28f; Matt 23:37–39) it does indeed reflect the post-70 mood of judgement on the holy city and its rejection. Yet even then there is a note of hope with the allusion to a future visitation, at least in the Matthean setting. Equally, the Markan narrative does not support the idea of a Galilee/Jerusalem tension within early Christianity, which, it is alleged, is grounded in older Jewish hostilities between the two regions. A more nuanced reading of the gospel narrative shows that Jesus encounters both acceptance and rejection in both locales, and the command to the disciples at the end to return to Galilee, there to encounter him (Mark 16:7), never in fact achieves this goal within the narrative time-frame, thereby negating any easy symbolisation of Galilee as a place of salvation.

In *Jesus, a Jewish Galilean* (2004), I have suggested that as well as being motivated by Israel's stories of conquest and tribal settlement from the Pentateuch, Jesus was also deeply indebted to the prophet Isaiah, himself a Jerusalemite, whose composite work, though reflecting quite different periods of Jerusalem and Judean history, is highly critical of the triumphalist Zion ideology, to which the ruling elite were wont to appeal. The opulent life-style of the opening chapters (Isa 1:27–31; 2:5–8) is matched by the arrogant behaviour of the "rebellious people" who "forget my holy mountain", engaging instead in various syncretistic practices, in the closing section (Isa 65:1–7; 66:1–6). Both alike are to be punished for their misdeeds. Yahweh's blessings will be transferred to his servants who suffer at the hands of the arrogant rulers, but who form a life-line to the future, "trembling at his word" and rejoicing in the blessings of the new heaven and new earth that is coming (Isa 65:13–14, 17; 66:1–2, 5). These servants

58 S. Freyne, "The Geography of Restoration: Galilee-Jerusalem relations in early Judaism and early Christianity", *NTS* 47 (2001) 289–311, esp. 308 n. 58.

constitute "the offspring" that was promised as a reward to the suffering servant mentioned in Isa 53:10, whose patient acceptance of his fate at the hands of his persecutors and trust in God's justice was to provide the model subsequently for the persecuted just ones in Judean society. These range from the *maskilim* who suffered at the hands of the Maccabean freedom fighters (Dan 11:33–35; 12:2–3) to Jesus and his followers in the first century, especially James the just, who suffered martyrdom at the hands of the high-priest, Ananus, in 62 CE. The continued presence in Jerusalem throughout the first century of James and his group underlines the continued symbolic importance of the holy city for the Jewish followers of Jesus, despite his trial and crucifixion there.[59]

The structural as well as verbal parallels between 'the servants of the Lord' in Isaiah and the Jesus sayings suggest that he was familiar with Isaian traditions in some form. This points to his sojourn in the Judean desert with John the Baptist and other dissident Jewish groups for whom the Jerusalem prophet's writings were highly significant on the basis of the discoveries in Qumran. As is well known, one complete manuscript and the remains of several others were found in the library there. The voice that calls for the way of the Lord to be prepared in the wilderness (Isa 40:3) clearly captured the imagination of various reforming figures such as John and the Teacher of Righteousness, and presumably some of the sign prophets mentioned by Josephus also. As a possible background to Jesus' inaugural proclamation regarding the kingdom of God, it is interesting to note that in the Targum to Isa 40:9, the original "Here is your God" has been adapted to "The kingdom of your God is revealed". This adaptation corresponds to the gospel context for Jesus' inaugural statement on his arrival in Galilee after John's arrest (Mark 1:14f).[60] It is important to note also that despite the tendency of the tradition to subordinate John's role to that of Jesus already in Q (cf. QLuke 7:18–23/Matt 11:2–10), but especially in the Fourth Gospel, it was still not possible to suppress entirely his seminal relationship with John. Thus, Jesus' encomium for his former master, claiming that nobody greater than the Baptist had ever been born (QLuke 7:28/Matt 11:11) is indi-

59 S. Freyne, *Jesus a Jewish Galilean. A New Reading of the Jesus Story* (Edinburgh 2004) 105–108 and 129f; id., *Retrieving James/Yakov, the Brother of Jesus. From History to Legend* (Annadale, NY 2008); id., "Jesus and the 'Servant' Community in Zion: Continuity in Context", in *Jesus from Judaism to Christianity. Continuum Approaches to the Historical Jesus* (ed. T. Holmen; London 2007) 87–108.

60 B. Chilton, *A Galilean Rabbi and his Bible. Jesus' Use of the Interpreted Scripture of his Time* (Wilmington, DE 1984) 59f.

cative of the importance of the time spent in the company of the Baptist in the Judean desert, when, according to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus also conducted a baptising ministry (John 3:26; but cf. John 4:2). Thus, while Jesus did indeed grow up in Galilee and was no doubt influenced by that environment in many different ways, the Judean influences on his thinking and self-understanding should not be discounted.

Jesus' relationship with the scribes coming from Jerusalem is portrayed by Mark as a serious attempt by these quasi-official teachers to discredit him totally in the eyes of the Galilean followers by claiming that he was in league with the prince of demons (Mark 3:22; cf. 7:1–2). The hostility between the country charismatic and the Jerusalem scribal elite is even more pointedly portrayed in the Fourth Gospel where Jesus is identified as a member of the Galilean *'am ha-aretz*, that is, one who not only does not follow Pharisaic *halakah* with regard to purity, but who is ignorant of Torah, and is therefore accursed (John 7:15, 49). While it is easy to categorise the confrontations in John 7 and in Mark 3 as reflective of later disputes between synagogue and church, the characterisation of Galileans does raise the general question of how and how well the Torah was disseminated among the Galilean populace in Jesus' day. There is very little evidence, literary or archaeological to go on, especially since we cannot assume a reading culture among the village people in particular. Apart from the synagogue building at Gamla and Josephus' reference to a προσευκή at Tiberias, which also served as a community meeting house (Jos., Vita 280), there are only the general references to the synagogues of Galilee in the gospel narratives to go on. The impression is that these were to be found in the towns and villages that Jesus visited, but as far as Galilee is concerned we have to wait for several centuries before clear evidence of a network of such buildings emerges, despite inconclusive claims to a first century synagogue at Capernaum, Magdala and possibly Khirbet Qana.[61] This scarcity of evidence for buildings would not of itself preclude some basic instruction, since it was the father's responsibility to explain the meaning of the Passover rituals to the household, and presumably at other festivals also. Even when one can plausibly claim Jesus' acquaintance with Isaiah as well as his allusions to other Biblical books and personalities, it is still obvious that his style of teaching is not scriptural in any literal sense. A comparison with his namesake, Jesus ben Sira, the 2nd century BCE Jeru-

61 S. Freyne, "Jesus and the Galilean *'Am ha-arets:* Fact, Johannine Irony, or Both?", in *John, Jesus, and History. Vol. 2 Aspects of Historicity in the Fourth Gospel* (ed. P. Anderson, F. Just and T. Thatcher; Atlanta 2009) 139–154.

salem scribe, is revealing. This latter's description of the ideal scribe (Sir 38:24–39:11) can be taken as a self-portrait of someone who belongs to the urban elite, and so has the leisure to study. As such he presents a telling contrast with all others, including the craftsman (τέκτων) whose labours are important for the upkeep of the fabric of city life, but who can never penetrate the subtleties of parables or act as counsellors to rulers. By these standards the craftsman from Nazareth could not have been mistaken for a scribe, even if the most common form of address to him in the gospels is that of rabbi/teacher. He relied, not on the school wisdom of the learned scribe but on his observation of the rhythms of nature and the experience of the common folk. It was this keen observation that provided him with the most telling images for articulating his experience of God's active presence in the everyday lives of his village audiences. Their folk wisdom could speak of God just as well as could that of the learned scribes from Jerusalem.[62]

As mentioned previously, the Ἰουδαῖοι who settled in Galilee and their offspring have left a record of their attachment to Jerusalem customs and practices in the material remains at various sites. These show an observant attitude with regard to purity maintenance and attachment to the pilgrimage for the festivals. While it might be tempting to identify these people with the Pharisees, and therefore assume that Jesus showed scant regard for such observances, that would be too facile a conclusion.[63] By the second century BCE maintenance of purity was not a preserve of the priests on temple duty and those (the Pharisees) who sought to imitate in the home and village the condition that applied in the temple. In fact it comes as no great surprise that the earliest literary evidence for the actual practice (as distinct from the legal enactments) of ritual washing comes from the Jewish Diaspora in the *Book of Judith* and the *Letter of Aristeas*.[64] Anthropologists attest to the observance of distinctive ritual practices as a highly important way of maintaining ethnic identity in a pluralist and potentially alien culture. By these standards the early Judean settlers in Galilee were no exception as can be seen e. g. from the two *miqvehs* dating to c. 100 BCE found in a large building on the acropolis at Sepphoris, as well as

**62** Theißen, "Die Jesusbewegung" (see n. 50).

**63** Cf. however, the important discussion of S. Jones regarding the complex and fluid relationship between textual and archaeological evidence in identifying ancient ethnicities: "Identities in Practice: Towards an Archaeological Perspective on Jewish Identity in Antiquity", in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Greco-Roman Period* (ed. S. Jones and S. Pearce; JSPSS 31; Sheffield 1998) 29–49.

**64** J.D. Lawrence, *Washing in Water. Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (Academia Biblica 23; Atlanta 2006) 43–80.

the communal one found at Qeren Nephtali on the borders between Galilee and Tyre.[65] Sanders has noted that the discovery of so many stepped pools in the countryside in both public and private settings as well as at agricultural sites where olives and grapes were harvested, is quite surprising, given the fact that there is no Biblical warrant for these installations. Scripture prescribes only immersion in "living water" (i. e. water from natural resource such as springs, lakes, rivers, rock pools and the like) in certain prescribed situations where uncleanness had been incurred according to the purity laws in Leviticus and Numbers.[66] The fact that almost 50 % of the stepped pools so far discovered are in Jerusalem and its environs, many in close proximity to the temple mount, points to the fact that in the Second Temple times pilgrims were expected to ensure that they had adhered to the special regulations regarding purity before entering the temple precincts. Indeed there is some evidence that the temple authorities policed these regulations especially during the three great feasts. According to the Essene rules such strict observance of purity applied to anyone entering the holy city itself.[67]

The fact that there is no mention in the gospels of Jesus and his Galilean followers observing such rites does not mean that they refused to observe them or, were, as Galileans, lax in such matters. Even when *miqvehs* are not present in all excavated sites in Galilee, this need not signify that less stringent attitudes prevailed, since there was a much more plentiful supply of natural water in the region than elsewhere in Palestine, and that could be readily accessed by village folk. The rise in the number of urban *miqvehs* in the Roman period may well be due to the increase in the urban population in this period. In addition to the purity laws, pious Jews observed certain dietary regulations also, again as prescribed in the Pentateuchal law. Andrea Berlin's discussion of the changes discernible in the type of household pottery used in the first century CE, points in her opinion to changes in

65 E. Meyers, "Sepphoris on the Eve of he First Revolt (67–68 c.e.): Archaeology and Josephus", in *Galilee through the Centuries. Confluence of Cultures* (ed. E. Meyers; Winona Lake 1999) 109–122; M. Aviam, "A Second-Century B.C.E. Fortress and Siege Complex in Eastern Upper Galilee", in *Archaeology and the Galilee. Texts and Contexts in the Greco-Roman and Byzantine Periods* (ed. D. Edwards and C.T. McCollough; Atlanta 1997) 97–106.

66 Sanders, *Judaism. Practice and Belief* (see n. 52), 222–230.

67 N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Oxford 1980) 139–142; E. Regev, "The Ritual Baths near the Temple Mount and Extra-Purification before Entering the Temple Courts", *IEJ* 55 (2005) 194–204; Y. Adler, "The Ritual Baths near the Temple Mount and Extra-Purification before entering the Temple Courts. A Reply to Eyal Regev", *IEJ* 56 (2006) 208–215.

dietary habits in this period. Italian cuisine, which was previously popular, made way for simpler dishes, consisting of lentils, stews and the like.

While these conclusions regarding the more general observance of the purity and food laws are tentative, and in some instances based on inferences rather than unequivocal evidence, they do challenge us to see Jesus and his followers in a much more Jewish environment than was previously the case among scholars. In several instances such as Mark 7:15, where it is assumed that Jesus ignored or deliberately flouted the purity regulations, it is possible to claim that he was merely emphasising the importance of interior dispositions, (an emphasis also found in the Dead Sea Scrolls literature) rather than dismissing the actual stipulations that were integral to Jewish practice and identity.[68] The Pharisees, whom Josephus describes as "the most accurate interpreters of our laws" had, like other groups such as the Essenes, developed very detailed, and in some instances very rigid regulations to do with Sabbath observance, which may indeed have been possible to observe in urban environments but which were both impractical and impossible for country people to observe. The later Rabbis, living in Galilee became cognisant of this when they came to codify the agricultural and other regulations for life in village and home in later centuries. Thus there are several instances where the Mishnah as the codification of these laws makes distinctions between situations and circumstances obtaining in Galilee and in Judea.[69] However, these differences do not imply opposition or hostility between the two regions, much less are they evidence for a Galilean Judaism that is more open, or less rigid than that which had operated in Judea. Rather, they reflect recognition of regional diversity because of climatic and other circumstances of a peasant people attempting to conform their everyday lives to the divine will as they had come to recognise it.

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**68** D.A. Fiensy, *Jesus the Galilean. Soundings in a First Century Life* (Piscatway, NJ 2007) 147–186, has a stimulating discussion of the likelihood of Jesus himself observing the purity laws.

**69** L. Schiffman, "Was there a Galilean Halakah?", in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (ed. L. Levine; New York 1992) 143–156 believes that there was no real difference , whereas M. Goodman, "Galilean Judaism and Judean Judaism", in *The Cambridge History of Judaism* (ed. W. Horbury and W.D. Davies; Cambridge 1999) 3.596–617, thinks there are sufficient reasons for the hypothesis of a real difference, even if it is difficult to prove this on the basis of the evidence.

## III. A Theological Afterword

From a theological perspective there is an important consequence to the fact that Jesus' early life and subsequent ministry can be firmly rooted in the cultural, social, economic and religious environment of first-century Galilee. Awareness of this gives a specific content to the understanding of the claims associated with Jesus and the concrete dimensions of the divine presence, as this has been articulated in Christian belief. The rediscovery of the "Synoptic Jesus" within a definite historical and geographical context has given specificity to those claims, which have for long been obscured by philosophical and theological abstractions. This had led to the gospel being denuded of its social and human aspects, thereby giving rise to a privatised and spiritualised understanding of Christian identity and practice. From this point of view the Galilean Jesus is not just the presupposition for the Christian proclamation, as Rudolph Bultmann famously claimed, his Galilean ministry is an integral part of that proclamation.[70]

At the same time, it is no easy task to locate Jesus and his ministry precisely in the Galilean context. Despite the enormous increase in our knowledge of the region, thanks to the archaeological investigations, the historian is faced with various options at every turn, and the Jesus tradition can be made to address various plausible scenarios. Addressing the challenges that the data pose has produced new and provocative readings of the gospel texts. They are still our best windows on that world, despite their kerygmatic intent. In many instances they seem to mirror much more faithfully than traditional form criticism has allowed the realities on the ground, as these can be reconstructed by other means. At the end of the exercise, however, one is reminded of Schweitzer's famous conclusion, namely, the quest for *the* historical Jesus is doomed to failure, since Jesus eludes our best efforts to make a definitive statement about his intentions within his immediate environment. The effort to situate him with historical precision is merely one example of the challenge that all history writing, especially ancient history, poses. Far from judging such provisionality as necessarily negating the gospel proclamation, it points us to the provisional nature of all human searches for ultimate

70 S. Freyne, "The Galilean Jesus and a Contemporary Christology", *TS* 70 (2009) 281–297.

meaning, and the need for personal as well as academic humility on our part.

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# Face to face-Widerstand im Sinn der Gottesherrschaft. Jesu Wahrnehmung seines sozialen Umfeldes im Spiegel seiner Beispielgeschichten

Instead of reconstructing the social and political conditions in Galilee as a defining background for texts of Jesus – an aspect which has been fiercely debated in bible research – this article asks the question whether it is not in the texts themselves that the influential social and political structures, which existed under Roman rule, are subjects for discussion – and which point of view and which available options for action are developed.

*Keywords:* Jesus, Sozialgeschichte, Gottesherrschaft, Beispielgeschichten, Römische Herrschaftsstrukturen

„Armenhaus" und „Räuberhöhle", das sind Kennzeichen Galiläas zur Zeit Jesu, sagen die einen. Nein: Galiläa zur Zeit Jesu ist ein ruhiges Land mit „sicheren Arbeitsplätzen"[1], sagen die anderen. Klassisch geprägt ist die Vorstellung einer prekären Sicherheitslage in Galiläa, wobei die wirtschaftliche Lage, die ihrerseits wieder zu sozialen Spannungen geführt habe, die eigentliche Ursache dafür sei.[2] Die Tendenz neuerer Arbeiten geht in eine völlig andere Richtung: Anstelle von „Leben am Existenzminimum" und „ökonomischer Ausbeutung" ist vielmehr vom „ausgeprägten Wirtschaftsboom"[3] die Rede, der zu „bescheidenem Wohlstand" auch der kleinen Leute geführt habe,[4] während die politische Situation als „sta-

1 So K.-H. Ostmeyer, Armenhaus und Räuberhöhle? Galiläa zur Zeit Jesu, in: ZNW 96 (2005), 147–170, hier 159, der die andere Position scharf hinterfragt.

2 Vgl. vor allem die einschlägigen Arbeiten von L. Schottroff und G. Theißen.

3 Ostmeyer, Armenhaus (s. Anm. 1), 160.

4 Vgl. J. Zangenberg/G. Faßbeck, „Jesus am See von Galiläa" (Mt 4,18). Eine Skizze zur archäologischen Forschung am See Gennesaret und zur regionalen Verankerung der frühen Jesusbewegung, in: C.G. den Hertog u. a. (Hg.), Saxa loquentur. Studien zur Archäologie Palästinas/Israels. FS Volkmar Fritz (AOAT 302), Münster 2003, 291–310, hier 297f (konkret im Blick auf Betsaida).

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bil" beurteilt wird.[5] Wenn man sich wirklich räumlich wie zeitlich auf das Galiläa zur Zeit Jesu beschränke,[6] so seien weder Steuerklagen noch politische Aufstände bekannt. Zugespitzt auf die Figur des Landesfürsten Herodes Antipas wird einerseits behauptet, er hätte „den strukturellen politisch-ökonomischen Konflikt in Galiläa" verstärkt,[7] so dass „das Abrutschen vom kleinbäuerlichen Eigentümer zum Tagelöhner oder gar zum Banditen schnell"[8] geschehen konnte und „dies im Galiläa des 1. Jh. zunehmend der Fall war"[9]. Auf der anderen Seite wird Herodes Antipas als „Puffer für Galiläa gegenüber den Exzessen der römischen Herrschaft über die Provinz"[10] beschrieben. Keineswegs sei er der große Umgestalter Galiläas gewesen, sondern eher ein „bescheidener Entwickler"[11], der sein Land in eine friedliche Sicherheit geführt habe. Zum Teil bezeugen einzelne Forscher diese Kehrtwendung in ihrem eigenen Werk.[12]

Dass Bibelwissenschaftler an dieser ambivalenten Beurteilung der sozialen und politischen Lage Galiläas derart interessiert sind und sie zum Teil sogar selbst produzieren, hängt mit dem Einfluss auf das Jesusbild zusammen. Je nachdem, wie der „Hintergrund Galiläa" geschildert wird, fällt anderes Licht auf die Botschaft Jesu.[13] Im Extremfall wird Jesus in eine Reihe mit Protest- und Widerstandsbewegungen gestellt und seine Botschaft als soziale Anklage verstanden,[14] auf der anderen Seite wird genau das heftigst abgelehnt und die Herrschaft des Satans als das eigent-

5 Ostmeyer, Armenhaus (s. Anm. 1), 154–156; J.L. Reed, Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus. A Re-Examination of the Evidence, Harrisburg (PA) 2000, 84.

6 So das Postulat von Ostmeyer, Armenhaus (s. Anm. 1), 149.

7 R.A. Horsley, Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee. The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis, Valley Forge (PA) 1996, 36.

8 S. Freyne, A Galilean Messiah, in: StTh 55 (2001), 198–218, hier 204.

9 Ebd.; vgl. ders., Jesus, a Jewish Galilean. A New Reading of the Jesus-Story, London 2004, 134.

10 S. Freyne, Galilean Questions to Crossan's Mediterranean Jesus, in: ders., Galilee and Gospel. Collected Essays (WUNT 125), Tübingen 2000, 208–229, hier 213.

11 Vgl. M.H. Jensen, Herodes Antipas in Galiläa – Freund oder Feind des historischen Jesus?, in: C. Claußen/J. Frey (Hg.), Jesus und die Archäologie Galiläas (BThSt 87), Neukirchen-Vluyn 2008, 39–73, hier 71, mit der Gegenüberstellung der unterschiedlichen Positionen (ebd. 40–42).

12 So vor allem S. Freyne, wie an den Zitaten gezeigt; vgl. auch die Hinweise von Ostmeyer, Armenhaus (s. Anm. 1), 158 Anm. 71; 167 Anm. 122.

13 Das reflektiert z. B. J. Schröter, Jesus of Galilee: The Role of Location in Understanding Jesus, in: J.H. Charlesworth/P. Pokorný (Hg.), Jesus Research. An International Perspective (Princeton-Prague Symposia Series on the Historical Jesus 1), Grand Rapids (MI) 2009, 36–55, hier 36f.

14 Vgl. R.A. Horsley, Popular Messianic Movements around the Time of Jesus, in: CBQ 46 (1984), 471–495.

liche Gegenüber betrachtet, gegen das Jesus kämpft.[15] Das Zentrum seiner Botschaft wird bewusst nicht sozialkritisch, sondern stringent theologisch bestimmt. Was tun?

Alles hängt an der Auswertung der Daten. Und das ist bereits in der Antike so. Unsere Quellen selbst sind parteiisch und bewerten die Informationen, die ihnen zugänglich sind, aus ihrem je eigenen Blickwinkel. Und der ist in fast allen Fällen der Blickwinkel der Oberschicht.[16] Der römische Historiker Tacitus, Angehöriger der Senatsaristokratie, beurteilt die Situation in Palästina aus dem sicheren Abstand der Reichshauptstadt lapidar: *sub Tiberio quies* (Ann. 5,9,2). Wie ein Bauer im Land geurteilt hätte, wissen wir nicht. Gelegentlich lässt sich die Perspektivierung der Quellen und die Taktik ihrer gesellschaftspolitischen Analysen deutlich kontrollieren. Josephus[17] z. B. zeigt klare Kenntnis von der Ursachenkette Ernteausfall – Steuerabgabendruck – Zunahme der Räuberei, wenn er sie im Zusammenhang mit dem Protest der Bauern gegen die Aufstellung des Caligula-Standbilds im Jerusalemer Tempel einem jüdischen Aristokraten als Argument gegenüber dem Statthalter Petronius in die Waagschale werfen lässt (Ant. 18,269–278). Wenn es aber darum geht, die „Räuber", die in die heilige Stadt „eingesickert" seien, zu verunglimpfen, lässt er den Oberpriester Jesus schlichtweg behaupten, diese Leute seien „der Schmutz und Abschaum des ganzen Landes, die ihr eigenes Vermögen sinnlos verschleudert hätten" (Bell. 4,241); mit anderen Worten: Sie selbst sind schuld an ihrer aussichtslosen ökonomischen Lage.

Jede Auswertung von Daten ist perspektiviert – in der Antike genauso wie in der Moderne. Aus dieser Not kann man durchaus eine Tugend machen – gerade im Blick auf Jesus und seine Botschaft. Dann geht es weder darum, aus Jesustexten Rückschlüsse auf die sozialen Verhältnisse in Galiläa zu ziehen, noch darum, aus außerbiblischem Material, literarisch wie archäologisch, die gesellschaftspolitischen Verhältnisse in Galiläa rekon-

15 So pointiert Ostmeyer, Armenhaus (s. Anm. 1), bes. 169f.

16 Absolute Ausnahmen bilden gelegentliche Äußerungen von Plinius d. J., mit denen er kritisch zu typischem Oberschichtsverhalten Stellung nimmt, etwa zur unterschiedlichen Speisen- und Getränkeverteilung beim Symposion (Ep. 2,6), oder die Satiren des Juvenal, der aus dem Blickwinkel des von seinem Patron abhängigen Klienten schreibt.

17 Hermeneutische Reflexionen zur sozialgeschichtlichen Auswertung speziell der *Vita* des Josephus bietet S. Freyne, Die soziale Welt Galiläas aus der Sicht des Josephus, in: C. Claußen/J. Frey (Hg.), Jesus und die Archäologie Galiläas (BThSt 87), Neukirchen-Vluyn 2008, 75–92; vgl. auch J. Zangenberg, Das Galiläa des Josephus und das Galiläa der Archäologie. Tendenzen und Probleme der neueren Forschung, in: C. Böttrich/J. Herzer (Hg.), Josephus und das Neue Testament. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen (WUNT 209), Tübingen 2007, 265–294, bes. 269–276.

struieren zu wollen, um Jesustexte auf diesem Hintergrund zu beleuchten, sondern vielmehr darum, Jesustexte daraufhin zu analysieren, *ob* sie selbst gesellschaftliche Strukturen ins Wort bringen und, sofern das der Fall ist, herauszuarbeiten, *welche Optionen* sie vertreten. Kurz: Bei dieser Stoßrichtung geht es darum, Jesustexte selbst *als perspektivierte Stellungnahmen* zur Lage in Galiläa zu lesen und sie damit sozusagen als eine der wenigen Stimmen aus dem Volk tatsächlich ernst zu nehmen.

Dazu ist zunächst ein Blick auf die gesellschaftlich prägenden Strukturen in Galiläa nötig.

## I. Römische Herrschaftsstrukturen und ihre Auswirkung auf lokale Territorien

Entsprechend den machtpolitischen Verhältnissen sind die gesellschaftspolitischen Strukturen im 1. Jh. n. Chr. durch die Herrschaftsstrukturen des Römischen Reiches bestimmt. Das ist das großräumige Generalraster, in das sich die ehemals autonomen Stadtstaaten und Königreiche rings um das Mittelmeer einfügen müssen, sofern sie unter römische Oberhoheit gefallen sind bzw. sich ihr unterstellt haben. Diese Konstellation ist für Galiläa zur Lebenszeit Jesu der Fall.[18] Galiläa ist einem Klientelfürsten mit dem Titel „Ethnarch" unterstellt, der von Rom eingesetzt worden ist – und zwar in einem regelrechten Wettbewerbsverfahren vor Kaiser Augustus.

### 1. Horizontale Dynamik: Loyalitätswettbewerb um Machtdelegation

Archelaus, Antipas und Philippus, diejenigen seiner Söhne, die Herodes d.Gr. in seinem Testament als Teilerben seines Territoriums vorgeschlagen hat, erscheinen samt Entourage in Rom vor dem Kaiser, um ihren Anspruch anzumelden und möglichst das Gesamtterritorium alleine übertragen zu bekommen;[19] außerdem aber auch noch 50 „Volksvertreter", die ihre eigene Option vortragen: nämlich ohne Zwischenschaltung einheimischer Monarchen direkt dem römischen Legaten von Syrien unterstellt zu werden (Jos., Bell. 2,91; Ant. 17,314). Dadurch dass Rom als externer Evaluator mit allerhöchster Machtbefugnis auftritt, kommt Dyna-

18 Die von Ostmeyer, Armenhaus (s. Anm. 1), 149, geforderte Fokussierung auf Galiläa ist methodisch völlig richtig, allerdings nur unter dem globalen Vorzeichen der römischen Herrschaftsstrukturen.

19 Vgl. Jos., Bell. 2,14–38.80–100; Ant. 17,222–249.299–323.

mik in die starren lokalen monarchischen Gefüge, die jeweils den ältesten Sohn als Erben vorsehen. Das ließ sich bisher höchstens durch Putsch oder Bürgerkrieg verhindern. Jetzt reicht eine entsprechend geschickte Selbstpräsentation vor dem Kaiser. Das ausschlaggebende Kriterium, nach dem in Rom die Machtvergabe entschieden wird, lautet: Loyalität. Gerade wenn die Argumente, die Josephus den einzelnen Bewerbern in den Mund legt, fiktiv sind, spiegeln sich darin die unterschiedlichen Aspekte, die ein mit den machtpolitischen Verhältnissen der Zeit bestens vertrauter Historiker mit der von Rom geforderten Loyalität verbindet: (1) Anerkennung der allerhöchsten Machtbefugnis/ἐξουσία des Kaisers. Seiner Souveränität ist es vorbehalten, lokal und zeitlich begrenzt Vollmacht[20] zu delegieren.[21] (2) Identifikation mit den außen- und innenpolitischen Interessen Roms: Die Feinde Roms sind automatisch die Feinde des mit Vollmacht Delegierten; zur Sicherung von Ruhe und Ordnung im unterstellten Territorium gehört die selbstverständliche Bereitschaft, gegen jegliche Form von Aufruhr (στάσις) militärisch einzuschreiten.[22] Archelaus beglaubigt seine Loyalitätsversprechen ausdrücklich durch eine rituelle Proskynese vor dem Kaiser.[23] (3) Identifikation mit den finanziellen Interessen Roms: Im Gegenzug für die Delegation von Machtbefugnis über ihr Territorium sind die herodäischen Kleinfürsten zu einem bestimmten Tribut Rom gegenüber verpflichtet. Vermutlich beträgt er – gemäß den Festsetzungen Caesars gegenüber Hyrkan II (47 v. Chr.) – ein Viertel des Ertrags von Feld- und Baumfrucht (Ant. 14,202–210).[24] Gleichzeitig legt Augustus, was zunächst verwundert, für die Herodessöhne jährliche Einkommenssummen fest: 600 bzw. 400 Talente für Archelaus, 200 Talente für Antipas sowie 100 Talente für Philippus.[25] Diese Summen werden jedoch nicht von Rom ausbezahlt, sondern den jeweiligen Klientelfürsten zugestanden: Soviel dürfen sie aus den „Erträgen", die

20 Für Klientelfürsten besteht sie in einer begrenzten Selbständigkeit: Exemption von der Oberherrschaft des jeweiligen römischen Statthalters; Recht zur eigenen Gesetzgebung; eigenes Münzrecht; begrenztes Recht der Kriegsführung; Bereitschaft zur Stellung von Truppenkontingenten; vgl. W. Stenger, „Gebt dem Kaiser, was des Kaisers ist…!" Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Besteuerung Palästinas in neutestamentlicher Zeit (BBB 68), Frankfurt a.M. 1988, 54.

21 Vgl. Bell. 2,2; Ant. 17,239.312; sachlich: Bell. 1,669; Ant. 17,202.236 f. In Ant. 17,239 ist ausdrücklich vom Kaiser als κύριος die Rede.

22 Vgl. Bell. 2,26–29.34; Ant. 17,230–232.241–243.316.

23 Bell. 2,37; Ant. 17,248.

24 Vgl. generell Appian, Bell. Civ. 5,75.

25 Bell. 2,95–97; Ant. 17,318–320.

sie aus ihren Territorien abschöpfen, für sich einbehalten.[26] Dazu gehören Erträge aus dem eigenen Großgrundbesitz, sodann die Grundertragssteuer (φόρος)[27] sowie diverse indirekte Steuern (τέλος), wie etwa Markt- und Salzsteuer usw.[28] Herodes d.Gr. genauso wie seine Söhne sind damit Finanzverwalter des Römischen Reiches mit festen eigenen Jahreseinkünften und der Verpflichtung, pünktlich den Tribut nach Rom abzuliefern. Nachdem sie für die Eintreibung dieser Summe bzw. der entsprechenden Naturalien selbst verantwortlich sind, aber dafür wiederum geschickte Helfer brauchen, redupliziert sich der geschilderte Macht-gegen-Loyalitäts-Mechanismus mit einem analogen crop-sharing-Verfahren auf weiteren Ebenen: Für die Verpachtung bzw. Bearbeitung der Ländereien sind Verwalter zuständig; für die Eintreibung der Zwangsabgaben werden Beamte eingesetzt, teils Freie („Verwandte", „Freunde"), teils Sklaven (vgl. Ant. 17,308). Letztere haben für den Territorialfürsten den Vorteil, dass sie sich – weil Sklaven kein eigenes Vermögen zugestanden wird – ohne Gewinnbeteiligung alleine mit der Ehre ihrer Machtstellung zufrieden geben müssen. Anders die Freien: Analog zum Territorialfürsten dürfte mit ihnen ein bestimmtes Einkommen abgesprochen sein; alles, was darüber hinaus geht, ist an den Klientelfürsten abzuliefern. Unter den Beschwerden, die Josephus beim Bewerbungsgespräch vor Augustus den jüdischen Volksvertretern in den Mund legt, ist der Hinweis auf die Druckmittel aufschlussreich, die Herodes' Steuereintreiber einzusetzen wissen, um zusätzliche „Geldgeschenke" herauszupressen. Von der Seite der Täter aus betrachtet handelt es sich sicher nicht nur um Eigennutz (das wäre für Sklaven ohnehin unmöglich), sondern vielmehr um typisches Wettbewerbsverhalten: Je höher der abgelieferte Betrag, desto höher die Chance, auch im folgenden Jahr erneut Steuereintreibungs-Vollmacht delegiert zu bekommen. Die indirekten Steuern werden –

26 Leider gehen die äußerst materialreichen und kundigen Ausführungen zur Finanzpolitik im römischen Palästina von Stenger, Kaiser (s. Anm. 20), 13–71, und A. Schalit, König Herodes. Der Mann und sein Werk, Berlin $^{2}$2001, 146–167, 256–298, darauf nicht ein.

27 Eine wirkliche Grundsteuer (*tributum soli*) ist vermutlich erst auf Grund des römischen Zensus 6 n. Chr. speziell für Judäa und Samaria erhoben worden.

28 Diese Finanzquellen sind in der Grundstruktur bereits im Edikt Caesars (Ant. 14,202–210) zu erkennen: Grundertragssteuer für Rom, indirekte Steuern („Zoll") sowie der „Zehnte" für den Landesfürsten; anstelle des „Zehnten" treten ab Herodes dem Großen (vgl. Ant. 17,229) feste Einkommensgrenzen.

auf privatwirtschaftlicher Basis – ohnehin im Wettbewerbsverfahren an den jeweils Meistbietenden für ein Jahr vergeben.[29]

## 2. Vertikale Dynamik: Intrigenspiel vor der übergeordneten Instanz

Die neue externe Großmacht Rom löst in den militärisch unterworfenen Territorien nicht nur eine horizontale Dynamik im Sinn des Wettbewerbs unter den einheimischen Eliten aus, sondern auch eine vertikale; denn die einheimische Bevölkerung, besser gesagt: diejenigen Eliten, die beim Auswahlverfahren für die Spitzenposten nicht zum Zug gekommen sind, haben im Rahmen des römischen Herrschaftssystems die Möglichkeit, in Rom gegen den ihnen übergeordneten Klientelfürsten Beschwerde einzureichen – anders gesagt: gegen einen unliebsamen Herrscher zu intrigieren und sich selbst damit erneut ins Personalpolitikspiel zu bringen. Deshalb gehört es zum Kunststück eines jeden von Rom eingesetzten Klientelfürsten, wie er seine Loyalitätspflicht Rom gegenüber so ausponderiert, dass er die ihm Unterstellten nicht gegen sich aufbringt. Und auch dieser vertikale Kontrollmechanismus reduplziert sich in die jeweils tiefer liegenden Verwaltungsebenen. Allerdings zeigt die Empirie – und das liegt auch in der Logik des Machtgefälles der römischen Herrschaftspyramide –, dass im Krisenfall die Loyalität nach oben entscheidend ist. Der Kaiser bzw. der jeweils in der Machtpyramide übergeordnet Positionierte hat das letzte Wort über das „Stehen" oder „Fallen" eines Kandidaten.[30]

Zwei Fallbeispiele für Palästina: (1) Im Jahr 6 n. Chr. schicken die Vornehmsten (οἱ πρῶτοι) aus Judäa und Samaria eine Gesandtschaft an den Kaiser und beschweren sich über die Grausamkeit und Tyrannei des Archelaus (Bell. 2,111–113; Ant. 17,342–344). Diesmal erreichen sie auf der vertikalen Beschwerdeschiene, was sie als Beteiligte beim horizontalen Wettbewerbsverfahren zehn Jahre zuvor bei der gleichen Instanz nicht erreichen konnten: die unmittelbare Unterstellung ihrer Gebiete

29 Vgl. F.M. Ausbüttel, Die Verwaltung des römischen Kaiserreiches. Von der Herrschaft des Augustus bis zum Niedergang des Weströmischen Reiches, Darmstadt 1998, 90–94; vgl. insgesamt R. Wolters, Vectigal, Tributum und Stipendium – Abgabenformen in römischer Republik und Kaiserzeit, in: H. Klinkott/S. Kubisch/R. Müller-Wollermann (Hg.), Geschenke und Steuern, Zölle und Tribute. Antike Abgabenformen in Anspruch und Wirklichkeit (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 29), Leiden 2007, 407–430; S. Schreiner, „… dem Kaiser, was des Kaisers ist" – Steuern, Zöllner und Abgaben in der (früh-)rabbinischen Literatur, in: H. Klinkott/S. Kubisch/R. Müller-Wollermann (Hg.), Geschenke und Steuern, Zölle und Tribute. Antike Abgabenformen in Anspruch und Wirklichkeit (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 29), Leiden 2007, 159–184, hier 162–165; Stenger, Kaiser (s. Anm. 20), 65f.

30 Vgl. Röm 14,4, wo genau dieser Grundsatz formuliert wird.

unter den Legaten von Syrien mit einem für Palästina zuständigen Präfekten,[31] wobei der jeweilige Hohepriester aus ihren eigenen Reihen in Zukunft als unmittelbarer Kooperationspartner fungieren wird – und sie sich damit eine Hierarchieebene höher gehievt haben. Die Vorladung des Archelaus vor das kaiserliche Gericht (ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκλήθη: Bell. 2,113) bzw. die formelle Anhörung von Klägern und Angeklagtem (Ant. 17,344) scheint eher ein Formalakt gewesen zu sein, der die vorgängige Entscheidung auf eine Rechtsgrundlage zu stellen hatte. Der Grund für diese Entscheidung: Offensichtlich hat Archelaus, dem Augustus den Königstitel „auf Bewährung" hin in Aussicht gestellt hatte (Bell. 2,37; Ant. 17,317), Rom im Blick auf seine Loyalitätsbeweise stark enttäuscht. Schon 1 n. Chr. war das Verhältnis abgekühlt: Gaius Caesar, der anlässlich einer Visitationsreise im Osten des Reiches als Augustusnachfolger aufgebaut werden sollte, und dabei zweimal durch Palästina reiste, hat – ganz anders als der Augustusfreund Agrippa, der 15 v. Chr. Herodes d.Gr. einen Besuch abstattete (Bell. 1,87.416; Ant. 13,357) – weder Jerusalem besucht, noch dort Opfer dargebracht (vgl. Suet., Tib. 12,2). Anders als Agrippa, dem Herodes zuvor seine neugegründeten Städte Agrippias, Sebaste und Caesarea präsentierte, deren bewusst gewählte Namen samt und sonders als Ehrenbezeugungen gegenüber dem kaiserlichen Haus gedacht waren, hätte Gaius Caesar höchstens das von Archelaus gegründete Archelais (Ant. 17,340) in der Nähe von Jericho besichtigen können und wäre ansonsten auf einen Klientelfürsten gestoßen, der – trotz der römischen Oberhoheit – noch immer versucht hat, einen selbstherrlichen hellenistischen Herrschaftsstil zu pflegen – gemäß den Analysen von M. Bernett einer der Hauptgründe, weshalb Rom ihn bei der ersten sich bietenden Gelegenheit fallen gelassen hat.[32]

(2): Anders als Archelaus in Judäa/Samaria ist es Antipas in Galiläa/Peräa offensichtlich gelungen, Loyalität gegenüber dem Kaiserhaus, insbesondere durch Ehrenbezeugungen zum Ausdruck gebracht, *und* Rücksicht auf die vornehmlich jüdische Bevölkerung, insbesondere auf deren religiöses Empfinden, klug auszuponderieren. 4 v. Chr. gründet er Sepphoris als Αὐτοκρατορίς neu (Ant. 18,27), wohl als vorausschauende Ehrung für den vermuteten Augustusnachfolger Gaius Caesar,[33] der dann allerdings 4 n. Chr. stirbt! Nach der Absetzung des Archelaus, aber noch bevor die Augustusnachfolge endgültig geklärt ist, also noch vor 14. n. Chr.,[34] gründet er Betramta/Peräa als Livias.[35] Mit der Ehrung der Frau des Augustus, also der wichtigsten Frau am Kaiserhof, konnte er im Blick auf die Zukunft nichts falsch machen. Nach der Thronbesteigung des

31 Vgl. W. Eck, Judäa wird römisch: Der Weg zur eigenständigen Provinz, in: ders., Rom und Judaea. Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina (Tria Corda 2), Tübingen 2007, 1–51.

32 Was seine Beliebtheit im Volk angeht, hat Archelaus im Unterschied zu seinem Vater auch kaum Engagement gezeigt im Blick auf die *jüdischen* Prestigebauobjekte, nämlich den Tempel von Jerusalem und das Heiligtum in Mamre. Vgl. die ausgezeichnete Analyse von M. Bernett, Der Kaiserkult in Judäa unter den Herodiern und Römern. Untersuchungen zur politischen und religiösen Geschichte Judäas von 30 v. bis 66. n. Chr. (WUNT 203), Tübingen 2007, 176–188.

33 Vgl. Bernett, Kaiserkult (s. Anm. 32), 223.

34 Vermutlich zwischen 9–12 n. Chr.; vgl. Bernett, Kaiserkult (s. Anm. 32), 227 f; vgl. Jos., Bell. 2,168; Ant. 18,27.

35 Bell. 2,168; Ant. 18,27. Nach dem Tod des Augustus hat er den Ort entsprechend dem neuen Namen der Livia in Julias umbenennen lassen.

Tiberius (14 n. Chr.) folgt die Gründung einer neuen Stadt am Ufer des Sees: Tiberias (ab 18 n. Chr.). Antipas nutzt diese Neugründung als Zentrum für eine politisch-administrative sowie ökonomische Reorganisation Galiläas. Die Verfassung der Stadt orientiert sich am Modell griechischer Städte im Osten: mit einem Rat (βουλή), einem Zehnmännerkollegium als dessen Repräsentanten sowie einem Archon und einem Agoranomos als Exekutivorganen.[36] Die erste Münzserie erscheint.[37] Außerdem lässt Antipas zum ersten Mal in Galiläa agonistische Bauten, ein Stadion[38] und ein Hippodrom[39], errichten und entsprechende Spiele zu Ehren des Kaisers durchführen. Die Absetzung des Archelaus kann als Warnzeichen dafür fungiert haben, die Loyalitätszeichen Rom gegenüber zu steigern. Allerdings hält Antipas an der strengen Beachtung des Monotheismus und des Bilderverbots fest: Offensichtlich werden im Zusammenhang mit der Durchführung der Spiele weder Opfer noch Prozessionen vollzogen und auch keine imperialen Bilder mitgetragen.[40] Allerdings kann die Gründung einer neuen Hauptstadt und der damit verbundene Ortswechsel auch damit zu tun haben, dass Antipas sich einen größeren Freiraum im Blick auf die Loyalitätsbezeugungen Rom gegenüber verschaffen wollte. In Sepphoris siedelten nachweislich streng torafromme Juden.[41] Tiberias dagegen lag auf einem ehemaligen Gräberfeld, so dass mit dem Zuzug einer religiös streng observanten Bevölkerung kaum zu rechnen war.[42] Ganz im Gegenteil: Finanzielle Anreize waren nötig, um überhaupt Siedler anzuwerben,[43] die aufgrund dieser Bedingungen umgekehrt zu entsprechender Loyalität Antipas gegenüber verpflichtet waren.

Dieses geschickte Lavieren ist so lange gut gegangen, bis 37 n. Chr. Agrippa, der Bruder seiner Frau Herodias und Freund des neuen Kaisers Caligula, als Rivale auf der Bühne erschienen ist: Bereits wenige Monate nach dessen Thronbesteigung wurde Agrippa von ihm zum König (!) über das ehemalige Gebiet des Philippus (4 v.–34 n. Chr.) eingesetzt. Damit beginnt der gegenseitige Wettbewerb,[44] aus dem Agrippa letztlich deswegen als Sieger hervorgegangen ist, weil er in der symbolischen Interaktion des Kaiserkultes dem dafür äußerst empfänglichen Caligula die deutlicheren Signale senden konnte und seinen Rivalitätskampf mit einer entsprechenden Intrige gegen Antipas flankiert hat. Er lässt Münzen prägen, auf denen der Kaiser im Portrait und dessen

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**36** Rat: Bell. 2,641; Vit. 64; Zehnmännerkollegium: Bell. 5,638; Vit. 296; Archon: Bell. 2,599; Vit. 134; Agoranomos: Ant. 18,149; vgl. Bernett, Kaiserkult (s. Anm. 32), 229f.

**37** Vermutlich hat Antipas erst von Tiberius das Münzrecht erhalten, evtl. als Gunsterweis für die Stadtgründung.

**38** In Tiberias: Bell. 2,618f; 3,538–541; Vit. 92–96.331.

**39** In Tarichea: Bell. 2,599; Vit. 132.138.

**40** M. Bernett, Roman Imperial Cult in the Galilee. Structures, Functions, and Dynamics, in: J. Zangenberg/H.W. Attridge/D.B. Martin (Hg.), Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee. A Region in Transition (WUNT 210), Tübingen 2007, 337–356, hier 344.

**41** Vgl. M. Chancey/E.M. Meyers, How Jewish Was Sepphoris in Jesus' Time?, in: BArR 26,4 (2000), 18–33.61.

**42** Vgl. Ant. 18,38.

**43** Ant. 18,37f, wo mit einer gewissen polemischen Verzerrung zu rechnen ist: Bernett, Kaiserkult (s. Anm. 32), 233 Anm. 245.

**44** Vgl. Ant. 18,240–245.

drei Schwestern im Habitus von Göttinnen zu sehen sind.[45] Antipas, der bisher – um keinen Anstoß zu erregen – ausnahmslos anikonische Münzen in den Verkehr gebracht hat, muss nachziehen: In der Münzserie von 38/39 n. Chr. erscheint zum erstem Mal der Name des Kaisers,[46] in einer Variante sogar mit dem religiös aufgeladenen Titel Σεβαστός. Aber das war offensichtlich viel zu moderat. Jedenfalls hat es nicht gereicht, um in der Intrige, die Agrippa vor Caligula gegen ihn anzettelte, den Vertrauenwettstreit zu gewinnen. Obwohl der Vorwurf des Agrippa, Antipas habe ein Waffenlager für 70.000 Mann angelegt,[47] was zeige, dass er eine Verschwörung gegen Caligula vorbereite, völlig überzogen war,[48] erreichte er dennoch sein Ziel: Antipas wird alles weggenommen; er wird seiner Herrschaft enthoben und nach Lugdunum in Gallien verbannt. Agrippa dagegen erhält die Herrschaft über dessen Territorium sowie seinen gesamten Besitz (Ant. 18,252) – als Lohn für seine „Treue".

Kurz: In allen Territorien, in denen sich römische Herrschaft aufgrund der militärischen Überlegenheit etablieren kann, werden die römischen Herrschaftsstrukturen den lokalen Administrationen implantiert – und zwar als Overhead. Dadurch kommt es einerseits zu einer Stabilisierung bereits vorhandener hierarchischer Strukturen (im Sinn von vertikaler Abhängigkeit), jetzt zugespitzt auf das letztentscheidende kaiserliche Machtwort, andererseits – auf horizontaler Ebene – zu einer Dynamisierung des Personenkarussells vor Ort. Rom als externe Evaluierungsinstanz provoziert geradezu den Wettbewerb lokaler Eliten, ein Phänomen, das sich analog auf den unteren Ebenen der Herrschaftspyramide fortsetzt. Entscheidungskriterium der je übergeordneten Instanz ist in erster Linie die Loyalität des Kandidaten, die sich in der unbedingten Anerkennung der Souveränität sowie in der Identifikation mit den politischen sowie vor allem finanziellen Interessen der je höheren Ebene zeigt. Allerdings kann auch die je untergeordnete Ebene durch Appellation bei der Evaluationsinstanz, etwa durch das Vorbringen von Beschwerden oder durch Hinweis auf illoyale Akte, Entscheidungen beeinflussen bzw. Personalkonstellationen verändern, also eine Absetzung herbeiführen (vgl. Archelaus). Dass bei solchen Prozessen geschicktes Intrigenspiel besonders großen Erfolg hat und die Glaubwürdigkeit von Vorwürfen proportional zur Loyalitätsbezeugung des Sprechers gehandelt wird, ist system-

45 Insgesamt zur Analyse dieses Wettkampfs: Bernett, Kaiserkult (s. Anm. 32), 217–239; Münzen: 236–239; Bernett, Cult (s. Anm. 40), 344–349; Jensen, Herodes (s. Anm. 11), bes. 67f.

46 Sein eigener Name findet sich statt im Genitiv (des Herodes Münze) jetzt im Nominativ, während auf der Rückseite der Name des Kaisers zum erstem Mal im Dativ erscheint: Herodes der Tetrach für Gaius Caesar Germanicus.

47 Das wären gut 10 Legionen!

48 Antipas hatte, was ihm auch zustand, ein kleineres Waffenarsenal, aber sonst auch nichts!

immanent bedingt. Rom entscheidet sich immer für denjenigen Kandidaten, der mehr Loyalitiät zeigt und mehr Geld einzutreiben verspricht. Deshalb ist auch die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung eines Territoriums, das unter römischer Vorherrschaft steht, in diesem großen Gesamtrahmen zu beurteilen.

## 3. Römische Herrschaftsstruktur und ökonomische Entwicklung

Dass es in Galiläa unter Herodes Antipas zu einem außerordentlichen wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung gekommen ist,[49] steht außer Zweifel: Erweiterung der agrarischen Nutzungsflächen bis auf 97 % des bebaubaren Landes[50] und eine dadurch erzielte Produktionssteigerung, die einen entsprechenden Export ermöglicht, sind die entscheidenden Schlagworte. Gleiches gilt für die Weiterverarbeitung von Süßwasserfisch aus dem See Gennesaret in Magdala, das im Blick auf den Export von Pökelfisch selbstsprechend in Tarichea („Pökelei") umbenannt wird.[51] Dass Herodes Antipas selbst dabei als Motor fungiert, wobei seine beiden Großbauprojekte Sepphoris und Tiberias als Initialzündung für den wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung gewertet werden dürfen, hat seinen guten Grund: Als Klientelfürst Roms muss er sich sein eigenes Einkommen sichern und gleichzeitig die Produktion der Zwangsabgaben nach Rom, die gewöhnlich in Naturalien geliefert werden, sicherstellen. Je mehr produziert wird, desto mehr kann er abschöpfen. Im Unterschied zu einem Legaten oder Prokonsul, die als Provinzstatthalter das ihnen unterstellte Territorium nach ein bis höchstens drei Jahren mit vollen Taschen wieder verlassen können,[52] muss er als lokaler Dynast (mit möglichst langer „Laufzeit") darauf bedacht sein, das Land gerade nicht ausbluten zu lassen, sondern sozusagen durch kluges crop-sharing die Produzenten am eigenen Gewinn und dem Gewinn Roms zu beteiligen, anders gesagt: sie zum gegenseitigen Wettbewerb im eigenen Interesse anzustacheln.

Diese Vorgänge haben zwei Konsequenzen: Die in Galiläa weitgehend vorherrschende Subsistenzwirtschaft, deren Ziel die Sicherung der eige-

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**49** Vgl. die Zusammenstellung der Daten bei Ostmeyer, Armenhaus (s. Anm. 1), 156–168; Jensen, Herodes (s. Anm. 11), 61–63.

**50** Reed, Archaeology (s. Anm. 5), 85.88.

**51** Vgl. Strabo 16,2,45; Plinius, Hist. Nat. 5,15,71.

**52** So etwa Cassius, der nach Caesars Tod als Statthalter Syriens aus Judäa 700 Silbertalente erpresst hat; vgl. Ant. 14,271–276; Bell. 1,200–222; vgl. Stenger, Kaiser (s. Anm. 20), 42–53.

nen Existenz darstellt und die auf Tauschwirtschaft basiert,[53] wird allmählich eine Profitwirtschaft, die auf Geldwirtschaft basiert und dazu antreibt, die eigenen Betriebe zu vergrößern, um trotz der Zwangsabgaben insgesamt höhere Gewinne zu erzielen.[54] Die Konsequenzen, die sich daraus wiederum ergeben, sind soziale Auf- und Abstiegsprozesse. Sobald das erste Ziel der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion nicht mehr die eigene Existenzsicherung, sondern die Gewinnmaximierung ist, gibt es nicht nur Gewinner, sondern auch Verlierer. Die einen können über die eigenen Familienangehörigen hinaus weitere Beschäftigte in ihrem Kleinbetrieb bezahlen, wie etwa der Vater der Zebedaiden, der auch „Lohnarbeiter" im Boot sitzen hat (vgl. Mk 1,19f)[55] und dadurch eine entsprechende Steigerung seiner Erträge erzielen kann, die anderen haben ihr eigenes Boot verloren und müssen sich als Tagelöhner verdingen.

## II. Jesuanische Beispielgeschichten

Für die folgenden Analysen wurden vier Texte ausgewählt, an denen gezeigt werden soll, dass sie auf die gesellschaftspolitischen Verhältnisse in Galiläa zur Zeit Jesu bzw. des Herodes Antipas Bezug nehmen. In der Forschung werden sie gewöhnlich als Parabeln bzw. Gleichnisse klassifiziert. Das wird hier hinterfragt und die These aufgestellt, dass es sich ursprünglich um Beispielgeschichten handelt, um Erzählungen also, die exemplarisch vorbildliches Verhalten vor Augen stellen.[56] Das entscheidende Kriterium für diese Einstufung besteht in der Frage, ob der (fiktionale) Er-

53 Die Hasmonäer, unter deren Regierungszeit Galiläa zuallererst „jüdisch" geworden ist (vgl. Schröter, Jesus [s. Anm. 13], 40–42, mit den entsprechenden grundlegenden Literaturangaben), haben es erreicht, durch die allmähliche Loslösung von der syrischen Oberhoheit ihr eigenes Territorium auch von Zwangsabgaben nach außen zu befreien. Vermutlich wurde weder Kopfgeld noch Bodensteuer bezahlt. Insofern war für Galiläa das Feld frei für Subsistenzwirtschaft. Vgl. auch Schalit, Herodes (s. Anm. 26), 265–271.

54 Vgl. G. Theißen, Die Jesusbewegung. Sozialgeschichte einer Revolution der Werte, Gütersloh 2004, 136.151f; S. Freyne, Herodian Economics in Galilee. Searching for a Suitable Model, in: ders., Galilee and Gospel (WUNT 125), Tübingen 2000, 86–113; ders., The Geography, Politics, and Economics of Galilee and the Quest for the Historical Jesus, in: B. Chilton/C.A. Evans (Hg.), Studying the Historical Jesus. Evaluations of the State of Current Research (NTTS 19), Leiden 1994, 75–121, bes. 104–116.

55 Paradigmatisch ist das „Boot vom See Gennesaret": S. Wachsmann, The Sea of Galilee Boat. A 2000-Year-Old Discovery from the Sea of Legends, Cambridge (MA) 2000.

56 Innerhalb der Diskussion um die Gleichnisse werden damit insbesondere die theologischen Bedenken von L. Schottroff, Die Gleichnisse Jesu, Gütersloh 2005, bes. 109–146, gegen das vermeintliche Gottesbild vieler Gleichnisse konstruktiv aufgenommen.

zähltext von vornherein und für die Ersthörer leicht assoziierbar auf einen anderen, semantisch unterscheidbaren zweiten Wirklichkeitsbereich hin konzipiert ist, so dass entsprechende metaphorische Überblendungen provoziert werden – oder ob der Transfer in eine theologische Projektionsebene einiger Kunststücke bedarf und evtl. nachweislich erst in der weiteren Traditionsgeschichte konstruiert worden ist.[57]

## 1. Von einem Spielverderber (Mt 25,14–30; Lk 19,12–27)

Mt 25,14–30 und Lk 19,12–27 stimmen im Plot (ein Mensch verreist, übergibt [sein] Geld an seine Sklaven und hält nach seiner Rückkehr Rechenschaft), in der Struktur (Rechenschaft in Dialogform erzählt; Bestrafung des dritten Sklaven wird durch eine Sentenz begründet) und in der Semantik (Erntebild und Bankgeschäft im dritten Dialog; Schlusssentenz) derart überein, dass „die Annahme einer Q-Vorlage immer noch die einfachste und am ehesten plausibel zu machende Lösung“[58] ist. Diese Vorlage wird unterschiedlich weiterentwickelt: Passend zu der sich unmittelbar anschließenden Einzugsgeschichte, in der Jesus als „König“ begrüßt wird (Lk 19,38), bringt Lukas durch die Explikation des „Menschen“ als Thronprätendenten das Königsmotiv ein:[59] Der adelige (!) Mensch kehrt von seiner Reise in ein fernes Land als König zurück (V. 12.15a), belohnt die treuen Sklaven – anstatt sie nur „über vieles zu setzen“ (so Q 19,17.19) – mit Statthalterschaften über zehn bzw. fünf Städte (V. 17.19), und lässt die offensichtlich erfolglose Bürgeropposition abschlachten (V. 14.27).[60] Lukas handelt sich dabei jedoch die erzählerische Ungeschicklichkeit ein, dass der erste Sklave trotz seiner Vollmacht über eine Dekapolis noch ein Mna (etwa 100 Drachmen) dazubekommt und seine

57 Die Gattungsdiskussion ist neu in Gang gekommen; insbesondere „Beispielgeschichten“ stehen im Kreuzfeuer (vgl. R. Zimmermann, Die Gleichnisse Jesu, in: ders. [Hg.], Kompendium der Gleichnisse Jesu, Gütersloh 2007, 3–46, hier 18f); jedoch scheint mir das entscheidende Kriterium des Transfers auf einen zweiten Wirklichkeitsbereich (Konterdetermination) nicht klar genug bedacht.

58 C.-P. März, Zur lukanischen Rezeption der Gerichtspredigt Jesu in Q, in: R. Bieringer/G. van Belle/J. Verheyden (Hg.), Luke and His Readers. FS Adelbert Denaux (BEThL 182), Leuven 2005, 1–24, hier 19.

59 Vgl. A. Denaux, The Parable of the King-Judge (Lk 19,12–28) and its Relation to the Entry Story (Lk 19,29–44), in: ZNW 93 (2002), 35–57.

60 B. Schultz, Jesus as Archelaus in the Parable of the Pounds (Lk. 19:11–27), in: NT 49 (2007), 105–127, versucht, den Thronprätendentenerzählfaden bereits für den historischen Jesus plausibel zu machen – und zwar mit Verweis auf den Königspalast des Archelaus am Eingang des Wadi Qelt, der sozusagen auf dem Weg nach Jerusalem die Romreise des Archelaus assoziieren lasse, deren Ziel die Erlangung der Königswürde gewesen ist (vgl. 1.1).

Mitsklaven rufen: „Herr, er hat doch schon zehn Mna!“ (Lk 19,24f). Matthäus spiritualisiert den Plot, indem er sein metaphorisches Verständnis der Erzählung als Gerichtsparabel direkt in den Text einträgt: Die treuen Sklaven werden mit der „Freude des Herrn“ belohnt (Mt 25,21.23), der dritte Sklave in die Finsternis hinausgeworfen, wo Heulen und Zähneknirschen herrschen (Mt 25,30) – ein üblicher Refrain für die eschatologische Sanktion bei Matthäus (vgl. 13,42.50; 22,13; 24,51). Es ist aber diese eschatologische Lesart, durch die sich Matthäus noch viel mehr Ungereimtheiten als Lukas einhandelt:[61] Die beiden treuen Sklaven sollen über vieles gesetzt werden – und gehen dann schlichtweg in die „Freude ihres Herrn“ ein. Außerdem bewährt sich die bewusst differenzierte Gütervergabe (5, 2 bzw. 1 Talent) je nach Fähigkeiten im Endeffekt nicht: Die treuen Sklaven machen *beide* den *prozentual gleichen* Gewinn, nämlich 100 %.[62] Außerdem erscheint der Hinauswurf des dritten Sklaven als eine ursprünglich nicht vorgesehene Zusatzstrafe; entsprechend bezieht sich die begründende Sentenz V. 29 nur auf die erste Anweisung, ihm das eine Talent wegzunehmen. Eigentlich wird der dritte Sklave sogar zu Unrecht bestraft: Denn anders als bei Lukas (und im Q-Text)[63] gibt es in der Matthäusversion überhaupt keinen Auftrag, mit dem Geld „Geschäfte zu machen“ (Lk 19,13).[64]

Der ursprüngliche Q-Text, offensichtlich frei von deutlichen Transfersignalen, wie sie erst Matthäus gesetzt hat, erzählt ungeniert von einem ökonomischen Tauglichkeitstest, den einer der Kandidaten boykottiert. Man kann durchaus nicht sagen, dass er *nichts* getan hätte. Er hat sogar sehr angestrengt mit dem ihm anvertrauten Mna gearbeitet: Er hat es in die Erde vergraben (Q 19,21) und sich damit, gemäß jüdischer Tradition (BM 42a), um eine besonders sorgfältige Aufbewahrungsweise be-

61 Vgl. die detaillierte Analyse von A. Denaux, The Parable of the Talents/Pounds (Q 19,12–27). A Reconstruction of the Q Text, in: A. Lindemann (Hg.), The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus (BEThL 158), Leuven 2001, 429–460.

62 Der ursprüngliche Plot zielt also darauf ab, entweder Gewinn zu machen oder nicht.

63 Ich beziehe mich auf die Rekonstruktion von P. Hoffmann/C. Heil, Die Spruchquelle Q. Studienausgabe Griechisch und Deutsch, Darmstadt/Leuven 2002, 110f.

64 Aus diesem Grund kommt es auch zur matthäischen „Zwischenszene“ (V. 16–18), in der vorweg erzählt wird, was die Sklaven später ihrem Herren berichten (V. 20.22.24f). Der explizite Handlungsauftrag der Q-Version, den Matthäus auslässt – und damit Assoziationen an Spekulation und üble Geschäftemacherei, die πραγματεύεσθαι anhaftet (vgl. F. Bovon, Das Evangelium nach Lukas. Bd. 3: Lk 15,1–19,27 [EKK III/3], Düsseldorf/Neukirchen-Vluyn 2001, 295, mit entsprechenden Verweisen), vermeidet, ist der Grund für diese Doppelung. Andere Einschätzung: U. Luz, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus, Bd. 3: Mt 18–25 (EKK I/3), Zürich/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1997, 497.

müht.[65] Aber das ist nicht, was im Regelsystem des Herrn als „treu" (πιστός) beurteilt wird. Dafür stehen die beiden anderen Sklaven, die den Auftrag „Macht Geschäfte!" dadurch „treu" erfüllen, dass sie ihre Mna weitere „hinzuarbeiten" (προσεργάζεσθαι) bzw. Gewinne „machen" (ποιεῖν) lassen. In seinem Rechenschaftsbericht (V. 21) entlarvt der dritte, vom Herrn als „böse" bezeichnete Sklave diese Darstellung als Euphemismus und spricht im Klartext aus, wie das Regelsystem des Herrn in der Realität funktioniert: „Du erntest, wo du nicht gesät hast, (und du sammelst ein von dort, wo du nicht ausgestreut hast)" (Q 19,21).

Spätestens hier werden Assoziationen zu typischen Prinzipien der römischen Herrschaft unausweichlich. (1) Zwangsabgaben werden in Naturalien abgeliefert. Das scheinbare Erntebild kann ganz konkrete Vorgänge evozieren:[66] Die Römer „ernten" tatsächlich in Ländern, in denen sie nicht gesät haben.[67] Der dritte Sklave verbalisiert die „andere" Sicht auf diese bequeme Form des „crop-sharings", die auf allen Verwaltungsebenen des Römischen Reiches praktiziert und auf der untersten Ebene als „Pacht" bezeichnet wird. Er stellt den Vorgang unverblümt als Diebstahl bzw. Raub dar. Derartige Äußerungen sind in der antiken Literatur äußerst selten. Philos Beurteilung eines gewissen Capito, der als Habenichts gekommen sei und sich als Steuerverwalter von Judäa (φόρων ἐκλογεύς) durch Raub (νοσφίζεται) und Unterschlagung (παρεκλέγει) ein mannigfaltiges und ansehnliches Vermögen angesammelt habe (Leg. 199), gehört genauso zu diesen raren Ausnahmen wie Tacitus' Diktum von den Römern als „Räubern der Welt" (*raptores orbi*), das dieser wohlweislich einem provinzialen Heerführer in den Mund legt.[68] (2) Als weiteres Prinzip römischer Herrschaft wird der Wettbewerb unter den Kandidaten erzählt, die „über vieles gesetzt" werden können – sofern sie Loyalität zeigen. Als Beispiel dafür stehen die beiden „treuen"[69] Sklaven. Sie unterwerfen sich dem Regelsystem. Sie kooperieren, sind loyal – und bringen 1000

65 Auf diesen wichtigen Punkt weist R.L. Rohrbaugh, A Peasant Reading of the Parable of the Talents/Pounds: A Text of Terror?, in: BTB 23 (1993), 32–39, hier 38, hin.

66 Der mögliche Transferbezug auf Geldgeschäfte in der griechischen Textfassung (!) ist also gar nicht nötig; vgl. die entsprechenden Angaben bei Luz, Mt III (s. Anm. 64), 501 Anm. 50.

67 Dieser Lokalbezug wird im lukanischen Text bereits zurückgenommen: Anstelle von ὅπου und ὅθεν (Mt 25,24.26) schreibt Lukas ὅ (Lk 19,21f).

68 Agr. 30,4. Auf dem Höhepunkt der Passage wird der römische Euphemismus gegeißelt: „Stehlen, Morden, Rauben heißen sie mit falscher Bezeichnung ‚Herrschaft', und wo sie Wüste schaffen, nennen sie das ‚Frieden'".

69 Vgl. Jos., Ant. 17,246f, wo πίστις im Kontext der Thronbewerbungserzählung nach dem Tod Herodes' d.Gr. zweimal im Sinn von „Loyalität" gebraucht wird.

bzw. 500 Prozent Gewinn ein, was nur durch äußerste Repression bzw. rücksichtslose Ausnutzung wirtschaftlicher Notlagen möglich erscheint. Entsprechende „Räubereien" mit solchen gigantischen Gewinnen werden von Johannes von Gischala für die Zeit des Jüdischen Krieges erzählt (Jos., Bell. 2,591 f; Vit. 74–76).[70] Diesem Wettbewerb verweigert sich der dritte Sklave. Und er nimmt als Konsequenz in Kauf, dass er aus dem Rennen ausscheidet. Die „treuen" Sklaven werden „über vieles gesetzt". Der dritte Sklave hat keinen Gewinn gemacht. Deshalb wird ihm sein Einsatz weggenommen. Und er wird *nicht* „über vieles gesetzt". Wohlgemerkt: Darin und nur darin besteht seine „Bestrafung"! Nicht etwa in (irdischer) körperlicher Züchtigung oder (eschatologischem) Hinauswurf. Und diese Bestrafung wird mit einer Sentenz begründet, die – das erzählte Geschehen stark verharmlosend – vor ihrer eschatologischen Umdeutung die pessimistische Erfahrung wiedergab, dass die Reichen immer reicher und die Armen immer ärmer werden (Q 19,26).[71]

Viele Ausleger tun sich schwer damit, diesen Plot als Gleichnis für die Gottesherrschaft bzw. für Gottes oder Jesu Gerichtshandeln zu lesen.[72] Auch der Versuch, die Wiederholung der entlarvenden Charakterisierung (V. 21) durch den „Herrn" (V. 22) als Ironie zu lesen,[73] wird spätestens dann fraglich, wenn der „Gleichnisherr" zur Handlung schreitet und den dritten Sklaven deshalb bestraft, weil er sich den Maximen der (dann doch ernst gemeinten) Charakterisierung nicht gefügt hat. Wird die Wettbewerbsgeschichte dennoch als Parabel gelesen, handelt man sich nicht nur Schwierigkeiten mit dem Gottesbild ein (Gott als profitgieriger Despot, der ungerechtfertigte Gewinne einheimst), sondern auch strukturelle: Wie soll Gott „gute Taten" als Gewinn für sich einsammeln? Oder wie sollte man den Rat des Herrn/Gottes verstehen, eine Institution, eben eine Bank, zu beauftragen, die für Gott ein Minimum an Taten stellvertretend produzieren könnte, sofern man sich zum großen „Taten"-Gewinnge-

70 Zu den „normalen" Gewinnspannen vgl. Rohrbaugh, Reading (s. Anm. 65), 35: 12 Prozent Zins scheint üblich bei Geldverleihungen, 48 Prozent werden von Cicero getadelt (Att. 5,21,10–13; 6,1,5–7). Mehr Gewinn ist nur durch Handel mit Waren oder Spekulation mit Land möglich: Luz, Mt III (s. Anm. 64), 500.

71 Vgl. Luz, Mt III (s. Anm. 64), 502; U. Luz, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus, Bd. 2: Mt 8–17 (EKK I/2), Zürich/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1990, 312 f.

72 Exemplarisch: Luz, Mt III (s. Anm. 64), 500–505 (ausdrücklich zum Plot des historischen Jesus).

73 Vgl. W. Bindemann, Harter Herr oder gnädiger Gott? Zur Auslegung des Gleichnisses vom anvertrauten Geld (Mt 25,14–30 par. Lk 19,12–27), in: K.-M. Bull/E. Reinmuth (Hg.), Bekenntnis und Erinnerung. FS Hans-Friedrich Weiß, Münster 2004, 129–150, hier 134; M. Wolter, Das Lukasevangelium (HNT 5), Tübingen 2008, 623 (für Lukas).

schäft aus eigenen Stücken nicht in der Lage sieht?[74] Soll in der Gottesherrschaft tatsächlich die crop-sharing-Praxis perpetuiert werden? Oder ist unsere Erzählung von Anfang an *nicht* als Parabel gedacht, sondern als *Beispielgeschichte* erzählt? Will sie gar nicht bildhaft von etwas anderem sprechen, sondern die vorfindliche Lebenswelt aus einer ganz bestimmten Perspektive beleuchten? Soll der dritte Sklave gar nicht als warnendes Beispiel, sondern vielmehr als Vorbild, als *exemplum* gelesen werden?[75] Wird in der Geschichte von zwei Handlungsoptionen erzählt, von denen die in der römischen Welt gängige, loyale durch den dritten Sklaven als die eigentlich „diebische" bzw. „räuberische" entlarvt wird? Ist der Verweigerer, dessen Situationsanalyse den Höhepunkt der Geschichte bildet, als Identifikationsfigur für die Hörer gedacht? Wenn dem so ist, dann werden in dieser Erzählung römische Herrschaftsstrukturen kritisch beleuchtet und exemplarische Personen der untersten Verwaltungsebene vor die Entscheidung gestellt: Kooperation oder Verweigerung? Der Held der Geschichte verweigert sich – mit allen Konsequenzen.

Die Traditionsgeschichte – bereits auf der Q-Stufe dürfte noch einmal die begründende Schlusssentenz Q 19,25 hinzugefügt worden sein[76] – spricht dafür, dass der Plot dieser Geschichte auf Jesus selbst zurückgeht.[77] Was Jesus eher unspezifisch im Blick auf einen Großgrundbesitzer oder vielleicht auch den Tetrarchen Antipas erzählt, hat Lukas durch historische Assoziationen und die Explikation der Delegation der Königsherr-

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**74** Sehr ehrlich klingt, was Wolter, Lk (s. Anm. 73), 623, der sich um eine metaphorische Auslegung der Lukasversion bemüht, am Ende dieses Versuches schreibt: „Und was sollen sich die Leser, die wissen, dass der König für Jesus und die Abrechnung für das Jüngste Gericht stehen, *theologisch* dabei denken? – Ich weiß es nicht, und Lukas hat es wohl auch nicht gewusst."

**75** So M. Fricke, Wer ist der Held des Gleichnisses? Kontextuelle Lesarten des Gleichnisses von den Talenten, in: BiKi 63 (2008), 76–80; H. Frankemölle, Das Gleichnis von den Zentnern/Talenten (Mt 25,14–30). Zwei Leseweisen: Jesus und Matthäus, in: Orien. (2005), 10–12; D. Schirmer, „Du nimmst, wo du nichts hingelegt hast" (Lk 19,21). Kritik ausbeuterischer Finanzpraxis, in: K. Füssel/F. Segbers (Hg.), „… so lernen die Völker des Erdkreises Gerechtigkeit". Ein Arbeitsbuch zu Bibel und Ökonomie, Luzern/Salzburg 1995, 179–186. Für die frühe Wirkungsgeschichte ist die Version im EvNaz, erhalten bei Eusebius, Theophania 22, einschlägig; dazu Rohrbaugh, Reading (s. Anm. 65), 36f.

**76** Vgl. Bindemann, Herr (s. Anm. 73), 131.140.

**77** Gerade weil unsere Erzählung sozusagen aus kleinen Textbausteinen besteht, die ständig in den Dialogen wiederholt werden, ist der Übergang von mündlicher zur schriftlichen Überlieferung überhaupt nicht schwer; vgl. die Einschätzung von Luz, Mt III (s. Anm. 64), 496: „… daß bereits in der mündlichen Überlieferung der Wortlaut der Geschichte relativ stabil war".

schaft durch Rom in seiner Thronprätendentengeschichte auf die globale Ebene hin erweitert.

## 2. Von einem Aussteiger (Lk 16,1–7)

Auch die Erzählung vom sogenannten ungerechten Verwalter (Lk 16,1–7) fängt die soziale Lebenswelt ein – und zwar wiederum in struktureller Hinsicht. Es ist nicht einfach von einem „reichen Mann" und seinen Gütern (vgl. Lk 12,16) die Rede, sondern vom Beziehungsgeflecht zwischen einem Reichen, seinem Verwalter und den Schuldnern des Reichen. Erzählt wird, wie die klar geregelten Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse in Anschlag gebracht werden: Der Reiche zieht den Verwalter zur Rechenschaft und will ihn absetzen. Der Verwalter hat die Vollmacht, rechtsgültig die Schuldscheine zu verändern. Vom Szenario her handelt es sich um Pachtschulden auf einem Großgrundbesitz.[78] Die Pächter sind durchaus keine armen Schlucker. Sie haben Häuser und sind offensichtlich in der Lage, angemessene Gastfreundschaft gewähren zu können (vgl. V. 4). Ihr Problem ist: Sie arbeiten nicht auf eigenem Grund. Je nach Pachtvertrag müssen sie eine festgesetzte Summe oder, wie in unserem Fall, einen bestimmten Anteil des Ertrages – es kann die Hälfte, bei Wein sogar zwei Drittel sein[79] – an den Großgrundbesitzer abgeben. Dabei sind Rücklagen für die eigene Familie, d. h. Naturalien für den Tausch mit anderen Waren, sowie Reserven für das Saatgut nötig. In schlechten Erntejahren kann es zu entsprechenden Engpässen kommen, die sich auf Dauer summieren.[80] Aber im Zentrum der Erzählung steht nicht die Notlage der Pächter, sondern das Verhalten des Verwalters, der die Naturalienabgabe überwachen und managen muss.[81] Als juristisches *alter ego* des Großgrundbesitzers

78 Zu epigraphisch bzw. literarisch bezeugtem Großgrundbesitz („Königsland") in Palästina vgl. H.G. Kippenberg, Agrarverhältnisse im antiken Vorderasien und die mit ihnen verbundenen politischen Mentalitäten, in: W. Schluchter (Hg.), Max Webers Sicht des antiken Christentums. Interpretation und Kritik (stw 548), Frankfurt am Main 1985, 151–204, hier 173–175.177.

79 Zur Organisation von verpachtetem Großgrundbesitz in Palästina vgl. J.S. Kloppenborg, The Tenants in the Vineyard. Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine (WUNT 195), Tübingen 2006, 278–322, sowie die von ihm gesammelten Pachtverträge in Appendix I; die Alternative zwischen Pauschalpacht und crop-sharing wird von Plin., Ep. 9,37,3 auf den Punkt gebracht: *non nummo, sed partibus.*

80 Vgl. Plin., Ep. 9,37,1 f, der dieses Problem schildert: „… im vergangenen Lustrum sind die Rückstände trotz starker Nachlässe angewachsen; infolgedessen bemühen sich manche schon gar nicht mehr, ihre Schulden abzuzahlen …"

81 In den Worten von Plinius im Blick auf die Verpachtung seiner Güter: *ex meis aliquos operis exactores, custodes fructibus ponam* (ebd. § 3). Vgl. generell den Überblick bei

hat er relative Machtbefugnis gegenüber den Pächtern, die er in unserer Erzählung auch bei der Veränderung der Schuldscheine einsetzt, steht jedoch in absoluter Abhängigkeit seinem Herrn gegenüber. Dessen Interessen hat er gegenüber den Pächtern zu vertreten, d. h. er hat den Betrieb so zu strukturieren, dass möglichst hohe Abgabenerträge an den Großgrundbesitzer gehen. Denn dieser muss seinerseits Abgabensteuer in Naturalien an den jeweiligen Territorialherrn abliefern, dieser wiederum an Rom. Wir stoßen also auf das unterste Segment der römischen Herrschaftspyramide. Dabei kommt dem Verwalter eine Art Pufferfunktion gegenüber den eigentlichen „Produzenten", also den Pächtern, zu: ertragssteigernde Maßnahmen so auszuwählen, dass sie letztlich auch den Pächtern zugute kommen, und die Rücksicht auf Abgabenrückstände so zu regulieren, dass beide Seiten zufrieden sind. In dieser Zwischenstellung sitzt der Verwalter aber gleichzeitig auf einem Schleudersitz.[82] Und damit beginnt die Handlung der Erzählung.[83]

Der Verwalter wird denunziert (διεβλήθη), er würde den Besitz seines Herrn verschleudern (διασκορπίζειν). Damit muss nicht unbedingt auf eine „dolce vita" angespielt sein (vgl. Lk 15,13); eher ist einfach ein großzügiger, eben nicht auf Gewinnmaximierung ausgerichteter Umgang mit dem Vermögen des Herrn gemeint.[84] Entscheidend im Plot ist die Denunziation. Es ist müßig, darüber zu reflektieren, ob die Anschuldigungen zu Recht oder zu Unrecht erhoben werden.[85] Denn Denunziation gehört zu den ganz normalen Spielregeln, wenn das Personenkarussell der römischen Herrschaftspyramide in Bewegung gebracht werden soll. Offen bleibt, ob andere Bewerber ins Amt drängen (horizontale Dynamik) oder ob die Pächter selbst einen Wechsel provozieren wollen (vertikale Dynamik). Systemimmanent betrachtet wäre als ganz normale Reaktion des Verwalters zu erwarten, dass er selbst in die Offensive geht und seine Loyalität dem Grundherrn gegenüber demonstrativ in Szene zu setzen versucht – und zwar auf Kosten der Pächter. So hat es z. B. besagter Capito gemacht: Als er – wohl zu Recht – Anklagen der Bevölkerung wegen seiner ausbeuterischen Steuereintreibungen befürchtet, ergreift er die Flucht nach vorn und denkt sich einen Plan aus, wie er durch Denunziationen

S. Pellegrini, Ein „ungetreuer" Oikonomos (Lk 16,1–9)? Ein Blick in die Zeitgeschichte Jesu, in: BZ NF 48 (2004), 161–178, hier 165–167.

**82** Vgl. J.G. Lygre, Of What Charges? (Luke 16:1–2), in: BTB 32 (2002), 21–28, hier 21–23.

**83** Nach der Situationsschilderung im Imperfekt (V. 1bc) folgt mit dem Aorist διεβλήθη der Einsatz der Handlung.

**84** Zum Bild, das den Aussaatvorgang vor Augen stellt, vgl. Mt 25,24.26.

**85** Vgl. Wolter, Lk (s. Anm. 73), 546.

(διαβολαῖς) die Anschuldigungen (αἰτίαι) der von ihm ungerecht Behandelten (ἀδικηθέντων) zerklopfen kann (Philo, Leg. 199).[86]

Gerade das macht unser Verwalter nicht. Er agiert sozusagen in die falsche Richtung: Anstatt die Pächter anzuschwärzen, den Druck auf sie zu vergrößern und sich dadurch bei seinem Herrn in gutes Licht zu stellen, betrügt er seinen Herrn und verringert den Schuldendruck der Pächter – und macht damit genau das, dessen er denunziert worden ist. Damit praktiziert er einen Systemwechsel: Anstatt auf das Kräftemessen im Loyalitätswettkampf zu setzen, solidarisiert er sich mit den Pächtern. Aus dem zentralistisch, nach oben abschöpfenden Verteilungsmodell steigt er aus. Ziel seiner Handlungen ist es, in einen Reziprozitätskreislauf eingebunden zu werden, in dem „kooperative oder korporative Netzwerke der Sicherung"[87] aufgebaut werden: „… damit sie mich, wenn ich aus der Verwaltung entfernt werde, in ihre Häuser aufnehmen" (V. 4).[88] Geht es im einen Fall um Surplus und Gewinnorientierung, so im anderen Fall um die Aufrechterhaltung der Subsistenz, die auf dem Prinzip eines generell ausgeglichenen Gebens und Nehmens besteht („generalisierte Reziprozität"). Insofern ist es verständlich, dass der Verwalter nicht die Schulden insgesamt nachlässt; denn nicht Entschuldung ist das Ziel seiner Aktionen, sondern vielmehr die Reziprozitätskette in Gang zu setzen. Aus dem gleichen Grund haben seine Nachlassproportionen kein System.[89] Es geht um das Geschenk, dem eine Gegengabe folgen soll und wird. Viel wichtiger ist, dass unser Verwalter *alle* Schuldner (V. 5: ἕνα ἕκαστον) einbestellt und mit ihnen offensichtlich genau so verfährt, wie für zwei Schuldner exemplarisch erzählt wird. Damit hat er unter den Bauern

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**86** Im Kontext ist vor allem an starke Übertreibung der Sachverhalte und emotionale Aufheizung der Briefadressaten gedacht.

**87** Vgl. die Analysen von G. Elwert, Die Elemente der traditionellen Solidarität. Eine Fallstudie in Westafrika, in: KZfSS 32 (1980), 681–704; G. Elwert/H.-D. Evers/W. Wilkens, Die Suche nach Sicherheit: Kombinierte Produktionsformen im sogenannten Informellen Sektor, in: ZfS 12 (1983), 281–296, hier 284, auf die W. Bindemann, Ungerechte als Vorbilder? Gottesreich und Gottesrecht in den Gleichnissen vom „ungerechten Verwalter" und „ungerechten Richter", in: ThLZ 120 (1995), 955–970, hier 963–965, zurückgreift.

**88** Diese Reziprozitätserwartung, die der innere Monolog explizit verbalisiert, wird im antiken Kontext auch allein durch die Handlung des teilweisen Schuldennachlasses signalisiert.

**89** Vgl. das Rätselraten unter den Exegeten: gleicher Geldwert (J. Jeremias, Die Gleichnisse Jesu, Göttingen [11]1998, 180); Nachlass der Wucherzinsen (J.M.D. Derrett, Fresh Light on Luke 16, in: NTS 7 [1961], 198–219); eigene Provision nachgelassen (vgl. J.A. Fitzmyer, The Gospel According to Luke X–XXIV [AncB 28 A], New York 1985, 1097f).

der ganzen Gegend, die den Großgrundbesitz seines Herrn bearbeiten, demnächst Reziprozitätspartner.

Kann der Gutsherr diesen Verwalter loben? Anders gefragt: Bildet V. 8a („Und es lobte der Herr den Verwalter …") den Abschluss der Erzählung? Auf dem skizzierten Hintergrund – syntaktische, semantische und formgeschichtliche Gründe können hinzugefügt werden[90] – wohl kaum. V. 8a dürfte als erster Kommentar zu unserer Erzählung gedacht sein, der Jesus als *dem* Herrn in den Mund gelegt wird. Damit wird der subversive Charakter der Erzählung unterstrichen.[91] In den weiteren Kommentaren, die sukzessive angelagert wurden, wobei auf der Endtextebene der erste ὅτι-Satz in V. 8a („weil er klug gehandelt hat") als vorweggenommene Zusammenfassung der Reaktion Jesu aufgefasst werden kann, die dann im zweiten ὅτι-Satz explizit als wörtliche Rede angeführt wird („Die Söhne dieses Äons …"),[92] differenziert sich das Bild: Der Verwalter ist nur vom Modell in seinem Lebensumfeld her (εἰς τὴν γενεὰν τὴν ἑαυτῶν) ein Vorbild für die „Kinder des Lichtes" (V. 8b). Gemäß V. 9 sollen sie sich wie der Verwalter durch Geldgeschenke („Mammon der Ungerechtigkeit"), aber ohne Betrug Freunde machen, damit sie am Ende ihres Lebens – analog zur Entlassung des Verwalters – auf Reziprozitätsmechanismen vertrauen können (V. 9). In den Versen 10–12 wird der Verwalter zum Negativbeispiel: Anders als der Verwalter sollen die Hörer des Evangeliums zuverlässig mit fremdem Gut umgehen. V. 13 schließlich zieht einen prinzipiellen Trennstrich zwischen Gott und Mammon.

Zweierlei ist an dieser Kommentarreihe aufschlussreich: (1) Bevor die Erzählung in das Lukasevangelium aufgenommen worden ist,[93] hat sie

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90 Syntaktisch: V. 9 geht davon aus, dass Jesus bereits spricht; seine Rede muss dann in V. 8 begonnen haben. Und dort ist auch die Redeeinführung zu finden: „Und es lobte der Herr …"; semantisch: qualifizierendes „Herr" in der Erzählung vs. absolutes Herr in V. 8a, vgl. 18,6; formgeschichtlich: Falls ein Gespräch den Höhepunkt einer Parabel bildet, ist das zugleich ihr Abschluss (D. Flusser, Die rabbinischen Gleichnisse und der Gleichniserzähler Jesus [JudChr 4], Frankfurt am Main 1981, 300). Auch der motivgeschichtliche Verweis auf die Komödienfigur des *servus callidus*, der seinen Herrn regelrecht übertölpelt, aber am Ende von ihm gelobt wird (vgl. Plautus, Epidicus; Pseudolus; vgl. B. Heininger, Metaphorik, Erzählstruktur und szenisch-dramatische Gestaltung in den Sondergutgleichnissen bei Lukas [NTA NF 24], Münster 1991, 168f), bildet für Lk 16,1–8 deswegen keine Analogie, weil der *servus callidus* letztlich zugunsten seines Herrn handelt. Das ist für den Verwalter in Lk 16 sicher nicht der Fall.

91 Vgl. F.E. Udoh, The Tale of an Unrighteous Slave (Luke 16:1–8 [13]), in: JBL 128 (2009), 311–335, hier 335.

92 So die geniale Lösung von Wolter, Lk (s. Anm. 73), 544.

93 Nach E. Reinmuth, Alles muss raus. Die Parabel Lk 16,1–8 ist moralischer als ihre Auslegungen, in: C. Strecker (Hg.), Kontexte der Schrift. Band II: Kultur, Politik, Religion,

eine lange Traditionsgeschichte hinter sich gebracht, in deren Verlauf der Verwalter vom positiven Vorbild zum negativen Exempel im Umgang mit dem Mammon mutiert. Ein außergewöhnlicher Erzähler muss am Anfang gestanden haben. Seine ungewöhnliche Perspektive auf vorhandene ökonomische Strukturen wurde nur kurzzeitig geteilt. (2) Innerhalb der internen Wirkungsgeschichte (V. 8–13) ist die Erzählung nie als Gleichnis für einen anderen Wirklichkeitsbereich, sondern immer im Rahmen des Umgangs mit Geld verstanden worden. Der Verwalter wird als *exemplum* dafür zunächst positiv, dann negativ interpretiert. Es waren Exegeten, die unseren Text als Gleichnis für die Entscheidung angesichts der nahe gekommenen Gottesherrschaft verstanden wissen wollten.[94] Aufgrund dieser beiden Beobachtungen wage ich die These, dass der Plot unserer Erzählung[95] auf Jesus zurückgehen kann und der Text ursprünglich als Beispielgeschichte gemeint war. Jesus erzählt von diffizilen Abhängigkeitsverhältnissen am unteren Ende der Herrschaftspyramide und spitzt den Plot auf den Moment zu, in dem durch die Verleumdung des Verwalters das Personalkarussell in Gang gesetzt wird – und damit der Loyalitätswettbewerb nach oben. Dieses Spiel macht der Musterverwalter à la Jesus nicht mit, sondern setzt auf ein traditionelles Prinzip sozialer Sicherheit, eben die Reziprozitätsmechanismen. Wohlgemerkt: Jesus klagt nicht über das „Armenhaus" Galiläa – die Pächter sind durchaus begütert; es geht vielmehr um die Durchbrechung von Abhängigkeitsstrukturen. Nicht die Not der Pächter steht im Mittelpunkt, sondern die Entscheidung des Verwalters, dem untersten zur Loyalität verpflichteten Glied in der Herrschaftspyramide. Es geht nicht um Schuldennachlass an sich, sondern um die Initiierung eines Systemwechsels.[96]

Aber auch Mittellose, ohne Loyalitätspflicht nach oben, können Helden in Beispielgeschichten sein.

### 3. Von einer nicht demütigen Witwe (Lk 18,2–5)

Obwohl es um einen Rechtsfall geht, ist die kurze Erzählung in Lk 18,2–5 am eigentlichen *casus delicti* nicht interessiert. Es wird nicht einmal völlig

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Sprache. FS Wolfgang Stegemann, Stuttgart 2005, 223–234, als christologische Explikation von Lk 15.

94 Vgl. die Auflistung von Autoren a.a.O. 223 Anm. 3.

95 Evtl. geht die Monolog-Stilisierung auf Kosten des Lukas; vgl. Heininger, Metaphorik (s. Anm. 90), 169f.

96 Sofern die Pächter es selbst waren, die den Verwalter verleumdet haben, werden sie durch dessen unerwartet anderes Verhalten in diesen Systemstrudel mit hineingezogen.

klar, ob es sich um die Wiederaufnahme eines bereits behandelten Falles oder zuallererst um die Zulassung zu einer Klage handelt.[97] Erzählt werden einzig und allein Aktionen in einem Beziehungsgeflecht: Eine Witwe geht immer und immer wieder zum Richter ihrer Stadt und fordert ihn auf, ihr gegen ihren (männlichen) Prozessgegner (ἀντίδικος) Recht zu verschaffen. Der aber geht darauf (zunächst) nicht ein.[98] Für antike Hörer werden mit diesen kurzen Angaben Assoziationen wachgerufen, die ein Szenario entstehen lassen: Eine Witwe, die ohne männlichen Vertreter vor Gericht erscheint, hat schlechte Karten. Richter in der griechisch-römischen Antike stellen keine unabhängige Instanz dar, sondern werden vom jeweiligen König bzw. dem zuständigen Exekutivorgan eingesetzt. Sie gehören entweder selbst zur Elite (so im römischen Recht),[99] oder werden als deren Vertrauensleute ausgewählt.[100] Insofern stoßen wir erneut auf ein Segment der Herrschaftspyramide mit entsprechenden Konsequenzen für die Rechtsprechung: Richter waren „den Mitgliedern der gesellschaftlich herrschenden Klasse eng verbunden und für ihr persönliches Wohlergehen auf deren Unterstützung angewiesen. Es ist dabei im Einzelfall nicht entscheidend, ob tatsächlich von Bestechung Gebrauch gemacht wurde, auch erhoffte zukünftige Begünstigungen wirtschaftlicher Art, Unterstützung der politischen Ambitionen eines Richters oder in der Vergangenheit begründete Loyalitätsverhältnisse machten sich zugunsten des gesellschaftlich höherstehenden Prozesspartners geltend“[101]. Die entsprechend schlechten Erfahrungen verdichten sich im pessimistischen Ratschlag von Q 12,58f, sich als sozial unterlegener Prozesspartner mit einem sozial stärkeren Prozessgegner, in diesem Fall einem Gläubiger, möglichst außergerichtlich zu einigen[102], weil es so

97 W. Cotter, The Parable of the Feisty Widow and the Threatened Judge (Luke 18.1–8), in: NTS 51 (2005), 328–343, hier 336f. Zu möglichen Anlässen des Falls vgl. U. Kellermann, Die Klage der Witwe. Anmerkungen zu möglichen sozialen und rechtlichen Hintergründen von Lukas 18,2–5, in: BN 142 (2009), 105–117.

98 Die Verben in V. 2–4 stehen zur Bezeichnung eines fortdauernden Geschehens im Imperfekt.

99 Das römische Bürgerrecht sowie ein Mindestalter und vor allem ein entsprechendes Mindestvermögen sind Voraussetzung; vgl. C.G. Paulus, Art. Iudex, DNP 5 (1998), 1200f.

100 Vgl. die Maßnahmen des Jos., Bell. 2,570f: Für jede Stadt in Galiläa wählt er sieben Richter aus, die kleinere Fälle behandeln sollen, während größere Angelegenheiten von ihm selbst und den 70 Ältesten in Tiberias entschieden werden.

101 A. Merz, Die Stärke der Schwachen (Von der bittenden Witwe). Lk 18,1–8, in: R. Zimmermann (Hg.), Kompendium der Gleichnisse Jesu, Gütersloh 2007, 667–680, hier 673.

102 Als Terminus erscheint ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι; vgl. zur Terminologie Wolter, Lk (s. Anm. 73), 472f.

für den Schuldner vermutlich zu einer „günstigeren" Lösung kommt als vor einem Richter, dessen Entscheidung – in der Perspektive des Logions – von vornherein abzusehen ist.[103]

Die Witwe in unserer Erzählung hat Erfolg, weil sie genau das nicht macht. Und dabei ist dreierlei interessant: (1) Sie durchbricht Konventionen: Schon die Tatsache, dass sie als Frau vor dem Richter erscheint, ist ungebührlich.[104] Anstatt sich durch entsprechende Ehrbezeugungen dem Richter gegenüber als unterwürfig zu zeigen und um Milde und Nachsicht anzusuchen, wie es entsprechende Petitionen von älteren Frauen bzw. Witwen auf Papyri im römischen Ägypten bezeugen,[105] verzichtet unsere Witwe auf jegliche Titulatur[106] und pocht auf ihr Recht. (2) Wenn die Witwe durch ihr penetrantes Auftreten den Richter an das, was – zumindest nach israelitischem Gottesrecht (vgl. Ex 22,21–23; Dtn 24,17) – nur seine Pflicht wäre, erinnert, dann fordert sie ihn damit zugleich auf, seine Parteilichkeit zu Gunsten ihres Prozessgegners endlich aufzugeben.[107] (3) Für einen Augenblick wird der gewohnte Mechanismus der Herrschaftspyramide auf den Kopf gestellt: Der Richter lässt sich durch die lästigen Besuche der Witwe derart beeindrucken, dass er fürchtet, sie würde ihm am Ende ein blaues Auge schlagen,[108] was ihm öffentlichen Respekt kosten würde[109] – und beschließt, um die Frau endlich loszuwerden, sich auf ihre Seite zu schlagen![110]

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**103** Vgl. entsprechende Analysen zur Rechtsprechung im Römischen Reich von J. Harries, Law and Empire in Late Antiquity, Cambridge (UK) 1999, sowie die Fallstudie für das Dorfleben im römischen Ägypten: D.W. Hobson, The Impact of Law on Village Life in Roman Egypt, in: B. Halpern/D.W. Hobson (Hg.), Law, Politics and Society in the Ancient Mediterranean World, Sheffield (UK) 1993, 193–219.

**104** Vgl. die Beispiele aus Rom, die Cotter, Parable (s. Anm. 97), 333–335, auflistet. Im Osten des Reiches dürfte die Intoleranz noch stärker sein.

**105** Vgl. Cotter, Parable (s. Anm. 97), 335f.

**106** Vgl. dagegen die Sklaven in Mt 25,20.22; Lk 19,16.18. Vgl. schon C. Spicq, La parabole de la veuve obstinée et du juge inerte, aux décisions impromptues (Lc. XVIII, 1–8), in: RB 68 (1961), 68–90, hier 74 Anm. 1.

**107** Vgl. Cotter, Parable (s. Anm. 97), 336, und ihre Kritik an B. Witherington, Jesus the Savior of the Least, the Last, and the Lost, in: Quarterly Review 15 (1995), 197–211, hier 203, der ἐκδικεῖν im Sinn von „vindication" auffassen möchte.

**108** Das entscheidende Argument gegen ein metaphorisches Verständnis im Sinne von „schlechtmachen" (vgl. J.D.M. Derrett, Law in the New Testament: The Parable of the Unjust Judge, in: NTS 18 [1971/72], 178–191, hier 189–191) liefert Cotter, Parable (s. Anm. 97), 339f. Gemäß dem Erzähltext befürchtet der Richter, dass die Witwe *kommt*, *um* ihn zu schlagen. Was sie nach ihrem Weggang macht, interessiert weder den Richter noch die Erzählung. Vgl. auch T.A. Friedrichsen, A Judge, a Widow, and the Kingdom of God. Re-reading a Parable of Jesus (Luke 18,2–5), in: SNTU.A 32 (2007), 37–65, hier 61f.

**109** Vgl. Cotter, Parable (s. Anm. 97), 341f.

Die Erzählung wird von Lukas als „Parabel" für die Gebetsparänese präsentiert (V. 1). Allerdings ist dafür ein gedanklicher Kraftakt vonnöten. Er findet sich in der Auswertung V. 6–8. Es bedarf einer antithetisch angelegten Schlussfolgerung *a minore ad maius:* Einerseits ist Gott als der gerechte Richter schlechthin *ganz anders* als der „ethisch prinzipienlose"[111] (V. 2.4) Richter in jener Stadt. Andererseits überbietet Gott den Richter: Er handelt schneller. Seinen Auserwählten, die Tag und Nacht zu ihm schreien, schafft er Recht – nicht erst nach einer „Zeitlang" (V. 4: ἐπὶ χρόνον), sondern „in Kürze" (V. 8: ἐν τάχει). Wie an semantischen Spuren noch sichtbar geblieben ist, fungierten vor allem Texte wie LXX Sir 35,11–23 als eigentliche Folie für diese Gedankenakrobatik.[112] Dort wird von Gott als einem Richter gesprochen, der unvoreingenommen gegenüber den Armen ist „und die Bitte dessen erhört, dem Unrecht getan wurde. Niemals übergeht er das Flehen der Waise und die Witwe, wenn sie ihre Klage ausschüttet … Das Gebet des Niedrigen dringt durch die Wolken …"[113] Der Plot der vorliegenden Erzählung jedoch ist für die entsprechenden allegorischen Übertragungen der Auswertung denkbar ungeeignet: Der Richter wäre zwar von seiner Rolle her für die Präsentation der geprägten Metapher von Gott als fürsorglichem Richter der Schwachen (vgl. Spr 22,22f)[114] geradezu prädestiniert, aber in unserer Erzählung entspricht er dem keineswegs in seinem Verhalten. Es geht ihm gerade nicht um die Rechtfertigung seiner Klientin, sondern ganz einfach darum, dass sie ihn endlich in Ruhe lässt. Anders gesagt: Für die biblisch geprägte Metapher lässt sich in der Erfahrungswelt der Hörer kein für ein Gleichnis stimmiges Pendant finden. Die Auswertung V. 6–8 weicht für das Eingreifen Gottes als Richter in die eschatologische Zukunft aus.[115] Die vorliegende Erzählung jedoch lässt die Witwe in der Gegenwart zu ihrem Recht kommen. Außerdem: Der Richter wird nicht deswegen

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110 Damit ist genau das Gegenteil dessen erreicht, wozu Q 12,58f rät: Der unterlegene Prozessgegner soll sich unter allen Umständen mit dem überlegenen Prozessgegner einigen, damit es *keinesfalls* zu einer Gerichtsverhandlung kommt.

111 So Wolter, Lk (s. Anm. 73), 588.

112 Dazu gehört vor allem μακροθυμεῖν in Lk 18,7, das wie ein Zitat an LXX Sir 35,19 erinnert. Außerdem verweist das Idiom ποιεῖν ἐκδίκησιν auf LXX-Texte bzw. apokryphe frühjüdische Texte; nichtjüdische bzw. nichtchristliche Texte verwenden das Verb im Medium; vgl. Wolter, Lk (s. Anm. 73), 590.

113 Dieser Code zur allegorischen Dechiffrierung des Gleichnisses wird intensiv herausgearbeitet von Merz, Stärke (s. Anm. 101), 674–676.

114 LXX Ps 67,6 spricht von Gott als „Richter der Witwen".

115 ποιεῖν ἐκδίκησιν wird in jüdischen Texten im Sinn eines rächenden bzw. strafenden Handelns Gottes gebraucht; ἐν τάχει eignet eine „eschatologische Qualität": Wolter, Lk (s. Anm. 73), 590.

aktiv, weil die Frau immer wieder ihre Forderung vorträgt, sondern weil er befürchtet, dass sie am Ende ihre Fäuste gegen ihn einsetzt. Lässt sich das auf Gott übertragen?[116] Umgekehrt: Die Witwe lässt sich zwar von ihrem penetranten Verhalten her den Auserwählten Gottes vergleichen, aber keinesfalls im Blick auf ihre Rolle: Als Frau sollte sie erst gar nicht vor Gericht erscheinen; und wenn überhaupt, dann sollte sie ehrerbietig und demütig um Schutz flehen. Anders gesagt: Die von einer Frau konventionell erwartete Rolle vor Gericht wäre für eine mögliche Assoziation zur Gebetsparänese viel günstiger gewesen. Ist unsere Erzählung also vielleicht doch im Ursprung eine Beispielerzählung, die von einer Witwe handelt, die deshalb zu ihrem Recht kommt, weil sie sich hartnäckig und mit Prinzip unkonventionell verhält – gegenüber einem ethisch prinzipienlosen Richter?

Kann diese Erzählung von Jesus stammen? Erneut ist eine Plausibilisierung nur im Blick auf die Traditionsgeschichte möglich.[117] Auf der obersten Ebene, sozusagen als Rahmung der gesamten Einheit, findet sich die lukanische Vorschau auf die Gebetsparänese (V. 1) sowie die Rückbindung an den Tag des Menschensohnes (Lk 17,22–37) in V. 8c. Auch innerhalb der verbleibenden Auswertung (V. 6–8b) lassen sich evtl. noch weitere Schichtungen erkennen: Es besteht ein gewisser Widerspruch zwischen dem Schlussfolgeverfahren V. 6.7a und der Behauptung von V. 8ab:[118] Warum müssen die Auserwählten Tag und Nacht zu Gott schreien, wenn er doch in Kürze/in Eile reagiert? Schließlich könnte V. 6 für sich gelesen und als Exklamation verstanden werden, die sozusagen als Schockreaktion die unerwartete Wende der Erzählung unterstreicht.[119] Die eigentliche Schlussfolgerung setzt in V. 7 mit einer rhetorischen Frage neu an (und nutzt V. 6 als antithetischen Ausgangspunkt). Kurz: Es war eine lange Traditionsbildung nötig, um bei der lukanischen Gebetsparänese anzukommen. Dabei bekundet die älteste Reaktion auf die Erzählung evtl. lediglich eine Verblüffung, setzt aber gleichzeitig eine Gewichtsverlagerung auf den Richter, den Ansatzpunkt für die Interpretati-

116 Prinzipielle Bedenken wegen fehlender deutlicher Transfersignale äußern Merz, Stärke (s. Anm. 101), 670; Friedrichsen, Judge (s. Anm. 108), 41–45.

117 Vgl. die Analysen von Friedrichsen, Judge (s. Anm. 108), 38–43, und Cotter, Parable (s. Anm. 97), 329–331.

118 Evtl. zusätzlich unterstrichen durch V. 7b, falls μακροθυμεῖν mit „zögern“ übersetzt wird.

119 So Cotter, Parable (s. Anm. 97), 330.

on im Sinn einer Gebetsparänese, für die als inhaltliche Orientierung die Perspektive von LXX Sir 35 entscheidend war.[120]

## 4. Von einem treuen Freund (Lk 11,5–7)

Auch die Erzählung vom „bittenden Freund" wird im LkEv im Kontext der Gebetsschulung von 11,1–13 als Gleichnis auf das Gebet bezogen. Dabei werden innerhalb dieser Einheit durchaus unterschiedliche Akzentuierungen beobachtet: Während die Rahmenstücke, das Unser-Vater-Gebet (V. 2–4) und das Doppelgleichnis vom Fisch und vom Ei (V. 11–13), Gott als Vater vor Augen stellen, betont der Erzähltext V. 5–7 die Freundschaftsbeziehung.[121] Die Auswertung dieser kleinen Erzählung in V. 8 wiederum schreibt den Erfolg des „bittenden Freundes" allerdings gerade nicht seiner Freundschaft, sondern seiner Unverschämtheit (ἀναίδεια) zu. Über das hellenistische Freundschaftsideal lässt sich beides zusammenbinden: Im Interesse des Freundes ist es erlaubt, auch sozialen Konventionen zuwider zu handeln (vgl. Cic., Lael. 16,57). Genau das bezeichnet ἀναίδεια.[122] Der Grund für diese leichten Diskrepanzen ist klar: Lukas stellt unter der Thematik „Gebetsschulung" ihm vorliegendes Material zusammen, das evtl. seinerseits noch einmal traditionsgeschichtlich gewachsen ist. Das gilt auch für die kleine Einheit V. 5–8. Die Erzählung V.

120 Auf den Punkt bringt die Sache S. Curkpatrick, Dissonance in Luke 18:1–8, in: JBL 121 (2002), 107–121, hier 121: „The interpretative frame has eclipsed the central issue in the parable, in which the powerless overcomes the powerful, and potential justice prevails over injustice." – Sicher ist die Erzählung in V. 2–5 rhetorisch überformt; insbesondere sind Angleichungen an Lk 11,2–5 festzustellen: κόπον/κόπους παρέχειν (18,5; 11,7); εἰ καὶ οὐ … διά γε (18,4f; 11,8.). Immerhin lässt sich in dem außergewöhnlichen ἐκδικεῖν ἀπό ein Hebraismus feststellen (vgl. Wolter, Lk [s. Anm. 73], 588 mit Belegstellen), der in der Auswertung V. 6–8 tunlichst vermieden und durch eine LXX-typische Alternative ersetzt wird: ποιεῖν ἐκδίκησιν (s. Anm. 112). Auch eine sozialgeschichtliche Konkretion ist möglich: In erhaltenen Papyrusurkunden wenden sich alleinstehende Frauen in Rechtsangelegenheiten an den jeweiligen Magistraten (s. Anm. 105). Im Blick auf den „Richter in einer Stadt" aus Lk 18,2 wäre für das Galiläa zur Zeit Jesu an den Archon in Tiberias zu denken, ein Amt, das Antipas im Zuge seiner politisch-administrativen Umstrukturierung neu geschaffen hat (s. Anm. 36). Erst Josephus hat in *allen* Städten Galiläas Richter*kollegien* eingesetzt (s. Anm. 100).

121 Vgl. A. Merz, Freundschaft verpflichtet (Vom bittenden Freund). Lk 11,5–8, in: R. Zimmermann (Hg.), Kompendium der Gleichnisse Jesu, Gütersloh 2007, 556–563, hier 561.

122 Vgl. ebd. 560. Damit wird die Suche nach Belegmaterial für eine positive Bedeutung von ἀναίδεια (vgl. Heininger, Metaphorik [s. Anm. 90], 107; K. Snodgrass, *ANAIDEIA* and the Friend at Midnight [Luke 11:8], in: JBL 116 [1997], 505–513: negatives Ergebnis), die sich erst in der christlichen Wirkungsgeschichte deutlich greifen lässt (vgl. H.C. Waetjen, The Subversion of „World" by the Parable of the Friend at Midnight, in: JBL 120 [2001], 703–721, hier 717–720), hinfällig.

5–7 klingt im Blick auf die Wahl der Tempora wie Übersetzungsgriechisch und im Blick auf die Syntax[123] wie dahingesprochene mündliche Rede, während V. 8 eine elegante chiastische Struktur zeigt. In Kombination mit dem vorausgesetzten hellenistischen Freundschaftsideal dürfte es sich um die später dazu gewachsene erste Auswertung der Erzählung handeln. Nimmt man die implizite Milieuschilderung der V. 5–7 (ein Haus mit einem einzigen Raum, in dem Eltern und Kinder in einem gemeinsamen Bett schlafen) hinzu, ergeben sich gewisse Chancen, den Plot (samt lockerer Erzählweise) auf Jesus selbst zurückzuführen.

Obwohl es als selbstverständlich gilt, dass der Text ursprünglich metaphorisch gemeint ist, herrscht über den präzisen sachlichen Bezugspunkt Uneinigkeit: Meistens wird in der Gebetsparänese das Hauptanliegen gesehen, wobei Präzisierungen zwischen Sicherheit der Gebetserhörung, Aufforderung zur Beharrlichkeit bzw. zur „Unverschämtheit" im Beten differieren.[124] R. von Bendemann sieht in der Erzählung eher die Propagierung einer Freundschaftsbeziehung zu Gott.[125] Nur gelegentlich werden Zweifel geäußert. So zeigt A.T. Cadoux gewisse Hemmschwellen, einen „churlish man ignominiously bullied out of bed" mit Gott in Verbindung zu bringen.[126] Das lässt sich noch unterstreichen, wenn man innerbiblisch an die Verhöhnung der Baalspriester durch Elija denkt. Weil sie trotz größter Anstrengungen ihren Gott nicht dazu bringen können, Feuer auf ihr Opfer fallen zu lassen, rät Elija ihnen: „Ruft lauter! Er ist doch Gott. Er könnte beschäftigt sein. Könnte beiseite gegangen oder verreist sein. Vielleicht schläft er und wacht dann auf" (1 Kön 18,27).[127] Muss derjenige, der angeblich niemals „schlummert und schläft" (Ps 121,4), überhaupt geweckt werden? Auffällig jedenfalls bleibt, (1) dass die allererste Auswertung der Erzählung – anders etwa als die Auswertungen der τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν-Gleichnisse in Lk 15,4–10 – keinen metaphorischen Projektionsbereich nennt, sondern auf der Sachebene der Erzählung bleibt: Wie gelingt es, einen „Freund" zu einer Gabe zu bewegen, mit der ich einem

123 „Freund" steht zu Beginn von V. 5 im Akkusativ, wird aber im folgenden Satzteil als Subjekt aufgegriffen.

124 Letzteres vertritt Wolter, Lk (s. Anm. 73), 412. Übersicht bei Merz, Freundschaft (s. Anm. 121), 561f.

125 R. von Bendemann, Zwischen ΔΟΞΑ und ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ. Eine exegetische Untersuchung der Texte des sogenannten Reiseberichts im Lukasevangelium (BZNW 101), Berlin 2001, 217.

126 The Parables of Jesus. Their Art and Use, New York 1931, 35.

127 Augustinus, Sermo 105 (PL 38,618–625), unterstreicht, dass der Freund der Parabel aus Trägheit, Gott aber aus Verlangen gibt. Vgl. F. Bovon, Das Evangelium nach Lukas. Bd. 2: Lk 9,51–14,35 (EKK III/2), Zürich/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1996, 157f.

Dritten helfen kann? (2) Gerade diese Hilfekette für einen Dritten wird in den üblichen metaphorischen Auslegungen überhaupt nicht mitbedacht: Es müsste zumindest um *fürbittendes* Gebet gehen! (3) Außerdem wird bestimmten Details des Plots, obwohl sie sehr ungewöhnlich sind und wohl deshalb auch die Überlieferung überdauert haben, kaum Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, sicher auch deshalb, weil sie bei einer metaphorischen Überblendung Schwierigkeiten machen, z. B. (a) dass der Freund um Mitternacht kommt. Das ist ja der Auslöser für die „unverschämte" Bettelaktion. Soll damit assoziiert werden, dass man Bitten unmittelbar dann, wenn der Anlass dazu besteht, vor Gott tragen kann – und nicht bis zur Tempelgebetszeit warten muss? Biblisch sozialisierte Hörer denken vermutlich an etwas anderes, wenn von einem mitternächtlichen Besuch erzählt wird: Sprichwörtlich ist das die Zeit der Diebe und Räuber (vgl. Mt 24,43; Lk 12,39; 1 Thess 5,2; Offb 3,3). (b) Dass nicht *ein* Brot (für den täglichen Bedarf, gemäß dem Unser-Vater) erbeten wird, sondern gleich drei, wobei völlig unklar ist, für wen eigentlich das dritte Brot gedacht ist.[128] Auch wenn von „ihm vorsetzen" (vgl. Lk 10,8) die Rede ist, kann auf der Grundlage von drei Broten kaum eine Mahlsituation entstehen; dazu fehlt die Zukost; dass auch sie erbettelt würde, wird nicht erzählt.[129] (c) Dass schließlich das „Leihen" des Brotes betont wird. Die Brote werden also wieder zurückgegeben, natürlich im Naturalaustausch. Der Freund stellt von vornherein klar, dass er nichts „umsonst" will, sondern auf der Basis von Gabe und „Rück"-Gabe bittet.[130] In der Logik der Erzählung besteht die entscheidende Handlungskette in dieser Reziprozitätsaktion. Die nächtliche Bitte stößt sie nur an. Wie aber soll diese Rückgabeaktion Gott gegenüber gedacht sein, der doch seine Gaben gibt, *ohne* dass man etwas zurückgeben muss (vgl. V. 13), so dass in diesem Fall die entscheidende Handlungskoordination zwischen den Bitten (der Menschen) und dem Geben (Gottes) besteht – und nicht zwischen Geben (durch Gott) und Rückgabe (durch Menschen). Hier entstehen deutliche Strukturschwierigkeiten bei der Übertragung der Freundesgeschichte auf das Gebet.

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**128** Dass die Brote paritätisch geteilt werden sollen, evoziert der Erzähltext durch die Zahlenangabe (3 für 2) gerade nicht.

**129** Aber in die Geschichte eingetragen: vgl. W.R. Herzog II, Parables as Subversive Speech. Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed, Louisville (KY) 1994, 201.

**130** Das wird im Griechischen durch die Wahl des Verbs κίχρημι noch unterstrichen: Nach Suidas bezeichnet es den Austausch unter Freunden (ohne Gewinn) – im Unterschied zu δανείζω: leihen an Fremde (mit Zinsen); vgl. A. Jülicher, Die Gleichnisreden Jesu. Zwei Teile in einem Band, Tübingen $^{2}$1910 (Repr. Darmstadt 1976), II 269, der allerdings auch Beispiele für einen weniger scharfen terminologischen Gebrauch aufführt.

Diese „Überstände", die bei einer theologischen Übertragung leicht übersehen oder einfach übergangen werden, sind jedoch untereinander kohärent, sobald man sie sozialgeschichtlich auswertet: Wir befinden uns im Milieu armer Schlucker. Der eine hat gar nichts zum Essen im Haus, der andere nicht viel; jedenfalls wird es als förderlich eingeschätzt, den Rücktausch der drei Brote in Aussicht zu stellen. Der Anlass: Mitten in der Nacht kommt einer und bittet seinen Freund um Nahrung … Und dann wird eine Reziprozitätskette (re)aktiviert – und zwar für einen, der sich wie ein Dieb zu seinem Freund schleicht: bei Dunkelheit. Das muss seinen Grund haben![131] Handelt es sich um einen Sozialbanditen, der wegen des Steuerdrucks die Dorfgemeinschaft verlassen hat und (in einer Bande) gezielt Reiche attackiert?[132] Oder um einen Jesusjünger, der Haus und Hof, Eltern und Kinder (vgl. Q 14,26) verlassen hat – und um Proviant bittet? Beide Typen haben durch ihr Verhalten Reziprozitätsverpflichtungen durchbrochen, weil sie ihre Familien unversorgt zurückgelassen haben. In diesem Horizont versichert sich unsere Erzählung bei den Hörern, dass alte Sozialbande immer noch gelten – auch für diejenigen, die gegen Reziprozitätsregeln verstoßen haben und in den Augen der römisch orientierten Administration des Landes entweder als „Räuber" oder als unproduktive „Outlaws" erscheinen müssen.

## III. Auswertung

### 1. Literarisch

Die Prototypen der vier vorgestellten Erzählungen verbindet im Blick auf das narrative Konzept, dass sie gegen konventionell erwartetes bzw. akzeptiertes Verhalten verstoßen: Der eine verweigert sich dem ausgeschriebenen Wettbewerb und stellt das „System" seines Herrn als Dieberei bloß (Q 19), der andere fügt seinem Herrn finanziellen Schaden zu, anstatt die Beweise seiner Loyalität zu verstärken, um seinen angefochtenen Posten evtl. doch noch zu sichern (Lk 16). Eine Frau erscheint penetrant vor dem

131 Es genügt nicht, darauf hinzuweisen, dass man auch bei Nacht reist, etwa wegen der Hitze. Das mag für lange Überlandreisen gelten, aber nicht für die kleinen Wegstrecken, die zwischen den einzelnen Dörfern und kleinen Städten Galiläas liegen. Zu Recht stellt Bovon, Lk (s. Anm. 127), 149, fest: „Der Fall ist unerwartet und schafft Probleme."

132 Zur sozialpolitischen Einordnung der „Freibeuter" vgl. K.C. Hanson, Jesus und die „Freibeuter". Eine sozialwissenschaftliche Studie, in: W. Stegemann/B. J. Malina/G. Theißen (Hg.), Jesus in neuen Kontexten, Stuttgart 2002, 123–134.

Richter der Stadt – und das auch noch ohne Ehrerbietung zu zeigen und um Schutz zu bitten (Lk 18); ein mittelloser „Freund" mutet einem anderen „Freund" zu, um Mitternacht aufzustehen und seine ganze Familie zu wecken, nur um ihm drei Brote zu leihen (Lk 11). Alle vier Geschichten sperren sich gegen ein problemloses metaphorisches Verständnis – im Blick auf die Gottesherrschaft, das Gebet oder Ähnliches. Im vorliegenden Endtext angeschlossene Auswertungen verlangen zum Teil erhebliche Gedankenakrobatik, um entsprechende allegorische Bezüge herzustellen (Lk 11; 18). Im Fall der Erzählung von den Mna ist die Überlieferung unterschiedliche Wege gegangen. Nur Matthäus hat den Text in eine eschatologische Parabel umgeschrieben, Lukas dagegen nicht.[133] Im Fall des „ungerechten Verwalters" bewegen sich die diversen angeschlossenen Kommentare alle auf der Sachebene der Erzählung. Sofern man bereit ist, literarkritisch eine allererste Anwendung herauszuschälen, bleibt diese in allen vier Fällen auf der Sachebene: als Begründung der Sanktion des Hausherrn (Q 19,26), als subversive Zustimmung zum Verhalten des Verwalters (Lk 16,8), als Hinweis auf die unerwartete Reaktion des Richters (Lk 18,6), als Interpretation des unkonventionellen Bittgangs des Freundes im Sinn von ἀναίδεια (Lk 11,8). Es ist diese Überlieferungslage sowie der mit Schwierigkeiten behaftete metaphorische Transfer, weswegen für diese vier Erzählungen ursprünglich die Funktion von Beispielgeschichten beansprucht wird. Sie präsentieren Vorbilder in fiktiven Alltagsgeschichten. Und sie meinen genau das, was sie sagen. Damit werden sie den traditionell als Beispielgeschichten ausgewiesenen Erzählungen[134] von der Gattung her an die Seite gestellt. Während diese aber konventionelle Typen zeichnen, den armen Lazarus und den reichen Prasser (Lk 16,19–31), den frommen Pharisäer und den sündigen Zöllner (Lk 18,9–14), den törichten Reichen (Lk 12,16–21), Figuren also, die sich ganz gemäß den erwarteten Vorstellungen verhalten, aber einen Strich durch die Rechnung gemacht bekommen – durch Gott bzw. durch die Beurteilung Jesu –, erzählen die vier „vergessenen" Beispielerzählungen von Menschen, die in ihrem Verhalten selbst gegen Konventionen verstoßen. Allein die Erzählung vom „barmherzigen Samariter" (Lk 10,30–35) gehört ebenfalls in diese Kategorie: Was von ihm erzählt wird, durchbricht typische Vorurteile gegenüber Samaritanern.[135] Es ist diese besondere

133 So vehement z. B. Rohrbaugh, Reading (s. Anm. 65); das Mainstreamurteil lautet anders, vgl. Wolter, Lk (s. Anm. 73), 617–625.

134 Vgl. Jülicher, Gleichnisreden (s. Anm. 130), I 112–115.

135 Vgl. B.B. Scott, Hear Then the Parable. A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus, Minneapolis (MN) 1989, 189–202.

Auffälligkeit, für den Bruch von konventionell erwartetem Verhalten positive Verblüffung zu erreichen, indem man ihn narrativ mit der Rolle des Helden verknüpft, die in der Überlieferungsgeschichte nur ganz am Anfang durchgehalten wurde und gerade deshalb sich kaum besser als mit einer „distinctive voice" am Ursprung erklären lässt.

## 2. Sozialgeschichtlich

Die vier „vergessenen" Beispielgeschichten erzählen weder „vom Armenhaus" noch von der „Räuberhöhle" Galiläa, sondern von Figurenkonstellationen, in denen sich typische Strukturen und Mechanismen der römischen Herrschaft erkennen lassen: Wettbewerb um Machtdelegation durch Loyalitätsbezeugung nach oben. Dabei werden jeweils unterschiedliche Segmente dieses Machtdelegationssystems beleuchtet – und zwar an der Schnittstelle zur *plebs*, also der „normalen" Bevölkerung, die an der Machtdelegationspyramide nicht teilhat, sondern über Zwangsabgaben und das über die Elite gesteuerte Rechtssystem dieser „strukturellen Gewalt" ausgesetzt ist. Die Erzählungen von den Sklaven in Lk 19 und vom Verwalter in Lk 16 beleuchten retainer-Situationen am untersten Ende der Machtdelegationspyramide: Durch Bewährung im Wettbewerb können die Sklaven den Sprung in das Machtdelegationssystem („ich werde dich über vieles stellen") schaffen; der Verwalter wird durch „Verleumdung" in seiner Stellung bedroht und müsste durch entsprechende Loyalitätsbezeugungen nach oben in den Wettbewerbskampf um seine Stellung einsteigen. In beiden Erzählungen sind die Helden diejenigen, die sich den Wettbewerbsherausforderungen verweigern: Der eine steigt erst gar nicht ein (dritter Sklave), der andere steigt bewusst aus (Verwalter). Der eine distanziert sich verbal vom Wettbewerbssystem als „Dieberei", der andere handelt der Loyalitätserwartung zuwider und initiiert einen Reziprozitätskreislauf gerade mit denen, gegen die er sich eigentlich stellen müsste, wenn er seine Position in der Herrschaftspyramide erhalten möchte.

Die Erzählungen von der Witwe und vom Freund beleuchten Konstellationen, in denen Menschen, die eigentlich zur *plebs* gehören, auch dort keinen Rückhalt finden – und damit den Herrschaftsstrukturen hilflos ausgesetzt sind bzw. als Outlaws abgestempelt werden: die Witwe ohne männlichen Beistand und der Freund, der sich bei Tag nicht ins Dorf traut. Sie werden dadurch zu Helden, dass sie trotzdem aktiv werden:[136]

136 Dass gerade diese beiden Erzählungen von Lk auf die Gebetsparänese hin spiritualisiert (weitergegeben) werden, entspricht dessen theologischer Konzeption: Arme sind

auf eigene Faust (!) ihr Recht einfordern bzw. nachts ins Haus eines früheren Freundes schleichen. Im einen Fall wendet sich die Parteilichkeit des Richters zu Gunsten der Rechtlosen, im anderen Fall geht der Erzähler davon aus, dass alte Reziprozitätsstrukturen selbstverständlich aufrechterhalten und reaktiviert werden.

Diese Geschichten erzählen von Helden, die das römische Herrschaftssystem durcheinanderbringen, aber nicht durch einen organisierten Aufstand, der, wie Lukas es erzählt, zu Massenabschlachtungen führt (Lk 19,27), sondern durch face to face-Widerstand. Sie streuen sozusagen Sand ins Getriebe. Mit einem rechtspsychologischen Modell gesprochen durchbrechen sie die „pluralistische Ignoranz" der strukturellen Gewalt und können damit eine Kettenreaktion auslösen, indem sie die „Wahrheit aussprechen" (dritter Sklave), das Recht einfordern (Witwe) oder ganz einfach entgegen der erwarteten Loyalitätshaltung nach oben sich nach unten solidarisieren (Verwalter) bzw. an alte Solidaritätsnetze erinnern (Freund). Und bei alledem spielt in diesen Geschichten Gott keine Rolle. Das heißt aber noch lange nicht, dass sie keinen Bezug zu theologischen Sachfragen hätten.

## 3. Theologisch

Der Verdacht liegt nahe, dass die Beispielgeschichten irgendetwas mit der Gottesherrschaft zu tun haben. Frühjüdisch ist die Gottesherrschaft die von Gott, und von ihm allein, etablierte Rahmenbedingung dafür, ungehindert nach seinem Willen (darin zeigt sich seine „Herrschaft") leben zu können. Worin der jedoch genau besteht, darum wird im Judentum immer gestritten. Und es ist typisch, dass die apokalyptischen visionären Entwürfe mit der von Gott herbeigeführten endzeitlichen Wende zugleich auch die Etablierung der von der jeweiligen Trägergruppe vertretenen Halacha erwarten: „Die viele zum rechten Tun geführt haben" werden leuchten wie die Sterne am Himmel und nur diejenigen, die ihrer Toraauslegung gefolgt sind, werden auferweckt (vgl. Dan 12,1–3). Also: Der durch die Gottesherrschaft eröffnete Handlungsfreiraum muss durch Toraweisung gefüllt werden.

Das Besondere an Jesu Eschatologie besteht nun offensichtlich darin, dass er die große Wende nicht nur für die nahe Zukunft erwartet (wie Jo-

bei ihm von vornherein in der Gottesherrschaft (vgl. Lk 6,20); von ihnen werden keinerlei Aktivitäten erwartet (vgl. Lk 16,20–22); vgl. R.H. Hiers, Friends by Unrighteous Mammon. The Eschatological Proletariat (Luke 16:9), in: JAAR 38 (1970), 30–36, hier 34.

hannes der Täufer), sondern überzeugt ist, dass sie bereits stattgefunden hat – jedenfalls auf der entscheidenden Ebene, nämlich im Himmel (vgl. Lk 10,18).[137] Auf Erden sind die Auswirkungen überall dort handgreiflich zu spüren, wo des Satans Untergebene, die Dämonen, weichen müssen, was an den von den Zeitgenossen zwar in ihrer Deutung umstrittenen, aber in der Wahrnehmung unzweifelhaft gelungenen Dämonenaustreibungen Jesu abzulesen ist (vgl. Q 11,15; Mk 3,22). Nach Jesus wächst die Gottesherrschaft also stetig heran. Deshalb kann er jetzt schon das zukünftig erwartete Fest (vgl. Jes 25) der Gottesherrschaft feiern (vgl. Mk 2,19) und von der unaufhaltsamen Ausbreitung der Gottesherrschaft erzählen, z. B. in den Wachstumsgleichnissen (Lk 13,18–21). Jesus sieht also die Gottesherrschaft proleptisch in die Gegenwart hineinreichen – und lebt deshalb *wie* in der (vollendeten) Gottesherrschaft. Anders gesagt: Er nutzt den eröffneten Freiheitsraum für sein Handeln, auch wenn es vielen unverständlich bleibt.

Auf diesem Hintergrund, das ist die These, erzählen die vier vergessenen Beispielgeschichten solches proleptisches Handeln an ausgewählten typischen Figuren. Der Glaube an die Durchsetzung der Gottesherrschaft fungiert hier tatsächlich als Handlungsmotivation. Gerade weil die Gottesherrschaft noch nicht allumfassend durchgesetzt ist, sondern nur fragmentarisch sichtbar wird, können Menschen im Vertrauen auf den göttlichen Machtakt im Himmel deren Spielraum auf Erden erweitern,[138] und das heißt gleichzeitig: gegen das noch nicht von Gottes Willen bestimmte, also von „satanischer Herrschaft" dominierte Gelände ankämpfen – wie die Witwe, oder an die Reaktivierung alter Solidaritätsstrukturen appellieren – wie der Freund. Figuren wie der dritte Sklave oder der Verwalter, die sich auf das satanische System erst gar nicht einlassen bzw. aussteigen, belegen zugleich, dass es viel klüger, lebensfreundlicher und vor allem krisensicherer ist, auf Reziprozität und Solidarität zu setzen als auf Wettbewerbsmechanismen, die unter dem Namen „Treue"/Loyalität Handlungen einfordern, die Solidarität bzw. Reziprozität einseitig nach oben, also im Blick auf die höhere Stufe der Herrschaftspyramide, gewichten. Der dritte Sklave setzt nichts anderes als seinen gesunden Menschenver-

137 Vgl. M. Theobald, „Ich sah den Satan aus dem Himmel stürzen …" Überlieferungskritische Beobachtungen zu Lk 10,18–20, in: BZ NF 49 (2005), 174–190.

138 In eine ähnliche Richtung denkt Merz, Stärke (s. Anm. 101), 678; dies., How a Woman Who Fought Back and Demanded Her Rights Became an Importunate Widow: The Transformations of a Parable of Jesus, in: T. Holmén (Hg.), Jesus from Judaism to Christianity. Continuum Approaches to the Historical Jesus (Library of New Testament Studies 352), London 2007, 49–86, hier 77–80.

stand ein, um das römische Wettbewerbssystem „Diebstahl" zu nennen, das seinerseits diejenigen als böse (und als „Räuber") abstempelt, die nicht mitmachen. Über die vorbildhafte Entscheidung des dritten Sklaven bzw. die Handlungsstrategie des Verwalters werden also Reziprozität und Solidarität in horizontalen Strukturen zugleich als tragende Säulen der Verhaltensregeln in der Gottesherrschaft propagiert und gleichzeitig als klug und krisensicher ausgewiesen.

Kurz: In den vier vergessenen Beispielgeschichten nimmt Jesus typische Strukturen des römischen Herrschaftssystems wahr und lässt Einzelne (im Vertrauen auf die Gottesherrschaft) dagegen ankämpfen bzw. sich (auf Grund kluger Überlegung) dagegen entscheiden. Insofern erscheint Jesus weder als Sozialrevolutionär, der gegen die Römerherrschaft kämpft, noch als einsamer Kämpfer gegen das Reich des Satans und für das Reich Gottes. Von der wirkmächtigen Durchsetzung der Gottesherrschaft im Himmel überzeugt, erzählt er von Einzelnen, die die Vision einer von Solidarität und generalisierter Reziprozität geformten Gesellschaft zu leben versuchen bzw. das vorliegende Herrschaftssystem boykottieren. Vielleicht hatten die ersten Hörer tatsächlich einzelne Personen vor Augen, die es wie Jesus wagten, im Vertrauen auf die Gottesherrschaft proleptisch anders zu handeln.

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# The Transmission of the Jesus Tradition: Old and New Insights

Der Aufsatz untersucht Theorien über Ursprung und Entwicklung der Jesustradition und eröffnet Wege für eine erneute formkritische Erforschung ihrer Überlieferung unter besonderer Beachtung der Erinnerungsdimension. Die Tradition wurzelt in Jesu Tätigkeit als Lehrer und in der Wahrnehmung der traditionsformenden Rolle und des Erinnerungspotentials seiner Worte und Taten durch die Jünger. Die Tradition wurde früh auf paränetische Bedürfnisse hin geformt. Die Erinnerungsdimension erforderte eine Aufbereitung für ihre Darstellung/'Performance' und regte eine narrative Anordnung der Geschichte/Geschehnisse an, sichtbar in den Evangelien als *Chreiai*, die die Vergangenheit mit der rhetorischen Gegenwart verbinden.

*Keywords: Chreia*, form-criticism, memory, 'Performance', transmission

## I. Introductory Remarks

During the last decades there has been a significant shift in research concerning the transmission of the Jesus tradition. Old form-criticism has today lost its position as the most significant method for tracing traditions in early Christianity. We have become aware that the fundamental correlation between the form of a tradition and its *Sitz im Leben* was based on a notion of orality which did not take seriously the advanced and sophisticated strategies of composition and communication evident in the Gospels; we have realized that the emphasis on the creative dynamics of the Christian communities meant a neglect of the interactive nature of individual and communal components in the Jesus tradition; and we are beginning to realize that the tendency to dichotomize the sayings material and the narrative material at a pre-Synoptic stage did not cope sufficiently with the fact that the Jesus event created impressions that from the beginning integrated smaller and larger units of words and happenings.[1] Form-

1 I developed this critique in my discussion of Rudolf Bultmann, "The History of the Synoptic Tradition", *JBL* 122 (2003) 549–555. See also S. Byrskog, "The Transmission of the

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criticism has played its role and new perspectives are emerging. Although several of its insights are of essential and lasting value, it is presently, as a matter of course, being remodeled by scholars working in different areas of the New Testament, not least by experts in various forms of oral and scribal communication in Greek, Roman and Jewish antiquity. As yet, however, no clear alternative has been fully articulated and implemented.

One of the central aspects of ancient communication that almost entirely escaped the attention of the old form-critics was memory. Unfortunately the unwillingness to include considerations about the mnemonic features of communication into form-critical notions became even stronger among some later adherents of form-criticism as these considerations were understood narrowly and in terms of passive memorization. The alternatives became distanced from each other during the second half of the last century. We found either the form-critical paradigm of the creative community elaborating and creating tradition about Jesus from the perspective of the present and with a view of the future or the idea of an entirely stable and cumulative kind of transmission that deliberately preserved the Jesus tradition unaltered and unconcerned with the needs of the community. This simplified way of conceiving the two alternatives was partly due to a vast misunderstanding of the nature of memory.[2] The present article wants to overcome this simplification by discussing some old and new insights into the origin and development of the Jesus tradition, paying attention to the mnemonic character of the Jesus tradition and what this means for a renewed form-critical study of the Gospels.

## II. The Beginning of the Jesus Tradition

Although the emerging new perspectives are still somewhat disparate in terms of how tradition comes into being and develops, they stand on the shoulders of earlier research that sought for the beginning of the Jesus tradition before Easter. It is unfortunate that this work has occasionally been seen as a theological defense of the historical reliability of the

Jesus Tradition", in *The Handbook of the Study of the Historical Jesus* (4 vols.; ed. T. Holmén and S.E. Porter; Leiden forthcoming).

2 This unfortunate development can be seen in the reactions to Birger Gerhardsson's well-known alternative to the form-critical approach in *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (ASNU 22; Lund 1964; Repr. from the 1961 ed.; published again from Grand Rapids and Livonia 1998). His work has recently been fully re-assessed. See *Jesus in Memory: Traditions in Oral and Scribal Perspectives* (ed. W.H. Kelber and S. Byrskog; Waco, TX 2009).

Jesus tradition. Some of its advocates may certainly have regarded it as such and launched it in a theological battle against form-criticism. However, it constituted, as we will see, in fact a modification of some form-critical insights.

Scholars have often noted two sociological factors recorded in the Gospels indicating that the Jesus tradition had its beginning in the ministry of Jesus: he appeared as a teacher and he gathered a group of followers. The role of a teacher implies a consistent attempt to communicate comprehensibly; and the followers are sustained in their social and collective identity by reference to what the master said and did.

## 1. Jesus as Teacher

The data are impressive.[3] The terms used for 'teacher' – ῥαββί or ῥαββουνί and διδάσκαλος – occur 65 times in address to Jesus (except John 8:4). Luke also employs ἐπιστάτης didactically seven times.[4] On four or five occasions people speak about Jesus in the third person as teacher;[5] and on six occasions Jesus refers to himself as teacher.[6] We find the verb 'to teach' (διδάσκειν) 56 times (except John 8:2) and the noun 'teaching' (διδαχή) nine times, both of them almost always referring to the activity of Jesus.

The term 'disciple' or 'student' (μαθητής) is used in the Gospels 234 times, mostly for the Twelve, but also for adherents of other teachers (e. g. Matt 9:14; 22:16; Acts 9:25) and – in the Lukan material – for additional followers of Jesus and for Christians in general (e. g. Luke 6:17; Acts 9:1; 11:26). In John the Jews are disciples of Moses (John 9:28). The verb 'to make disciples' (μαθητεύειν) is never employed in the active mode to describe what Jesus does, but only for what the disciples themselves and Paul and Barnabas do (Matt 28:19; Acts 14:21). It is twice found in the passive (or possibly middle) in reference to persons who have become disciples of Jesus (Matt 13:52; 27:57). Three times we find the verb 'to learn' (μανθάνειν) describing the appropriation of something that Jesus refers to (Mark 13:28 par.; Matt 9:13; 11:29). This is however not a prominent

3 For more complete lists of references, see R. Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer: Eine Untersuchung zum Ursprung der Evangelien-Überlieferung* (WUNT II/7; 3rd ed.; Tübingen 1988) 246–276; S. Byrskog, *Jesus the Only Teacher: Didactic Authority and Transmission in Ancient Israel, Ancient Judaism and the Matthean Community* (ConBNT 24; Stockholm 1994) 202–204, 221–224.

4 Luke 5:5; 8:24 (*bis*), 45; 9:33, 49; 17:13.

5 Matt 9:11; 17:24; Mark 5:35; John 11:28. Cf. John 3:2.

6 Mark 14:14 pars; Matt 10:24–25/Luke 6:40 (*bis*); Matt 23:8; John 13:13–14 (*bis*).

term in the Gospels. Primarily the disciples learn by following (ἀκολουθεῖν) Jesus, that is, by hearing, seeing, and imitating their master.

These data become significant when compared with the rest of the New Testament. Jesus is never called teacher outside the Gospels. Only Acts 1:1 describes his activity didactically, and perhaps Paul alludes to him as a teacher in Rom 6:17, but these instances are exceptions. Similarly, the terms 'disciple' and 'to make disciples' – or 'to become disciple' – are employed only in the Gospels and Acts. They never became prominent labels for the early Christians. By the criteria of historical-Jesus research, this statistical fact is an indication of Jesus' own didactic role. Scholars who minimize the importance of his didactic appearance and place him in other roles which allegedly spurred the beginning of the Jesus tradition have to confront the data mentioned above.

It should be noted that the didactic aspect of Jesus' person and mission is only one dimension of his appearance and of the narrative interpretation of him. Didactic categories are intrinsically related to prophetic roles. Moreover, each Gospel has incorporated the notion of Jesus as teacher into its characteristic plot and added significance to it, integrating the teaching into the revelatory importance of his person and ministry. In the Gospels Jesus is the subject as well as the object of teaching, the teacher and the one taught.[7] The author of Matthew, in particular, enhanced this notion into a didactic Christology of his own.[8] Also to be noted is that each and every occurrence of ῥαββί and ῥαββουνί cannot be regarded as a reflection of a didactic designation of Jesus, because these terms were employed as full-blown didactic titles only after 70 CE.

## 2. The Group of Disciples

The didactic role of Jesus corresponds to the picture of the group of disciples. Only few scholars doubt today that Jesus drew a circle of more intimate followers to be with him. He might even have chosen to limit the

7 This is the basic argument in S. Byrskog, "Das Lernen der Jesusgeschichte nach den synoptischen Evangelien", in *Religiöses Lernen in der biblischen, frühjüdischen und frühchristlichen Überlieferung* (ed. B. Ego and H. Merkel; WUNT 180; Tübingen 2005) 191–209.

8 Byrskog, *Jesus the Only Teacher* (see n. 3); id., "Jesus as Messianic Teacher in the Gospel According to Matthew: Tradition History and/or Narrative Christology", in *The New Testament as Reception* (ed. M. Müller and H. Tronier; JSNTSup 230; Sheffield 2002) 83–100; M. Müller, "The Theological Interpretation of the Figure of Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew: Some Principal Features in Matthean Christology", *NTS* 45 (1999) 157–173. Cf. also J. Yueh-Han Yieh, *One Teacher: Jesus' Teaching Role in Matthew's Gospel Report* (BZNW 124; Berlin 2004).

number to twelve.[9] It is significant that he deliberately selected them, instead of them selecting him as teacher (Matt 8:18–22/Luke 9:57–62). Following him meant to be chosen by him and always and exclusively attached to him. This kind of teacher-disciple relationship provides the best possible condition for an emerging tradition.

Heinz Schürmann gave this group its contours as a transmitting body of Jesus-followers.[10] He had the ambition of bridging the gulf between the post-Easter community and the pre-Easter group of disciples. It was essential for him to establish a sociological continuity between the two in order to substantiate the idea of the post-Easter act of remembrance as being a careful act of transmission. This continuity becomes evident, in his view, once we realize that both settings consisted of groups which confessed their alliance to Jesus' words and to the eschatological event of his person. The confessional character of the pre-Easter group of disciples constituted a typical and recurrent situation and thus resembled sociologically, despite differences, the condition of the post-Easter community. Schürmann also distinguished between the inner and the outer *Sitz im Leben* of the pre-Easter group of disciples. Internally the group found its identity as confessing students caring for the words of Jesus for their own sake and forming them in accordance with their perception of him. Externally the group was motivated to transmission by their recurrent activity of preaching the Kingdom and their life together.

Schürmann's article is crucial, because it extends the setting of tradition back to the ministry of Jesus, while at the same time acknowledging the basic tenets of the form-critical correlation between a literary form and the typical situation of a group. He takes seriously the basic insight that tradition often relates to the recurring activities of a group of people with a keen interest in conveying the remembered tradition to others. In this sense Schürmann was a forerunner of the modern emphasis on tradition as the manifestation of social or collective memory, but with a more consistent focus on memory as a deliberate medium of transmission.[11] To

9 J.P. Meier, "The Circle of the Twelve: Did It Exist during Jesus' Public Ministry?", *JBL* 116 (1997) 635–672.

10 H. Schürmann, "Die vorösterlichen Anfänge der Logientradition: Versuch eines formgeschichtlichen Zugangs zum Leben Jesu", in *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den synoptischen Evangelien* (KBANT; Düsseldorf 1968) 39–65.

11 Schürmann subsequently argued for the involvement of pneumatically inspired teachers. See his article "'… und Lehrer': Die geistliche Eigenart des Lehrdienstes und sein Verhältnis zu anderen geistlichen Diensten im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter", in *Orientierungen am Neuen Testament: Exegetische Gesprächsbeiträge* (Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament; Düsseldorf 1978) 116–156.

be sure, the continuity he called for has to be tested from case to case – devotion can produce close adherence to as well as pious elaboration of tradition. Nonetheless, Schürmann established a social basis for assuming that the teaching of Jesus did not become tradition only after Easter and independently of that teaching, but in close proximity to Jesus' ministry as a teacher of a devoted group of followers.

## 3. The Tradition-Forming Impact of Jesus

With Schürmann's article the form-critical notion of tradition and transmission gradually began to shift. The mnemonic activity of the early Christians slowly came into the picture and has eventually become a central concern of scholarship.[12] Before elaborating further on the importance of memory, the more recent insight that the teaching had to make a decisive impact in order to turn into a lasting mnemonic tradition should be noted. James D.G. Dunn insists that the initial impact of Jesus was decisive for the beginning of the Jesus tradition as an act of remembering and oral performance.[13] The impacting word or event became the tradition of that word or event in a communal, mnemonic process and constituted the constants which successive retellings could elaborate. Dunn, like Schürmann, regards the preaching of the disciples as a particular occasion that stimulated the articulation of the disciple-effecting impact. This focus on Jesus' decisive impact holds together the tradition-forming role of words and events and avoids the outdated way of separating the two. Memory tends to narrativize the past into an integrated whole, to the extent that the disciples recalled the impact of a person whose deeds formed a message as vital as his words.

Dunn's emphasis on the impact of Jesus can be corroborated with a more explicit attention to Jesus' didactic authority and techniques. Jesus taught publicly in the synagogues and the temple as well as in private houses – meals could have been important occasions for teaching (cf. Luke

12 For some contributions with different emphases on the notion of memory, see e. g. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript* (see n. 2); J. Schröter, *Erinnerung an Jesu Worte: Studien zur Rezeption der Logienüberlieferung in Markus, Q und Thomas* (WMANT 76; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1997); J.D.G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, Vol. 1 of *Christianity in the Making* (Grand Rapids 2003); A. Kirk and T. Thatcher (eds), *Memory, Tradition, and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity* (SBLSS 52; Atlanta 2005); S. Byrskog, "A New Quest for the *Sitz im Leben:* Social Memory, the Jesus Tradition and the Gospel of Matthew", *NTS* 52 (2006) 319–336; A. Kirk, "Memory", in *Jesus in Memory: Traditions in Oral and Scribal Perspectives* (ed. W.H. Kelber and S. Byrskog; Waco, TX 2009) 155–172.

13 Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (see n. 12), 239–245.

7:36–47; 14:1–24) – and in the open air. In the saying in Mark 1:38 par. he envisions himself as a wandering teacher.[14] The Gospels betray that his impact had to do with the unusual didactic authority emerging from a combination of words and deeds. When he is teaching (περιπατεῖν, διδάσκειν) in the temple, the Jewish leaders ask him by what authority he is doing (ποιεῖν) the things previously narrated (Mark 11:27–33 pars). He was a teacher who not only taught his students words of wisdom, but who also did remarkable things. His authority was intrinsically related to the unusual impact he made when teaching and performing deeds of power in the synagogues on the Sabbath (Mark 1:21–28 par.; Mark 6:1–6 par.).[15] Jesus was different from an ordinary teacher, to be sure, but it was precisely when he appeared as a teacher with an extraordinary authority that he made the most profound impact. The authority they were asking about in the temple was a didactic authority which expressed itself in words and unexpected deeds.

The verbal teaching was deliberately impressive.[16] Jesus seems to have made use of exaggeration,[17] play on words,[18] proverbs,[19] obscure and paradoxical sayings,[20] irony,[21] questions,[22] and – above all – parables, most of them formulated in Aramaic or Hebrew, but some perhaps in Greek.[23] They all, even the parables,[24] functioned as pedagogical means to convey

14 Cf. also Matt 8:20, 22/Luke 9:58, 60.

15 Cf. Mark 3:1–6 pars.

16 I cannot discuss the authenticity of each saying separately but list examples that a majority of scholars accept as characteristic of Jesus' teaching.

17 E.g. Matt 10:37/Luke 14:26; Matt 5:29–30.

18 E.g. Matt 16:18; 23:24 (aram.: כלמא or קלמא, 'vermin', and למא 'camel').

19 E.g. Mark 3:24 pars; 6:4 pars; Matt 6:21/Luke 12:34; Matt 6:34c; 26:52b.

20 E.g. Matt 11:11/Luke 7:28; Matt 11:12/Luke 16:16; Luke 13:32.

21 E.g. Matt 11:16–19/Luke 7:31–35; Matt 16:2–3 (cf. Luke 12:54–55).

22 E.g. Mark 4:30 par.; 8:27–29 pars; 9:50 pars; 11:29–30 pars.

23 The major argument in favor of the opinion that Jesus taught in Greek is circumstantial, namely, the bilingual character of Palestine. To be noticed are also passages claiming that Jesus spoke to people who presumably did not understand a Semitic language (Mark 7:26–30 par.; 15:2–5 pars; Matt 8:5–13/Luke 7:2–10; John 12:20–28). Cf. S.E. Porter, "Jesus and the Use of Greek in Galilee", in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (ed. B. Chilton and C.A. Evans; NTTS 19; Leiden 1994) 123–154. Mark A. Chancey has shown that the arguments for a heavy influence of the Greek language and culture in lower Galilee have to be reconsidered. See his *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee* (SNTSMS 118; Cambridge 2002).

24 See B. Gerhardsson, "Illuminating the Kingdom: Narrative Meshalim in the Synoptic Gospels", in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (ed. H. Wansbrough; JSNTSup 64; Sheffield 1991) 266–309.

the teaching in a way that made a profound impression and promoted further reflection and understanding.[25]

The teaching was followed up in the circle of disciples. The custom of conveying special (esoteric) teaching to a group of selected people was spread widely in Greek, Roman and Jewish antiquity. Jesus' impressive words and deeds made in public were also likely to be commented upon and transformed into a meaningful message and embryonic tradition within the smaller setting of disciples. The synoptic Gospels depict situations where the disciples ask him for private explanation, especially concerning the parables,[26] but also about other matters,[27] and where he takes them aside in order to teach them separately.[28] The private teaching could take place in a house or outside,[29] in particular in the garden at the western slope of the Mount of Olives (Luke 22:39; Joh 18:1–2). The curious saying in Matt 10:26–27/Luke 12:2–3 – with a similar saying in Mark 4:22 par. – was perhaps related to Jesus' practice of teaching the disciples "in the dark". Possibly Jesus withdrew from public more often as the opposition towards him increased. The synoptic Gospels also indicate that the disciples should be given (to know) the secret(s) of the Kingdom (Mark 4:11 pars).[30] This certainly implies revelation, and the saying is quite similar to the one that the Son reveals the Father to whom he chooses (Matt 11:25–26/Luke 10:21–22), but revelation may come in unveiled words of instruction.

We have no real evidence that the disciples made written notes of the teaching.[31] Considering the low appreciation of written material in Greek, Roman and Jewish antiquity generally and the preference for the *viva vox* to the written word in some Christian circles of the early second century

25 See R.H. Stein, *The Method and Message of Jesus' Teaching* (Philadelphia 1978) 7–25, 27–59; Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer* (see n. 3), 353–498, 510–512; P. Perkins, *Jesus as Teacher* (Understanding Jesus Today; Cambridge 1990) 38–61.

26 Mark 4:10 pars; 4:34; 7:17 par.; Matt 13:36.

27 Mark 9:11 par.; 9:28 par.; 10:10; 10:26 pars.

28 Mark 9:30–31; 9:35; 10:32 pars.

29 The mention of a house for Jesus' activity in Mark and Matthew is peculiar. Matthew does not repeat any of the references to it in Mark 2:1; 3:20; 7:17, 24; 9:28, 33; 10:10. Yet he adds it in 13:1 (cf. Mark 4:1) and includes it in the special material in 9:28; 13:36; 17:25. At least Mark 9:33 (cf. Mark 1:29; 2:1; 3:20) and Matt 17:24 could indicate that he taught the disciples in a specific house in Capernaum.

30 There are significant agreements between Matt 13:11/Luke 8:10 as against Mark 4:11, but they do not affect the point that the disciples were the recipients of a special secret.

31 Differently A. Millard, *Reading and Writing in the Time of Jesus* (BS 69; Sheffield 2000) 223–229.

(Papias in Eus., Hist. Eccl. 3.39.4),[32] it is unlikely that such notes played any significant role.[33] Even if they existed, they were probably, as most ancient writings, an integrated part of oral discussion and performance.

## III. The Initial Indications of Transmission

Thus far I have presented a fairly well-known picture of how the Jesus tradition originated. It is considerably more difficult to trace with precision the way of the tradition from Jesus and his disciples to the Gospels. His death must have caused an abrupt pause in the process of his teaching becoming a mnemonic practice. From Mark 14–16 we receive the impression that his followers – men and women alike – were disillusioned, afraid, and poorly motivated to transmit and celebrate what they had learned publicly and privately from him. The immediate impact of his presence was gone and there was no reason for celebration of tradition. At this moment of crisis and strong cognitive dissonance among those who had been closest to him, the emerging Jesus tradition must have been in danger of being forgotten and lost.

Only about two decades later the picture is different. The Pauline letters indicate that in the 50s the Jesus tradition was established as something to be transmitted from one person to another. Scholars who emphasize how the early Christians adapted the Jesus tradition according to various needs at the moment of oral performance tend to neglect the indications of actual transmission.[34] The terms 'deliver' (παραδιδόναι/מסר) and 'receive' (παραλαμβάνειν/קבל) were, as is well known, terminology for the transmission of Torah in rabbinic Judaism. Mark 7:4–5, 13 shows that they car-

32 See W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA 1989); C. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (TSAJ 81; Tübingen 2001). To be noted, however, is that Second Temple Judaism put great emphasis on reading and writing as part of the study of the Torah. I have surveyed the evidence for elementary and scribal schools in ancient Israel in *Jesus the Only Teacher* (see n. 3), 63–67.

33 Luke reports that John and Peter "were uneducated and untrained men" (Acts 4:13). Although the text is strongly rhetorical, it indicates that the author of Luke-Acts would have been surprised to find such notes among that which was handed down to him.

34 Cf. Gerhardsson's critique of Dunn in "Innan evangelierna skrevs", *SEÅ* 69 (2004) 167–189, esp. 177; and in "The Secret of the Transmission of the Unwritten Jesus Tradition", *NTS* 51 (2005) 1–18, esp. 9. Dunn stresses the living and adaptable character of the tradition as it was actually used. Cf. already his "Jesus Tradition in Paul", in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (ed. B. Chilton and C.A. Evans; NTTS 19; Leiden 1994) 155–178.

ried connotations of handing on and receiving tradition (παράδοσις) already before 70 CE. It is difficult to escape the impression that this is exactly what Paul, the Jewish teacher, has in mind when he twice uses both terms to describe what he received and passed on to the Corinthians (1 Cor 11:23; 15:3). The first time he uses them is in a discussion of the Lord's Supper; the second time Jesus' death, resurrection and appearances are in view. Both passages point to something which Paul received and handed on, to tradition and transmission.

On other occasions Paul and his associates use similar and additional terminology for what they had learned and delivered to the communities. This is clear from several passages:

1 Cor 11:2 (καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν τὰς παραδόσεις κατέχετε)
Phil 4:9 (ἃ καὶ ἐμάθετε καὶ παρελάβετε καὶ ἠκούσατε καὶ εἴδετε ἐν ἐμοί, ταῦτα πράσσετε)
Col 2:6 (ὡς οὖν παρελάβετε τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον, ἐν αὐτῷ περιπατεῖτε)
1 Thess 4:1 (παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν τὸ πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν)
2 Thess 2:15 (κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε)
2 Thess 3:6 (περιπατοῦντος … μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν παρελάβοσαν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν).

The terminology occurs in contexts of admonition. Adding to these passages are those where Paul attributes a tradition to the Lord (1 Cor 7:10–11; 9:14) and alludes to the Jesus tradition in his exhortations.[35] As it seems, at this early time the instruction of believers was the primary setting of communicating the Jesus tradition. It was on these occasions of instruction that the tradition was handed on, mostly orally but sometimes in epistolary form (2 Thess 2:15).

It is probable that paraenesis, in particular, called for an orderly account of the Jesus tradition.[36] This does not mean that admonition was the actual context of proper transmission. It would be misleading simply to equate paraenesis and transmission. The paraenesis stimulated work with tradition; in this context the teachers used and communicated tradition, but paraenesis was something different from transmission. It is striking that we never find the tradition explicitly quoted as Jesus tradition in paraenetic contexts. It is always only alluded to; it is put to use.

35 Cf. e. g. Rom 12:14 and Matt 5:44/Luke 6:27–28; Rom 12:17 and Matt 5:39–42/Luke 6:29–30; Rom 14:14 and Mark 7:15; 1 Thess 5:2, 4 and Matt 24:43/Luke 12:39–40; 1 Thess 5:13 and Mark 9:50; 1 Thess 5:15 and Matt 5:39–48/Luke 6:27–38.

36 Paraenesis can be many things. See W. Popkes, *Paränese und Neues Testament* (Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 168; Stuttgart 1996) 13–29; id., "Paraenesis in the New Testament: An Exercise in Conceptuality", in *Early Christian Paraenesis in Context* (ed. J. Starr and T. Engberg-Pedersen; BZNW 125; Berlin 2004) 13–46. Here I am thinking of its function to enforce the common norms by authoritatively admonish one or several persons concerning the proper way of life.

The letter of James is instructive. It contains numerous inter-textual links to Jesus-sayings known from the Gospels,[37] but the author never refers to them as Jesus tradition. He would surely, as the rabbis did later, have identified the sayings by reference to their originator had he been concerned with transmission as such in the letter. To be noticed is also that the parallels to the Jesus tradition concern not individual sayings merely, but are often found in blocks of material.[38]

We might assume that the occurrence of transmission terminology in paraenetic contexts indicates a similar situation. The Christian teachers employed tradition that had already been structured into a manageable body of tradition. They could refer to and use it in paraenesis and in this way employ the Jesus tradition. It is probable that this recurrent use of the tradition even affected the tradition. For all we know about how tradition develops, present concerns might cause changes in its form and content. However, there is significant indication that from early on there was an awareness that work with the tradition was an act to be separated from communicative acts such as paraenetic teaching.

## IV. The Role of Memory

The situation in the Pauline churches in the 50s shows that the early Christians cherished a concept of what tradition was and how it should be handed on. If that was the case, memory must have played a crucial role. The extent to which the old form-critics neglected to pay attention to memory is surprising in view of its fundamental importance in all forms of oral communication and transmission in antiquity. It is equally amazing that more recent studies of ancient performance often treat memory only sporadically and maintain that the pastness of tradition was irrelevant to the oral act of delivery. Both positions fail to appreciate memory for what it was.

37 For a minimalist account, cf. W.H. Wachob and L.T. Johnson, "The Sayings of Jesus in the Letter of James", in *Authenticating the Words of Jesus* (ed. B. Chilton and C.A. Evans; NTTS 28.1; Leiden 1999) 433–450.

38 For discussion, see P.J. Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus* (JSNTSup 47; Sheffield 1991).

## 1. The Importance of Memory and Recall

The importance of memory in antiquity can hardly be exaggerated. We need to remind ourselves of its divine origin and crucial importance for all aspects of life. It was a goddess to the ancient Greeks, existing from the time when heaven and earth united (Hesiod, Theog. 53–63, 133–136). They regarded *Mnēmosynē* as the mother of the Muses, the fountain of life, and sought means to enhance and cultivate her.[39] During the legendary Golden Age, when writing did not exist, memory and tradition were symbiotically united in all aspects of life. In a world of myths it was the source and structuring power of human existence.

Even when this veneration and belief in the life-sustaining power of memory faded or became restricted to esoteric circles,[40] its importance continued to be strongly felt. Aristotle philosophized about it in a separate treatise in the fourth century BCE, as did Plotinus much later in the third century CE.[41] Among ordinary people living at the time when Jesus tradition was emerging, remembering and forgetting had become a matter of honor and shame. Pliny the Elder, for instance, brings together an amusing anthology of memory stories about Cyrus, Lucius Scipio, Cineas, Mithridates, and Charmadas (Plin., Nat. 7.24.88–89). Their memory was exceptional and caused amazement and esteem. Several of these stories are certainly exaggerated, but they show that a good and accurate memory was, as Pliny puts it, "the most necessary boon in life", something precious and greatly admired. A respectable person should cultivate the memory and was expected to accurately recall things of different kinds.

As Aristotle's reflections suggest and as these anecdotes show, memory was no longer primarily a goddess but had become intimately linked with the act of recall. Aristotle distinguished between μνήμη as the memory of the past – ἡ δὲ μνήμη τοῦ γενομένου (Arist., Mem. Rem. 449b.15) – and ἀνάμνησις as the process through which one finds one's way by means of

39 I have indicated the most significant aspects in *Story as History – History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History* (WUNT 123; Tübingen 2000, 2001, and Leiden and Boston 2003) 160–165. In addition to the literature referred to there, cf. also J.P. Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive studies of memory and literacy in classical antiquity* (London 1997).

40 Cf. G. Zuntz, *Persephone: Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia* (Oxford) 378–381.

41 For a recent discussion of both Aristotle's and Plotinus' notions of memory and recall, see R.A.H. King, *Aristotle and Plotinus on Memory* (Quellen und Studien zur Philosophie 94; Berlin 2009).

association and order among the contents of memory,[42] stressing how important it is for the recollecting person to have a sense of time (452b.7). Recollection navigates according to Aristotle between the initial impression and its present return and occurs when the movement between the images or mental copies of the past corresponds with the cognition of time. Pliny's story is an example indicating how this divinely and philosophically sanctioned ability indirectly effected a profound veneration of a good and accurate memory and stimulated a desire to recall something in the past with a certain amount of precision. There had emerged an awareness of individual memory and the need for accurate recall. It comes as no surprise that the Greeks and the Romans developed methods for the memorization of significant words and deeds and traced them back to Simonides of Ceos (556–468 BCE).[43] The well-known transmission techniques of the rabbis, while peculiar in themselves,[44] were part of a much broader prevalence of memorization practices in antiquity.

## 2. Memory and Performance

The importance of the individual and preservative memory goes hand in hand with the prominence of various oral performances in antiquity. The performances often depended on memory. It is to be noted that memory was not only enacted during the oral delivery itself but played a crucial role in the preparations of the performer as well as in the experience and internalization of the speech among the audience.

The performers used to prepare their oral readings by memorizing the text that was to be delivered.[45] Most well-known is perhaps the recitation of Homer by heart. Diogenes Laërtius mentions that already Solon (638–558 BCE) initiated competitions in Athens in recitation from Homer (Diog. Laert. 1.57). A successful competitor needed to have memorized most of Homer's work before the performance took place. The

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**42** Cf. R. Sorabji's discussion of the "technique of midpoints" in *Aristotle on Memory* (2nd ed.; London 2004) 31–34.

**43** For a possible scenario of its origin and development, cf. S. Goldmann, "Statt Totenklage Gedächtnis: Zur Erfindung der Mnemotechnik durch Simonides von Keos", *Poetica* 21 (1989) 43–66.

**44** The standard work on this subject is still Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript* (see n. 2). The critique against Gerhardsson's work has focused mainly on its second part, which deals with early Christianity, while the first part dealing with rabbinic Judaism has been widely appreciated. Cf. also M.S. Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth: Writing and Oral Tradition in Palestinian Judaism, 200 BCE–400 CE* (Oxford 2001).

**45** Cf. W. Shiner, *Proclaiming the Gospel: First-Century Performance of Mark* (Harrisburg 2003) 103–125.

practice of committing works to memory was frequent also in later times. The rhetoricians, who trained for the task of making a persuasive performance, recommended learning texts by heart and assumed that the memorized material was to be used in oral delivery. Quintilian, for instance, advises people to commit the speeches of Demosthenes to memory (Quint., Inst. 10.1.105); and Cicero, with the voice of Crassus, recommends memorizing as many Greek and Latin pieces as possible (De Or. 1.34.156). It was essential to learn a number of texts by heart in order to be able to use them successfully in performance as occasion presented itself.

The audience also tried to remember portions of what they heard. A good example can be found in Lucian's *Wisdom of Nigrinus* 6–7. The speaker describes how he calls to mind the words of the philosopher and daily repeats them two or three times. The philosopher's oral delivery had affected him so deeply that even in times of pressure he remembered the master's face and the sound of his voice. The performance remained with the audience after it had come to an end and became the object of continuous mnemonic activity and negotiation.

## 3. Narrative and Social Memory

These selected references are but a few indications of the practice of preparing and receiving the performance mnemonically. Moreover, this mnemonic activity was inherently narrative. The example of Nigrinus' student shows that the attempt to remember the words of the philosopher was part of a mental, mnemonic process of visualizing the past event of when the student saw and heard him. The student remembered words as they were part of a situational context. In Christian literature we find a vivid picture of a similar remembering process in Eusebius's quotation from Ireneaus's letter to Florinus, where he relates that he carries in his memory Jesus tradition from Polycarp. As a young boy Irenaeus learned about the tradition by meticulously observing Polycarp, the place where he taught, how he came in and out, his way of life, what he looked like, etc. In this way he made notes in his heart (ὑπομνηματιζόμενος … ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδία) of the things he heard (Eus., Hist. Eccl. 5.20.5–7). He remembered them by mentally visualizing the performer.

This ancient occurrence of narrative memory finds support in modern theories of social and collective memory and opens up for the theoretical study of mnemonic negotiation and elaboration of tradition. Such theories seek to systematize various investigations of the social aspects of re-

membering and accentuate the narrative and social character of all constructions of the past. From the perspective of social and collective memory, it is evident that the memory narrativizes history and gives social meaning to it by positioning past events in relation to each other and according to conventional plot structures and mnemonic patterns.[46] Although it is difficult to know precisely how rote memorization and truly personal recollections interact with social and collective mnemonic features of the individual and the group, the social involvement of even the most acute memorizer cannot be denied. The rabbinic *tannaim*, for instance, being perhaps the most extreme example, were not considered fully educated unless they combined their astute knowledge of the memorized material with the study of the interpretative tradition of the Scriptures and the Mishnah (b. Soṭah 22a). Likewise, the ancient Greek memorizers (μνήμονες) were, as far as we know, in the service of public and private interests.[47] The notion that memorization and private memories were totally isolated from social involvement does not accord with our knowledge of how memory works. Rather, all forms of mnemonic activity are in one way or the other related to the social environment and socially negotiated.

Recent work on the Jesus tradition pays much attention to the social and collective memory of early Christian groups.[48] That memory, it is argued, was decisive for censoring the vision of the past in a way that conformed to the values and plot structures of the group. However, more work needs to be done before we will be able to theoretically and with a basis in the texts relate it to the memory of the individual. After all, no one would deny that individuals existed in early Christianity and that they did have memories. While indeed adding an important aspect to the mnemonic power of the social environment and potentially altering our entire perception of tradition and transmission as well as redaction and composi-

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**46** I have developed my view of social memory in "A New Quest for the *Sitz im Leben:* Social Memory, the Jesus Tradition and the Gospel of Matthew", *NTS* 52 (2006) 319–336. My discussion in that article relied primarily on E. Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago 2003).

**47** See further M. Simondon, *La mémoire et l'oubli dans la pensée grecque jusqu'à la fin du V^e^ siècle avant J.-C. Psychologie archaïque, mythes et doctrines* (Collection d'études mythologiques; Paris 1983) 293–301.

**48** For a recent overview of the discussion, see A. Kirk and T. Thatcher, "Jesus Tradition as Social Memory", in *Memory, Tradition, and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity* (ed. id.; SBLSS 52; Atlanta 2005) 25–42; Kirk, "Memory" (see n. 12), 155–172. For a helpful introduction to the field of social and collective memory, see B.A. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Philadelphia 2003).

tion, the functionalistic idea of the censoring role of social and collective memory is in tension with the well-known criterion that a piece of information about Jesus has a claim to authenticity if it is dissimilar to the tendencies of early Christianity. Such irregularities and archaisms in the traditioning process are an indication of the limits of social and collective memory and point to the importance of keeping in balance the individual and preservative memory, on the one hand, and the social and collective memory of the Jesus tradition, on the other hand.

## V. The *Chreia* as a Narrative and Mnemonic Form

The final step in any account of early Christian traditioning is to ask how the tradition eventually entered into the text of the Gospels. If the prominence of the manifold mnemonic trajectory outlined above is correct,[49] it seems legitimate to seek in the Gospels for textual traces of the mnemonic experiences of the early followers of Jesus. Such traces ought to be visible as specific textual forms, that is, as forms which include mnemonic and narrative features reflecting the involvement of individuals and groups and which provide ways of preservation as well as elaboration of tradition.

The most prominent such form was the *chreia.*[50] The popularity of the *chreia* in Greek antiquity is well attested.[51] It was a vital part of the exercises intended to prepare students for more advanced studies of rhetorical techniques and delivery. Hermogenes, Aphthonius, and Nicolaus, to mention the most prominent ones, included it in their *Progymnasmata* as the third exercise following those on the fable and the narrative. They probably wrote their exercises during the second, fourth and fifth century CE, respectively. Theon of Alexandria, most likely active during the second half of the first century CE, also mentions it in third place, but he may origi-

49 For a fuller discussion of the notion of "mnemonic trajectory", see my forthcoming article "From Memory to Memoirs: Tracing the Background of a Literary Genre".

50 In a previous study concerned with the notion of the *Sitz im Leben*, I suggested we bring into focus the formation of narrative entities in recurrent mnemonic situations of transmission and performance and look for stylized patterns in the Gospels that are specifically mnemonic and narrative in character and pointed to the *chreia* as a good starting-point. See S. Byrskog, "A Century with the *Sitz im Leben*: From Form-Critical Setting to Gospel Community and Beyond", *ZNW* 98 (2007) 1–27, here 26. I developed this idea in "The Early Church as a Narrative Fellowship: An Exploratory Study of the Performance of the *Chreia*", *TTK* 78 (2007) 207–226.

51 For its use in Greek philosophical writings, see already G. von Wartensleben, *Begriff der griechischen Chreia und Beiträge ihrer Form* (Heidelberg 1901).

nally have placed it first.[52] In the introduction to his exercises he lists the *chreia* in the first place and gives reasons for beginning the curriculum with it (64 lines 29–30).[53] During the first century CE it was evidently used to present the basic notions and skills necessary for the practice of rhetoric.[54] It had to do with a particular case in which a specific person was challenged to respond rhetorically to a certain situation and presented a kind of mini-speech occasion that could be evaluated as to its use of rhetorical forms of argumentation.

## 1. The Narrativity of the *Chreia*

For our purposes, it is important to notice how the *chreia* combines features of narrativity and memory. Its narrativity is inherent to its form. According to Theon, the *chreia* is "a concise statement or action which is well-aimed, attributed to a specified character or something analogous to a character" (96 lines 19–21). In distinction to the *apophthegma* (ἀπόφθεγμα), which could be an anonymous saying (cf. Plut., Apoph. Lac.), the attribution is central to the *chreia* and provides it with a narrative core. People in late antiquity distinguished it from a proper narrative, a *diēgēma* (διήγημα). Theon defines the *diēgēma* as "an explanatory account of matters which have occurred or as if they occurred" (78 lines 16–17). It should explain something by reference to a more extended and generalized narrative presentation. The attribution of the *chreia* had, by contrast, to be to a specified character.[55]

This "attributive narrativity" is evident both in the brief *chreia* and in its expanded form. Even the brief *chreia* often contained a participial clause that accompanied the attribution and described the circumstance of the speaking or acting person. The exercise that required students to expand the *chreia* for the sake of producing a persuasive argument – Hermogenes calls it ἐργασία – added descriptive details about the person's credentials

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**52** R.F. Hock and E.N. O'Neil, "The Chreia Discussion of Aelius Theon of Alexandria: Introduction, Translation and Comments", in *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric. Vol. 1: The Progymnasmata* (ed. id.; Text and Translations 27; Graeco-Roman Religion Series 9; Atlanta 1986) 61–112, esp. 65–66.

**53** The references to Theon follow L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci* (vol. 2; Leipzig 1854). Spengel's edition is referred to in Michel Patillon's and Giancarlo Bolognesi's edition *Aelius Théon Progymnasmata* (Collection des Universités de France; Paris 1997).

**54** So B.L. Mack, "Elaboration of the Chreia in the Hellenistic School", in id. and V.K. Robbins, *Patterns of Persuasion in the Gospels* (Foundation & Facets: Literary Facets; Sonoma 1989) 31–67, at 35–36.

**55** The statement that the *chreia* could be attributed to something analogous to a character does not appear in other definitions and was probably of little significance.

and circumstances or enlarged the dialogue of the sayings-*chreia* into a little story with dramatic traits of its own. Conversely, a longer story could be abbreviated into a short *chreia.* Through its attribution to a specified character the *chreia* betrayed an embryonic narrativity that could be developed and again reduced according to various rhetorical needs.

## 2. The Mnemonic Character of the *Chreia*

Being also a mnemonic form, the *chreia* was appropriate for the articulation of memories of the past. In his introduction to the *Progymnasmata*, Theon placed it in the first place precisely because it was easy to remember (64 line 30). It was inherently mnemonic in character and provided therefore the essential skills for all the other exercises. One reason that it was easy to remember had to do with its briefness, but we may assume that its attribution to a specified character also facilitated memorization. As we noted above, for instance, the student of Nigrinus and the young Irenaeus remembered things by visualizing the author of the teaching.

The *Progymnasmata* relate the *chreia* to another mnemonic category, namely the *apomnēmoneuma* (ἀπομνημόνευμα). This was a broad literary form used for a number of writings.[56] People were aware that the *chreia* and the *apomnēmoneuma* were different and yet very similar. Like the *chreia*, the *apomnēmoneuma* is a saying or an action that is useful for living. According to Theon, it is however also distinguished from the *chreia* in two ways (97 lines 3–7): it is "sometimes expanded" and it is "also remembered by itself". The *apomnēmoneuma* does not always have to be expanded and there might have existed overlapping in length between the two forms. The second point is obscure. Perhaps it indicates that unlike the *chreia* the *apomnēmoneuma* is complete with the identity of the character to which it is attributed and can be reported without further clarification, in and of itself.[57]

For Theon – as for others – the difference was mainly a matter of length. Both were mnemonic forms. *Chreiai* that were expanded into longer stories were also thought to be memorable and therefore labeled *apomnēmoneumata.* In fact, the *chreia* could be seen as an *apomnēmoneuma* precisely because it was easy to remember. The third century CE fragment *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 85* articulates this idea as it responds to the question why the *chreia* is an *apomnēmoneuma:* "Because it is kept in mind (ἀπομνημονεύεται) in order that it may be quoted". The general idea

**56** See my forthcoming article "From Memory to Memoirs".
**57** Cf. Hock and O'Neil, "The Chreia Discussion of Aelius Theon" (see n. 52), 109–110.

seems to have been that these items were two inherently mnemonic forms that were distinguished mainly in length.

The mnemonic character of the *chreia* is evident in the exercise requiring students to recite it from memory. For Theon this is the first and most simple of eight gradually more difficult exercises with the *chreia* – first came recitation, then inflection, comment, objection, expansion, condensation, refutation, and confirmation. He calls it ἀπαγγελία. Recitation is obvious, he says, "because we try to the best of our ability to report clearly the assigned *chreia* in the same words or in others as well" (101 lines 7–9).

There was ample room for making changes in the *chreia*. Recitation of the *chreia* in the classroom probably kept closely to the words of the teacher who provided it, but recitation with other words was also permissible. The emphasis fell on clarity. The recitation, whether in the exact words of the teacher or in a paraphrase, had to make sure that clarity was not sacrificed.

Scholars have argued that this emphasis points to the unreliability of the *chreiai*.[58] It is however necessary to distinguish the variegating use of one and the same *chreia* in different rhetorical contexts from its use in the deliberate exercises in the schools. Other factors and exercises may point to a low degree of historical concern in the manipulation of the *chreia*, but variations are not necessarily unreliable when they are purposely made in order to make a point more evident. The student should simply learn a clear version of the material by heart before expanding it rhetorically. It was an exercise in memorization, in whatever form the *chreia* was presented. If clarity required the change of words, this change was not haphazard but made intentionally in order to improve an already existing version. Also this version should be recited from memory. The recitation of the *chreia* in the school was thus a kind of preparatory and disciplined mini-performance from memory and should equip the student with the essential tool for further, more difficult rhetorical exercises.

So while the *chreia* has a narrative character in the sense that narrativity is inherent to its form, it also has a mnemonic character in the sense that some version of it should be memorized. It is a mnemonic form articulating a sense of pastness to be expressed with clarity and it includes at the same time aspects of oral and rhetorically crafted performance and narrative elaboration, combining elements of transmission that are both pres-

58 Cf. R.F. Hock, "General Introduction to Volume 1", in *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric. Vol. 1: The Progymnasmata* (ed. id. and E.N. O'Neil; Text and Translations 27; Graeco-Roman Religion Series 9; Atlanta 1986) 1–60, at 42–43, with further references.

ervative and elaborative. If we accept that the Jesus tradition included a mnemonic negotiation between the past and the present and held together sayings and happenings in brief episodes, we may therefore suspect that the tradition was at some stage formed into mnemonic and narrative *chreiai* or *chreia*-like units and that it entered as such into the Gospels or was molded into these forms by the Gospel authors.

## VI. The Example of Mark 1:29–39

As a final test for the model of tradition and transmission described above, we may tentatively explore the possibility that *chreiai* are in fact present in the Gospels. The systematic search for Gospel *chreiai* has only begun. In 1989 Burton Mack and Vernon Robbins made some suggestions concerning the signs of *chreia*-elaboration in the Gospels.[59] The most extensive, recent investigation appeared in 2002, when Marion Moeser published her work on the anecdote in Mark within the setting of the classical world and the rabbis.[60] Her conclusion is that of the 14 anecdotes in Mark 8:27–10:45, nine are types of *chreiai* or a combination of two *chreiai.* Further study would, according to Moeser, probably confirm that the majority of the Markan anecdotes are modeled upon the Greek *chreia.* Research from different angles here comes together in a new and largely unexplored field of interest that has significant implications for our understanding of pre-Markan tradition and transmission.[61]

At least one person in the early Church experienced Mark's gospel as a collection of *chreiai.* To Papias, according to Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. 3.39.15), the Gospel presented Peter's teachings in the form of *chreiai* (πρὸς τὰς χρείας).[62] Papias also indicates the interpretative and rhetorical

59 Mack and Robbins, *Patterns of Persuasion* (see n. 54).

60 M.C. Moeser, *The Anecdote in Mark, the Classical World and the Rabbis* (JSNTSup 227; Sheffield 2002).

61 The most recent contribution known to me is L. Alexander, "Memory and Tradition in the Hellenistic Schools", in *Jesus in Memory: Traditions in Oral and Scribal Perspectives* (ed. W.H. Kelber and S. Byrskog; Waco, TX 2009) 113–153. For an attempt to use notions of *chreia*-elaboration in order to explain the origin and development of the tradition concerning Jesus' authority to forgive sins in Mark 2:1–12, see the dissertation of my doctoral student T. Hägerland, *Jesus and the Forgiveness of Sins: An Aspect of His Prophetic Mission* (SNTSMS; Cambridge forthcoming), especially chapter 6.

62 The idea that πρὸς τὰς χρείας means that Peter conveyed teachings "according to needs", that is, that he adopted his teachings to the circumstances, has been largely abandoned in favor of the view that it describes the *chreia*-form of Peter's teachings. So already R.O.P. Taylor, *The Groundwork of the Gospels* (Oxford 1946) 76. Joseph Kürzinger

activity of the author of the Gospel. To be an interpreter, an ἑρμηνευτής, as he calls Mark, meant in a rhetorical context to recall and recite *chreiai.* In his first exercise, which as we saw included a presentation of the memorized *chreia*, Theon employs the verb ἑρμηνεύειν. The students should try to the best of their ability to "report clearly" (σαφέστατα ἑρμηνεύσαι) the assigned *chreia* in the same words or in others as well (101 line 9). Whatever we make of Papias' reference to Peter and Mark, it is evident that he sensed the *chreia*-like and rhetorical character of the Gospel.

## 1. The Action-*Chreia* in Mark 1:29–31

I have elsewhere argued that Mark 1:29–39 contains an action-*chreia* (vv. 29–31), a brief *diēgēma* (vv. 32–34), and a sayings-*chreia* (35–39).[63] I will here leave out the *diēgēma* and concentrate on the two *chreiai.* The action-*chreia* looks as follows:

(29) As soon as they came out of the synagogue they came to the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John.
(30) Simon's mother-in-law was in bed with fever,
and they told him about her at once.
(31) And he came and took the hand and raised her up.
And the fever left her,
and she began to serve them.

The elements of the scene are that of (a) a situational remark of when and where the event took place (v. 29), (b) a description of the immediate circumstance of the event (v. 30a), (c) a description of the information given to the main character (v. 30b), (d) an account of the action itself (v. 31a), (e) a description of the specific effect of the action (v. 31b), and (f) a description of the general effect of the action (v. 31c). Two things stand out in this scheme. Firstly, the mention of James and John is somewhat awkward and probably reflects the attempt to link the situational remark to the previous account of when Jesus calls the first disciples (1:16–20). Secondly, Jesus is not mentioned by name. In this way the author connects the scene and the attribution of the healing of Simon's mother to the account of Jesus' healing of the man with an unclean spirit (1:21–28).

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made this understanding part of his argument for the presence of rhetorical terminology throughout the Papias quotation. See J. Kürzinger, "Die Aussage des Papias von Hierapolis zur literarischen Form des Markusevangeliums", *BZ* 21 (1977) 245–264. Matthew Black did not object to this part of Kürzinger's proposal in "The Use of Rhetorical Terminology in Papias on Mark and Matthew", *JSNT* 37 (1989) 31–41, here 34, 38.

**63** Byrskog, "The Early Church as a Narrative Fellowship" (see n. 50), 207–226.

According Theon's classification, Mark 1:29–31 is an active action-*chreia.* Theon distinguishes sayings-*chreiai* from action-*chreiai* and mentions also mixed *chreiai.* Both the action-*chreia* and the mixed *chreia* make their point with the action. The action-*chreia* can be either active, where the character acted, or passive, which points out something experienced by the character. Theon gives a brief discussion of the action-*chreiai* and pays more attention to the sayings-*chreiai.* We may assume, therefore, that action-*chreiai* were structured and elaborated mainly in accordance with the sayings-*chreiai.* The major difference was that action-*chreiai* were intended "to reveal some thought without speech" (98 lines 31–32). Its central part needed not be in a statement but could appear in the narration of an action, so that the narration became part of the author's rhetorical flow of argumentation.

The action-*chreia* in Mark 1:29–31 is slightly developed. Theon has, as we saw, eight exercises with the *chreia.* The recitation of the passage in Mark probably included the kernel element in 1:31a. In addition, we might detect traces of inflection and expansion. The inflection meant that the student changed the number of the persons referred to into singular, dual or plural and declined each of the five cases of the proper nouns by making changes in the phrasing that introduced the *chreia.* This exercise was more varied than recitation, according to Theon (101 line 10). Although here too the *chreia* was reported, the concern was to be able to insert bits of traditional material into a longer speech context.

Perhaps the Markan passage reflects this exercise of inflection. Richard Bauckham, though not referring to Theon's exercise, has developed an idea at first presented in 1925 by C.H. Turner, arguing for the presence in Mark of what he calls "the plural-to-singular narrative device".[64] In distinction from the other Gospels, Mark regularly uses a plural third-person verb without an explicit subject to describe the movements of Jesus and his disciples, followed immediately by a singular verb or pronoun referring to Jesus alone. These third-person plurals may be modifications of a first-person plural reflecting the point of view of the Twelve, most often the view of Peter. Bauckham mentions Mark 1:29 as a particularly evident case. The curiously awkward phrase in this verse can easily be turned into a more coherent one with Peter as the speaking subject: "We left the synagogue and came into our house with our fellow-disciples James

64 R. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony* (Grand Rapids 2006) 156–164, esp. 181–182. Bauckham builds on C.H. Turner, "Marcan Usage: Notes Critical and Exegetical, on the Second Gospel V. The Movements of Jesus and His Disciples and the Crowd", *JTS* 26 (1925) 225–240.

and John. My mother-in law was in bed with fever, and he is told about her…" According to Bauckham, this device of the plural-to-singular is Mark's way of reproducing the "we" perspective from which Peter told his stories.

The suggestion of Turner and Bauckham, although difficult to verify, can perhaps be seen as a reflection of the author's ability to inflect the action-*chreia*. It is impossible to say precisely what this inflection would have involved, but it might have contained a change from the first person singular to plural or to dual with Simon and Andrew being one pair and James and John the other. Admittedly, such changes were mostly made in reference to the main character(s) of the *chreia*, while in Mark 1:31 the central part of the *chreia* is reproduced in the common nominative singular. But the attribution to Jesus is vague. He is not mentioned by name, in contrast to the four disciples. The mentioning of other characters by name is an unusual way of introducing a *chreia*. Provided Turner and Bauckham are on the right track, it is not implausible that the author deliberately chose to inflect the numbers of the introductory part of the *chreia* in order to be able to insert the tradition smoothly into the larger narrative context using the third-person plural.[65]

The *chreia* is also expanded. Theon adviced the students to enlarge upon the questions and responses or whatever act or emotion in the *chreia* (103 lines 30–32). A brief *chreia* was often expanded by the addition of descriptive details of the circumstances and the identity of the characters. Mark, as we saw, carefully frames the action by giving specific references to when and where the event took place, even naming and identifying certain persons relevant to the circumstances, and by describing the immediate occasion of the event and how Jesus received information concerning it. He also enlarges the central action "he raised her up" by framing it with two participles (προσελθὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτὴν κρατήσας τὴς χειρός) and pointedly reports the results of the action. Such after-effects are not natural to the form of the *chreia* – it usually ends with the saying or the action – and might indicate the author's flexible attitude to the exercises in the schools. It makes the action-*chreia* appear like an *apomnēmoneuma*, though with the difference that it is not complete with the identity of the character to which it is attributed.

65 In her recent commentary on Mark, Adela Yarbro Collins, while not mentioning the exercise of inflection, thinks that the evangelist here "has rewritten in concise form a longer account of the healing of Simon's mother-in-law". See A. Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Augsburg 2007) 174.

By adding these details, and simultaneously inflecting the numbers, the author adhered to Theon's general rule of the action-*chreia*, namely, that it was "to reveal some thought without speech". The terseness and undeveloped character of the central action of the *chreia* in combination with the vivid and expanded description of the circumstances has the effect of magnifying the fame of Jesus in the eyes of Simon and those with him, while at the same time focalizing Simon's perspective and pointing to his importance among the inner circle of disciples.

## 2. The Sayings-*Chreia* in Mark 1:35–39

The sayings-*chreia* in Mark 1:35–39 looks as follows:

(35) And in the morning, while it was very dark, he got up and went out and went into a deserted place,
and there he prayed.
(36) And Simon and they that were with him hunted for him,
(37) and they found him
and say to him: "Everyone is searching for you."
(38) And he says to them:
"Let us go elsewhere to the neighboring towns, in order that I may preach also there; for to this end I went out."
(39) And he went into their synagogues throughout all Galilee, preaching and casting out demons.

Simon's role is further accentuated in 1:35–39. The other characters of the previous scenes are now referred to merely as Simon's companions. The kernel element is the saying in 1:38. The entire passage revolves around it. The elements of the scene are that of (a) a situational remark of when and where the saying was uttered (v. 35a), (b) a more specific remark concerning the immediate circumstance of the saying (v. 35b), (c) a threefold description of what prompted the saying (vv. 36–37), (d) a quotation of the saying (v. 38), and (e) a description of the after-effect of the saying (v. 39).

Sayings-*chreiai* could, according to Theon, have a statement that was prompted by the situation or that was unprompted. The saying in Mark 1:38 belongs to the former category. Furthermore, Theon mentions four species of response (97 line 24–98 line 20): to a simple question answerable with "yes" or "no"; to an inquiry that required a longer answer; to a question calling for an explanation, that is, where a reason is given; and to some remark in the situation. In the last instance the actor is not asked about something but invited to speak in a general sense. The Markan statement belongs to this category. Jesus does not respond to a question or an inquiry but to the disciples' report that everyone is searching for him.

The statement could be of different kinds. Theon mentions twelve ways in which it could be expressed (99 line 13–101 line 2): as a maxim, as an explanation, with a witticism, with a syllogism, with an enthymeme, with an example, with a wish, in a symbolic manner, in a figurative manner, with double entendre, with a change of subject, and in a combination of the aforementioned forms. The Jesus-saying comes closest to the explanatory manner (ἀποδεικτικῶς) of presentation. Being in a deserted place and finding out that everyone is searching for him, Jesus wants to go on to neighboring towns and explains that this is the reason why he went out. This explanation is not immediately transparent and scholars often generalize it to concern Jesus' mission mentioned programmatically in 1:14–15 or statements later in the narrative,[66] such as the ones in 2:27 and 10:45. But 1:38 has an explanatory function within the *chreia* itself. The verb "went out" (ἐξῆλθον) in 1:38 harks back to the use of the same verb (ἐξῆλθεν) in the situational remark in 1:35 and indicates that Jesus left Capernaum in order to come into the rest of Galilee. His saying explains the reason why he left his home-town and went out to a deserted place where he prayed. He simply wished to move on. Accordingly, the after-effect of his saying is that he "went into" (ἦλθεν) all of Galilee preaching in their synagogues and casting out demons.

The use of a rationale, "for to this end I went out", reflects the method of elaboration. According to Hermogenes, the elaboration should include an encomium for the one who spoke or acted, a paraphrase of the *chreia*, and a rationale. In addition, he indicated the use of five further elements after the rationale: argument from the opposite, from analogy, from example, from authority, and an exhortation to heed to the one who spoke or acted. In Mark there is no explicit praise of Jesus, but in accordance with Hermogenes' exercise the saying of Jesus in 1:38 consists of a statement followed by a rationale. Jesus does not here argue his case by adding arguments of different kinds. The saying is only slightly elaborated with a rational that accords with the situational remark in 1:35 and supports the explanatory function of the Jesus-saying.

Also this scene ends with an after-effect. In the action-*chreia* in 1:29–31 it had no other evident function but to indicate the success of Jesus' action. The after-effect of the present sayings-*chreia* resembles the one in the action-*chreia* in that it reports that Jesus did what he said he would do. There is no other evident relationship to the rest of the passage. Just as it made the action-*chreia* appear like an *apomnēmoneuma*, the after-effect of this

66 Cf. e. g. Collins, *Mark* (see n. 65), 177.

scene extends the narrativity of the sayings-*chreia* and makes it appear like another *apomnēmoneuma*.

All in all, the author of Mark introduces his narrative in a way that presents Jesus as a person who acts and speaks succinctly and that anchors the narrative historically within anecdotes related to Peter. This combination, it is suggested, reflects his reliance on and mastery of the Greek *chreia.* He does not at this point develop the *chreiai* into long argumentative entities but is content with presenting smaller narrative units. As rhetorical entities they provide the story with a basic narrative force and indicate a specific setting of expressive performance based on mnemonic practices.

## VII. Concluding Reflections

Building on older research into the Jesus tradition, this article intended to move one step further and indicate possible traces of the mnemonic experiences of the early followers of Jesus in the Gospels. It would take us too far afield to investigate the *chreiai* identified here diachronically. To be sure, some of them have been classified as strongly redactional. But the exercises with the *chreia* described above provide new criteria for determining the presence of so-called redactional elaborations. If our observations thus far are correct, the presence of *chreiai* in Mark suggests that the pre-Gospel Jesus tradition was to some extent shaped in rhetorical forms that included mnemonic and narrative features reflecting the involvement of individuals and groups and that provided ways of mnemonic preservation as well as elaboration. The oral Jesus tradition was not oral only in the sense that it was largely unwritten; the teachers did not transmit it merely in the sense that they taught it. It was a rhetorical kind of orality that related preserved and elaborated tradition in specific forms to persuasive didactic and other kinds of readings without therefore abolishing its pastness and the deliberate mnemonic acts of transmission.

Several questions remain to address. A full study of the Gospels along the lines suggested above will reveal the extent to which the early Christians employed *chreia*-like building-blocks for the Jesus tradition and how these blocks related to other pieces of narrativity. Moreover, the inherent mnemonic dimension of the *chreia* and of its performance needs to be related to a discussion of its *Sitz im Leben* in a recurrent type of mnemonic occasion when certain people in the communities cared about the Jesus

tradition in a special way and performed and narrated it orally and in writing.[67] In addition, we need to show how the study of mnemonic forms and their *Sitz im Leben* provides further sophistication and differentiation in our conceptions of performance and memory. To the present day, terms such as orality, performance, and memory have been used with too little attention to the subtle variations within the concepts they describe.

In the final analysis, it is essential to realize that the words and deeds of a person like Jesus are mediated through a subtle interaction of different kinds of traditions. The sociologist Edward Shils defined tradition as "anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present."[68] The decisive criterion of tradition is here temporal. Tradition exists before the situation arises.[69] But not only is the pastness of tradition important. Its present dimension is equally significant. The essential temporal feature of tradition means that it connects the past with the present. Jan Vansina, an anthropologist, stresses this double aspect of (oral) traditions: "They are the representations of the past in the present."[70] They are of the present, he insists, because they are told in the present; and they embody a message from the past, because they are expressions from the past at the same time. To be sure, the Jesus tradition integrated several other characteristics, but when speaking of it as tradition we are essentially classifying it as something that connects the past with the present.

Biblical scholars mostly think of tradition as words conveyed orally or in writing. We tend to discuss it as an object of verbal utterances. And this is what I have done above. But there existed a broader range of traditions in early Christianity. Verbal tradition is an expression of inner convictions and values and inextricably connected to other traditional manifestations such as behaviors and group formation.[71] The words of tradition are not self-contained items but interact with various kinds of practices in the

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**67** This is my tentative definition of the *Sitz im Leben* in "A Century with the *Sitz im Leben*" (see n. 50), 20.

**68** E. Shils, *Tradition* (London 1981) 12.

**69** So also Ø. Andersen, "Oral Tradition", in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (ed. H. Wansbrough; JSNTSup 64; Sheffield 1991) 17–58, here 26.

**70** J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (London and Nairobi 1985) xii. Vansina distinguishes oral tradition from oral history, but there is a significant overlapping between the two. Cf. Byrskog, *Story as History* (see n. 39), 30–33.

**71** Birger Gerhardsson distinguishes between the inner and the outer tradition. The inner tradition has to do with basic convictions and values. The outer tradition manifests the inner tradition as verbal, behavioral, institutional, and material tradition. The material tradition has to do with localities, clothes, equipment, etc., which later on became necessary for the efficient function of tradition. See B. Gerhardsson, *The Reliability of the Gospel Tradition* (Peabody, MA 2001) 89–143.

context of the collective identity of groups and communities. These practices and identity formations are also entities of tradition and form a body of behavioral tradition manifesting itself in the way people regularly relate to each other and live together. They differ from verbal tradition in being appropriated by imitation and social internalization, but they constantly interact with the transmission of verbal tradition.

Granted tradition is something that connects the past with the present and manifests itself in words and patterns of common behavior, the role of memory is to be measured in terms and with theories that include it as an essential part of what it means to live together with the past in the present. Its importance in the acts of transmission has to do with its capacity to mnemonically navigate and negotiate between what people believe happened and their present concerns without losing a sense of both dimensions. The form-critics failed to appreciate this negotiation and focused on the present concerns; and indeed, the notion of passive memorization fails to articulate how stored memories function to establish and maintain common beliefs, values, and patterns of behavior. This article has tried to present a way in between the two alternatives and to indicate fresh avenues for a renewed form-critical and form-historical study of the Gospels and the Jesus tradition.

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## New Discoveries

Jürgen K. Zangenberg

# Archaeological News from the Galilee: Tiberias, Magdala and Rural Galilee

Recent years have proved very prolific for Galilean archaeology of the Greco-Roman Period, making the Galilee perhaps the most intensively researched area in a region that already belongs to the best-known of the ancient Mediterranean world. Of course, ongoing archaeological activity both in the form of field work *and* publications does not only increase the quantity of our available data and fill gaps in our records, it also helps improve methodological awareness and invites to rethink current models of Galilean culture and society.

Despite the fact that Galilean archaeology has a distinctly regional focus of activity and that it finds the majority of its recipients among students of Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity who often use archaeological data as "raw material" to address issues originating from the study of texts, it is nevertheless necessary that Galilean archaeology continues to develop its methodological instruments in close dialogue with the wider debate in general archaeology. Just as ancient Galilee was never isolated, but is to be perceived as *one* region within the broader regionality of the Eastern Mediterranean, the study of its material remains cannot flourish without input from neighbouring disciplines.

In recent years large-scale excavations (such as in Tiberias and Magdala) produced important evidence for the high degree of Hellenization in the larger cities of the Galilee, at the same time chance discoveries (such as the synagogue in Magdala) or excavations in rural sites added important information on Jewish material culture in the first centuries CE, and – perhaps the most important new trend – renewed interest in rural Galilee helps fill in many "blank areas" between towns and cities and develop a more accurate picture of daily life in rural Galilean communities – a major factor in the earliest Jesus tradition.[1]

1 For a new overview see Killebrew, "Village and Countryside". For complete bibliographical data cf. the bibliography at the end of this article.

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**Tiberias** Too long did Tiberias stand in the shadow of cities like Skythopolis or Caesarea Maritima whose monumental buildings fuelled popular imagination of "Hellenistic" cities in ancient Palestine. Now, Hellenistic-Roman Tiberias is dramatically reemerging from layers of archaeological sediment.

Resumed by Yizhar Hirschfeld, excavations in Tiberias have concentrated on the area around the remains of a bath house and the so-called market place. Hirschfeld was able to show that the central, pillared structure previously associated with the market, in fact likely was a 9th century mosque, one of the earliest in the region.[2] After large parts of a monumental peristyle villa (the so-called "basilica", taken by Hirschfeld to be the seat of the Tiberias sanhedrin) had already been excavated in 2004, Hirschfeld started deep soundings in April 2005 below the structures of the 4th century. A large amount of broken marble tiles and fragments of painted wall plaster were found in fills. As the soundings were extended, remains of several rectangular rooms were exposed that had been covered with carefully cut white, black and brown tiles – apparently remains of a delicate *opus sectile* floor very similar to what is known from Herodian-period palaces like Masada, Jericho and Kypros. Soundings below this level demonstrated that the building was erected on a deep layer of undressed field stones to protect the foundations from the nearby lake and ground water. Preliminary readings of ceramic points to a construction of these rooms in the early 1st century CE, a deep conflagration layer shows that the complex was destroyed late in the 1st century CE. Future excavations will have to clarify the wider architectural and historical context of this complex, but it seems likely already that the building was used by the very top of Tiberias' population, if not by Antipas himself who founded the city in 18 CE. More fragments of similar painted plaster from 1st century fills at various other spots around the bath house testify that more remains from the 1st century can be expected if excavations are expanded. After Hirschfeld passed away in November 2006, excavations were continued by the Hebrew University under the direction of Dr. Katia Cytryn Silverman in 2009.[3]

Extensive work was carried out in recent years in the context of developing Tiberias into a major tourist site. Dr. Walid Atrash and Avner Hillman on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) re-exposed

2 On the latest results from Hirschfeld's excavations see Hirschfeld and Galor, "New Excavations".

3 See http://archaeology.huji.ac.il/Tiberias/.

the Southern Gate, already excavated and backfilled by Gideon Foerster in the 1970 s, together with a large section of the southern city wall. The gate was built just north of a natural stream bed that marked the southern end of Tiberias. To the north, the stone paved *cardo* ran through the city, remains of which Foersters had already been able to trace. Originally built as free-standing monumental entrance to the city with two round towers of 7 m diameter and accessed by a stone bridge from the south (still unknown to Foerster), a city wall was added to the gate in the Byzantine period at the latest. The first phase of the gate very much resembles the so-called "Tiberias Gate" on the Gadara plain from the Flavian period.[4] Did the gate in Tiberias serve as model for the Gadarene "Tiberias gate"? Several times the Tiberian gate was refurbished and especially the bridge had to be rebuilt and strengthened, but recent reexcavation seems to have confirmed Foersters suggestion to date the gate's first phase to the foundation of the city.

The second focus of IAA activity was the massive Roman theater, an almost circular depression on the eastern foot of Mount Berenike which had been misused as city dump since the 1950s[5]. Hirschfeld exposed a small section of the outer edge, discovered several layers of finely dressed masonry and identified it as part of a 2nd or 3rd century CE Roman theater. Recent excavations fully exposed the structure and firmly established two main architectural phases, correcting the late date proposed by Hirschfeld: the foundation phase clearly dates back to the times of Antipas who transferred his seat from Sepphoris to newly erected Tiberias in 19 CE. The second, larger phase dates to the Roman period (3rd century CE) when Tiberias served as civic center for a large and affluent Jewish population which enjoyed good relations with the Roman authorities. Fine masonry and lavish decoration are witness to the exceptionally high architectural standard of the theater. Although the size of Tiberias' population in the times of Antipas is not known, it seems likely that the theater not only served the immediate inhabitants, but also functioned as central meeting space for wider region.

Next to the South gate and possibly also the remains of the palatial building, the theatre is the third monumental building that can be associated with the building activities of Antipas and a key find in several respects. First of all, it is certainly reason enough to reevaluate the date of

4 See Weber, "Gadara and the Galilee".
5 On the theater see http://www.antiquities.org.il/Dig_Item_eng.asp?id=1165.

Tiberias – South Gate Complex after Reexcavation and Conservation in 2010.


the Sepphoris theater whose problematic archaeological situation has many archaeologists led to believe that it was built only after 70 CE.

Seen in a broader context, the theater is further welcome evidence for how intensively Antipas emulated his father Herod as great builder and Hellenistic ruler. If one accepts the possibility that the remains below the peristyle villa just 200 m northeast of the theater are remains of Antipas' palace and if one considers an Antipas date for the first phase of the south gate, the grandeur of his new residence city comes out even more impressively. What more and more turns out as fully fledged "building program" (including what he has built in Sepphoris) must have had a massive impact on the region around the Lake. A building like the Tiberias theater requires continuous investment and provides skilled and unskilled workers employment over a long period of time. This does not seem conceivable without the stable political conditions that Hoerning Jensen envisions for Antipas reign.[6] But what were the long-term effects? What did the massive redistribution and influx of capital (much of which must have come from outside the Galilee) do to local industries? Of course, regional inhabitants must have benefited from continuous employment and wages. That local population increased and settlements

6 Hørning Jensen, *Herod Antipas in Galilee.*

grew during the 1st century CE is demonstrated by surveys carried out and recently published by Uzi Leibner (see below). But did food production keep up with a growing population? Was the social unrest described in our sources *after* the reign of Antipas not a result of the *end* of Antipas investments instead of its direct consequence? Could the population increase under Antipas have led to a food shortage a generation later and thereby contributed to the social tensions that fuelled later rebellion?

**Magdala** While evidence of the urban and "Hellenistic" character of Tiberias was not difficult to expect, recent excavations in Magdala by the "Magdala Project" since 2007 under the direction of Stefano de Luca (*Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*) produced surprising results.[7] So far, no detailed reports of these most extensive excavations on the site since 1971–76 are published, but what is known through presentations and websites profoundly changes the picture of the cultural profile of the region along the western shore of the Lake.[8] It more and more becomes apparent how "urban" and "Mediterranean" this site has been since its foundation in the 2nd century BCE. It is entirely justified to see Magdala in the same category as the large Hellenistic cities in Greece or Asia Minor. Apparently, Magdala followed the Hippodamic model and was spread over wide areas of the neighboring plain including much territory west of modern route 90. De Luca was able to expose large portions of the paved *cardo maximus* as well as of the perpendicular *decumanus.* Underneath these magnificent urban boulevards drainage channels were laid who fed numerous wells and fountains, parts of the city's sophisticated water supply system. Also connected to the supply system was a large public bath complex whose courtyard (*palaestra*) was taken by the first Franciscan excavators to be the main piazza of the city. Instead, it was a *quadriporticus:* a peristyle surrounding an open courtyard which gave access to separate bathrooms with pools, basins and other installations. Closer examination of the mud from several pools produced a large number of well-preserved objects, among them complete sets of ceramic and wooden vessels. De Luca identified two phases of the bath complex: having been erected in the 1st century CE in the context of a reorganization of urban space, the complex was refurbished in the 3rd/4th century only to be destroyed in the earthquake of 363 CE.

7 Latest information e. g. on www.magdalaproject.org.
8 See e. g. Shanks, "Exclusive!"

Immediately east of the bath complex De Luca found Magdala's harbour, its economic heart, separated from the city by a plastered wall. De Luca found the massive foundations of a tower with casemates, a quay and a large L-shaped harbour basin with breakwater and six mooring stones, the largest and best preserved harbour on the Lake of Galilee discovered so far.

Where did all the wealth come from? Catching and processing fish from the Lake certainly played a large role (see Magdala's Greek "alias" Tarichaea), but also trade with the Decapolis on the eastern shore and shipyards may have added their shares. Without government investment, however, such massive infrastructural buildings were impossible to set up in the first place. If De Luca's preliminary data hold up, it seems that Magdala's harbour and bath complex were not built by Antipas but already during the Hasmonean period. Did they want to safeguard their trade and influence on the Lake in competition to Hellenistic settlements like Philoteria, et-Tell, Hippos and Gadara? In any case, Magdala was the only real city on the western shore of the Lake before the foundation of Tiberias and has a much more Hellenized character than previously thought.

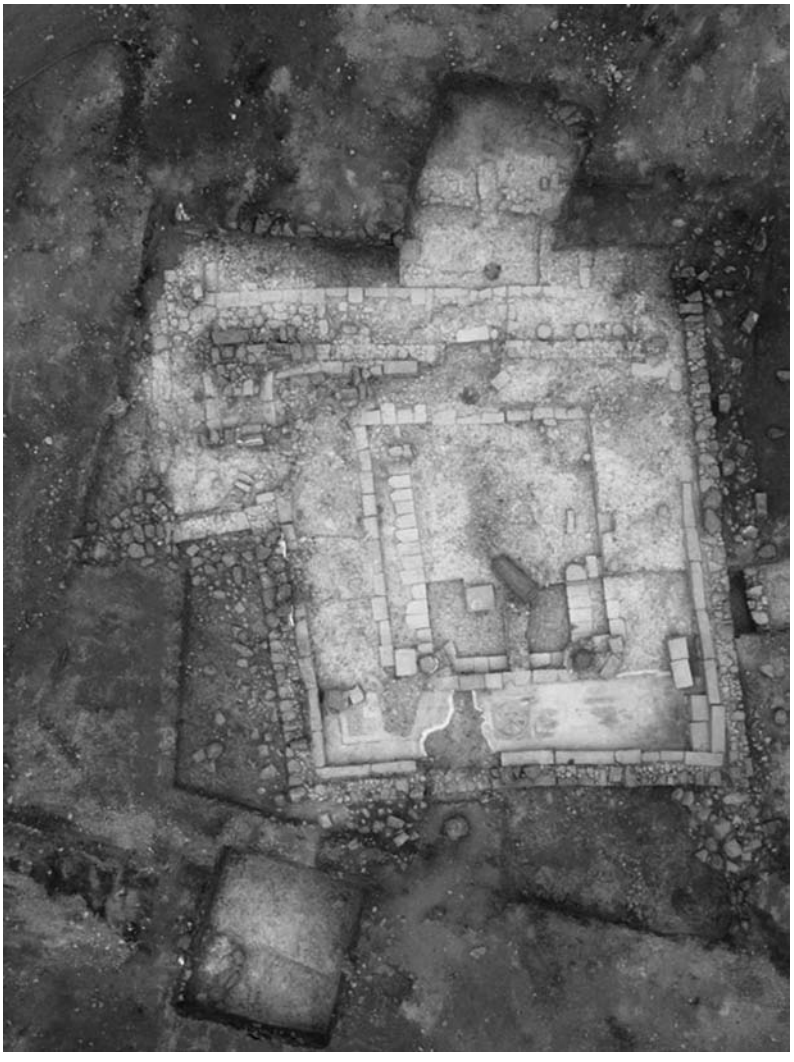
Everywhere in his excavations De Luca encountered damage caused by the First Jewish Revolt in which – according to Josephus – Magdala played a major role.

While De Luca's excavations confirmed my assumption that the "mini-synagoga" excavated by the Franciscans between 1971 and 1976 in fact was a latrine,[9] the first synagogue from Magdala has in the meantime been found by IAA archaeologists Dina Avshalom-Gorni and Arfan Najar during salvage excavations on private property earmarked for the construction of a hotel on Migdal beach in connection to a pilgrims center.[10] The structure covers about 120 $m^2$, has stone benches along the walls and is decorated with a floor mosaic and painted walls.

Several phases seem to be attested, but the excavators date the first building to the late Second Temple period. In the center of the building a square, engraved stone was found decorated with floral, geometric and architectural elements and a relief of the menorah flanked on either side by a *kantharos* and a column. Contrary to what was promulgated by the media, this menorah (if indeed carved before 70) is not the only one from

9 Zangenberg, *Magdala am See Genezaret.*

10 On the Magdala synagogue e. g. see the 2009 press release "One of the Oldest Synagogues in the World was Exposed at Migdal (9/13)" at http://www.antiquities.org.il/article_Item_eng.asp?sec_id=25&subj_id=240&id=1601&module_id=#as.



The Magdala synagogue from the air. © Israel Antiquities Authority.

the time when the Temple was still standing, but it apparently is the first and only specimen from pre-70 Galilee so far. Since no detailed report has been published yet, however, such conclusions are necessarily preliminary.

**Rural Galilee** Not only cities like Tiberias or Magdala received much attention in recent years, study on rural Galilee fortunately is also revived.

Uzi Leibner published an important diachronic study based on surface surveys in a region west of the Magdala plain in Eastern Galilee.[11] Leibner is able to show that a considerable increase in settlement occurred during the Late-Hellenistic and early Roman period as well as His study on the location of the toponym Gennesaret/Ginnosar is a good example of the value and dangers of survey archaeology for resolving textual problems (see the contrary results of Zangenberg).[12] Since 2007 Leibner digs at the site of Wadi Hamam on the northern foot of the Arbel cliffs under the auspices of Hebrew University, adding valuable data on rural towns in the Galilee, such as a new multi-phase synagogue with a fragmented Byzantine mosaic showing a building scene (constructing the city of Jerusalem?) and evidence of the Second Revolt in Galilee.

Even smaller sites are in the focus of the new excavations on Horvat Kur, a small village site 2 km west of the Lake of Galilee directed by the author in collaboration with partners from the universities of Berne and Helsinki and under the auspices of Kinneret Regional Project (www.kinneret-excavations.org)[13].

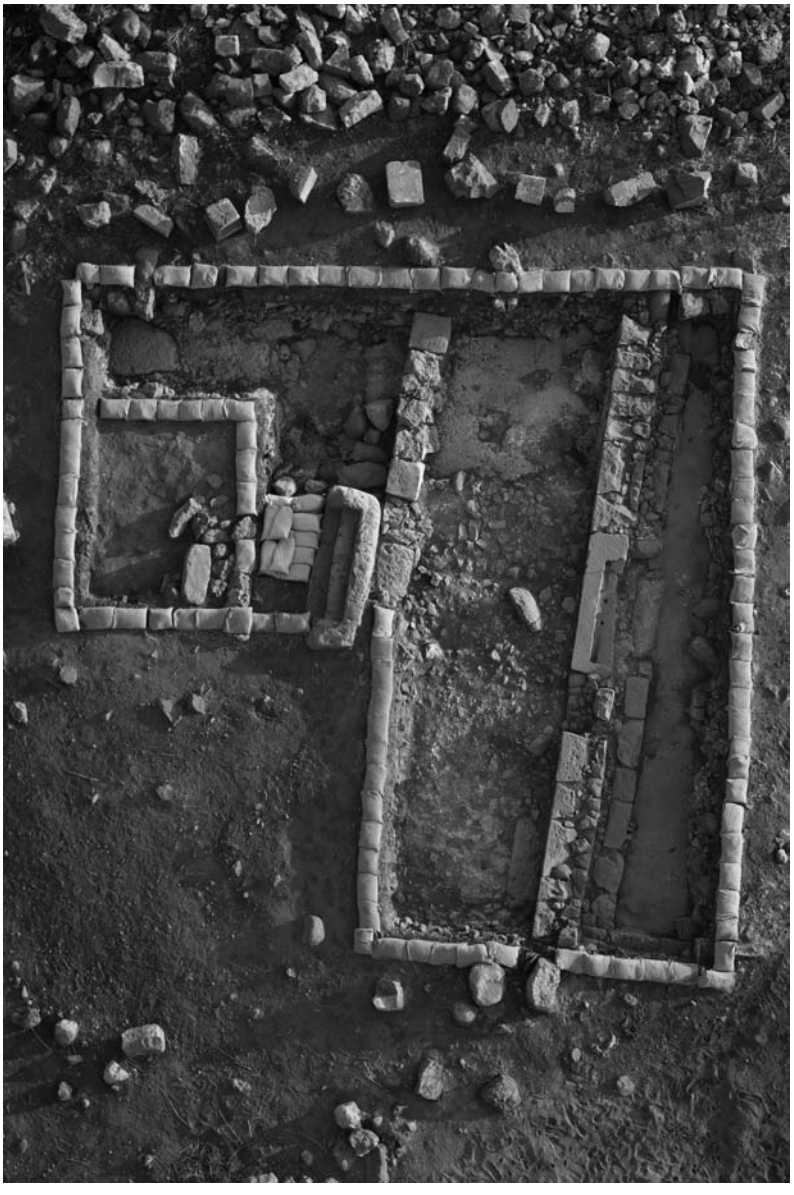
The first season of systematic excavations in June and July 2010 concentrated on two areas A and C on the northern and southern fringes of the main plateau. Already in the second week of the campaign, the team in area A uncovered almost the entire western wall (ca. 10 m) of a building, including an entrance for a double-winged door, a simple stone bench running along the entire wall on the inside (only interrupted by the entrance) and a stretch of a high-quality, grey plaster floor. The wall is made of carefully dressed basalt ashlars which very notably differ from walls of domestic buildings excavated elsewhere on Horvat Kur (e. g. in Area C). On the basis of current evidence, the building measures ca. 11 x 7 m and was oriented North-South (the entrance in the west likely serving as side entrance).

To the west of the building, a cobblestone pavement covered a small courtyard whose roof very likely was supported by a simple porch. Most remarkable of all finds from the cobblestone area was a very large number of small bronze coins scattered in several clusters between and on top of the pavers. Tens of thousands of simple, single tesserae (mosaic stones)

11 Leibner, *Settlement*.

12 Leibner, "Identifying Gennesar"; Zangenberg, "Observations".

13 I thank my colleagues Stefan Münger, Raimo Hakola, Lucas Petit, Jesús García Sánches and Rick Bonnie as well as the 2010 KRP excavation team for their great work.



Synagogue from the air. Note the side entrance in the wall, the bench and the plaster floor on its inside and the cobbled area outside. © Kinneret Regional Project/Skyview Co.

Domestic area with parts of a courtyard and surrounding houses in Area C.


and many broken roof tiles were found in fills in and around the building. Several nicely sculptured architectural fragments of limestone and, above all, basalt demonstrate that the building was once very carefully executed. Preliminary numismatic and ceramic evidence from the 2008 test excavations tentatively indicate that the building might have been in use at least from the beginning of the 5th c. CE. A taboon (oven) and very late Byzantine/early Arab pottery on the plaster floor likely represent the last use of the building sometime in the mid-8th century CE. Careful lab analysis of the pottery and the coins from the 2010 campaign will allow a more secure dating of the building from its construction until its final destruction. The evidence collected so far urged us to assume that the building was public and has served as synagogue for the ancient village on Horvat Kur. No inscriptions or Jewish symbols were found so far, however, nor have we discovered a miqwe yet.

Parallel excavations in a domestic area at Horvat Kur produced important data about everyday life in a Galilean village during the Early Christian/Talmudic periods. Parts of an *insula* with segments of a courtyard and two houses separated by a small alley were found, as well as data collected on architecture visible above surface that will help us understand the structure of the village of Horvat Kur. Excavations and surveys will be

continued in 2011 to fully expose the synagogue, explore further domestic areas within this ancient village and continue collecting data from its surrounding environment.

Villages indeed deserve more attention. First of all, it seems that the more research is being carried out, the more complex the phenomenon "village" turns out to be.[14] Instead of being the arbitrary stage for a repetitive and primitive lifestyle, villages turn out to be tremendously diverse. It appears that villagers had to be masters of adaptation and innovation to secure survival. Instead of seeing villages as traditionalistic and backwater, many of them actually were hotspots of cultural development and testing grounds for coping with outside influences and the constantly changing conditions of life. It is into this direction that we want to go with our project. Inspired by methods and questions of Mediterranean archaeology, the project aims at understanding how an average rural settlement from the Hellenistic to Byzantine period functioned, how such a settlement developed in correlation to transformations (human-made or natural) of the surrounding landscape and how that village relates to the wider Mediterranean context (characteristics, interactions). Starting at the household level, the project will investigate the spatial organization and articulation, areas of activities and social and economic differentiation on and off-site. To reach this goal, detailed excavation work, pedestrian landscape survey, ethnographical, ethnoarchaeological as well as geo-scientific studies will be carried out and subjected to continuous methodological reflection.

Recent excavations have shown that Galilee still offers many surprises. The biggest of them, perhaps, is the simultaneous existence of a seemingly very *traditional* rural world next to strongly urbanized centers of *Hellenism* beginning already in the 2nd century BCE (Magdala) and continuing well into the 1st century CE (Tiberias). The role of "public spending" seems to have been more important for the development of Hellenistic and Early Roman Galilee than previously thought, and one asks oneself how far this was inspired by competition with the thriving urban centers on the Eastern side of the Lake (especially Gadara, Hippos). It more and more turns out that the Western Decapolis (and here especially Hippos and Gadara) need to be considered part of the territory at the Lake and therefore to a certain extent part of the cultural sphere of Eastern Galilee although for Josephus and other authors they were outside of Galilee proper.

14 See e. g. Hirschfeld, "Jewish Rural Settlement" and Hirschfeld, "Farms and Villages".

A second point needs to be mentioned. Recent excavations more than ever show that both the urban and the rural worlds were *Jewish* worlds. And to what extent did these worlds really *differ?* Both worlds shared many elements of material culture with each other, as recent excavations demonstrate, but more research is certainly necessary. Contrary to a supposedly wide-spread town-countryside divide, archaeological excavations indicate that elements of urban culture were in fact attractive for many country dwellers.

Despite distinctive elements of life and material culture, Galilee more turns out to have been a bridge between the Mediterranean and the Decapolis/Syria, and the political situation in the early Roman Empire opened the Eastern Mediterranean for Western influences (and vice versa). How far did this affect the life of the Galilean population? Jewish religion, it seems, did not prevent some people to assimilate and adapt Hellenism, resistance was not the only option. On the other side: participation in wealth distribution was not equally spread over all levels of society. But did this mean that the "Mediterranization" of Galilee automatically deepened the split between the Galilean elite and the urban and rural lower classes? Why did the number of inhabitants and settlements *increase* during the most intensive Hellenization if all-out poverty had reigned? Or did it rather improve the situation of the poor by having them indirectly participate (through building programs and patronism) in what the elite directly had at their disposal?

The more archaeological research is carried out, the more complex ancient Galilee turns out to be. What does this mean if we try to find a place for Jesus of Nazareth in this region? Of course, Jesus came from Galilee, but how "Galilean" was he? How typical, how representative for "*the* situation in Galilee" was his message? It more and more seems that Jesus, as he is presented in the New Testament, is *not* the spokesperson for "the average Galilean", he rather is a representative of a certain milieu that existed in the Galilee, but which is not "Galilean" per se in the way that it directly reflected and responded to social problems and religious needs in the Galilee of Antipas. So: Who were the poor that Jesus addressed, and where were they? Of course, the contours of that milieu certainly need to be further explored, but I have the impression that Jesus' message is more inspired by a *theological interpretation of reality* than by the complex reality itself. It is somewhat ironic that archaeology which has to a large extent and so successfully set out to contextualize Jesus of Nazareth and the early Jesus movement within ancient Galilee, now more and more makes us aware of the *complexity* of the environment and instead of

serving us with direct parallels or backgrounds for what the New Testament reveals about Jesus' social context. It is just this new distance between Jesus and "the" Galilee which I expect will have the most stimulating effect for the dialogue between Galilean archaeology and Jesus research.

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## New Books

**Peter Schäfer,** The Origins of Jewish Mysticism (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), XV+398 S., ISBN 978-3-16-149931-9.

Ein Buch, das – von der Thronwagenvision Ezechiels über Qumran und Philo von Alexandrien, über die Apokalypsen des frühen Judentums einschließlich der neutestamentlichen Johannesapokalypse bis zu den spätesten Schichten der Hekhalot-Literatur vom siebten bis neunten Jahrhundert und spätmittelalterlich-frühneuzeitlichen pseudepigraphischen Handschriften – Texte aus gut eineinhalb Jahrtausenden und dementsprechend aus unterschiedlichen Wissenschaftsgebieten behandelt, verlangt eine Einordnung. Es verlangt eine Einordnung umso mehr, wenn es von einem Gelehrten verfasst wurde, der weder Fachexeget noch hauptberuflich Qumran- oder Philoforscher ist, dafür aber zu den weltweit führenden Judaisten zählt – und wenn am Ende unter den Schlussfolgerungen zu lesen ist, dass, dem Buchtitel entgegen, eigentlich weder von „Origins" noch von einem „Jewish Mysticism" die Rede sein kann.

Anlass und Ziel der vorliegenden Studie ist einmal mehr die Auseinandersetzung mit Gershom Scholem, die als wichtiger Strang im bisher vorliegenden Lebenswerk des Autors gelten kann. Auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise – mit Texteditionen, Übersetzungen, Aufsätzen, in von ihm initiierten und herausgegebenen Sammelbänden – hat Peter Schäfer dem Begründer derjenigen akademischen Disziplin, die sich mit der jüdischen Mystik beschäftigt, bislang Antworten gegeben und sich an dessen Oeuvre abgearbeitet. Die Schritte dieser Auseinandersetzung lassen sich dabei auf das wohl wichtigste Buch Scholems beziehen, sein „Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism": dies sowohl im Hinblick auf den Gesamtentwurf als auch auf einzelne Teile dieser erstmals 1941 herausgekommenen Studie.[1] Nach einer kürzlich herausgekommenen und vieldiskutierten Untersuchung Schäfers zu den Anfängen und zum geistesgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der mittelalterlichen Kabbala[2], ein Thema, dem Scholem – vor dem vierten Kapitel der „Major Trends" – bereits seine Münchner Doktorarbeit über das Buch Bahir (1923) gewidmet hatte, haben wir hier eine Auseinandersetzung mit den ersten beiden Kapiteln dieses Scholemschen Hauptwerkes vor uns. Scholems Anfangsteil

1 Vgl. P. Schäfer/J. Dan (Hg.), Gershom Scholem's Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism: Fifty Years After. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on the History of Jewish Mysticism, Tübingen 1993 und P. Schäfer/G. Smith (Hg.), Gershom Scholem. Zwischen den Disziplinen, Frankfurt am Main 1995.

2 Vgl. P. Schäfer, Weibliche Gottesbilder im Judentum und Christentum, Frankfurt am Main/Leipzig 2008.

„Allgemeine Wesenszüge der jüdischen Mystik“[3] stehen in Schäfers Einleitung (1–33) präzise Überlegungen zur Etymologie, zum Begriff und zum Phänomen der „Mystik“ im Allgemeinen und zur „jüdischen Mystik“ im Besonderen gegenüber. Wie nicht anders zu erwarten, geht es dabei um die Frage, inwiefern hier Formulierungen wie die einer „Einung des menschlichen Selbst mit der göttlichen Wirklichkeit“ (Brockhaus) definitorisch in Anschlag zu bringen sind (2). Dabei steht natürlich Scholems Bemerkung im Hintergrund, im Judentum müsse aufgrund der monotheistischen Vorgaben anstelle einer „unio mystica“ von einer bloßen „devequt“, einem (distanzierteren) „Anhängen“ der menschlichen Seele an Gott, die Rede sein – eine Überlegung, die naturgemäß fragen lässt, wie unter dieser Voraussetzung eine Konfusion der Begriffe „Mystik“ und „Religion“ grundsätzlich vermieden werden kann (vgl. 6f).

Die folgenden neun Kapitel der Studie sind dann gewissermaßen auf das bei Scholem „Merkaba-Mystik und jüdische Gnosis“ überschriebene zweite Hauptkapitel der „Major Trends“ bezogen. Dieses Kapitel hatte der Jerusalemer Gelehrte, Schäfer weist gleich zu Beginn mit skeptischem Unterton darauf hin (10), mit der etwas apodiktischen Feststellung eröffnet, „die erste Epoche der jüdischen Mystik vor ihrer Kristallisation in der mittelalterlichen Kabbala“ sei „zugleich auch ihre längste.“[4]

Zugleich hatte Scholem mit Blick auf die Hekhalot-Texte von der Notwendigkeit „einer kritischen Bearbeitung und Kommentierung“ sowie einer Übersetzung[5] gesprochen und zudem historische und philologische Einzeluntersuchungen gefordert.[6] Auf allen diesen Gebieten hat Peter Schäfer in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten Bahnbrechendes geleistet.[7] Getreu seiner immer wieder geäußerten Überzeugung, „daß die literar- und redaktionskritischen Probleme, vor die uns diese Literatur stellt, nicht einfach zugunsten einer ideengeschichtlichen Auswertung übersprungen werden dürfen“[8], legt der Verfasser mit diesem Band nun eine Gesamtdarstellung vor, die den Impulsen Scholems ebenso viel verdankt wie sie den Lücken seiner Argumentation in „Major Trends“ nachspürt und Scholems Entwurf am Ende durch einen Gegenentwurf ersetzt.

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3 Deutsch: G. Scholem: Die jüdische Mystik in ihren Hauptströmungen, Frankfurt am Main 1967, 1–42.
4 Scholem, Mystik (s. Anm. 3), 43.
5 A.a.O., 48.
6 A.a.O., 43.
7 Vgl. P. Schäfer, Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur, Tübingen 1981 sowie die Bibliographie auf S. 368–369 des besprochenen Bandes.
8 Vgl. P. Schäfer, Hekhalot-Studien, Tübingen 1988, 2.

Dabei setzt der Autor sich kritisch mit zwei Intentionen Scholems auseinander: zum einen mit der Behauptung, dass die Merkavamystik eine Brücke zwischen der Apokalyptik des zweiten Tempels und der mittelalterlichen Kabbala darstelle[9], zum andern mit einem Phänomen, das er an anderer Stelle als „Einflußangst" beschrieben hat.[10] Scholem nannte es ein altes, „in der Literatur bis heute spukende(s) Vorurteil…, wonach die Apokalyptik mit dem Aufkommen des Christentums ihre produktiven religiösen Kräfte alle dorthin abgegeben hätte".[11] Die Frage nach dem Ursprung der Kabbala konnte er in eine Sprache kleiden, die zu erkennen gibt, dass es sich für ihn hier im Grunde um ein theologisches und zugleich grundsätzlich-legitimatorisches Problem handelte. Im Hintergrund stand für Scholem ein doppeltes Bestreben: Einerseits wollte er die These eines „Wesens des Judentums", die Vorstellung einer durch alle Jahrhunderte hindurch zu verfolgenden jüdischen „Konstante", abweisen.[12] Andererseits lag ihm daran, ein „nicht-nur-halachisches, kreatives und dennoch durch-und-durch-authentisches Judentum"[13] aufzufinden und dieses Judentum bereits weitgehend unabhängig vom Christentum in einer antiken jüdischen Gnosis und Mystik zu identifizieren. War die Kabbala, so seine Frage in einem berühmten programmatischen Brief an den neuhebräischen Dichter Ch. N. Bialik vom Juli 1925, „im Schoße des Judentums oder durch die Übernahme von Fremdem" entstanden?[14] Das hinter dieser Frage stehende Interesse handelte dem „founding father of the academic discipline of Jewish mysticism" (5) freilich eine Problematik ein, die man heute modisch „essentializing" nennt. Manche Kumulation von

9 Ithamar Gruenwalds Behauptung einer direkten Linie von der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik zur mittelalterlichen Kabbala (27: „a straight line leads from the scriptural forms of theophany and angelophany to the visions of the apokalyptics and Merkavah mystics, and beyond that to the medieval Qabbalah-mystics") kann als präzise Gegenthese zur These Schäfers gelten: I. Gruenwald, Reflections on the Nature and Origins of Jewish Mysticism, in: Schäfer/Dan (Hg.), Gershom Scholem's Major Trends (s. Anm. 1), 25–48, hier 27.

10 Vgl. Schäfer, Weibliche Gottesbilder (s. Anm. 2), 278ff.

11 Scholem, Mystik (s. Anm. 3), 47.

12 Vgl. G. Scholem, Sabbatai Zwi. Der mystische Messias. Ins Deutsche übertragen von Angelika Schweikhart, Frankfurt am Main 1992, 17.304.

13 Vgl. A. Kilcher, Art. Gershom Scholem, Metzler Lexikon Jüdischer Philosophen, Stuttgart 2003, 395 (nach Amos Funkenstein).

14 G. Scholem, Brief an Ch. N. Bialik, in: Ders., Devarim be-Go. Pirqe Morascha u-Techijja/Explications and Implications. Writings on Jewish Heritage and Renaissance (hg. von A. Shapira), Bd. 1, Tel Aviv 1975, 59 (deutsch: Gershom Scholem, Judaica 6: Die Wissenschaft vom Judentum, Frankfurt am Main 1997, 56). Der zitierte Ausdruck spielt auf Gen 50,23 und Jes 2,6 an.

Kautelen und immer wieder recht gewundene Formulierungen in Scholems Texten weisen auf diese Spannung hin.[15]

Unter den Texten, die Schäfer vor diesem wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund untersucht, fällt die zum neutestamentlichen Kanon zugehörige Johannesapokalypse aufgrund ihrer „binitarischen" Theologie, die das Lamm/den Menschensohn, also Jesus Christus, in Apk 5,13–14 zum Gegenstand der Anbetung erhebt, aus dem Rahmen (110). Aber auch abgesehen von diesem Sonderfall begegnen wir in dieser Studie Schriften, bei denen schon von der Textüberlieferung her mit christlichen Einflüssen und Interpolationen zu rechnen ist, etwa bei der nur in einer altslawischen Übersetzung mit Handschriften aus dem 14. bis 17. Jahrhundert vorhandenen Abrahamsapokalypse, bei der allerdings eine hebräische Urfassung vom Ende des ersten Jahrhunderts vermutet wird. Ähnlich ist die Situation auch bei der christlich überlieferten und ursprünglich auf griechisch geschriebenen (und äthiopisch erhaltenen), aber wohl auf jüdischen Quellen beruhenden Erzählung von der Himmelfahrt Jesajas oder beim griechisch erhaltenen Testamentum Levi, bei dem ebenfalls „the dependency on a Jewish *Vorlage*" angenommen wird (67).

In der Hekhalot-Literatur sind es die literarischen Formen, vor allem der pseudepigraphische Charakter dieser Texte, die nach Schäfer für eine Spätdatierung sprechen (245)[16] und im Einzelfall die Frage nach möglichen christlichen Einflüssen offen halten. Im letzten der von Schäfer unter dieser Rubrik diskutierten Texte (3. Henoch) erkennt der Verfasser entgegen dem Trend in der neueren Forschung eine von jüdischen Redaktoren im Babylonien des achten oder neunten Jahrhunderts ins Werk gesetzte späte „Rabbinisierung" und zugleich Wieder-Annäherung der Hekhalot-Literatur an die klassischen apokalyptischen Muster (330). Die Verwandlung Henochs in Metatron, den höchsten Engel, „God's representative in heaven" (320), sei dem späten babylonischen Judentum zuzurechnen, das – ähnlich wie in einigen Passagen des babylonischen Talmuds – eine abwehrende und polemische Antwort auf die neutestament-

15 Vgl. z. B. Scholem, Mystik (s. Anm. 3), 46: „Viel kühner dürften wir in unseren Folgerungen sein, wenn wir sicher wären, daß manche ähnliche Themata behandelne Apokalypse… den Inhalt jener esoterischen Disziplin der Mischna-Lehrer wiedergäben. Aber gerade das ist sehr zweifelhaft." Vgl. auch a.a.O., 70: „In der Tat mag der Ursprung dieser Schi'ur-Koma-Spekulation nicht weit von solchen Gruppen mystischer Häretiker liegen, die am Rande des rabbinischen Judentums standen."

16 Ähnlich bereits in Schäfer, Hekhalot-Studien (s. Anm. 8), 293: „The completely pseudepigraphical character of the Hekhalot literature is an important argument for the assertion that this literature is in fact a post-Rabbinic phenomenon."

liche Botschaft von Jesus Christus gesucht habe (330 und 343).[17] So sei die Tatsache zu erklären, dass Metatron auf dem Thron sitzt (fast) wie Gott, dass er aussieht (fast) wie Gott, dass er nahezu gottgleich angebetet wird und den Namen „kleiner YHWH" („YHWH qatan") erhält. Im Hinblick auf diesen ebenso faszinierenden wie absonderlichen Text widerspricht Schäfer Daniel Boyarin, der die genannten Vorstellungen dem vorchristlichen Judentum zurechnen und in einen Zusammenhang mit dem Menschensohn des Danielbuches und der Logostheologie und Joh 1,1ff bringen will (323).

Das Christentum, wenngleich in ganz unterschiedlicher Gestalt, begegnet dem Leser also sowohl am Anfang als auch am Ende der Chronologie dieser literarischen Reise durch die von Scholem so genannte „erste Epoche der jüdischen Mystik". Auch die zweite, die kabbalistische Epoche im südfranzösischen Mittelalter mit ihren weiblichen Gottesvorstellungen hatte Schäfer unter christlichen Einfluss, unter dem der Marienverehrung, entstehen sehen[18], und manche seiner Kritiker werden eine christliche Dekonstruktion des Judentums wittern. Die Zusammenarbeit von Juden und Christen auf diesem Feld ihrer gemeinsamen Religionsgeschichte hat offenbar noch nicht den Grad von Selbstverständlichkeit erreicht, der es erlauben würde, über die Brisanz dieser Fragestellungen hinwegzusehen, die Scholem mit der Suche nach dem jüdisch „Eigenen", nach einer Alternative zur zugleich bestrittenen wie offensichtlich vorausgesetzten Halacha, eröffnete. Vor diesem Hintergrund fokussiert sich die Debatte mit einer gewissen Vordergründigkeit auf das Problem der angemessenen Methode: „Phänomenologie" mit dem unmittelbaren Nachweis mystischer bzw. ekstatischer Erfahrung oder Textanalyse? Früh- oder Spätdatierung? Palästinensische oder babylonische Lokalisierung?[19] Der Autor bekennt sich in diesem Feld ohne Zögern zur „Kohorte" der „Rationalisten" (339).

Wer den skizzierten Zusammenhang in seiner ganzen Weite vor Augen hat, wird im Rahmen einer Monographie nicht bei allen Textanalysen exegetische Vollständigkeit erwarten. Ebenso kann die Besprechung aus Platzgründen nur exemplarisch und stichprobenartig vorgehen. Zur von Schäfer immer wieder mit guten Gründen verteidigten Philologie (347: „another non-PC word that has become stigmatized") fällt immerhin auf, dass der Autor etwa im Kapitel „Enoch's Companions: From the

17 Vgl. dazu P. Schäfer, Jesus in the Talmud, Princeton 2007.

18 Vgl. oben Anm. 2.

19 Zur angeblichen Alternative von Philologie und „Phänomenologie" vgl. z. B. Gruenwald, Reflections (s. Anm. 9), 25f.

Community to the Individual" (zur apokalyptischen frühjüdischen Literatur) eigentlich nur neuere englischsprachige Literatur zitiert. Vergleicht man als Sprach-Unkundiger den Text des äthiopischen Henochbuches in den zugänglichen deutschen Handausgaben, so gelingt die Verifikation der Zitate gelegentlich nicht immer ohne Mühe.[20] Dies ist auch deshalb bemerkenswert, weil Schäfer die Übersetzungsunterschiede neuerer angelsächsischer Übersetzungen in den „textkritischen" Anmerkungen nachweist und zudem auf die Möglichkeit aufmerksam macht, mögliche aramäische Grundfassungen zu rekonstruieren (59 Anm. 20). Auch bei Textstellen, die für die Interpretation nicht unwichtig erscheinen, holt er sich keinen Rat auf dem alten Kontinent. Blacks Übersetzung von Hen 14,22 „in his every word was a deed" wird etwa in der Untersuchung zum äthiopischen Henochbuch von Siegbert Uhlig abgelehnt – es geht hier um die Szenerie vor dem himmlischen Thron, und Schäfer betont, dass die Engel hier eine bloß dekorative Funktion haben (60 und 62).[21]

Diese Abstinenz von einem Teil der neueren Fachliteratur (vor allem die Jüdischen Schriften aus Hellenistisch-Römischer Zeit) ist im Fall des Buches Henoch auch deshalb auffällig, weil das Buch der Wächter (Kap. 1–36) gelegentlich literarkritisch auf mehrere Jahrhunderte verteilt wird – vom dritten (oder gar fünften) Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis zu einer als spät-vorchristlich bezeichneten Epoche.[22] Solchen literarischen Rekonstruktionen gegenüber, deren Überprüfung äthiopische Sprachkenntnisse voraussetzt, mag man skeptisch sein. Dennoch wären diese Positionen zumindest einer Erwähnung und gegebenenfalls Zurückweisung wert gewesen; denn die Erwägung, dass einzelne Elemente der Überlieferung unabhängig voneinander Bestand gehabt haben könnten, steht ja (möglicherweise) Schäfers ansonsten so überzeugend vorgetragener These entgegen, im Henochbuch führe kein exegetischer Pfad zurück zu einer Vision (und Erfahrung), die unabhängig von dem Kontext sei, den das Buch

20 Hen 14,20 lautet im Haupttext Schäfers (nach der Übersetzung von M. Black, Leiden 1985): „And the Glory of the Great One sat thereon"; laut Anmerkung ist bei G.W.E. Nickelsburg (1 Enoch I: A Commentary on the Book of I Enoch, Minneapolis 2001) stattdessen von „the Great Glory" die Rede. G. Beer (in: E. Kautzsch, Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments. Band II: Die Pseudepigraphen, Tübingen 1900, 245) hat „die große Majestät".

21 Vgl. S. Uhlig, Das äthiopische Henochbuch (JSHRZ V/6), Gütersloh 1984, 541.

22 Vgl. P. Sacchi, Jewish Apocalyptic and its History, Sheffield 1990, 47–71 und G.S. Oegema, Apokalypsen (JSHRZ VI 1,5), Gütersloh 2001, 134. Vgl. auch Uhlig, Henochbuch (s. Anm. 21), 494: „Daß dabei zum Teil wesentlich ältere Stücke in die Traktate Aufnahme fanden, gilt als sicher."

der Wächter bietet (65).[23] Zur Apokalypse Abrahams (10,3) wird in ähnlicher Weise eine vergleichsweise belanglose englische Übersetzungsvariante angegeben. Heißt es bei Rubinkiewicz[24], Gott habe dem Engel Iaoel befohlen, den Erzvater zu „weihen" („consecrate"), so ist in der Alternativübersetzung Penningtons[25] laut Anmerkung bei Schäfer (88) von der Tätigkeit des „Heiligens" („sanctify") die Rede. Die Übersetzung von Philonenko-Sayar, die stattdessen von einem „Wieder-Aufrichten" spricht, bleibt demgegenüber unerwähnt.[26] Die Versuche einer Rekonstruktion des hebräischen Textoriginals mögen hier (z. B. 87 und 89) wie an anderer Stelle begründet und berechtigt sein, als Leser würde man aber dennoch manchmal gern mehr über die philologischen Deutungsmöglichkeiten erfahren. Man hofft jedenfalls, an diesen Stellen nicht auf möglicherweise unbewusste Zugeständnisse an die Philologie-Kritiker zu stoßen; auch eigene frühere Übersetzungen von Hekhalot-Texten ins Deutsche übersetzt Schäfer, selbst dort, wo er sich behutsam korrigiert, nur in englischer Weiterübersetzung (vgl. 253 und 261).

Es folgt ein Kapitel, das dem Thema der „Gemeinschaft" mit den Engeln in den Qumrantexten (vor allem in der Kriegsrolle, den Hodayot und in der Gemeinschaftsregel) gewidmet ist. Schäfer hält als Resümee fest, dass in Qumran nicht von einer Vision Gottes, geschweige denn einer *unio mystica* mit Gott, sondern – möglicherweise nach dem Vorbild von Hiob 38,7 (124) – nur von einer „*unio liturgica*", einer liturgischen Gemeinschaft von Menschen mit Engeln, einer „unio angelica", die Rede sein könne, und dies unabhängig davon, ob die Mitglieder der Sekte sich selbst an der Seite der Engel im Himmel stehen sehen oder ob die Engel sich auf den Weg auf die Erde gemacht haben (152 und 349). Besonders wichtig ist Schäfer die Schlussfolgerung, dass die von ihm untersuchten Qumrantexte nicht als eine Art Vorstufe zur späteren Hekhalotmystik anzusehen sind, da sich lexikographisch und konzeptuell keine Verbindung zwischen beiden Textkomplexen nachweisen lasse. Im folgenden Abschnitt, der sich mit dem Aufstieg der Seele bei Philo von Alexandrien beschäftigt, wird unterstrichen, dass der Alexandriner

23 Vgl. auch Oegema, Apokalypsen (s. Anm. 22), 132.

24 R. Rubinkiewicz, Apocalypse of Abraham, in: J.H. Charlesworth (Hg.), The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Vol. I: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments, Garden City 1983, 681–705.

25 A. Pennington, The Apocalypse of Abraham, in: H.F.D. Sparks (Hg.), The Apocryphal Old Testament, Oxford 1984, 363–392, hier 363.

26 B. Philonenko-Sayar/M. Philonenko, Die Apokalypse Abrahams (JSHRZ V/5), Gütersloh 1984, 431; vgl. auch P. Riessler, Altjüdisches Schrifttum außerhalb der Bibel, Heidelberg 1928, 20.

sich, im Unterschied zu den klassischen Aufstiegsapokalypsen, die von einer Einheit von Körper und Seele ausgegangen seien, nur für die Seele („the better half of human existence") interessiert habe (174).

In ähnlicher Weise unverwertbar für die herkömmlichen Traditionsableitungen einer frühen jüdischen Mystik erweisen sich die bei Scholem als „mystisch" interpretierten Passagen in der rabbinischen Literatur. Schäfer unterzieht die in der Mischna (und Tosephta) und dann in beiden Talmudim des Traktates Hagiga überlieferten Episoden – die bekannteste ist die von den vier rabbinischen Gelehrten, die in den Garten eintraten („nikhnesu le-fardes") – einer zugleich breitflächigen, auf die jeweiligen literarischen Kontexte bezogenen wie detail-genauen Analyse. Das Ergebnis ist, dass auf der Ebene *der Texte* nicht von einer mystischen Erfahrung, sondern von denjenigen Gefahren die Rede ist, die von unsachgemäßer Schriftauslegung ausgehen: „There is no ascent in our rabbinic sources, no seer, no vision, and no revelation as payoff of the vision" (350).

Ebenso überzeugend fällt dann die Analyse der Hekhalot-Texte aus. Schäfer unterstreicht, dass die Verfasser oder Redaktoren dieser Texte keinerlei Mitteilungen über die Inhalte der Visionen ihrer jeweiligen Helden machen. Zielpunkt ihrer Himmelsreise ist nicht eine wie auch immer geartete mystische Schau oder Union, sondern eher eine „unio liturgica", ihr Einstimmen in den himmlischen Lobgesang – im Unterschied zu den meisten Qumrantexten handelt es sich hier freilich nicht um die Erfahrung einer ganzen Gemeinschaft, sondern jeweils um die Unternehmung eines einzelnen, der auf eigene Initiative eine Himmelsreise auf sich nimmt und dabei mancherlei Prüfungen und Gefahrensituationen durchstehen muss.

Das Resultat des Durchganges durch die ganz unterschiedlichen Literaturen lautet, dass die in den untersuchten Texten beschriebenen Phänomene so unterschiedlich sind, dass sie sich dem wissenschaftlichen Wunsch der Einordnung in eine einzige Rubrik und Traditionslinie widersetzen (353). Schäfer hält darüber hinaus auch die Suche nach „Ursprüngen" für eine im Grunde abwegige und heute überholte Vorstellung, die auch bei Scholem nur im Kontext eines romantisch inspirierten Entwicklungsmodells zu erklären ist. Am Schluss steht die Erwägung, dass möglicherweise nicht nur der Terminus der „Mystik", sondern auch jede historische Forschung zum Thema Mystik – unabhängig davon, ob es sich um jüdische oder nicht-jüdische „Mystik" handele – tief von christlich-theologischen Annahmen und Vorurteilen durchdrungen sein könnte (355). Im Lichte dieser Überlegung und angesichts der Überlieferungsverhältnisse im Bereich der pseudepigraphischen Literatur (mit ihren teil-

weise griechischen und altslawischen Handschriften) sollte dann aber die Feststellung „that what we call mysticism has no equivalent in any of the languages in which our sources are preserved" (354) noch einmal überdacht werden. Einerseits leuchtet einstweilen die Schlussfolgerung des Verfassers ein, der den Gebrauch des Begriffs der Mystik zwar nicht mit dem Bann belegen will, der aber glaubt, dass das Konzept der Mystik zum Verständnis der in seinem Band diskutierten Phänomene letztlich wenig beiträgt. Andererseits hat man am Ende einer sehr lehrreichen Lektüre aber den bestimmten Eindruck eines wissenschaftlichen Mehrwertes: Offensichtlich werden die unterschiedlichen Kapitel dieses Buches doch durch mehr zusammengehalten als durch den kritischen Bezug auf Gershom Scholem.

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**Florentino García Martínez (Hg.),** Echoes from the Caves. Qumran and the New Testament (Studies on the Texts on the Desert of Judah 85; Leiden: Brill, 2009), VI+349 S., ISBN 978-90-04-17696-6

Die Frage nach der Bedeutung der Qumran-Funde für das Verständnis von Literatur und Religion des frühen Christentums und besonders die Suche nach „Parallelen" zur urchristlichen Schriftauslegung, zu Messianismus und Dualismus, Taufe und Mahlfeier etc. hat die ersten 20 Jahre der Diskussion um die Qumran-Texte bis ca. 1970 bestimmt. Seit dem Bekanntwerden der Tempelrolle und der Herausgabe der zahlreichen Fragmente aus Höhle 4 hat sich das Bild der Qumran-Bibliothek verschoben. In der Qumran-Diskussion traten „christliche" Themen zurück und andere Fragen, z.B. nach dem Prozess der Kanonisierung der hebräischen Bibel, nach Weisheitstraditionen und Kalendersystemen, jüdischer Liturgie und Halakha traten in den Vordergrund. Zugleich wurden die älteren Paradigmen einer Verhältnisbestimmung zwischen der „Qumrangemeinde" und dem Urchristentum nachhaltig problematisiert: Allen z.T. populären Thesen und Spekulationen zum Trotz lassen sich zwischen beiden Gruppen keine direkten oder gar personellen Beziehungen nachwei-

sen. Die Frage, wie die sprachlichen und sachlichen Parallelen zu erklären sind, erfordert neue und nuanciertere Antworten. Dieser Diskussion widmet sich der Band, der aus einem Leuvener Symposium im Dezember 2007 entstand. Die 16 Autoren sind durchgehend ausgewiesene, z.T. jüngere Qumran-Spezialisten.

Der Herausgeber skizziert in einer kurzen Einführung „Qumran between the Old and New Testament" (1–6) die Forschungssituation: Erst seit den 90er-Jahren ist die Gesamtheit der Texte zugänglich, nach heutigem Forschungsstand kann nur noch ein kleinerer Teil der Bibliothek als Komposition der sie tragenden Kreise (d. h. als „sectarian") gelten, die Mehrzahl der poetischen, weisheitlichen oder „parabiblischen" Kompositionen zeigt keine Hinweise auf eine Herkunft aus den Trägerkreisen der Bibliothek. Das bedeutet, die Funde bieten nicht nur die Schriften einer spezifischen Gruppierung oder „Sekte", sondern einen breiteren Einblick in die literarische und religiöse Entwicklung des palästinischen Judentums bis zum 1. Jh. n. Chr. Da zwischen dem Qumran-Corpus und dem NT keine literarischen Bezüge erweislich sind, ist die Annahme einer direkten Beeinflussung keine angemessene Erklärung der Analogien und Differenzen. G.-M. will vielmehr beide Corpora als „different expressions of the multiform reality that was Palestinian Judaism" (5) lesen. Diese neue Lektüreweise ist interessant, zumal inzwischen auch viele jüdische Autoren das NT als Teil der jüdischen Überlieferung lesen. In diesem Rahmen können nicht nur die Qumran-Texte für die Exegese des NT erhellend sein, vielmehr erscheint auch umgekehrt das NT gelegentlich hilfreich für die exegetische Detailarbeit an den Qumran-Texten. Wo man dies ernst nimmt und auch in der christlichen Bibelwissenschaft von einem einseitigen Interesse an der „Verwertung" frühjüdischer Texte Abstand nimmt, kann die Kluft zwischen den Disziplinen überwunden und ein adäquateres historisches Verstehen erreicht werden.

Einige der Beiträge diskutieren grundlegende Fragen der Verhältnisbestimmung, andere behandeln einzelne Texte und Themen im Detailvergleich. Nicht alle können hier ausführlich besprochen werden, viele Einzelfragen sind zugunsten größerer Perspektiven zu übergehen.

Einen interessanten Versuch der Differenzierung bietet das Modell, das *Timothy Lim* in „Towards a Description of the Sectarian Matrix" (7–31) entwirft. Darunter versteht er ein Gefüge von Symbolen, das innerhalb des zeitgenössischen Judentums zu je verschiedenen religiösen Gruppen („sects") führe, die sich (nach S. Cohen) durch eine kleine Größe, eine organisierte Struktur, die Abgrenzung gegen eine größere Gemeinschaft und exklusive Ansprüche (als „wahres" Israel) auszeichneten.

Nach L. haben die Qumran-Gruppe und urchristliche Gemeinden gemeinsam an dieser „sectarian matrix" Anteil. Freilich sind die Ähnlichkeiten in der Abstraktion größer als in konkreter Betrachtung der Phänomene: Hinsichtlich der Größe unterscheidet sich die wachsende Jesusbewegung bald stark von der Qumrangemeinschaft, auch in den Organisationsstrukturen sind die Unterschiede groß. Als gemeinsame religiöse Überzeugungen nennt L. das Verständnis als wahres Israel, ein prädestinatianisches Denken (so im NT zumindest bei Paulus), asketische Züge (im Urchristentum nur partiell), den Glauben an ein Leben nach dem Tod (in Qumran strittig) und den Gebrauch z.T. der gleichen Schrifttexte, allerdings in differierender Auswertung. So zutreffend einzelne dieser Berührungen sind, erscheint das Konstrukt einer gemeinsamen „matrix" jedoch allzu abstrakt und wenig weiterführend.

In einem zweiten, gleichfalls programmatischen Beitrag „Learning from Sectarian Responses: Windows on Qumran Sects and Emerging Christian Sects" (177–209) nimmt *Jutta Jokiranta* das soziologische Modell der Sekten-Typologie von Bryan Wilson auf, das die Wahrnehmung des „Bösen" bzw. den Umgang mit ihm zum Ausgangspunkt nimmt und „revolutionists", „introversionists", „reformists", „utopians", „conversionists", „manipulationists" und „thaumaturgists" unterscheidet. Während das Urchristentum dem konversionistischen Typus zuzuordnen sei, neige Qumran eher dem introversionistischen Typus zu, verbunden mit anderen Elementen. Die Diskussion der Typen verbleibt hier allerdings ganz auf der theoretischen Ebene, ohne an konkreten Texten und Aussagen geprüft zu werden. Eine solche Konkretisierung aber wäre unabdingbar, um den „Sekten"-Charakter beider Bewegungen präziser zu bestimmen. Die Überfrachtung historisch-philologischer Arbeit mit soziologischen Theorien wird so zur Sackgasse, deren wissenschaftlicher Ertrag beschränkt bleibt.

Stärker am konkreten Material orientiert ist der Beitrag von *Eyal Regev* „Wealth and Sectarianism: Comparing Qumranic and Early Christian Social Approaches" (211–229), der anhand der Bandbreite der Bewertungen von Besitz und Reichtum in den Qumran-Texten und im NT letztlich deutlicher zwischen der Selbstabgrenzung der Qumran-Bewegung und der Gesellschaftskritik frühchristlicher Kreise unterscheidet, die gelegentlich auf eine Gesellschaftsveränderung der Gesellschaft von innen zielte und – hinsichtlich der Frage der Stellung zum Besitz – nicht als „sectarian" zu bezeichnen ist.

Ebenfalls stärker textorientiert, aber nicht minder programmatisch ist der Beitrag „The Pre-Sectarian Jesus" (33–48) von *George J. Brooke*. Dieser

weist zutreffend darauf hin, dass Parallelen zur Jesusüberlieferung weniger in den gruppenspezifischen „essenischen" (bzw. „sectarian") Texten vorliegen als vielmehr in den als „non-sectarian" oder „pre-sectarian" gewerteten Texten. B. benennt dann eine Reihe interessanter Parallelen wie den Sünden vergebenden Heiler im Gebet Nabonids, die Eschatologie der neuen Weisheitstexte, die Rede von Gottes Königtum in den Sabbatliedern oder die Werke der messianischen Zeit aus 4Q521. Die Beobachtungen ließen sich vermehren, und sie sind in analoger Weise für die paulinische und johanneische Tradition interessant: Qumran bietet in den nichtgruppenspezifischen („non-sectarian") Texten die wichtigsten Parallelen zum Verständnis des NT. Freilich erscheint es wenig glücklich, den Terminus „pre-Sectarian", der sich von der Analyse der Qumrantexte herleitet, auf die Jesustradition oder gar auf Jesus selbst zu beziehen.

Der Jesusforschung gilt ebenfalls der gründliche Beitrag von *Lutz Doering* „Marriage and Creation in Mark 10 and CD 4–5" (133–163), der in mustergültig differenzierter Weise sowohl die Überlieferung in Mk 10,2–12 als auch die Sachparallele in CD 4,20–5,2 analysiert, angesichts des jeweiligen Bezugs der Ehe-Halakha auf Gen 1–2 die je eigenen Intentionen der beiden Abschnitte herausarbeitet und gerade so ein präzises Beispiel dafür liefert, wie der Vergleich qumranischer und neutestamentlicher Passagen sachgemäß erfolgen kann.

Wesentlich spekulativer ist hingegen der Beitrag von *Stephen Hultgren* „4Q521 and Luke's Magnificat and Benedictus" (119–132). H. will 4Q521 aus dem Milieu der palästinischen *Ḥasidim* herleiten, die auch für die Herausbildung der synagogalen Liturgie verantwortlich seien, und aufgrund von Parallelen zur *Tefilla* wie auch zu den Psalmen Salomos vermutet er schließlich eine Herkunft des Magnificat und des Benedictus aus judenchristlichen Kreisen, die diesen *Ḥasidim* nahe gestanden hätten. Allerdings können die Parallelen m.E. einen so weitgehenden Rückschluss auf Gruppen und Milieus nicht tragen; der Beitrag H.s führt leider wenig über die allzu pauschalen Ansätze der älteren Qumran-Forschung hinaus.

Zwei Beiträge gelten dem Messianismus: *John J. Collins* „The Interpretation of Psalm 2" (49–66) bietet, ausgehend von 4Q174 (Florilegium), einen Überblick zur messianischen Deutung von Ps 2 im antiken Judentum und vermutet m. E. zu Recht, dass die Verbindung von Ps 2 und 2 Sam 7 in 4Q174 nicht zufällig erfolgte, sondern dass sich an solchen Verknüpfungen gerade die Bandbreite der messianischen Vorstellungen im antiken Judentum zeigt. Diese Sicht wird weithin bestätigt durch den Beitrag von *Eric F. Mason* über „Interpretation of Psalm 2 in *4QFlorilegium* and in

the New Testament" (67–82), wo der Kontext von 4Q174 präzise ausgeleuchtet wird und die Deutung in OrSib 3,663 als interpretatorische Parallele ausgewiesen wird.

Zwei wichtige Beiträge zielen auf die Paulusforschung: Mit exegetischen Techniken befasst sich *Friedrich Avemarie* „Interpreting Scripture Through Scripture: Exegesis Based on Lexematic Association in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles" (83–102). Dabei geht er der Verwendung der Technik der *Gezera schawa* in Qumran und bei Paulus (Röm 4,3–8; 15,8–12; Gal 3,10–12) nach. Die Vielfalt, in der solche Wortverbindungen exegetisch eingesetzt werden können, lässt es als fragwürdig erscheinen, in all diesen Fällen vorrabbinischer Exegese von *Gezera schawa* zu reden. Gemeinsam ist aber dem NT wie Qumran die Überzeugung, dass die Schriften Moses und der Propheten ein kohärentes Ganzes bildeten (ungeachtet der Frage, welche und wie viele Schriften eingeschlossen waren). Qumran und das NT vertreten insofern einen „kanonischen" Zugang, in dem damit gerechnet wurde, dass sich verschiedene Schriften gegenseitig interpretieren. Problemen der Anthropologie widmet sich *Eibert Tigchelaar* „‚Spiritual People,' ‚Fleshly Spirit,' and ‚Vision of Meditation': Reflections on 4QInstruction and 1 Corinthians" (103–118). Nach einer gründlichen Deutung der vieldiskutierten Passage 4Q417 1 i 13–18 bleibt die Diskussion von 1 Kor 2,6–16 etc. allerdings allzu knapp. T.s Vorschlag, die anthropologische Distinktion zwischen dem „Volk des Geistes" und dem „Geist des Fleisches" in 4QInstruction von den später bei Philo und Paulus belegten anthropologischen Dichotomien her zu lesen, ist interessant, impliziert jedoch das Risiko einer anachronistischen Eintragung, zumal gerade die in 1 Korinther belegten Antithesen oft aus dem kritischen Dialog des Paulus mit seinen Adressaten zu verstehen sind. Hingegen bleibt der vorqumranische Weisheitstext ein wichtiger Hintergrund zum Verständnis der paulinischen Rede von „Fleisch" und „Geist".

Einige Artikel des Bandes widmen sich neutestamentlichen Spätschriften: Eph, Hebr und Apk (während Beiträge zu Mt und Joh fehlen). In seinem präzisen Vergleich von „Family Relationships in 4QInstruction and in Eph 5:21–6:4" (231–255) macht *Jean-Sébastian Rey* in innovativer Weise die neuen Weisheitstexte auch für die Haustafelethik der Deuteropaulinen fruchtbar. Rey beobachtet eine große Dichte der Parallelen zu den Aussagen über die Elternehrung und v.a. zum Verhältnis zwischen Mann und Frau, so dass – wie er vorsichtig folgert – ein Einfluss jüdischer Weisheitsliteratur auch für das Denken des Eph zu vermuten ist. Der Beitrag von *Benjamin G. Wold* „Revelations's Plague Septets: New Exodus

and Exile" (279–297) gilt der Apk, deren Plagen-Reihen er mit qumranischen Reflexen der Exodus-Plagen in Verbindung bringt, wobei er über den bekannten Text 4Q422 hinaus auf Texte verweist, in denen das Exil mit einem neuen „Ägypten" verbunden wird. Auch *Torleif Elgvin* wendet sich in „Priests on Earth as in Heaven: Jewish Light on the Book of Revelation" (257–278) der Apokalypse zu, nach der – im Gegensatz zu der von Priestern geleiteten *yahad* – die Gemeinde des Messias das „heilige Priestertum" aller repräsentiert. E. erörtert gründlich die Aussagen über Priesterschaft, Reinheit, Tempel und Kampf in der Apk und ihre Parallelen in der Qumran-Literatur, um daraus am Ende – wieder etwas spekulativ – ein priesterliches Milieu des Autors in Palästina vor 70 zu vermuten und schließlich auch Hebr demselben Milieu zuzuordnen. Nüchterner bleibt hier der Beitrag von *Lawrence H. Schiffman*, der in „Temple, Sacrifice and Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Dead Sea Scrolls" (165–176) eine scharfsichtige Profilierung der Aussagen des Hebr vor dem Hintergrund der Traditionen über Tempel, Opfer und Priestertum in der Tempelrolle und anderen Qumrantexten bietet, aber am Ende sachgemäß die Differenzen herausstellt.

Dem Glauben an die eschatologische Auferstehung gilt der abschließende Beitrag von *Albert L.A. Hogeterp* „Belief in Resurrection and its Religious Settting in Qumran and the New Testament" (299–320). Hogeterp unterstreicht noch einmal sachgemäß die Bedeutung der Qumran-Bibliothek als „Querschnitt" durch viele Linien jüdischen Denkens und jüdischer Praxis der Zeit vor 70 n.Chr. Die Untersuchung einer Reihe der als „non-sectarian" zu klassifizierenden Werke wie 4QAmram, 4QPseudoEzechiel, 4QPseudo-Daniel, 4Q521 und 4Q434a zeigt ein pluriformes Spektrum von Auferstehungs-Traditionen über die oft ausschließlich berücksichtigten Linien von Apokalyptik, Pharisäismus und Danieltradition hinaus. Die Vielfalt von Konzeptionen und Vorstellungen innerhalb des Neuen Testaments erklärt sich sehr viel besser auf dem Hintergrund des nun aus der Qumran-Bibliothek erschlossenen Bildes der Überlieferungen des palästinischen Judentums.

Der reichhaltige Band macht deutlich, dass die Qumran-Bibliothek für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft noch lange nicht hinreichend ausgeschöpft ist. Freilich bedarf es einer großen Kompetenz in beiden Feldern, um voreiligen und spekulativen Schlussfolgerungen über die Beziehungen zwischen den Autoren der Texte und dem frühen Christentum zu entgehen. Der Band dokumentiert, dass unter Qumran-Spezialisten hier eine große Nüchternheit verbreitet ist. Eine Rezeption von Sprachformen und Vorstellungen ist leichter zu erweisen als eine Verbindung von Gruppen

oder Milieus. Soziologische und kulturwissenschaftliche Theorien sind bisweilen hilfreich, dürfen sich aber nie gegenüber der Arbeit an den Texten verselbständigen. Parallelen zum NT finden sich mehr in den „non-sectarian" als in den „sectarian" Texten. Die Zeit der „parallelomania" ist gleichwohl vorbei, wie Eyal Regev am Ende seines Aufsatzes formuliert: „when isolated passages, that seem similar from a literary point of view are treated from a more conceptual and social perspective…, the differences become bolder and more significant. But without having both corpora, a scholar would struggle to observe and discern their exact character." Deshalb ist es unabdingbar, für die Exegese des NT auch die Texte von Qumran genau zu studieren. Dies zeigt der vorliegende Band auf dem aktuellen Stand der Forschung, der vielen Experten für das NT noch wenig vor Augen steht.

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## New Projects

**Katell Berthelot and Thierry Legrand**

# The Qumran Library Project at the Éditions du Cerf (Paris)

Place: Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris

The French-Canadian project "La Bibliothèque de Qumrân" (The Qumran Library), supported by the French publisher Les Éditions du Cerf (Paris) and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Conseil de la recherche en sciences humaines du Canada), aims at producing a bilingual edition with an updated French translation of the whole Qumran library, including the biblical texts that differ significantly from the Masoretic text. Cognate manuscripts, such as the Masada fragments of texts found at Qumran or the texts from the Cairo Genizah, are taken into account as well. In addition to a general introduction to each volume and several indexes, each text is briefly introduced and abundantly annotated. The footnotes pertaining to the translation aim at explaining the content of the text and try to highlight its significance, often comparing particular expressions or ideas with those found in other Qumran texts or in ancient Jewish and Christian literature in general. The footnotes under the original (Hebrew/Aramaic/Greek) text mainly tackle textual issues and problems of decipherment, mention other possible readings, and compare the text to other text-types (when dealing with biblical texts or biblical quotations, or compositions of which several manuscripts with significant differences were found). For the original text we use the edition found in *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* whenever it is possible, and insofar as no better edition has been produced after the publication of the *DJD* volume. When no *DJD* edition exists, we use the *editio princeps* that is considered the best by the scholarly community. In some cases, modifications may be introduced, either after a new examination of the photographs or a direct examination of the manuscript at the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem, or in order to take into account scholarly works that have led to a better reconstruction or a better reading of the text (as in the case of volume V of *DJD*, for instance). When several copies

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of a text have been found, if they differ significantly they are published one after the other or in a synopsis; when they differ only in details, one manuscript is used and the variants are indicated in the footnotes.

The first originality of the Qumran Library project lies in the fact that it brings together the so-called biblical texts and the so-called non-biblical texts, which, for some of them, are very close to what we consider the authoritative biblical text. As a consequence, the fluidity with which the biblical tradition developed is highlighted.

The second originality of the project lies in the principle used to classify the texts. Instead of a classification according to cave and manuscript numbers or literary genres, we have chosen a kind of thematic classification, trying to put together all the texts that pertain to a given biblical book. For sure, not all the Qumran texts have a direct or exclusive link with a given biblical book or a group of biblical books; however, to classify the texts in such a way helps to look at the Qumran collection in a new way and raises interesting questions.

For each biblical book, we first give the list of all biblical manuscripts. Then, the manuscripts or fragments that contain significant differences with the Masoretic text are presented and translated. Then come the non-biblical manuscripts. In some cases, such as the so-called Reworked Pentateuch, it is difficult to draw the line between biblical and non-biblical manuscripts, and this will be highlighted in the introductions. The first volume, which came out in October 2008, is entitled "Torah – Genèse," and contains all the Qumran texts that pertain mainly to Genesis, except for those which pertain to both Genesis and Exodus, like *Jubilees*, which will appear in the second volume ("Torah – Exode – Lévitique – Nombres"),[1] after Exodus. The third volume, "Torah – Deutéronome," will gather not only texts that are connected to Deuteronomy but also the non-biblical texts that pertain to the Pentateuch as a whole, such as the halakhic texts, the *Rules*, the *Damascus Document*, etc. The fourth and the fifth volumes will deal with "Prophetic Writings", and include not only the prophetic books of the Tanakh, but also Daniel, which was considered a prophetic book at Qumran. From the sixth volume onwards, one will proceed to the "Other Writings", that is to all the other texts found at Qumran. At this point literary genres (liturgical, sapiential, etc.) will play a greater role in the classification, since the connection with specific biblical books becomes more tenuous.

1 The publication of Volume 2 is scheduled for 2010.

We wish to stress that the category "Other Writings" is not equivalent to the "Ketuvim", since in our opinion there was no such canonical category yet at that time. But the evidence from Qumran shows that there was indeed a "canonical process"[2] and, as has been convincingly argued by George Brooke in his article "Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process",[3] the amount and the nature of the paratextual literature that develops around a given biblical book is a crucial element of this canonical process. Therefore by putting together the biblical texts with the non-biblical texts that are in some way associated with them, the Qumran Library project also aims at providing Qumran scholars with a tool that will help visualize both the phenomenon of paratextual literature and the process of canonization.

About 15 French-speaking scholars from France, Canada, Tchequia, etc. contribute to the project.

## Publications

K. Berthelot, T. Legrand and A. Paul (eds.), La Bibliothèque de Qumrân. Volume 1: Torah – Genèse (Paris: Cerf, 2008), XXXIII + 589 pp.

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2 See E.C. Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible", in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids 1999) 59.

3 Published in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant and R.A. Clements; Leiden 2005) 85–104.

**Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett**

# Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts

Series Editors: Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett
Published by Oxford University Press
Website: http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/category/academic/series/literature/oecgt.do

The place of non-canonical gospel texts has become increasingly important in recent years in the study of early Christianity and also of Jesus. The discovery of the Nag Hammadi library has greatly increased our knowledge of early Christian heterodox literature, including the production of 'gospel' texts, the most famous of which is probably the *Gospel of Thomas*. In recent years, more and more attention has been focused on texts such as these, with powerful claims being made in some quarters about the positive value of such texts for the study of Jesus and early Christianity.

However, many of the texts concerned are extant in forms that are not well known in detail or not easily accessible. Some are in somewhat fragmentary form; others are only available in other languages. In view of the claims sometimes made about some of the details of such texts, it is vitally important that the actual textual evidence be accurately presented, so that, for example, lacunae in fragmentary texts – and conjectural emendations or additions to fill them – are clearly recognized for what they are.

The increased interest in these texts also means that, at times, a not inconsiderable body of secondary literature has grown up. It is, therefore, extremely valuable for scholars to be able to have access to clear introductions to these texts, outlining the main issues in their studies, and providing a clear indication of the current state of scholarship.

With these two broad needs in mind, the overall aim of the project is to provide critical editions with extended introductions and substantial notes for a number of such non-canonical gospel texts that are extant. The series has been enthusiastically adopted and promoted by Oxford Uni-

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versity Press, and both volumes produced so far have appeared with the customary care and quality characteristic of OUP.

A number of such volumes is planned, each treating one or more of these texts. The intention is that each volume will contain an extensive Introduction, outlining the main issues involved in the textual evidence, together with a discussion of the importance of the text for broader study (of Jesus and early Christianity) and the key issues raised by the text. A critical edition of the text and English translation will be provided and in addition there will be comments on key aspects of the individual parts of the text. The texts concerned vary considerably in size and this will affect both the number of texts to be allocated to each volume in the series and also the way in which the texts, translations, and notes are presented. It is expected that most volumes will be in the range 120–250 pages.

The texts to be treated fall mainly into three loose categories. First, texts that have been preserved in a continuously transmitted manuscript tradition of their own, with a number of extant manuscripts (possibly in a range of languages: e. g. the *Epistula Apostolorum* and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*). Second, texts that have been preserved only in individual fragments, or as full texts where the manuscript attestation for the whole text is confined to a single manuscript with perhaps a few odd fragments as well (e. g. P.Egerton 2, the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Gospel of Mary* and the *Gospel of Peter*). Third, texts that survive only in quotations in the extant writings of other authors (e. g. the so-called Jewish-Christian Gospels cited in the Church Fathers). A fourth category might also be included, that of additions or supplements to the canonical gospels, or significant textual variants that are not generally included in critical editions of those texts (e. g. the longer ending of Mark, *Secret Mark*, the Pericope Adulterae and the D reading of Luke 6:4).

The project is already well underway with some volumes already published and others in the process of being written.

Volumes that have appeared already are as follows:
*The Gospel of Mary* (ed. C. Tuckett; 2007; ISBN 978-0-19-921213-2)
*Gospel Fragments* (ed. T. Kraus, M. Kruger and T. Nicklas; 2009; ISBN 978-0-19-920815-9): P.Egerton 2, P.Oxy. 840, and a number of smaller fragments

Other volumes already under contract are as follows:
Jewish-Christian Gospels (ed. Andrew Gregory)
*Epistula Apostolurum* (ed. Darrell Hannah)
*The Gospel of Judas* (ed. Ismo Dunderberg)

We plan to include volumes on other gospels or related texts, including the *Gospel of Peter*, the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* and the *Protevangelium of James*.

The series editors would be glad to consider expressions and interest and proposals from any potential contributors who feel that she or he might be interested in offering to write a volume in the series. They can be contacted most conveniently by email.

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*From the Editorial Manifesto*





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