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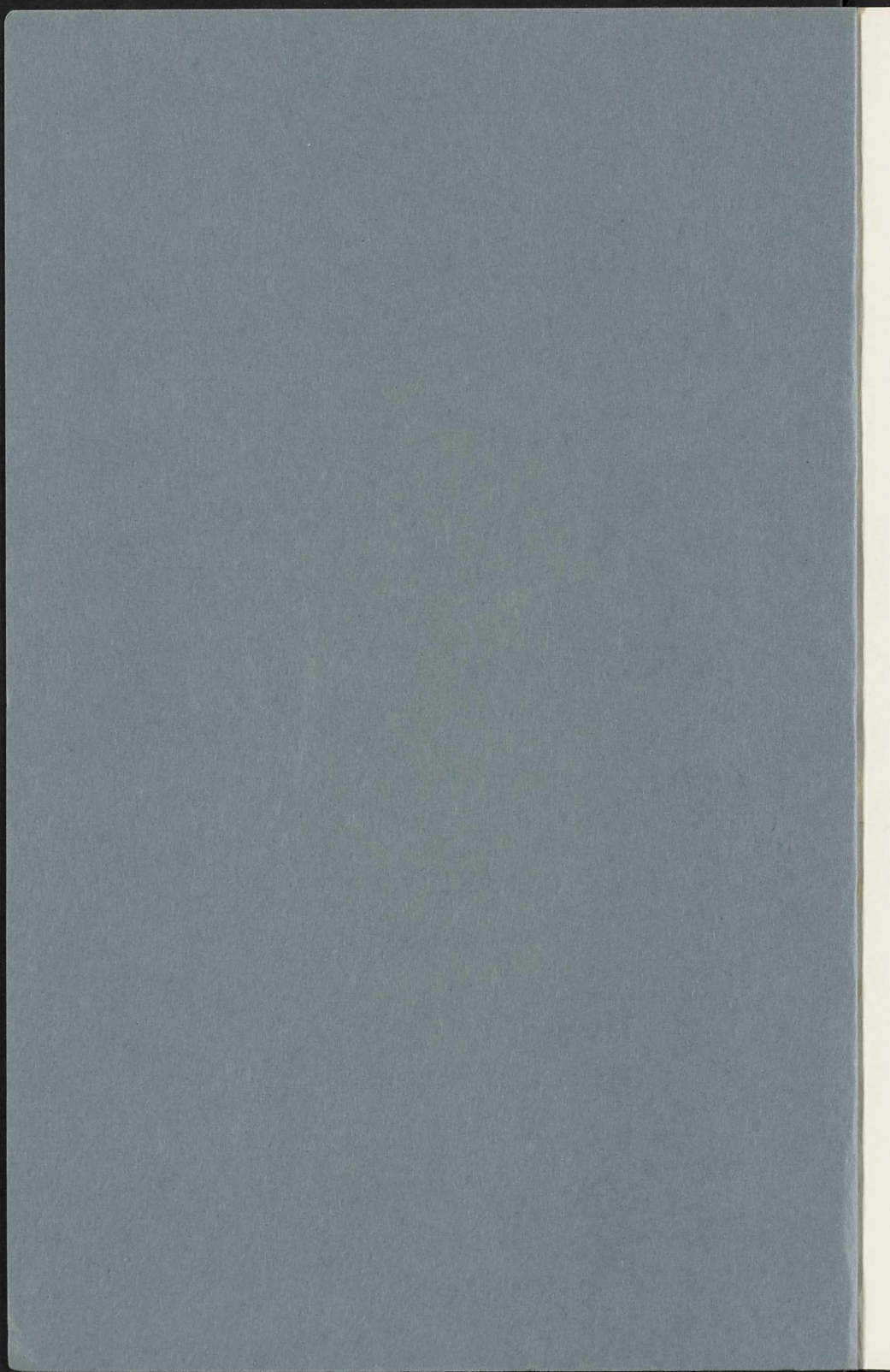
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Introductory Note: This book, in two volumes, contains copies of SBL Seminar Papers which were received in the Executive Secretary's office before 7 July 1972. In addition, the papers of several Seminars were so extensive that they have been bound together as separate volumes. It should be remembered that these papers represent only working documents for the Seminars and not finished copy. They were photographically reproduced from the texts supplied by the authors.

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Preliminary Proposals

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1. Three considerations have been paramount in the shaping of these proposals for a parsing code for hellenistic Greek: (1) The code should be kept as simple as possible. (2) Syntactical and morphological criteria should be permitted to overlap wherever possible; distinctions should not be made until required by the language. (3) It seems wise to develop only the rudiments of a scheme initially. A sound elementary code can be refined, enlarged, and corrected as it is put to use. A modest amount of experience indicates that pure speculation is no substitute for practice.

The proposals which follow are the result of working with a compendium of about 2,000 Greek sentences over an eight year period. The code has functioned reasonably well for the purposes for which it was originally designed (the production of a new short syntax, the first draft of which is to be reviewed by the Seminar). Nevertheless, I am quite prepared to accept the verdict that the whole should be scrapped. The next step, as it seems to me, is to develop a code that can be used on computer: the data base on which a revision of the syntax can be based should be considerably larger than the present very limited sample.

At the time the syntax was drafted, a slightly different set of symbols was being employed in the parsing code. The basic scheme remains the same, but a shift in symbols will, unfortunately, produce a certain amount of unavoidable confusion for those comparing these proposals with the draft syntax.

2. The grammatical unit on which the parsing code rests is the sentence (S). It is necessary to be able to break S into words and word groups. The slash (/) was used to indicate the limits of primary words and word groups in S; where syntactical units of S stood in apposition to each other, the double slash (//) was used.

Secondary cuts were represented by the half slash (/'); tertiary cuts by a broken slash (/').

3.1 The vast majority of sentences in Greek appear to have a "subject" and a "predicate" headed by a finite verb. It was decided to employ arabic numbers to indicate these primary components:

1 = In S, any word or word group in the structure of subject

2 = In S, the main (finite) verb

Thus,

(1) ¹ ²
 (1) ὁ πᾶς / ζῆ

would be so parsed. The code may, of course, be written without the underlying Greek text: S = 1/2.

3.2 Many sentences have more to their predicates than a finite verb. It was decided to use additional arabic numbers to designate further words and word groups in the predicate, and to differentiate them according to the *case* of the head term. The possibilities are exhausted by the following four categories:

3 = In predicate, any word or word cluster with head term in the *nominative case*

4 = In predicate, any word or word cluster with head term in the *accusative case*

5 = In predicate, any word or word cluster with head term in the *dative case*

6 = In predicate, any word or word cluster with head term in the *genitive case*

The use of arabic numbers 3-6 is illustrated by the following:

(2) ¹ ² ³
 (2) ἡ μαρτυρία σου / οὐκ ἔστιν / ἀληθής Jn 8:13

(3) ²⁻¹ ⁴
 (3) γνώσεοθε / τὴν ἀλήθειαν Jn 8:32

(4) ¹ ⁴ ⁵ ²
 (4) ὅς / τὴν ἀλήθειαν / ὑμῖν / λελάληκα Jn 8:40

(5) ²⁻¹ ⁶ ⁴
 (5) οὐ μὴ γεύσεται / θανάτου / εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα Jn 8:52

3.3 In Greek the subject is often signaled alone by the personal ending attached to the verb. This phenomenon can be marked: 2-1 (verb and subject combined). Cf. (3), (5) above for examples.

3.4 Arabic numbers 1-6 will cover most sentence components. Practice with a few dozen sentences will reveal that the following items will escape notation: *adverbs* and *infinitives* not included in another word group (or appearing in a word cluster of which they are the head term); *included sentences*. None of these items is marked by case. In addition, there are reasons for indicating where a word or word group in categories 3-6 is initiated by a *preposition*. These needs were met in the following ways:

A = In predicate, any adverb not included in another word group; a word cluster headed by an adverb

- (6) τὸ ὥς τὸ ἀληθινὸν / ἦδη / φαίνει 1 Jn 2:8
- 1 A 2

i = In predicate, any infinitive not included in another word group; a word group headed by an infinitive

- (7) ὑμεῖς / οὐ δύνασθε / ἔλθεῖν Jn 8:21
- 1 2 i

S(s) = In predicate, any included independent (dependent) sentence

- (8) ὅπου ἐγὼ ὑπάγω / ὑμεῖς / οὐ δύνασθε / ἔλθεῖν Jn 8:21
- s 1 2 i

p = In predicate, prefixed to any word or word group "governed" by a preposition

- (9) σὺ / περὶ σεαυτοῦ / μαρτυρεῖς Jn 8:13
- 1 p6 2

3.5 The ten symbols proposed thus far permit one to code all sentence parts other than the so-called conjunctions and particles. These will be covered by a third set of symbols to be introduced subsequently.

3.6 The arabic numbers are purely arbitrary. Their use was suggested by C. C. Fries' scheme of 1952 (*The Structure of English*). The designations i, p, A were suggested by the initial letter of the English word (infinitive, preposition, adverb; i and p are lower case, A upper case).

4.1 A second set of symbols, consisting of lower case letters, is needed to designate words and word groups in relation to "parts of speech" (Grammar §§10ff.). The "parts of speech" are defined, first of all, by morphological criteria, and secondly, by syntactical differentiae.

4.2 Lower case letters are employed to designate the "parts of speech" (except for adverbs = upper case):

b = pronoun

ἐγώ	ἐμαυτοῦ, -ῆς	ἀλλήλων, -ων, -ων
σύ	σεαυτοῦ, -ῆς	
ἡμεῖς	ἐαυτοῦ, -ῆς, -οῦ	
ὅμοιως	ἡμῶν αὐτῶν	
ομοῖως	ὁμῶν αὐτῶν	
	ἐαυτῶν, -ῶν, -ῶν	

d = pronominal adjective (determiner)

αὐτός, -ή, -ό
ὁ, ἡ, τό
οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο
ἐκεῖνος, ἐκεῖνη, ἐκεῖνο
τίς, τί
τις, τι
ἄλλος, -η, -ο
ἕτερος, -α, -ον

ἐκαστος, -η, -ον
πᾶς, πᾶσα, πᾶν
οὐδεὶς
ὅς, ἥ, ὅ
ὅστις, ἣτις, ὅτι
πολύς, πολλή, πολύ
εἷς, μία, ἓν
ὅσος, -η, -ον
ὁποῖος, -οῖα, -οῖον

(Cf. Smyth §340. List to be expanded and corrected.)

n = noun

a = adjective

g = participle (mnemonic aid: gerund)

i = infinitive

p = preposition

A = adverb

4.3 For word groups headed by one of the above, a plus sign (+) may be added to the basic designation. E.g. n+ would be a word cluster headed by a noun, g+ a word group headed by a participle.

4.4 Symbols for parts of speech may be combined with arabic numbers to designate more precisely words and word groups appearing as subject and in the predicate. For example, in the sentence

(10) ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα / ἐλάλησεν / ἐν τῷ γαζοφυλακείῳ / διδάσκων

ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ

Jn 8:20

The first phrase is marked 4n+ because it is a word group headed by a noun in the accusative case. Similarly, p5n+ designates a word group headed by a noun in the dative case and initiated by a preposition, and 3g+ indicates a word group headed by a participle in the nominative case.

(11) ὁ / περὶ σεαυτοῦ / μαρτυρεῖς

Jn 8:13

1b designates a pronoun in the structure of subject, while p6b indicates a pronoun in the genitive case governed by a preposition.

5.1 Words and word clusters appearing in the structure of subject may be described, at the gross level, with the symbols already proposed.

2-1 = subject signaled by bound morpheme
(in independent notations this subject may be labelled
1m)

1b = pronoun in structure of subject

1b+ = word group with pronoun as head term in structure of subject

1d = determiner in structure of subject

1d+ = word group with determiner as head term in structure of subject

1n = noun in structure of subject

1n+ = word group with noun as head term in structure of subject

1a = adjective in structure of subject

1a+ = word group with adjective as head term in structure of subject

1g = participle in structure of subject

1g+ = word group with participle as head term in structure of subject

1i = infinitive in structure of subject

1i+ = word group with infinitive as head term in the structure of subject

1S = included independent sentence in structure of subject

1s = included dependent sentence in structure of subject

It is quite possible to go on with less obvious cases:

1A = adverb in structure of subject

1A+ = word group with adverb as head term in structure of subject

(12) $\begin{matrix} 4n+ & 2 & 1A+ \\ \tau\eta\nu & \phi\upsilon\chi\eta\nu & / & \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota & / & \tau\omicron & \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega \\ \tau\omicron & \delta\acute{\epsilon} & \begin{matrix} 1A+ \\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega \end{matrix} & / & \tau\omicron & \begin{matrix} 4n+ \\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha \end{matrix} & / & \begin{matrix} 2 \\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota \end{matrix} \end{matrix}$

2 Clem 12:4

lp = preposition in structure of subject

lp+ = word group with preposition as head term in structure of subject

In certain kinds of texts, a word as word might be subject. For this case,

lw = any word in structure of subject

lw+ = word group with any word as head term in structure of subject

5.2 The same symbols used in an analogous way may be employed to describe words and word groups in the predicate with the head term in a case. That is, word groups designated by arabic numbers 3-6 are subject to the same set of descriptions as word groups appearing in the structure of subject.

6.1 Adverbs, negatives, conjunctions and particles are covered by a third set of symbols, consisting this time of upper case letters. These words are notoriously difficult to classify. The following categories and designations are entirely tentative, and the classifications attempted in the sample are sometimes merely speculative.

The words and word groups are divided into three groups.

Group I: Adverbs and Negative Particles

6.2 A = adverbs

N = negative particles

S(7) contains a negative:

(7) lb N > 2 i
 ομεῖς / οὐ δύνασθε / ἐλθεῖν

The symbol (>) means "goes with, modifies." The double negative (οὐ μὴ) in (5) above would be marked: NN > 2-1. A negative may modify something other than a verb, e.g. a determiner (οὐ πᾶς): N > d.

Group II: Sequence Words

6.3 B = words and word groups that signal an included (subordinate) sentence

B words are of two types: those which have a grammatical function of their own in the included sentence (always dependent). Such B words (and groups) will therefore always have an additional designation.

Relative pronouns are the major representatives. The second type of B word is the subordinator that merely connects (cf. Goetchius [1965] 242f. n.1). It will therefore lack any additional designation.

In the sentence,

- (13) B4d 2-1 p6d
 ὃ / ἤκουσα / παρ' αὐτοῦ

Jn 8:26

the relative pronoun is a B word, but it also has a grammatical function in its own clause, in this case indicated by 4 (= accusative), and it also belongs to a word class (part of speech), i.e. d (pronominal adjective). By contrast, ὅτι in the following sentence,

- (14) B 3n+ 2
 οἶδα] ὅτι / σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ / ἐστε

Jn 8:37

although a B word, does not have a grammatical function in its own clause; it is therefore marked simply B.

The distinction between B words is thus indicated by the difference between a simple designation and additional, specifying designations.

6.4 C = words and word groups which connect or relate structural items of the same or comparable order

The items connected by C words may range from whole sentences to phrases and words. Καί is the most frequently occurring example. C items are put in parentheses (()) = structure signaling but parenthetical to deep structure.

- (C) ln+ 2 (C) ln+
 (15) (καί) ὁ κόσμος / παράγεται (καί) ἡ ἐπιθυμία αὐτοῦ 1 Jn 2:17

It is evident from the parsing of (15) that the structural items of the same or comparable order connected by the two C words are ln+ and ln+, although 2 intervenes.

It is possible, of course, that words marked in some other connection may also function as C words.

- N^C > 4b 2-1 N^C > 4n+
 (16) οὔτε ἐμὲ / οἴδατε / οὔτε τὸν πατέρα μου

Jn 8:19

In the case of (16), the two correlative negatives also function as conjunctions. That function may be indicated by a raised C attached to the N. Again, the two grammatical items modified by the negatives are of the same structural order (object of the verb).

6.5 D = words and word groups which signal "logical" sequence

D words are sentence transcending and have no effect on the structure of the sentence in which they occur. Consequently, they may be put in brackets ([]).

- 2 [D] ln+ S⁴
 (17) ἔλεγον [οὖν] οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι / μήτι . . . ἐλθεῖν;

Jn 8:22

- (18) [D] lg+ p5n+
ὁ [δὲ] μισῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ / ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ /

 2 (C)
ἐστίν (καλ) . . . 1 Jn 2:11

Group III: Sentence Signals and Modalizers

6.6 Q = words and word groups signaling a question

Q words, like B words (6.3), are divided into two groups: those that are also integral to the structure of the sentence, and those that are not. The former will receive a second designation.

An example of a Q word not involving sentence structure is:

- (19) $\overset{Q}{\rho\omicron\upsilon} / \overset{2-1}{\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\tau\varsigma};$ Jn 1:38

While in (19) the Q word is also object of the verb:

- (20) Q4d 4b 2-1
 τίνα / σεαυτὸν / ποιεῖς; Jn 8:53

If it proves necessary to indicate that Q in (19) is also an adverb, the designation may be augmented as Q^A.

6.7 In addition to Q words, there are words (and word groups) that signal wishes and exclamations. Words in these categories do not normally participate in sentence structure. They may be conveniently designated as:

W = words and word groups that signal a wish

E = words and word groups that signal an exclamation

Examples of W words are *ὄφελον*, *εἴθε* (Smyth §§1780ff.; 1814ff.), of E words or groups, *οἶος*, *ὅσος*, *ὦ* with the vocative (Smyth §§2681ff.).

6.8 It seemed provisionally wise to differentiate other nuance words (sentence adverbs, modal particles) from those indicated by Q, W, E. To these was given the arbitrary designation H. H words provide intonation, emphasis, coloring, without affecting sentence structure. Examples are *av*, *amiv*.

6.9 Finally, a few words in the compendium of sentences used as the basis of the draft grammar appeared to function in a special way as "attention getters" (Fries, 1952, 103). A common example in the New Testament is *idou*. The label I was employed for this small class of words.

Analysis of Nominal Word Groups

7. $1n+$ as a description of a word group is satisfactory only at the gross level. Closer study of word groups requires better definition. By introducing the symbol t to represent the article (in any case), most word groups can be described symbolically in great detail with the symbols already proposed.

In the sentence,

- (21) $1n+$ 2 $4b$
 ἡ ἀλήθεια / ἐλευθερώσει / ὑμᾶς Jn 8:32

$1n+$ can be resolved as (tn) = article + noun in the same case. The subject group could then be written in full as $1n+(tn)$. In the following sentence,

- (22) $1b$ 2 $3n+$
 ἐγώ / εἰμι / τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου Jn 8:12

$3n+$ is to be resolved as (tn/tn^6) , which means: article plus noun, followed by article plus noun in the genitive case, the case indicating the syntactical relation of the second subgroup to the first.

In S(10), $4n+$ (ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα) is to be described as: $4n+(dtn)$ (all terms in same case, accusative, as indicated by 4). The group $p5n+$ (ἐν τῷ γαζοφυλακείῳ) may be represented as $p5n+(ptn)$, all terms again in the same case. The third group $3g+$ (διδάσκων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ) is more complicated: (g/ptn^5) . That is to be read as participle (in nom. case, indicated by 3), followed by a dependent word group consisting of preposition governing article-noun in the dative case.

The $4n+$ group in S(23) provides an example of three subclusters:

- (23) $1b$ 2 $4n+$
 ὑμεῖς / ποιεῖτε / τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν Jn 8:41

which may be detailed as $4n+(tn/tn^6/b^6)$.

In short, nominal word clusters may be coded in some detail by means of the two sets of symbols already introduced. The next step in refinement would be to identify specific words in closed word classes (b and d words, for example).

Main (Finite) Verbs

8. At some point in the development of a parsing code it becomes necessary to classify main (finite) verbs designated by arabic 2 (3.1). The following is minimal:

2i	=	intransitive verb
2t	=	transitive verb
2c	=	catenative verb
2e	=	equative verb
2pass	=	verb in passive voice

The classification of verbs is correlative with the analysis of sentence or predicate types.

9.1 Sentence types. In a parsing code suited to the collection of large amounts of fresh grammatical data, some means of coding sentence structure for ready comparison is necessary. Although sentence structure is normally evident from sentences parsed in accordance with the code outlined thus far, structure cannot always be "read" off sentences so parsed. A more sophisticated code will, perhaps, eliminate the need for special designations. Until that time, however, classification is required for a number of purposes.

Roman numerals have been adopted for the purpose of indicating sentence structure, in accordance with the following scheme.

9.2 The simplest type of sentence consists of subject and verb (intransitive) only. The subject may, of course, be included in the verb form, as in

	2-1	
(24)	ἤλθαν	Jn 1:39

which could be labelled I.0 to indicate that it is a type I sentence with nothing other than the main or finite verb in the predicate. S(25) is also I.0:

	1b	2	
(25)	ἐγὼ	/	ὁπάγω
			Jn 8:21

An optional adverb or adverbial phrase may also occur in the predicates of SI:

	2-1	A	
(26)	ἔμεινεν	/	ἐκεῖ
			Jn 4:40

	p5d	2-1	
(27)	παρ' αὐτῷ	/	ἔμειναν
			Jn 1:39

S(26) and (27) could thus be summarized as:

- I.A (SI with adverb in predicate)
- I.p5d (SI with adverbial phrase in predicate)

9.3 In SII the verb connects the subject with a subjective complement:

- (28) ^{1b} ἐγώ / ^{2e} εἰμι / ³ⁿ⁺ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου Jn 8:12

Verbs in SII are called copulative or equative verbs. The inflectional mark of SII is that the subjective complement takes the same case as the subject. S(28) may be summarized as: II.3n+ (SII with 3n+ in predicate).

9.4 Type III sentences consist of transitive verb and direct object:

- (29) ²⁻¹ γνώσεσθε / ⁴ⁿ⁺ τὴν ἀλήθειαν Jn 8:32

- (30) ²⁻¹ τιμῶ / ⁴ⁿ⁺ τὸν πατέρα μου Jn 8:49

These sentences would be coded as: III.4n+.

9.5 SIII is subject to a passive transformation:

- (31) ^{p6n} ὑπὸ θεοῦ / ^{2pass-1} τετίμηται Ign Smyr 9.1

SIII with the verb in the passive voice may be coded as: IIIP.p6n. There seemed to be no good reason to give the passive transformation a different roman numeral, and there is at least one powerful reason for keeping the same numeral: the active and passive forms are agnate (Gleason, *Linguistics and English Grammar*, 1965, 202ff.: pairs of sentences having the same major vocabulary items but exhibiting different structures are agnate if the relations between them are regular and systematic).

9.6 Transitive verbs taking an indirect object in addition to a direct object form the nucleus of predicates of SIV.

- (32) οἱ ¹ⁿ⁺ [δὲ] προσήνεγκαν / ^{5d} αὐτῷ / ⁴ⁿ δηνάριον Mt 22:19

S(32) may be summarized as: IV.5d/4n.

9.7 Enough has been said of sentence types to indicate how a system of roman numerals, with some additional qualifiers, can be used with other parts of the code to characterize sentences by type. Eight basic sentence types are identified in the draft Grammar, together with a variety of passive transformations, but more categories will be needed as the analysis is refined.

10. To recapitulate: A system of arabic numbers (with supplementation) was proposed to designate basic sentence parts (§3). A set

of lower case letters, to symbolize "parts of speech," was joined to the numbers (§4). Adverbs, negatives, conjunctions, and particles were covered by a third group of symbols consisting of upper case letters (§6). By adding very few additional signs to those already in use, one may analyze nominal word clusters in considerable (but not exhaustive) detail (§7). A preliminary scheme for classifying main or finite verbs was suggested (§8). Finally, a code was proposed for indicating sentence types (§9).

The proposed parsing code is given in schematic form in Appendix I for easy reference.

11.1 A brief description of how the code has actually been employed may prove illuminating. Examples from two forms of the data file are given in Appendices II and III.

11.2 Each period (independent S) from the body of texts selected as the base was entered on a separate card. The sentence was marked (over the Greek, as in the examples above) in accordance with the code. The code for that sentence was rewritten independently below the parsed sentence. On a third line the sentence type was indicated, as illustrated in §9. There are thus three entries on each card: (1) the parsed Greek sentence; (2) the code of that sentence written separately; (3) a summary by S type. See Appendix II for examples.

11.3 The cards for a given text are numbered in sequence. Further, all items in the sentence labeled S or s are entered on separate cards, numbered in arabic sequence with the main cards, and analyzed as sentences; such sentences are preceded, however, with S: (or s:). Items in the sentence whose transformation (T) yields an included sentence are entered on separate cards, but such cards are marked as the a, b, c, etc. cards of the main entry, i.e. the main card would be 1, the first T card 1a, etc. These sentences are preceded by T:.

It is thus possible to tell at a glance whether one is dealing with S, s or T sentences. Main entries lack these additional designations.

11.4 Small, raised symbols are employed to indicate secondary (often syntactical) relations or functions. For example, S⁴ may indicate that an included sentence is the object (= accusative case, normally) of a verb (of speaking or saying). N^C indicates that this negative also functions as a conjunction. In the analysis of a nominal word cluster, e.g. tn/tn^b, raised arabic numbers indicate the case of subgroups and thus the syntactical relation of one group to another.

11.5 As indicated in §6, D items (sequence words) are put in brackets: they presumably have no effect on the structure of the word groups in which they appear, and their function is sentence transcending.

C items (conjunctions) are put in parentheses: they signal structure, but they are parenthetical to deep structure.

B words which do not participate in the structure of the sentence they introduce as subordinators, will be put in parentheses for the same reason conjunctions are put in parentheses: they indicate

structure, but are parenthetic to the structure of units joined by them.

The use of brackets and parentheses is an alternate form of indicating cuts, or isolating items that stand in a different relation to surrounding items than words belonging to a word cluster, for example.

11.6 The card file served as the basic data file. It proved to have practical limitations, however, especially since it had to be manipulated by hand. It was an unbelievably slow process to check even for a single point. A loose leaf summary by sentence type (Appendix III) offered modest relief. S type summaries were entered in the left hand column, the parsing code for each sentence in the middle column, and the reference in the right column. This summary made it possible to peruse sentences rapidly (by type) for particular phenomena.

12. It is obvious that a new hellenistic Greek grammar requires a much larger data file than can be managed by hand. There is no reason a file of 20,000 or 30,000 sentences cannot be manipulated by computer, provided the sentences are suitably coded. A number of intermediate steps should be taken in increasing the size of the file: provisional studies of a variety of phenomena at various levels along the way, simply to make sure the code is functional, and to determine whether significant implementation of the file modifies the results. It is possible that an adequate data base will be acquired sooner than expected.

A prior requirement, however, is to begin with the best possible code that can be devised before the fact.

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Appendix I

PARSING CODE

13. Cuts:

- / marks the limits of primary words and word groups in S
- // stands between words and word groups in apposition
- / marks a secondary cut
- / marks a tertiary cut
- () encloses connectors
- [] encloses sequence words

14. Arabic numbers: An arabic number is set over the word or head term of the subject, main (finite) verb, and each unit of the predicate, as follows:

- 1 = word or word group in the structure of subject
- 2 = main (finite) verb
- 3 = in predicate: word or word group with head term in nominative case
- 4 = in predicate: word or word group with head term in accusative case
- 5 = in predicate: word or word group with head term in dative case
- 6 = in predicate: word or word group with head term in genitive case

In addition,

- A = in predicate: any adverb not included in another word group; a word cluster headed by an adverb
- i = in predicate: any infinitive not included in another word group; a word group headed by an infinitive
- S (s) = in predicate: any included independent (dependent) sentence
- p = prefixed to any word or word group initiated by a preposition

15. Parts of speech: Lower case letters are used to designate parts of speech (except for adverbs: upper case):

- b = pronoun
- d = pronominal adjective
- n = noun
- a = adjective
- g = participle

i = infinitive
 p = preposition
 A = adverb

A plus sign is added to the basic designation for word clusters headed by a part of speech

+ = word cluster (e.g. 4n+, 5g+)

16. In the analysis of nominal word clusters,
 t = the article in any gender, number, case
17. Adverbs, negatives, conjunctions and particles:

A = adverb
 N = negative particle
 B = subordinator
 C = conjunction
 D = connector
 Q = question signaling words and word groups
 W = wish signaling words and word groups
 E = exclamation signaling words and word groups
 I = attention getters

18. Additional designations:

Sentence types are marked with roman numerals

P = the passive form of a sentence type, e.g. IIIP
 T = the transformation

APPENDIX 2: CARD FILE

1.1
Jn 8:12

A [D] 5d 2 ln+
 πάλιν[οὖν] αὐτοῖς / ἐλάλησεν / ὁ Ἰησοῦς /
 3g+
 λέγων, ἐγώ . . .

A [D] 5d / 2 / ln+ / 3g+
 IV.O/5d

1.1a
Jn 8:12

(2-1) S⁴(3x)
 T3g+: λέγων, / ἐγώ . . .

(2-1) / S⁴(3x)

III.S⁴(3x)

1.2
Jn 8:12

1b 2e 3n+
 S: ἐγώ / εἰμι / τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου

1b / 2e / 3n+

II.3n+

1.3
Jn 8:12

330a

1g+ $NN^C > 2$
S: δ ακολουθῶν ἐμοί / οὐ μὴ περιπατήσῃ /
 p5n+ (C)
 ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ (ἀλλ'). . .
 1g+ / $NN^C > 2$ / p5n+ (C) . . .
 I.p5n+

1.3a
Jn 8:12

(2-1) 5b
Tlg+: δ ακολουθῶν / ἐμοί . . .

(2-1) / 5b

III.5b

1.4
Jn 8:12

(C) 2-1 4n+
S: (ἀλλ') ἐξεῖ / τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς
 (C) 2-1 / 4n+
 III.4n+

1.5
Jn 8:13
S⁴(2x)

2 '[D] 5d 1n+
εἶπον οὖν αὐτῷ / οἱ σαρισαῖτοι, / σὸ ...
2 [D] 5d / 1n+ / S⁴(2x)
IV.S⁴(2x) / 5d

330b

1b

p6b

2

1.6
Jn 8:13

S: σὺ / περὶ σεαυτοῦ / μαρτυρεῖς

1b / p6b / 2

I.p6b

1.7
Jn 8:13

1n+

N > 2e

3a

S: ἡ μαρτυρία σου / οὐκ ἔστιν / ἀληθής

1n+ / N > 2e / 3a

II.3a

1.8
Jn 8:14
S⁴(8x)

2

1n

(C)

2

5d

ἀπεκρίθη / Ἰησοῦς (καὶ) εἶπεν / αὐτοῖς, / κἂν ...

2 / 1n (C) 2 / 5d / S⁴(8x)

IV.S⁴(8x)/5d

1.9
Jn 8:14

s^A

S: κἂν ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ, /

3a

2e

1n+

ἀληθής / ἔστιν / ἡ μαρτυρία μου, /

s^A

ὅτι . . .

s^A / 3a/2e / 1n+ / s^A

II.3a

1.10
Jn 8:14

330c

(CB) 1b 2 p6b
S:s^A: (καὶ) ἐγὼ / μαρτυρῶ / περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ,

(CB) 1b / 2 / p6b

I.p6b

1.11
Jn 8:14

(B) 2 s⁴ (C) s⁴
S:S^A (ὅτι) οἶδα / πόθεν ἦλθον (καὶ) ποῦ ὑπάγω

(B) 2 / s⁴ (C) s⁴

III.s⁴(2x)

1.12
Jn 8:14

A^Q 2-1 (C)
S: S^A: s⁴: πόθεν / ἦλθον (καὶ) . . .

A^Q / 2-1 (C) . . .

I.A^Q

1.13
Jn 8:14

(C) A^Q 2-1
:S^A: s⁴: (καὶ) ποῦ / ὑπάγω

(C) A^Q / 2-1

I.A^Q

Proposals for a Parsing Code

APPENDIX 3: SENTENCE TYPE ANALYSIS

TYPE I

I.p5n+	lg+ / NN ^C > 2 / p5n+ (C) . . .	1.3	Jn 8:12
I.p6b	lb / p6b / 2	1.6	8:13
I.p6b	(CB) lb / 2 / p6b	1.10	8:14
I.AQ	AQ / 2-1 (C) . . .	1.12	8:14
I.AQ	(C) AQ / 2-1	1.13	8:14

TYPE II

II.3n+	lb / 2e / 3n+	1.2	8:12
II.3a	ln+ / N > 2e / 3a	1.7	8:13
II.3a	s ⁴ / 3a/2e / ln+ / s ^A	1.9	8:14

TYPE III

III.s ⁴ (3x)	(2-1) / s ⁴ (3x)	1.1a	8:12
=T3g+			
III.5b	(2-1) / 5b	1.3a	8:12
=T1g+			
III.4n+	(C) 2-1 / 4n+	1.4	8:12
III.s ⁴ (2x)	(b) 2 / s ⁴ (C) s ⁴	1.11	8:14

TYPE IV

IV.C/5d	A [D] 5d / 2 / ln+ / 3g+	1.1	8:12
IV.s ⁴ (2x)/5d	2 [D] 5d / ln+ / s ⁴ (2x)	1.5	8:13
IV.s ⁴ (8x)/5d	2 / ln (C) 2 / 5d / s ⁴ (8x)	1.8	8:14

AMONG THE HEBREW PROPHETS

by Roy F. Melugin

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It has generally been assumed by form critics that Hebrew poets and storytellers were more tied to traditional patterns of speech than we moderns. These typical patterns, it has been said, are recognizable by a study of form. Thus since Gunkel, form critics have been busily engaged in reconstructing the typical forms of speech used in ancient Israel. Recently, however, we find form criticism's tendency to focus on the typical subject to criticism in favor of a study of the unique.¹ The issue is not a matter of absolutes; no form critic worthy of the name denies the role of individual creativity in the formation of a particular example of a traditional genre, nor do the proponents of studying the unique deny the existence of the stereotyped.² What is at issue is the relationship between the typical and the unique -- the degree of literary creativity in relation to the formative power of inherited patterns of speech, and the way in which the interaction of creativity with the typical is related to the setting and the purpose or intention.³ If, for example, in the analysis of a given poem the interpreter discovers that the poem combines the customary and the unique within its structure, he must ask which is the primary shaping force. Did the poet bind himself to a traditional form of speech, innovating only within the limits acceptable within the pattern?⁴ Or was his personal creativity the dominant factor, so that he made use of traditional forms only whenever and however he wished?⁵ The answer will of course differ depending upon the particular poem; indeed, our task here is to discuss several of the various possibilities. But more is implied: if we have a sliding scale with stereotyped form and individual creativity as the opposite poles, at what point does a traditional genre cease to be a typical form of speech? How can we

¹e.g., James Muilenburg, "Form Criticism and Beyond," JBL 88 (1969), pp. 1-18; David Greenwood, "Rhetorical Criticism and Formgeschichte: Some Methodological Considerations," JBL 89 (1970), pp. 418-426.

²Muilenburg, pp. 2-6.

³For a discussion of the terms setting and intention, see Gene M. Tucker, Form Criticism of the Old Testament (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), pp. 11, 15-17.

⁴This has tended to be the assumption made by most form critics.

⁵This is the tendency of Muilenburg's approach.

tell whether literary features unique to a given pericope are allowable within a traditional genre without tearing it from its customary purpose and setting in life?

Let us illustrate. In most liturgical communions we find a genre called the collect. The customary form includes within it room for variation. Some collects end with phrases like, "through Jesus Christ our Lord;" others, though Christian prayers, do not. The relative clauses following the vocative may vary in structure; indeed, one can imagine that the relative clauses could on occasion be omitted. In spite of the variations, however, we find a basic similarity in structure. Furthermore, the structure is shaped more by traditional usage than by the creativity of the writer of a particular collect. How different this is from something on the order of Allen Ginsberg's "Wichita Vortex Sutra."⁶ Ginsberg makes use of traditional genres -- newspaper headlines, radio and television commercials, and other genres from the communications media; but the typical is almost totally subordinate to the poet's creativity. Ginsberg is bound neither to any particular genre nor to using that genre in its typical setting and for its normal purpose.

If our chief concern is whether the unique or the typical dominates in the creation of a pericope and how the interaction between unique and conventional affects setting and intention, clarity is essential regarding the terms setting and intention. Form critics have normally understood Sitz im Leben to mean the sociological context in which a genre is customarily used rather than the particular historical setting in which a given pericope was employed. But the use of genres in settings other than the customary sociological situation is related to our discussion of the typical and the unique. Thus it is important to distinguish between the typical setting of a genre and the particular setting in which a given example of a genre is used. Likewise we should discriminate between the typical intention of a genre and the particular intention in a given speech. Thus a question develops for us: as the unique becomes more predominant, what happens to the setting and the intention?

I hope in this essay to suggest questions about methodology. In the interest of accuracy I should say at the outset that I do not intend to set forth a method for relating the unique and the typical. Every pericope presents its own particular problems; thus we should recognize that the unique and the conventional interact in different ways from speech to speech. What I do hope to accomplish is to indicate several of the different ways in which the typical and the unique relate and to show that different conclusions regarding genre, setting, and intention must be drawn.

⁶Planet News, 1968.

II.

A. Not every variant in the form of a genre indicates individual creativity. Some variants are standardized -- sub-forms of the genre. In a discussion of the unique versus the traditional we should be aware of the differences between the way a stereotyped variant modifies a genre and the nature of a unique transformation. Let us inquire first about what a standardized variant does to the setting and intention of a genre. Take, for example, the woe-oracle sub-form of the prophetic oracle of doom: 1) The invective is in the form of a woe-statement, normally followed by an active participle (usually plural) or noun. The initial clause is often expanded by additional clauses with participles or finite verbs. 2) The woe-statement is normally impersonal rather than direct address. 3) When the woe-statement is incorporated into the traditional form of a prophetic doom oracle an announcement of judgment is included.⁷ Does the woe-oracle sub-form reflect a different setting or purpose from other kinds of prophetic doom oracles?

The fact that the woe-statement was not originally connected with the oracle of doom might cause one to suspect initially that it became a part of the prophetic oracle of doom for a special purpose; indeed, one might query, could it reflect a variant kind of prophetic institution? Such suggestions are reinforced by contrasting the impersonal woe-statement with the direct address style which often characterizes oracles of doom.⁸ Moreover, in several of the woe-oracles the announcement of doom is the word of the prophet rather than a divine pronouncement (e.g., Isa. 28:1-4; 31:1-3; Hab. 2:6-8, 15ff.).

A short essay with a scope as broad as this one does not permit thorough exegesis; thus we must limit our remarks to observations which will provoke methodological issues. From our sketchy analysis it is doubtful that the woe-oracle sub-form of the oracle of doom can be proved to have a typical setting and intention fundamentally different from

⁷For statistics on the form and fuller discussion, cf. E. Gerstenberger, "The Woe-Oracles of the Prophets," JBL 81 (1962), pp. 249-263; H. W. Wolff, *Amos' geistige Heimat*, WMANT 18 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964), pp. 40ff; J. W. Whedbee, *Isaiah and Wisdom* (Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1971), pp. 80ff.

⁸For a discussion of the form of the oracle of doom, see H. W. Wolff, "Die Begründungen der prophetischen Heils- und Unheilssprüche," ZAW 52 (1934), pp. 1-24; reprinted in *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1964), pp. 9-35.

the oracle of doom in general. Though the woe-statement itself perhaps originated outside prophetic circles, when included within the oracle of doom the sub-form as a type functions very much like the larger doom oracle genre. The woe-oracle does not seem to have a clearly different kind of announcement of the future. Some of them seem to be words of the prophet, but others are words from Yahweh (e.g., Isa. 5: 8-10; Jer. 22:13-19; Mi. 2:1ff). This is the case with other kinds of doom oracles as well (e.g., Isa. 28:7-13; Hos. 4:1-3). Moreover, the woe-statement invectives are not as uniformly impersonal as a first glance might suggest. Though many are totally impersonal (e.g., Isa. 5:11-12; 28:1; Mi. 2:1-2), others expand the impersonal woe-statement by direct address (e.g., Isa. 5:8-10; 10:1-4; Jer. 22:13-19; Am. 6:1ff).

Our all-too-brief analysis seems to indicate that the woe-oracle as a stereotyped sub-form of the genre does not have a typical setting and intention fundamentally different from the larger genre. There appears to be no basically different understanding of the prophetic office and thus no sign of a typical setting different from other types of doom oracles. Wolff believes the intention of the sub-form is to express a particularly threatening form of invective,⁹ but the woe-statement is more like an observation than a threat.¹⁰ Moreover, the tendency to expand into direct address much like the invectives of other kinds of doom oracles reinforces my skepticism about a special intention for the sub-form as a whole. Just why the prophets used it is still not clear.¹¹ Admittedly these conclusions might be altered, were I to perform a more detailed analysis, but what is important here is that we recognize that the appearance of a sub-form does not necessarily indicate a special setting or intention for the sub-form as a class. In other instances, however, a standardized variant form may reflect a different setting or intention. It has been argued that originally only the announcement of judgement in the oracle of doom was the result of direct revelation.¹² If this assumption is true,

⁹Gesammelte Studien, p. 13.

¹⁰Cf. Gerstenberger, op. cit., p. 251.

¹¹Whether or not the woe-statement originated in Wisdom, it is obvious that the prophets found its concern for social justice compatible with their message. But it is still not clearly understood why they used this particular form. Was it because the prophetic institution as a whole had rootage in a particular segment of life, e.g., Wisdom? The studies by Wolff (Amos' geistige Heimat) and Whedbee (Isaiah and Wisdom) are suggestive, but much remains to be done.

¹²Wolff, Gesammelte Studien, p. 15; Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967), p. 180.

then we have in the eighth century the development of a sub-form of the genre which includes both invective and announcement of judgment as word of God. This sub-form, so modest in the beginning but more widespread in the seventh and sixth centuries, contains a rather different understanding of the functions of a prophet. The precise psychological and sociological implications of the development of this sub-form are not quite clear to us, but it does appear that a somewhat different view of the prophetic office is presupposed.

In dealing with a stereotyped sub-form one must be careful to determine whether a variant is a standardized part of the sub-form or something unique. Again take the woe-oracle as illustrative: The rhetorical-question expansion of the woe-statement appears to be typical of the sub-form of the oracle of doom, for it appears in more than one place without direct historical connection (Am. 6:1ff; Jer. 22:13-19). Indeed, this question style seems to have been a customary variant of the woe-statement independent of the incorporation of the woe into the oracle of doom (cf. Isa. 10:1-4; 29:15-16; 45:9). Other variants of the woe-oracle, however, may be the creation of the individual prophet. In Isaiah 31:1-3, for instance, the traditional woe-statement (vs. 1) is followed by an announcement of doom which is most unique in structure (vss. 2-3). Whether this is the creation of the poet (Whedbee) or the work of a collector (Childs), it is unique to this oracle.¹³ Thus any particularity in intention or setting is due more to the purposes of the poet or collector than to the sub-form as a whole.

To summarize: A standardized sub-form of a genre may or may not reflect a basic change in the typical setting and intention of the sub-genre as a group. No general rule can be made. Also, in studying the variants within a sub-form, it is important to distinguish between typical and unique variants.

B. When variations in a given pericope are the result of individual creativity, yet the basic form of the genre is retained, what conclusions should be drawn regarding setting and intention? Do the unique elements indicate a change in the typical setting and intention of the genre?

Let us consider the narrative reporting Isaiah's call to prophecy (Isa. 6). This chapter is an example of a typical genre in prophetic literature -- the prophetic report of vocation. But as Knierim shows, the report of Isaiah's vision contains unique elements.¹⁴ Incorporated within the vision of vocation is an originally independent genre -- the vision of judgment (1 K 22:17-23). As far as we know the blending of these two genres is unique to Isaiah. Isaiah put his own stamp on the traditional genre for a particular purpose; he wanted to justify

¹³Whedbee, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-135; B. S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, SBT, Second Series, Vol. 3 (Naperville, Ill.: Allenson, 1967), pp. 34-35.

¹⁴Rolf Knierim, "The Vocation of Isaiah," *VT* 18 (1968), pp. 57ff.

his vocation as the proclaimer of a judgment already decided upon by the heavenly council.¹⁵ In spite of these modifications, however, Isaiah 6 retains the major elements of the genre.

Without doubt Isaiah 6 is to some degree unique in setting and intention. What he communicated about his vocation differs considerably from the intentions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel in the reports of their commissionings. Moreover, the setting in Isaiah has certain peculiar features. First of all, the call took place in the Jerusalem temple, a setting scarcely to be considered the rule for all such experiences. In the light of these particulars, have Isaiah's innovations torn the genre from its typical setting and intention? Hardly. The setting, for example, is not fundamentally changed; Isaiah 6 remains a report of a prophetic commissioning within a prophetic book. Now I do not pretend that all prophetic experiences of vocation became memoirs, nor do I think that all prophetic books necessarily contain such reports. The point is that such prophetic experiences quite often are recorded in the form of memoirs; and Isaiah 6 reflects a setting typical of the genre, though the setting contains unique elements as well.

Isaiah 1:21-26 offers another opportunity to illustrate the role of the unique in a pericope which retains the basic structure of the genre.¹⁶ The invective (vss. 21-23) and announcement of doom (vss. 24ff.) can clearly be seen, but in rather unique form. The most striking innovation is the transition to promise in vs. 26, made possible by the image of refinement in vs. 25. Another significant variant is that the invective is initiated by a mourning song. To be sure, this is not unique in prophetic oracles of doom (cf. Am. 5:1-2), but Isaiah, unlike Amos, mixes the mourning song with the accusation style of the typical invective.

As we saw with the report of Isaiah's call, Isaiah 1:21-26 does not depart from the typical setting and intention of the genre; the intention does not appear to differ from the customary prophetic practice of announcing the future, and there seems to be no reason to believe that Isaiah spoke this oracle in a sociological context fundamentally different from the normal setting for uttering oracles. Yet the social situation in which Isaiah found himself was somewhat unique; the particular dimensions of the Assyrian threat in the latter half of the eighth century, coupled with Isaiah's peculiar relationship with the king, colored the setting in which Isaiah uttered his oracles. And that setting may be related to his formulation of an organic relationship between judgment and hope expressed in this oracle.¹⁷ Certainly

¹⁵Ibid., p. 59.

¹⁶For the delineation of the unit and a good form critical discussion, see H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, BKAT 10 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1965), pp. 55ff.

¹⁷For a similar relationship see, for example, the end of Chap. 6 and, in its final form, 10:5-19.

Isaiah 1:21-26 has a particular intention, though the particular purpose shares the typical intention of the oracle of doom. Isaiah 1:21-26 does not simply aim at accusation and announcement of doom; it sings a mourning song over a faithful city turned harlot -- a city to be punished, but also to be refined and restored. In the particular intention of the oracle the artistry of the poet is at its best. Indeed, form critics need to develop better skills to interpret this kind of literary creativity. I shall suggest briefly, illustrating from Isaiah 1:21-26, some approaches aimed at a better understanding of the creative artistry of the poet. It is important here, for example, to examine the images and the tone of the poem to understand how Isaiah's creativity has made use of a traditional genre. Isaiah mourns, not the actual death of a person, but the death of the faithful city turned harlot. The irony of this use of the mourning song is not to be missed. Nor should we overlook the connection between the mourning song and the announcement of doom; it begins with hoy, a word which easily conjures up images of death. Moreover, the Niph'al of nhm carries the double meaning of punishment and consolation in bereavement.¹⁸ Time and space prohibit full exegesis, but we might ask questions like the following: How do the images of death and mourning color the specific intentions of the oracle? Does the oracle take on a different mood by beginning with a song of mourning rather than an accusation? How is death connected to the image of dross? Why is this particular connection made? Note, for example, how the image of dross serves as the center upon which to connect other elements. The image of refinement (vs. 27) is the middle term between Yahweh's vengeance and the promise of restoration; stylistically it is the bridge between two clauses, each beginning with wē'asibāh (vss. 25-26). In vs. 22 it connects the image of harlotry with that of corrupt officials. A careful study of images would reveal how the creativity of Isaiah has particularized the typical purpose of the oracle of doom; it would show an emotion-laden "theology" of history.

To summarize: When a pericope manifests considerable uniqueness, while retaining the basic structure of the genre, we are likely to find quite a bit of particularity in setting and intention. At the same time, we should not generally expect to find the speech separated from the typical setting and intention of the genre. This is not always the case; sometimes a genre can be used without major structural change in a completely different setting, as may be the case with the so-called priestly salvation oracle in the Deutero-Isaianic setting.¹⁹ Probably in the majority of speeches in which the basic form remains, the basic usage is not completely left behind.

¹⁸For use in connection with bereavement, see e.g., Gen. 38:12; 2 S 13:39; Jer. 31:15.

¹⁹Since our knowledge of the genre is derived primarily from its usage in Deutero-Isaiah, it is difficult to be certain how much structural change that exilic prophet wrought.

C. When the conventional form is more radically altered, while at the same time preserving most of the elements of the basic form, the problem becomes more complex. Consider, for instance, Isaiah 10:5-19.²⁰ The original unity of the passage can be debated,²¹ but in the final form of the text we have a kerygmatic unit. We can see, indeed, a woe-oracle against Assyria, beginning with the woe-invective in vs. 5 and ending with the announcement of doom in vss. 16-19. Yet the invective is so transformed that it hardly looks like any we normally see. In one sense the typical intention of the announcement of doom is still present; the oracle aims at announcing the ill which Yahweh is bringing upon Assyria and, according to convention, includes the reason (*Begründung*) for the judgment. But the purpose is far more particularized: it includes an explanation both of Yahweh's punishment of Jerusalem and the city's deliverance through the calamity visited upon the boasting Assyria. The oracle not only announces the future; it attempts as well to persuade those who hear. It tries to set the events of punishment and redemption within the context of Yahweh's plan. Was this oracle created for use in the setting typical of the oracle of doom? It is difficult to know, for we are rather ignorant about the precise sociological setting in which prophets typically uttered such oracles. Moreover, it cannot be ascertained with certainty whether the final form of the poem is a result of oral speech or purely literary creativity. The possibility is strong, though far from being a certainty, that this oracle was never designed for use in the genre's ordinary setting.

Another example of radical alternation of a genre leads to slightly different results. In Isaiah 1:4-9 it is absolutely clear that the typical setting and intention no longer apply in the least. Though the form is derived from the woe-invective, no announcement of judgment appears. As Childs shows us, the poem indicates that the judgment has already taken place but that the destruction has not been total.²² The purpose of the poem is lamentation rather than announcement of the future; thus the intention typical of the oracle of doom has been left completely behind. The same is true of the setting.

Note the differences in our conclusions about Isaiah 10:5-19 and those concerning Isaiah 1:4-9. The former is closer to the typical setting and intention of the oracle of doom than the latter. But this is not because Isaiah 1:4-9 manifests more individual creativity than 10:5-19; it is rather a question of how and where. Isaiah 10:5-19 innovates radically in the invective; the announcement is relatively standard. Isaiah 1:4-9, on the other hand, innovates by doing away with the announcement. Now in the doom oracle the announcement of

²⁰Cf. two recent form critical studies: Childs, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-44; Whedbee, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-73.

²¹Cf. the commentaries.

²²Childs, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22

judgment is more critical to the intention and setting than the invective. Thus the invective can be changed considerably without a complete divorce from traditional usage. But when the heart of the form is deleted or mutilated, almost all relationship to typical setting and intention disappears.

D. Thus far we have spoken of individual creativity as a force in tension with the propensity to perpetuate traditional patterns. We have regarded stereotyped form as a product of institutions or other conventional social settings rather than as a result of the genius of the individual. The more creativity, the less stereotype, we seem to have said. And this is true -- most of the time. But on occasion an individual creates a form of speech which he standardizes as a pattern for himself. Consider, for example, Deutero-Isaiah's trial speeches between Yahweh and the nations of their gods (Isa. 41:1-7; 21-29; 43:8-13; 44:6-8; 45:18-21; 48:12-15). That they reflect trial speech has long been recognized, but the commentators disagree upon just how.²³ Begrich considers them imitations of trial in the town gate; but Deutero-Isaiah's speeches reflect rival claims to deity -- more like Elijah's contest on Mt. Carmel -- than the issues dealt with in the gate, such as inheritance disputes, murder, theft, and the like. Moreover, the forms are not quite as similar to the forms used in the gate as Begrich would have us believe.²⁴ For instance, Isaiah 41:1-7, which Begrich calls an appeal-to-trial speech of the accuser, lacks a typical accusing question like, "Why have you done this thing?"²⁵ Nor is there a hint of the accuser's indication of the punishment which he believes should be assigned.²⁶ The questions in Isaiah 41:1ff. are disputational rather than questions for the purpose of

²³Cf. J. Begrich, Studien zu Deuterjesaja, BWANT, 4 Folge, Heft 25 (77) (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938), pp. 18-41; E. von Waldow, Anlass und Hintergrund der Verkündigung des Deuterjesaja (Dissertation, Bonn, 1953); von Waldow, Der traditionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund der prophetischen Gerichtsreden, BZAW 85 (Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1963); C. Westermann, Sprache und Struktur der Prophetie Deuterjesajas, in Forschung am alten Testament (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1964), pp. 134ff; Roy F. Melugin, The Structure of Deutero-Isaiah (Dissertation, Yale University, 1968), pp. 98ff. For a general discussion of speech-forms employed in the town gate, see H. J. Boecker, Redeformen des Rechtslebens im alten Testament, WMANT 14 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964).

²⁴It is impossible in this short essay to be as fair to the various commentators as I would like. For a more complete discussion I refer you to my dissertation, which is now in the process of rewriting as a book.

²⁵Cf. Jer. 26:9; 1 S 26:15. Boecker, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

²⁶Cf. Jer. 26:8; 1 S 26:16.

making accusation.²⁷ Von Waldow's contention that Deutero-Isaiah's trial speeches are derived from a trial genre used in the Covenant Renewal Festival is not quite satisfactory either. The cultic imagery of Yahweh as king and judge of the nations is, to be sure, present in Deutero-Isaiah's trial speeches, but von Waldow must admit to so much modification that one can hardly argue that the form is shaped primarily by a cultic genre. It is better to consider the form as Deutero-Isaiah's own creation. The form is as follows: 1) a summons to trial added to 2) the disputation-speech style common throughout Deutero-Isaiah.

What is important for us to recognize is that the form of these speeches has no setting in Israel's oral tradition prior to Deutero-Isaiah. Yet Deutero-Isaiah created them and stereotyped them, much like the standardization of any other genre. He created a new genre, probably because there was no genre already available to speak to the doubt engendered by the exile. The intention of the genre is clear -- to persuade doubters that only Yahweh is God and that they can have confidence in the prophet's word of redemption. The setting for all of them is the preaching of Deutero-Isaiah. Why the setting was never enlarged to prophetic preaching in general is perhaps an accident of history. Probably the need for such a form did not continue to be felt. But the possibility of Deutero-Isaiah's act of creativity having become a genre typical of the prophetic institution cannot be ignored. Thus in the stereotyped trial speeches of Deutero-Isaiah we learn of another relationship between individual creativity and the typical.

E. Finally we turn to the kind of pericope whose form is not basically that of a typical genre. Take Isaiah 5:1-7 as an example.²⁸ The poem definitely contains language from typical genres -- the love song, here understood as a parable (vss. 1-2), language from the legal realm (vss. 3-4), announcement of judgment (vss. 5-6). But none of these describes the poem as a whole. If one were forced to choose a category, the poem is closer to the oracle of doom than anything else, particularly when one considers its intention. But it is so far removed from the typical form of that genre that it is virtually a free creation. At the same time its relationship to the oracle of doom maintains a kind of continuity with the traditional setting and intention of that genre. But we still ought to ask why the prophet composed a poem so divorced from the typical form. Certainly because he wanted to say something in quite an unconventional way. But we need to be more specific: the use of the love song gives a tone to the poem that a more traditional accusation could not supply. One enters emotionally into the response of the owner whose loving care has wrought bad grapes. The trial language, too, involves Isaiah's hearers in judging

²⁷The disputation style in 41:1ff. is for the purpose of arguing to a conclusion (vs. 4b).

²⁸For discussion of the form, see Whedbee, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-51; Wildberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 163ff.; A. Bentzen, "Zur Erläuterung von Jes. 5, 1-7," *AFO* 4 (1927), pp. 209ff.; Boecker, *op. cit.*, pp. 81ff.

themselves in a way foreign to the typical style of the oracle of doom. We might ask another question as well: what in the setting of Isaiah's prophetic career caused him to be freer in some instances and more tradition-bound in others? A good question, to be sure, but our knowledge of the prophetic office is not sufficient to supply an adequate answer. Still, the question should be raised.

It is important to give particular attention to those speeches whose basic structure is the result of individual creativity. We form critics must guard against our tendency to force them into genres, or failing that, to study them primarily from the perspective of the typical genre. To see the role of typical genres in their formation is one thing, but to make this the primary task is to put the emphasis in the wrong place. In the fourth Servant Song, for instance, it seems to be a mistake to make a great deal out of the influence of the psalm of thanksgiving.²⁹ That genre may indeed lie in the background of Isaiah 53:1ff; but if so, it is barely recognizable now.³⁰ It is better to emphasize the creativity of the poet and to recognize that the structure is almost entirely unique. The study of typical form may be helpful, but its significance in a poem like this is limited. The study of images, tone, theme, rhetorical devices, and the like should dominate.

III.

This essay has had a threefold purpose: 1) I have attempted to show that the study of form must be used differently in the various kinds of relationships between the unique and the typical, depending upon the particular structure of the given pericope. It should be understood that the variety of relationships discussed above is not intended as a complete list; it is designed rather as illustrative. 2) I have tried to distinguish between the typical and the particular in the examination of setting and intention. In many instances both can be seen in the same pericope. All the more reason, then, why the distinction must be made and the precise relation between the two carefully examined. 3) I have argued for a basic need for interpreters to pay more attention to the various tools which help understand the unique. In particular, I think it is desirable to become more sensitive to the aesthetic dimensions of Hebrew literature. Thus we should follow in the road walked by Muilenburg. Indeed, we should become even more sophisticated than he in tools of literary analysis. At the same time, we should be more sensitive than he to the impact of traditional forms, even upon individual creativity. I propose a balance of two one-sided approaches -- form criticism as it has generally been practiced, and an almost exclusive use of "rhetorical criticism."

²⁹Begrich, *op. cit.*, pp. 56ff.

³⁰C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), pp. 256-257.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE
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In his study of the forms of Israelite wisdom Walther Zimmerli suggested that the comparative form of the proverb, which he aptly referred to as the tôb-Spruch, was of special significance for our understanding of the nature of Israelite wisdom.¹ By its very form, "better" (tôb)... "than" (min), it pointed toward a solution of one of the vexing questions surrounding the study of Israelite wisdom. Was the wisdom literature of the Old Testament based upon a revealed law, which when applied in the light of human experience was formulated as proverbial lore? Or was it free from such an absolute norm which bound men to specific commandments? According to Zimmerli the fact that the wise men of Israel could coin such a form and use it indicated that their wisdom was not based upon a direct appeal to an authoritative law. Rather, it was grounded in a scale of values measured by a "more" and a "less."

Zimmerli also believed that the ultimate reference point for such a scale of values was the judgment of the individual, the tôb lā'ādām of the book of Ecclesiastes. Evidence for this assertion was to be found in the fact that the corroborative clauses which accompanied the claims of wisdom were directed to the "ego" of the individual and not based upon a revealed law. A wise man was an "emancipated" individual who had been freed from the compulsion of an absolute norm. As a teacher of wisdom he was not only prepared to decide issues for himself on the basis of his own particular inclination or the possibilities of existence open to him, but he was also ready to advise others, not by citing authorities and demanding obedience, but by offering advice and suggesting that one course of action was "better than" another.

I

Although Zimmerli's research on the tôb-Spruch was the first serious effort to place this comparative proverb in the general setting of Israelite wisdom, references to this particular form had appeared earlier. In 1914 W. Baumgartner in a study of the literary forms of the wisdom of Sirach had already classified this type of saying as a comparative mashal and noted two variations of the form.² As an example of the form he chose to cite Sirach 25:16, no doubt with tongue in cheek:

Better is it to dwell with a lion and a dragon
than to live with a wicked woman.

Almost a decade later with the publication of the text and translation of Amenemope by E. A. Wallis Budge, two parallels between the Egyptian text and Proverbs were noted by him, one of which was the comparative form in Amenemope 9:7-8 (=16:13-14):

Better is bread when the heart is glad
than riches with vexation.³

At this point confusion arose among scholars as to whether the saying in Amenemope was parallel to Prov. 15:16 or 15:17.⁴ Following the work of Erman and Gressmann on the subject of the relationship between Amenemope and Proverbs, a period of intense discussion ensued with scholars such as Paul Humbert going to ingenious lengths to emend the text of Proverbs 22:17ff. to make it correspond with its Egyptian prototype.⁵

In the wake of the theological interpretation of wisdom Zimmerli returned to the subject in 1962.⁶ His earlier statements about the significance of the tôb-Spruch for Israelite wisdom were now greatly qualified. Although he insisted that the coun-

sel of wisdom was still based upon insight and experience, not law, and that the tôb-Spruch attested the unique realm of possibilities for man's choice, Zimmerli was now willing to speak of "authority" in connection with wisdom. Moreover, he asserted that Israelite wisdom, especially as it developed in the writings of Koheleth, was actually in tension with its own theological assumptions. Wisdom involved a belief in both the sovereignty and freedom of God over creation and the mastery of creation by man. But the wise man discovered that the first premise was indeed a painful limitation. The freedom of God brought with it the possibility of the negation of all human wisdom, also the awareness that in the end it was God who controlled all, and that man's mastery of creation could not lead to the kind of self-fulfillment for which he had hoped. For Zimmerli the theology of creation could only find its true fulfillment in the triumph of God's grace in redemption. Thus, he conceded that law had triumphed over experience and with this concession the role which he had earlier assigned the tôb-Spruch was virtually relinquished.

Studies in Israelite wisdom by Hans Heinrich Schmid and Hans-Jürgen Hermisson touched more directly upon the form of the comparative saying than Zimmerli had. Schmid suggested that the tôb-Spruch may not have been meant as a comparative form but as a negative assertion excluding its second element.⁷ As evidence he cited the negative use of min in sayings such as 1 Sam. 24:17. When King Saul declared to David that he (David) had been more righteous than he, what he meant, of course, was to assert that David had been just and he had not. Hermisson, on the other hand, looked for the origin and development of this form in the comparative process involved.⁸ He asserted that it originated by the placing together of two things in a statement which did not really belong together. Initially, several items were simply set side by side, such as gold, costly gems, a precious jewel, and understanding lips (Prov. 20:15). The second step in the development of the saying occurred when a judgment was evoked concerning two things, as for example in the statement "to get wisdom is better than gold" (Prov. 16:16). Finally, the fully developed tôb-Spruch emerged as in Prov. 12:9:

Better is a man of humble standing
who works for himself
than one who plays the great man
but lacks bread.

In this instance Hermisson agreed with Zimmerli that such an utterance did have an "'abwägend-vergleichenden' Charakter," but in most sayings he maintained that a close scrutiny of the content revealed that this form involved an absolute moral claim, not merely a preferential assertion.

Recent studies in the wisdom literature of Israel by William McKane and Gerhard von Rad, as well as by Hermisson, have called attention to the violation of the traditional eudaemonistic interpretation of Proverbs by particular tôb-Sprüche such as Prov. 15:16 and 19:1:

Better is a poor man who walks in his integrity
than a man who is perverse in speech and is a fool.

Prosperity and success do not necessarily go hand in hand with good conduct. Of course, in such sayings good conduct is affirmed to be the better way of life. This apparent reversal of the eudaemonism of Proverbs was explained in several ways. Hermisson suggested that it may have been the result of a compromise worked out by the wise men later when they became more aware of the disparity in reality.⁹ McKane also viewed this as a mark of Yahwistic piety which developed when the tendency to equate poverty and piety became the vogue.¹⁰ Implicit in the views of both of these scholars is the suggestion that sayings such as Prov. 15:16 represent a later devel-

opment of Israelite wisdom.

Gerhard von Rad adopted a different approach to this problem.¹¹ He believed that these paradoxical sayings concerning wealth and poverty which apparently contradicted the accepted norm were really paradigmatic of the whole tendency of wisdom in general. He regarded them simply as examples of the particular ambivalence which the wise man found in all of reality. Unlike modern men who are impressed by the extraordinary, the ancient wise men sought to find some order, some regularity in the multiplicity of apparently contradictory phenomena. Already they had observed that the "good" was not simply a moral phenomenon but that "being good" and "goods" somehow belonged together. Yet in its mysterious ambivalence reality attested both phenomena, righteous poor men and wealthy wicked men. A problem of such magnitude was not easily solved, and for them such a stubborn paradox could only be dealt with by introducing other factors and relationships which moved the question to a higher level of reality.

II

The appearance of a comparative proverb in Amenemope directs us to another source of this saying, the wisdom literature of Egypt. Actually, the comparative form is found in the oldest Egyptian composition of wisdom, known as the wisdom of Kagemni, possibly written as early as the third dynasty (2600 B. C.). After summoning his "children" the vizier of Egypt instructs them to obey what he has written in the papyrus.

Then it was good in their hearts
more than anything which was in this whole land.¹²

This particular comparative form may well represent the origins of this particular proverbial form in Egypt. Unlike the distinctly developed comparative form appearing in Egyptian wisdom later, it is a verbal statement which continues the narrative and merely purports to assert the greatness of the writing. Yet it does contain the essential features of the comparative proverb and appears at a decisive point in this wisdom composition. The very ambivalence of this saying suggests that the comparative proverb had its origins simply in the desire to emphasize the importance or greatness of something.

In the wisdom literature of the Middle Kingdom and in related texts the comparative form of a saying is found thirteen times (Kagemni, Ptahhotep 6x, Merikare, Khety 2x, The Luxor Stela, The Teaching of a Man for His Son).¹³ Of these, nine commence with an adjective verb (wr "be great" 4x, nfr "be good/beautiful" 3x, 3h "be good/profitable" 2x, ksn "be difficult," dgi "be hidden") and four are verbal (employing a verb, sometimes with iw or wn). Similarly, in nine instances the subject is contained within the saying and in only three is it a pronoun referring back to a noun outside of the statement. Most all of them continue the same subject as was being discussed in the previous discourse, but five of the thirteen do introduce a different grammatical subject which, of course, pertains to the previous discussion. Seven of these sayings comprise just a single line; six form a longer saying of two lines like the one cited above. Half of them are found toward the end of a section, and half appear somewhere midway in the discussion and are elaborated upon in the following context.

As for the subject matter, five of the thirteen sayings relate to good character. An example of this group which relates to the Old Testament is the comparative proverb in Merikare (128-129):

More acceptable is the nature of one who is

just (lit. precise) of heart
than the ox of the one who does evil.

Three have as their subject speech or silence.

More difficult is speech than any other work.
(Ptahhotep 368).

Two refer to the "writings" as the example from Kagemmi illustrates. The first humorous saying is found in the teaching of Khety.

Greater is that which he gives to his donkey
than its work is subsequently worth.
(Khety 7:5)

During the Middle Kingdom this form is employed quite flexibly with regard to its content and its use in a given context. It lends a sharp focus to the issue under consideration and in some cases where the comparison is quite general it may be simply a form of hyperbole.

In late Egyptian materials of the New Kingdom and Ramesside era, excluding hymns and poetic compositions which also employ this form, twenty-one sayings appear in wisdom and related literature, nine from Amenemope and twelve from miscellaneous texts of the schools.¹⁴ All but one of these employ an adjective verb to introduce them. This reveals that by this time the comparative form has developed into a distinct type of proverb emphasizing the nominal aspect of the utterance. Six of the nine sayings in Amenemope are introduced by 3h ("it is good/useful"), and the other three by mri ("loved"), ' (=ME wr "be great"), and srš ("be swift"). The miscellaneous writings of the schools also employ 3h but show a greater variety of introductory words, especially ndm ("be pleasant" 5x) and nfr ("be good" 3x). Since some of these materials derive from the Middle Kingdom period, it is not unusual that they are introduced by similar words, particularly since some of them appear in texts which reach back much earlier than the sayings in Amenemope.

All of the sayings in Amenemope are self-contained introducing a new grammatical subject which is related to the general theme of the context. Although the sayings in the writings of the school also contain their own subject in every case but two, most of them have as their grammatical subject the same word or idea as is found in the preceding context. Whereas they tend to be shorter, more dependent upon their context, the sayings in Amenemope have all developed into independent proverbs of two lines. To illustrate this difference we cite an example from the Late Egyptian miscellanies (Papyrus Lansing 2:2) which is more dependent upon its context and then an independent proverb from Amenemope (26:13-14).

Take as your friends the papyrus roll and the palette,
More pleasant are they than pomegranate wine.

More loved of God is the honoring of the poor
than the respect of the noble.

When we consider the context in which the sayings are placed, we are struck by the refinement in the usage of the comparative saying. In the Middle Kingdom forms, we observed that about half of them were placed toward the end of the particular section to which they belong. In Amenemope all but two of these proverbs either begin or end a chapter. In two cases a chapter is ended with two comparative sayings (chas. 6, 13). Two chapters come to a conclusion with a single comparative saying (chas. 18, 28). One chapter (21) begins with this kind of proverb. Likewise, in the

writings of the school clusters of comparative sayings are found toward the end of sections (Lansing 2:2ff.; 3:1ff.), actually bring a section to its conclusion (Ches-ter Beatty IV 1:5; 3: 4-5), or introduce a new subject. One letter commences and concludes with a comparative saying. By the time of the Empire Period, then, the comparative saying was actually being employed to give special emphasis to a particular truth and to summarily drive home the point which the author was trying to make in the immediate context.

When we compare the subjects which are treated in the comparative proverbs of the Empire Period, we observe that Amenemope is the more original. The Late Egyptian school writings tend to repeat old themes concerning the profit and pleasure of the life of a scribe. In fact, all but a few of the sayings simply reiterate themes which were part of the repertoire of the scribe of the Middle Kingdom. Four of the nine sayings of Amenemope also represent old themes emphasizing the attributes of justice and silence. However, five of the sayings are new, and all of them deal with the same subject, the matter of riches and poverty.

Better is being praised as one loved of men
than riches in the storehouse. (16:11-12)

Better is a measure which God gives to you
than five thousand gained by violence. (8:19-20)

This same theme continues to be treated in Demotic wisdom where between one-third and one-half of the comparative sayings deal with the question of riches and poverty.

Turning to Demotic wisdom we discover that the comparative saying is an independent wisdom form introduced by the adjective verb n_3 'n ("be beautiful" = nfr of the Middle Kingdom) eight times in Onchsheshonqy and Insinger.¹⁵ In these two long anthologies of independent proverbs the comparative form appears some twenty-two times, eleven times in each. Whereas Papryus Insinger tends to group the proverbs according to subject matter, the collection in Onchsheshonqy is much more loosely related and often no rationale appears to govern the order of appearance of the proverbs. In these two collections the range of subjects, however, broadens to include sayings about property, the family, the fool, failure, victory, and vengeance. Some of these are reminiscent of comparative sayings in the book of Proverbs.

More pleasant is it to live in your own small house
than in the large house of another.
Onch. 18:8 (Prov. 21:9)

Better to be without (a brother)
than to have a brother who is evil.
Onch. 21:21 (Prov. 27:10)

Better is dumbness
than a hasty tongue
Onch. 15:16 (Prov. 16:32)

Greater is the riches of the one who is generous
than the riches of the miser.
Insinger 15:11 (Prov. 11:24)

Better is it for the one who looks thereat to do good
than gold and byssus.
Insinger 2:8 (Prov. 3:14; 8:19)

In this survey of the Egyptian material we observe that the comparative form of the proverb probably originated in the simple comparative statement and developed into a distinct form by the time of Amenemope (12th century B. C.). By this time it is being employed as an emphatic form at crucial places in the narrative to reinforce the preceding discussion to which it is related. In Amenemope, the use of it in contexts where ethical matters are being discussed relativizes its formal structure and makes it clear that such comparative sayings really possess an absolute claim. This claim is heightened by being placed amidst the very paradoxes of reality. However, in its continuing usage in later wisdom, it may also be employed of relationships which have less than an absolute claim but which could have vexing and troublesome effects upon those unfortunate enough to have contentious wives, foolish children, or miserly employers.

III

When we consider the origin of the tôb-Spruch in the Old Testament, particularly the book of Proverbs, three possibilities emerge, first, that it developed independently out of comparative statements as Hermisson has suggested; second, that it developed independently and was subsequently stimulated by intercourse with similar proverbs of Egyptian origin; or third, that it developed as an independent proverbial form as a result of Egyptian influence. That the third possibility may in reality hold the key unlocking the origins of this proverb-type in Israel is made plausible by several factors. Of course, this does not mean that Israel did not possess and use its own comparative form, but it does suggest that the tôb-Spruch as a distinct wisdom form developed in Israel as a result of indirect literary contact between the wise men of Palestine and Egypt.

Aside from the fact that most scholars have admitted Egyptian influence in the wisdom-book known as "The Sayings of the Wise" (Prov. 22:17-24:22), it is peculiar that a series of factors suggest that Prov. 15:16 is directly dependent upon Amenemope 9:7-8. The two sayings are identical in form and content with the exception of one phrase in Proverbs, "the fear of the Lord." The next immediate proverb in Amenemope (9:9-10), however, does contain the mention of God. Moreover, coincidentally Proverbs 15:16 is also followed by a second tôb-Spruch as in Amenemope. In the immediate context of Prov. 15:16 we also find allusion to a definite Egyptian character type to whom a poem is dedicated in Amenemope, the "hot" man:

A hot-tempered man stirs up strife,
but he who is slow to anger quiets contention.
Prov. 15:18

Moreover, when we compare the tôb-Spruch in Prov. 15:16 with that in 16:8, we discover that the former does not follow the normal pattern of Hebrew poetry. The second phrase "fear of the Lord" in Prov. 15:16 is not parallel to the fourth element of the proverb, "trouble with it." In 16:8, however, this proverb has been modified according to the canons of Canaanite-Hebrew parallelism and the second phrase is parallel to the fourth:

Better is little with righteousness
than great revenues with injustice.

Therefore, in the first example (Prov. 15:16) we have a Hebrew proverb which is directly dependent upon the Egyptian saying with only one element being different. In the second example (16:8) we observe how the Hebrew wise men have assimilated this Egyptian proverb into the literary traditions of parallelism so familiar to them.

If this form passed from Egypt to Phoenicia and thence to the courts of Canaan,

it was eventually adopted by Israelite wise men and resulted in the development of a series of similar forms. Already we have observed that in Amenemope five of the nine sayings of a comparative type deal with riches and poverty. In the older collection of wisdom in Proverbs (chas. 15-22) of twelve comparative proverbs, six deal with the subject of riches and poverty (15:16; 16:8, 19; 19:1, 22; 22:1). Once adopted as a proverbial form, new sayings were created dealing with a variety of subjects such as women, strife, and self-control (21:9 (=25:24), 15:17, 16:32). In our modern vernacular these proverbs might well be rendered as follows:

Better to live in a room in the attic
than with a brawling woman in a cocktail parlor.

Better is a dinner consisting of a salad where love is
than roast beef and hatred with it.

Better is a man who controls his temper
than a famous soldier,
And a man of self-control
than a war hero.

If we compare the content of the Israelite tôb-Sprüche found in Prov. 10-22 with the content of the wisdom of Amenemope in general, we discover that fully two-thirds of them treat similar themes, poverty, quietness, and self-control.

As in the Egyptian prototype the tôb-Spruch in Proverbs is based upon a binary opposition in which a paradox is achieved by the transformation of elements compared through the addition of a set of middle terms. This opposition is revealed by the use of contrasting words such as "little" as against "much" (Prov. 15:16; 16:8) or a "bit" of something dry as against a "mass" of sacrifices (17:1, cf. 15:17). In some cases the English translation does not show the contrast, and we must compare the Hebrew roots used. Thus, in 12:9 the "humble man" (RSV) is actually a man who has been dishonored, the word being derived from the Hebrew root qlh = qll "be light," whereas the one who "plays the great man" is a man who honors himself, from the root kbd "be heavy." In 16:19 "being low" of spirit or humble is contrasted to "being high" or proud.

Sometimes the contrast must be implied by a knowledge of the range of usage of a given term as it appears in other proverbs. When a "poor man" is contrasted to a man who is "perverse" of lips in 19:1, we learn from 28:6 that this proverb implies that the perverse man is "rich." A similar contrast must be inferred in 19:22 where a poor man is set over and against a liar.¹⁶ The contrast may be extended to relationships, such as "judging" someone instead of "loving" them (27:5), or the terms compared may need their qualifying element to make us aware of the contrast as in 27:10 where a neighbor who is "near" is contrasted to a brother who is "far away." Finally, the qualifying element may become the term of comparison as in the proverb: "good character (lit., "name") is better than riches" (Prov. 22:1).

With the addition of the qualifying elements or middle terms of the proverbs, however, the paradox is achieved by the transformation of the negative into a positive and the positive into a negative. If we refer the form of the tôb-Spruch, "better...than" to the middle or qualifying terms rather than to the two terms being compared, we become aware that "better" means "it is positive" (P), and "than" means "it is negative" (N). Thus, in 16:8 "better is...righteousness" means right is positive (p), and "than...injustice" means wrong is negative (n). Now we may supply the capital letters for the positive and negative elements of the form and small letters for the elements compared and their qualifying words and arrive at the formula

P + n = p (Better is + little = righteousness
 N + p = n than + much = injustice.)

If we omit the formal structure (P and N), we observe that it is the middle or qualifying terms which transform the elements being compared. If we place them upon a line, we can observe how the transformation is accomplished.

n = p : n = p
 little right injustice much

It is the association of the contrasting middle terms, right and injustice, which transforms what is negative ("little") into what is positive and what is positive ("much") into what is negative.

Thus, if we are to focus upon what is essential in the tôb-Spruch, we must look very carefully at the qualifying elements of the proverb, not just at what is compared. If we simply list the elements as they appear in the tôb-Sprüche of Proverbs, we discover something about the moral structure of proverbs. The positive terms or transformational elements are listed in the column on the left and the negative ones on the right.

12:9	work	lack of bread
15:16	fear of the Lord	trouble
17	love	hatred
16:8	righteousness	injustice
19	low of spirit	proud
32	slow to anger	(implied)
17:1	quiet	strife
19:1	integrity	perverseness
22:1	character	(implied)
27:5	openness	hiddenness
10	nearness	distance

It is interesting to observe how a proverb may imply its middle term as 22:1 (name: riches) or the way in which a proverb such as 16:19 will reverse the elements compared and their qualifying terms:

It is better to be of low spirit with the poor
 than to divide spoil with the proud.

Such a structural study of proverbs raises important questions concerning the structure of thought in them. In such binary oppositions we may ask what is being contrasted and why. We may raise the question whether other terms can be substituted for those present. Also, studies of groups of proverbs which are associated with particular subjects may reveal shifting moral emphases, new concerns, or even special interests of the proverb writers or collectors. What the subjects are upon which they focus, the sets of relations introduced, the changes in these sets of relations, and the reason why other sets of relations were excluded may be probed. In this way we are helped to discover the meaning of proverbs which seem obscure because certain terms are missing, to develop some insight into the moral givens of a culture, and to suggest specific interests of collectors or possibly even the Sitz im Leben of specific collections. Even on the purely literary side we can observe how such sayings are modified by the tradents to introduce even more striking associations as in Prov. 16:19. By submitting the tôb-Sprüche in Egypt and also those contained in Ecclesiastes and the wisdom of Ben Sirach to a similar analysis, important comparisons and contrasts between them may well emerge.

Because the tób-Spruch is used only a few times in the discourse material in Proverbs (3:14; 8:11, 19; 25:7), the function of this form outside of a simple proverbial series must be studied in Ecclesiastes and the wisdom of Ben Sirach. Of course, it is worth noting that in the concatenated series of proverbs in the book of Proverbs more than a third of the tób-Sprüche appear either at the beginning of a chapter (17:1; 19:1; 22:1) or toward the end (16:32; 25:24). In the book of Ecclesiastes we observe a similar use of this form as in Amenemope and Proverbs, as well as a new development. Of the approximately fourteen individual uses of the tób-Spruch, four appear at a point in the discourse when a change of emphasis or subject matter is introduced, whether summarizing what preceded (2:24), introducing a new subject (4:13; 5:1), or a new aspect of the discourse (4:9). In four contexts the tób-Spruch is used by Koheleth to bring the preceding discourse to a conclusion in summary fashion (4:3; 6:9; 3:22; 9:16-18).

The range of subject matter in Ecclesiastes, though treated quite differently, is also traditional. Two sayings concern quietness (4:6; 9:17); two are concerned with sacrifice (5:1; 5:5); and two are devoted to the superiority of wisdom or poverty over might and foolishness (respectively, 9:16; 4:13). But aside from general uses of this form to reinforce his central thesis, the enjoyment of creation (2:24; 3:12; 3:22; 4:3; 6:3), Koheleth does introduce two sayings on new themes.

Two are better than one (4:9).

Better is the sight of the eyes
than the wandering of desire (6:9).

Of course, a number of the sayings based on traditional themes, such as the one about vowing, or the wise words heard in quiet, are fresh combinations of older materials.

However, the real literary advance in Ecclesiastes involves his use of a whole series of tób-Sprüche to build a magnificent discourse on the paradox of life itself (7:1-10). In this series we find traditional themes used earlier, such as a good name (v. 1), a rebuke (v. 5), and patience (v. 8), and also new proverbs such as

Better is the end of a thing
than its beginning (v. 8),

combined with a series of paradoxical contrasts as in the following striking comparisons:

Better is the day of death
than the day of birth (v. 1)

Better to go to the house of mourning,
than to go to the house of feasting (v. 2),

Sorrow is better
than laughter (v. 3).

Like the older wisdom of Egypt, the comparative form in the book of Ecclesiastes is integrally related to its context, often merely continuing the discourse as an assertion or being sharply abbreviated. Thus, the particular nuance of the proverbs cannot be understood by isolating it. It can only be derived from an intimate knowledge of its use in a given context.

In the wisdom of Ben Sirach we observe both uses of the tób-Spruch. It is em-

played independent of its context, being related to neighbouring proverbs only by subject matter, or as part of a discourse where it takes its special significance from its context. Unlike the book of Proverbs, the comparative form is used with a number of adjectives other than tōb; however, the tōb-Spruch (Gk. kreísson) does predominate by far. In the succession of ten comparative forms in Sir. 40:19-26 the introductory word is omitted and only the min appears (mšnyhm, Gk. upēr 'amphótera). Apart from this series the saying appears approximately seventeen times. In about half of these (10:27; 16:3; 19:24; 20:25; 29:22; 30:15, 16; 33:21; 41:15) it is found in the middle of a discourse and is thematically related to what precedes and follows. Three times it introduces a new subject (25:16; 30:14; 40:28) or brings a series of sayings upon a given subject to a conclusion (29:12-13; 30:17; 42:14). In Sir. 30:14-17 a discourse is completely formed from a series of seven comparative sayings, the fourth and fifth of these using the negative form (yn), and several omitting the introductory word (tōb). Ben Sirach, then, continues the use of the tōb-Spruch as an emphatic form to introduce or conclude a discussion as in Proverbs and Amenemope.

As for subject matter, Ben Sirach continues to employ this saying with traditional subjects such as evil women (25:16; 42:14) and riches and poverty (29:22; 30:14). He presents a slightly different version of Prov. 12:9 (Sir. 10:27), and his sayings about death being preferred to the misery of poverty (30:17; 40:28) are reminiscent of Demotic wisdom (Onchsheshonqy 21:22), as in "better to die than beg" compared with the Egyptian saying "better death than want." Sayings about the wise man (19:24; 41:15) are somewhat traditional, as is the one saying which deals with the ungodly child (16:3). (However, these traditional sayings are remarkably impressive when read in the context to which they belong.) Ben Sirach apparently assigned an important place to almsgiving (29:12-13), wished for health and soundness of body (30:15), and ranked the habitual liar lower than the thief on his scale of values or lack of them (20:25).

As in the book of Ecclesiastes, Ben Sirach forms two complete discourses utilizing this form. The first, which we have mentioned (30:14-17), consists completely of comparative sayings. The second is a magnificent poem (40:18-27) which extends the comparison by placing two elements which are of value in the first clause and comparing a third which is "better" with them as in 40:18:

Life is sweet for the self-reliant and the worker,
but he who finds treasure is better off than both.

In this we observe the tendency in the wisdom of Ben Sirach to compare two or even three things, all of which are of value. Thus, the discussion of Zimmerli concerning the tōb-Spruch applies more to this book than to the book of Proverbs where we observed the more paradoxical type of comparison, though admittedly, some of the sayings in Proverbs involved only relative values. Among the religious and moral values preferred are fear of the Lord, almsgiving, and love of wisdom. But a wise man also values a blameless wife, a pleasant voice, green shoots of grain, and, of course, good counsel. In comparison with the wisdom of Amenemope and the book of Proverbs, Sirach's use of the tōb-Spruch reveals the broad interests of the wise man which embrace not only the moral and religious, but also the aesthetic realm.

IV

In conclusion, we have discovered that the comparative form of the proverb, which I have called the "better"-proverb for the title of this paper, originated in Egypt out of the simple comparative assertion. By the time of the writing of Amenemope it had developed into a sophisticated literary form containing a paradox and being used as an emphatic statement at special points in the discourses. As a

distinct wisdom form it was adopted by the wise men of Israel probably after it had been assimilated into Phoenician and Canaanite wisdom. Thus, not only one of the oldest proverbs in the Old Testament (Prov. 15:16) but also the comparative sayings in the earlier collections of the book of Proverbs are strikingly similar in form and content to Egyptian sayings.

Using a structural approach, we discovered that this type of proverb in Amenemope and Proverbs involves a binary opposition in which two opposing elements are transformed into their opposite by the use of qualifying or middle terms. Thus, they emphasize a set of relations in which the qualifying elements, usually the moral aspect of the proverb, is highlighted. Although this use of tôb-Spruch as a kind of paradoxical saying continued in the tradition, gradually its usage was widened, and it was employed to build up distinct literary unities, whether discourses or poems. Now its literary force and particular nuance of meaning depended more and more upon its context, as in the older wisdom of Egypt. This development is particularly important for the understanding of this form in the book of Ecclesiastes.

Earlier we observed that Walther Zimmerli raised the question concerning the nature of the norm which guided the wise man. Was it absolute or relative? Of course, to equate absolute morality with a written legal corpus would be an oversimplification, for legal codes grew up from the canonization of moral verities and customary law. Thus, the "better"-proverb straddles the division between the moral absolute and the relative preferential value. Ideally, wise men were concerned with both realms, and their conduct was judged by the canons of etiquette as much as by the more obvious absolute norms of a written law. Thus, some comparative proverbs express tragic and comic aspects of life; some embody absolute moral verities. Eventually, however, a new tôb-Spruch was coined which expressed a preference for this kind of man who sought to live a way of life which was as pleasant as it was just. Of this person the rabbis said

Better is a wise man than a prophet!

Footnotes

¹Walther Zimmerli, "Zur Struktur der alttestamentlichen Weisheit," ZAW 51 (1933) 192-195.

²W. Baumgartner, "Die literarischen Gattungen in der Weisheit des Jesus Sirach," ZAW 34 (1914) 167.

³E. A. Wallis Budge, Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum with Description and Summary of Content ("Second Series"; London: Longmans and Co., 1923), p. 12, n. 2.

⁴Adolf Erman, "Eine ägyptische Quelle der 'Sprüche Salomos,'" SAB 15 (1924) 86-87; Hugo Gressmann, "Die neugefundene Lehre des Amen-em-ope und die vorexilische Spruchdichtung Israels," ZAW 42 (1924) 278.

⁵Paul Humbert, Recherches sur les sources égyptiennes de la littérature sapientiale d'Israel (MUN 7; Neuchâtel: Secrétariat de l'Université, 1929) 18-28.

⁶W. Zimmerli, "Ort und Grenze der Weisheit im Rahmen der alttestamentlichen Theologie," Les sagesse du Proche-Orient ancien (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963) 129-136.

⁷Hans Neinrich Schmid, Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit (BZAW 101; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1966) 159.

⁸Hans-Jürgen Hermisson, Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit (WMZANT 28; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968), 155-156.

⁹Ibid., 156

¹⁰William McKane, Proverbs (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1970) 486-487.

¹¹Gerhard von Rad, Weisheit in Israel (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970) 168-172.

¹²Alexander Scharff, "Die Lehre für Kagemni," ZAS 77 (1941) 18. The translation is mine. Examples of the comparative form of the proverb do not appear in Babylonian wisdom literature to my knowledge.

¹³Translations of some of these texts are given by John A. Wilson (Trans.), "Egyptian Instructions," and "Egyptian Observations," Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, ed. J. B. Pritchard (2d ed.; Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), 412-424, 429-434.

¹⁴Wilson, ANET 421-424. For a complete translation of Amenemope see F. Ll. Griffith, "The Teaching of Amenophis the Son of Kanakht. Papyrus B.M. 10474," JEA 12 (1926) 191-231. A number of examples from the school writings may be found in the translation by Ricardo A. Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies (BES 1; London: Oxford University Press, 1954) 169, 374, 378.

¹⁵S. R. K. Glanville, Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum. Vol II: The Instructions of Onchsheshongy (British Museum Papyrus 10508) (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1955; François Lexa, Papyrus Insinger: Les enseignements moraux d'un égyptien du premier siècle après J.-C. (Paris: Librairie orientale Paul Geuthner, 1926).

¹⁶Compare also Prov. 21:9, 19; 25:24, and 16:32.

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While a considerable amount of excellent work has been done on 1 Thessalonians, and even these two specific verses, still there are some loose ends which remain to be clarified. These questions remain largely because the exegetical nature of the two verses has not been determined in light of the formal structure of the material. The primary questions are:

- 1) Why does this important statement of faith appear so non-Pauline? Is it pre-Pauline?¹ Is it missionary preaching rather than a faith statement?²
- 2) Of what value is this faith statement at this juncture in the letter? Placed in a Thanksgiving period,³ how does it relate to the Paranesis of chapters 4 and 5?⁴

In order to elucidate these problems, this study proposes to: 1) investigate the relationship of the Paranetic section to the Thanksgiving section; 2) determine the function of vv. 9-10 in their present position; and 3) relate the content of these verses to the thematic structure of the entire letter.

The Formal Relationship Between the Paranesis and the Thanksgiving

It has been customary to divide 1 Thessalonians between the extended Thanksgiving (1:2-3:13) and the Paranesis (4:1-5:22) without relating them in a direct manner. However, recent work on the form of the Pauline letter has made this division nearly untenable. In addition to Schubert's work on the Thanksgiving, two other forms, critical to the study of 1 Thessalonians, have been isolated by C.J. Bjerkelund⁵, T.Y. Mullins⁶ and J.T. Sanders⁷. The Parakalō form, delineated by Bjerkelund and Sanders, is used primarily as a Petition. From the collected Pauline examples Bjerkelund has distilled the following pattern:⁸

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| 1) the verb of petition | παρακαλῶ |
| 2) transitional particle | ὅτι |
| 3) recipient in the accusative | ὁμᾶς |
| 4) the authority | δὲ ἡ |
| 5) the petition | infinitive |

In contemporary papyri one often finds a courtesy phrase prior to the request which is introduced by εἰς. Such a pattern occurs with consistency in the letters of the period. Some examples are:

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| παρακαλῶ / ὅτι / σε / εἶνα μὴ ἀμελήσης | (P. Lond. 897,22) |
| παρακαλῶ / σε / οὖν / πέμψαι | (P. Oslo 48,4) |

This basic Parakalō sentence has been expanded by Paul so that the fullest period could contain seven elements:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1) the verb of petition | παρακαλῶ |
| 2) transitional particle | ὅτι |
| 3) recipient in the accusative | ὁμᾶς |
| 4) recipient in the vocative | ἀδελφοί |
| 5) the authority | δὲ ἡ + genitive |

- 6) topic
- 7) the petition

The examples in Paul's letters vary, of course, but 1 Cor. 1:10 illustrates the form fairly well:

παρακαλῶ / δὲ / ὑμᾶς / ἀδελφοί / διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου
 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ / ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες

In the Paraneitic section of 1 Thess. we can note that 4:10b-12 and 5:14 are such Parakalo sentences, while 4:1 and 5:12-13 belong to this formal category even though they do not begin directly with the verb παρακαλῶ

The second form, critical to any discussion of 1 Thessalonians, is the Disclosure which was distinguished from the Parakalo sentence by Mullins. He describes the form as follows:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| 1) noetic verb | γινώσκειν |
| 2) person addressed | σε |
| 3) verb of wishing | θέλω |
| 4) the information | ὅτι... |

Samples given by Mullins would be like this:⁹

γινώσκειν / σε / θέλω / ὅτι ἔγραψάς μοι περὶ οὗ ἐποίησέν μοι
 ἀγατεῖνος (P. Oxy. 937)

In the letters of Paul the form will more likely appear as follows:

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 1) negative particle | οὐ |
| 2) verb of wishing | θέλω |
| 3) transitional particle | δὲ |
| 4) recipient | ὑμᾶς |
| 5) negative noetic verb in
the infinitive | ἀγνοεῖν |
| 6) recipient in the vocative | ἀδελφοί |
| 7) the information | ὅτι... |

We find such a sentence, for example, in 1 Cor. 10:1:

οὐ / θέλω / γὰρ / ὑμᾶς / ἀγνοεῖν / ἀδελφοί / ὅτι οἱ πατέρες
 ἡμῶν πάντες...

In 1 Thessalonians the formula occurs in 4:13 as an introduction to the apocalyptic materials. Otherwise it is not to be found. With this information one might outline the letter as follows:

- | | |
|-------------|------------------------|
| (1:1) | Greeting |
| (1:2-3:13) | Thanksgiving |
| (4:1-5:22) | Paranesis |
| (4:1-10a) | First Petition |
| (4:10b-12) | Second Petition |
| (4:13-5:11) | Apocalyptic Disclosure |
| (5:12-13) | Third Petition |
| (5:14-22) | Fourth Petition |
| (5:23-28) | Closing Salutations |

However, such a structure defies both logical and epistolary

styles. It would be far more logical to suppose that the Disclosure precedes the Petition, since the nature of and the reasons for the petition ought to be stated first. And, indeed, this is normally the case. Disclosure formulas normally introduce the information pertinent to the reason for the letter.¹⁰ A random perusal of the papyri of the time will demonstrate that. In P. Oxy. 528 a certain Serenus greets Isidora and then immediately informs her how much he misses her, beginning with the formula γινώσκειν σε θέλω. In a rather crude letter (35 A.D.) the girl Thausous greets her mother and then introduces the subject of the letter with a short Disclosure formula γινώσκει (P. Oxy. 295,2). Thereupon three short directions or petitions follow. The logical sequence between Disclosure and Petition follows quite easily in many letters. In B.G.U. 846 a son, Antonius Longus, wants his mother to know why he did not meet her at Arsinoe and then he petitions her for a reconciliation.

The apostle Paul is using the general epistolary style more clearly in this letter than any other. Assuming he follows that style in regard to the sequence of Disclosure and Petition, it would be reasonable to suppose that the Petitions in 4:1-12 follow a Disclosure.¹¹ Furthermore, it would be reasonable to assume that the Disclosure of 4:13-5:10 does not follow structurally 4:1-12, but rather introduces the Petitions of 5:11-22.¹² These assumptions are verified by the use of λοιπόν in 4:1 and the presence of modified Disclosures in chapters 1-3.

Λοιπόν can refer to temporal or logical succession, or even simply be an interjection.¹³ If here it is a logical transitional particle, then admittedly it has no exact parallel in the letters of Paul, although in 1 Cor. 1:16 it does indicate he is closing his argument regarding persons whom he has baptized. But as a mark of such a transition λοιπόν does occur fairly often in the papyri.¹⁴ Two quite late letters indicate the formal nature of the particle very clearly. In P. Lond. 1380 (A.D. 710) and P. Lond. 1350 (A.D. 710) an Arab governor of Egypt describes the situation as he sees it and then with a transitional λοιπόν moves to his commands. There are similar earlier examples, though none as clear as these two for showing how the λοιπόν marks the transition from the Disclosure form to the Petition form. In P. Oxy. 119 the λοιπόν introduces the parakalō sentence:

λυτὸν πέμψον εἰς με, παρακαλῶ σε...

In B.G.U. 846 (2nd cent.) the Petition follows the Disclosure but the λοιπόν introduces both of them. In both B.G.U. 1079 and 1078 λοιπόν occurs near the beginning of the letter, but it does introduce the purpose of the letter. In conclusion, the λοιπόν of 4:1 need not be a logical particle between Disclosure and Petition, but it certainly may be, and coming, as it does, just prior to the parakalō formula it would appear to mark such a transition.

In what sense can chapters 1-3 be considered a Disclosure? The answer is hardly as esoteric as might be supposed. The function of the many "you know" phrases in chapters 1-3 has been puzzling.¹⁵ But actually the Disclosure formula described above took form in the 2nd century A.D. Prior to that time the Disclosure was introduced by a variety of means, such as the γινώσκει we noted above. Once the need for a Disclosure prior to 4:1-12 has been established, it would be reasonable to conclude that the frequent οὔρα formula does, in fact, provide the basis for the Parakalō section which follows. In chapters

1-3 Paul builds up a series of reminders about their previous relationship which, in the Paranetic section of 4-5 he uses with considerable power. The Minor Disclosures of chapters 1-3 are:

- (1:5) καθὼς οἴδατε οἱ τοὶ ἐγενήθημεν ἐν ὑμῖν δι' ὑμᾶς
 (2:1) αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδατε, ἀδελφοί, τὴν εἴσοδον ἡμῶν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 (2:2) καθὼς οἴδατε...ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα...λαλήσαι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 (2:5) οὕτως...ἐγενήθημεν, καθὼς οἴδατε, οὕτως...
 (2:9) μνημονεύετε γὰρ, ἀδελφοί, τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν
 (2:11) ἐγενήθημεν, καθάπερ οἴδατε...παρακαλοῦντες ὑμᾶς
 (3:3) αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδατε ὅτι, εἰς τοῦτο κείμεθα
 (3:4) καθὼς καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ οἴδατε

Paul summarizes these disclosures with a final οἴδατε statement in 4:2 as a buttress for the parakalō sentence in 4:1.¹⁶

Paul uses much the same structure in 1 Corinthians. There, where so often he refers to his prior teaching, he recalls that material with a rhetorical οὐκ οἴδατε (3:16; 5:6; 6:2,3,9,15,16,19; 9:13,24). Other than this the formula seldom occurs in Paul's correspondence. Nevertheless, its use in 1 Thessalonians serves to remind the church at Thessalonica of a prior relationship which now gives him the right to make the paranetic demands. The "you know" introduces what we have been calling a Disclosure.

With this understanding between Disclosure and Petition, we can now see that the lengthy Thanksgiving of 1 Thessalonians serves simultaneously as the basic Disclosure of the letter upon which the Petitions of 4:1-12 are built. The Disclosure of 4:13 then surely starts a new section, though not a new letter.¹⁷ An outline would be:

- (1:1) Greeting
 (1:2-3:13) Thanksgivings and Disclosures
 (4:1-12) Petitions Based on Previous Disclosures
 (4:13-5:11) Second Disclosure (Apocalyptic Teaching)
 (5:12-22) Petitions Based on the Apocalyptic Disclosure
 (5:23-28) Closing Salutations

The Formal Function of 1:9-10

The function of vv. 9-10 in the first chapter now must be understood not only in terms of the Thanksgiving, but also the Disclosure. Subsumed under the first Thanksgiving period (1:2-5a) are five Minor Disclosure periods: 1:5b-10; 2:1-4; 2:5-8; 2:9-10; and 2:11-12.¹⁸ Each Disclosure makes an assertion about the relationship of Paul as a teacher and apostle to the Thessalonians. Furthermore, each Disclosure is verified by a "third party" confirmation. The first Disclosure (1:5b-10) deals with the effect of Paul's preaching and teaching at Thessalonica. That effect is confirmed by the reports of the churches in Macedonia and Achaia (1:9-10). The second Disclosure speaks of the success of Paul's style of teaching (2:1-4) which is confirmed by the testing of God (2:4). The third Disclosure reveals Paul's gentleness as a teacher¹⁹ (2:5-8), which then is confirmed by the witness, God (2:5). The fourth Disclosure claims exemplary behavior by Paul (2:9-10), which is confirmed by both God and the readers as witnesses (2:10). The final Disclosure, regarding the fatherliness of Paul (2:11-12), is confirmed by the second Thanksgiving period (2:13-3:16), which serves as a Thanksgiving for further confirmation of the Disclosures made in 1:5b-2:12. The verses

in question, then, 1:9-10, serve as an independent confirmation of the effect of the apostolic preaching at Thessalonica. The orderly nature of this structure can be seen by a detailed outline of the first Thanksgiving period:

Greeting 1:1

(1:1) χάρις ὑμῖν

Thanksgivings and Disclosures 1:2-3:13

- (1:2-5a) First Thanksgiving Period (Power of Paul's Gospel)
- (1:2) Εὐχαριστοῦμεν... (Thanksgiving)
- (1:2) 1) μνησθῆναι ποιοῦμενοι
- (1:3) 2) μνημονεύοντες
- (1:4) 3) εἰδοότες
- (1:5a) ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν... (Object of Thanksgiving)
- (1:5b-10) First Minor Disclosure (Effect of Paul)
- (1:5b) καθὼς οἴδατε (Disclosure Formula)
- (1:5b) οἱ οἱ ἐγενήθητε (Disclosure)
- (1:6) 1) ὑμεῖς μνησθῆναι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε
- (1:7) 2) ὥστε γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς τύπον
- (1:8) 3) ὡς ὑμῶν γὰρ ἐξήχηται ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου
- (1:9a) ὥστε μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς λαλεῖν (Authority Disclaimer) ²⁰
- (1:9b-10) αὐτοὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν (Independent Confirmation of Disclosure)
- (2:1-4) Second Minor Disclosure (Success of Paul's Teaching Style)
- (2:1a) οὗτοι γὰρ οἴδατε (Disclosure Formula)
- (2:1b) ὅτι οὐ κενὴ γέγονεν (Disclosure)
- (2:2-4) Supporting Data
- (2:4) θεὸς τῷ δοκιμάζοντι (Independent Confirmation of Disclosure)
- (2:5-8) Third Minor Disclosure (Paul's Gentleness as a Teacher) ²¹
- (2:5) καθὼς οἴδατε (Disclosure Formula)
- (2:5) 1) οὕτε...
- (2:5) 2) οὕτε... (Disclosures)
- (2:6) 3) οὕτε...οὕτε
- (2:5) θεὸς μάρτυς (Independent Confirmation of Disclosure)
- (2:7-8) Supporting Data
- (2:9-10) Fourth Minor Disclosure (Paul's Exemplary Behavior)
- (2:9a) μνημονεύετε γὰρ (Disclosure Formula)
- (2:9b) τὸν κόπον ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν μόχτον (Disclosure)
- (2:10) ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες καὶ ὁ θεός (Independent Confirmation of Disclosure)
- (2:11-12) Fifth Minor Disclosure (Fatherliness of Paul as Teacher)
- (2:11) καθάπερ οἴδατε (Disclosure Formula)
- (2:12) παρακαλοῦντες...παραμυθούμενοι...μαρτυρόμενοι (Disclosure)
- (2:13-3:8) Second Thanksgiving Period (Independent Confirmation of Previous Disclosures) ²²

As God and the congregation are called in as witnesses for the other Disclosures, so the report of the churches in Macedonia and Achaia is offered as confirming witness in the first Disclosure (1:9-10). That report consists of three elements: ²³

1) The Reception of Paul at Thessalonica

ὁποῖαν εἴσοδον ἔσχομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς

2) The Conversion of the Thessalonians

- a. ἐπεστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδῶλων
b. δουλεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ

3) The Eschatological Expectations of the Thessalonians

καὶ ἀναμένειν

- a. τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν
b. ὃν ἡγείρεν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν
c. Ἰησοῦν
d. τὸν ρυθμιζόμενον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχομένης

The primary purpose of these two verses is to demonstrate what has happened to the Thessalonians in response to Paul's visit. In that sense the material is not to be considered a credo or a sample of missionary preaching, but rather a process record which could be judged and measured by a third party, i.e., the other churches of the area. That process is: welcoming the apostolic messenger; turning from idols to serve the living God; and waiting for the end as defined by affirmations regarding Jesus. The first element speaks of their desire to hear the good news; the second of their decision to convert to a general Judeo-Christian faith; and the third describes the nature of the specifically Christian community of faith.

The Content of 1:9-10 and the Structure of 1 Thessalonians

P.-E. Langevin claims 1:9-10 is a pre-Pauline text because of the stereotyped formulas, technical words used which are not Pauline, and a theology which does not match that of Paul. As have many others, he concluded these two verses are a summary of general missionary preaching which Paul merely passes on.²⁵ When vv. 9-10 are compared with the total Pauline corpus much of what has been said is true. What is remarkable, however, is that the letter called 1 Thessalonians follows with unusual parallelism the same process structure described in vv. 9-10 to test the church at Thessalonica. This correspondence can be demonstrated as follows:

1) The presence of the apostle at Thessalonica. The purpose of the five Disclosures in the first Thanksgiving period is to remind the Thessalonians of the effective presence of Paul among them. Some deal with his success and others with his method, but all speak of the apostolic presence and authority. Even the sixth Minor Disclosure (3:3b-5) is to inform the Thessalonians he wanted to be personally present with them rather than to send Timothy. And the final Minor Disclosure (4:2) reminds them of his instructions when with them in person. The final Thanksgiving (3:10) ends with a hope to see them. Even the two benedictions (3:11-13) follow the same process as 1:9-10, beginning with a prayer for God to direct Paul's way to Thessalonica and ending with a hope in the coming of the Lord Jesus.²⁷

2) Turning from idols. Strangely enough the information disclosed and the confirmation sought in chapters 1-3 has much more to do with turning from idols and serving God than it does "faith in Jesus Christ". The good news brought by Timothy about the Thessalonians concerns their faith and love (3:6).²⁸ Faith and love are elements of theology in this epistle, while hope is the primary element of Christology (1:3). As Paul has disclosed, his teaching activity at Thessalonica was primarily God oriented.

In fact, in chapters 1-3 there is not one certain reference to teaching about Jesus or Christ. We have *κρίσις* πρὸς τὸν θεὸν (1:8) or the *εὐαγγέλιον* τοῦ θεοῦ (2:2,8,9). Paul has taught them to live a life worthy of God (2:12). It is the *λόγος* θεοῦ which is at work in the believers at Thessalonica (2:13 bis). Only *ὁ λόγος* τοῦ κυρίου in 1:8 could be interpreted as a Christological reference. But there is no comparative reason, and certainly no contextual reason, to suppose *λόγος* τοῦ κυρίου means anything other than what Paul otherwise designates as *λόγος* θεοῦ.²⁹ The "word of the Lord" refers more to the prophetic call to conversion than to a Christological confession.³⁰ With this heavy orientation toward faith in God, rather than Christology, it is little wonder the Tübingen school, and others, have rejected the letter from the corpus of genuine Pauline epistles.³¹

Nevertheless, the progression of vv. 9-10 reflects the progression of the letter. The concern of the Thanksgiving and Disclosures concentrates on the recipients having turned from idols to serve that living and true God announced by the apostle. Having clarified and confirmed this fact, it is only in the Petition of 4:1-12 that Paul can begin to make demands.

3) To serve a living and true God. The first Petitions, based on the Disclosures of chapters 1-3 are patently basic Jewish ethics. Little wonder that Eckart could see here a non-Pauline fragment.³² But the above delineated structure would indicate Dibelius³³ and Schrage³⁴ are more nearly correct in describing the materials as general ethics. As I have shown elsewhere³⁵ the first part of the Petition is general while the second applies a general ethical norm to that specific situation noted by Paul's . The general norms are: sexual faithfulness (4:1-8) and love of brother (4:9-10a).³⁶ When one adds to this the previous concern about worship of idols, it becomes quite clear that we are dealing simply with that ethic Judaism felt was incumbent on all people -- the so-called Noachic code. The nomenclature and origin of these basic ethical tenets may be dubious, but the fundamental importance of the three injunctions -- against idolatry, against adultery and against murder -- cannot be denied.³⁷ Its use by the author of Acts at the Jerusalem Council has been shown.³⁸ And again a comparison with 1 Corinthians indicates Paul had the same concerns there: love of brother (chapter 6); sexual fidelity (chapter 7); and idolatry (chapter 8). In summary, the presence of the apostolic preaching at Thessalonica led to a rejection of idolatry and a worship of the living God. On the basis of this confirmed disclosure, Paul exhorted the Thessalonians to sexual fidelity and to live in brotherly love with others (non-Christian) as a specific application of the Noachic law regarding murder.

4) To wait for his Son from heaven. The earliest faith regarding Jesus was as Lord of the future³⁹, or as the apocalyptic Son of Man.⁴⁰ That Christology is found not only in 1:10 but also in the apocalyptic Disclosure of 4:13-5:11. The apocalyptic nature of Paul's Christology here is attested only by his references in 4:13-5:11 to Jesus as the Christ.⁴¹ But as for the statement in vv. 9-10 the Son from heaven must be the Son of Man, since there is no reason to suppose the Son of God would appear in this way⁴²; the raising from the dead is an affirmation of the eschatological first fruits (4:14; 5:9-10); "Jesus" indicates a pre-incarnational understanding of the historical Jesus; and "delivering from the wrath to come" is a function of the coming Son of Man. This apocalyptic Christology does not serve as the basis for the so-called Noachic

code. Rather it serves as the basis for the order of the eschatological community. For that reason Paul must make a second Disclosure (4:13-5:11). And once again it can be understood why some have suggested this is an addition.⁴³ Yet the statement in 1:9-10 ties together the entire letter by mentioning both elements -- serving the living God and waiting for the Son. The apocalyptic Disclosure was necessary because the concerns of the Petitions in 5:12-22 involved the ordering of that community which waited on the Lord. Eschatological expectations could cut at the heart of community authority (5:12-13)⁴⁴, and could encourage passivity (5:14).⁴⁵ Paul reiterated his eschatological teaching and then petitioned the Thessalonians to respect, though test (v. 21), their leadership, and to continue in good works.

In conclusion, 1 Thessalonians 1:9-10 serves as a confirmation of the success of the apostolic preaching at Thessalonica. As such it describes progressively the shift from pagan to Christian. That same progression serves as the basis for the order of the letter.

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1. Paul-Émile Langevin, Jésus Seigneur et l'eschatologie: Exégèse de textes prépaulliniens (Paris: Desclee de Brouwer, 1967), pp. 48-58.
2. Johannes Munck, "The Missionary Preaching of Paul," NTS 9 (1962), 101.
3. Paul Schubert, Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgiving (BZNW 20; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1939), pp. 16-27.
4. Béda Rigaux, Les épîtres aux Thessaloniens (Paris: Gembloux, 1956), pp. 493-94.
5. Carl J. Bjerkelund, Parakalō (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1967).
6. Terence Y. Mullins, "Disclosure: A Literary Form in the New Testament," NT 7 (1964), 44-50, and "Petition as a Literary Form," NT 5 (1962), 46-54.
7. Jack T. Sanders, "The Transition From Opening Epistolary Thanksgiving to Body in the Letters of the Pauline Corpus," JBL 81 (1962), 348-62.
8. Bjerkelund, Parakalō, pp. 18-19.
9. Mullins, "Disclosure," 45.
10. John L. White, "The Structural Analysis of Philemon: A Point of Departure in the Formal Analysis of the Pauline Letter," SBL Seminar Papers (SBL, 1971) 1. 23. Also Henry G. Meecham, Light From Ancient Letters (London: Allen & Unwin, 1923), p. 124.
11. Another possibility would be that 1 Thessalonians consists of two or more letters. However, no division has been suggested that properly relates Disclosure to Petition. Schmithals argues for 1:1-2:12 and 4:2 (3) - 5:28 as one letter and 2:13-4:1 as a second. This division has three drawbacks: 1) it ignores the obvious parallel structure between 4:1-12 and 4:13-5:11; 2) it disrupts the now apparent flow from Disclosure in chapters 1-3 to Petition in 4:1-12; and 3) it disregards the value of 1:9-10 as an outline of the entire letter. For the argument on unity see Walter Schmithals, Paul and the Gnostics (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972), pp. 126-135.
12. The suggestion by E. Fuchs to excise 4:13-5:11 as a second letter to the Thessalonians does have the advantage of placing all the Petitions subsequent to the Disclosures of chapters 1-3. However, it strongly violates the apocalyptic nature of the summary in 1:9-10. See Ernst Fuchs, Glaube und Erfahrung (Tübingen: Mohr, 1965), p. 119.
13. Anders Cavallin, "(τὸ) λοιπόν. Eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung," Eranos. Acta Philologica Suecana 39 (1941), 121-44.
14. J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1950), p. 380.

15. Nils Dahl, "1 Thessalonians as the object of study for the Seminar in 1972," SBL Seminar Papers (unpublished), p. 2.
16. The office of 5:2 serves as a buttress for the οὐ χροίαν ἔχετε which serves as a reminder of authority when used in a letter from someone with power to command. Therefore I call it an Authority Disclaimer. See my SBL Seminar Paper entitled, "Apocalyptic and Didactic Elements in 1 Thessalonians."
17. Fuchs, Glaube, p. 119. See the refutation by W.G. Kümmel, "Das literarische und geschichtliche Problem des ersten Thessalonicherbriefes," Neotestamentica et Patristica (NovTSup 6; Leiden: Brill, 1962), 213-227.
18. The Disclosure of 2:1-4 contains a double introductory formula.
19. Abraham J. Malherbe, "'Gentle as a Nurse': The Cynic Background to 1 Thess 11," NT 12 (1970), 203-17. The argument presented by Malherbe is essential to this presentation. The Disclosures in chapter 2 deal primarily with the effective power of Paul as a teacher. As their teacher in the "Torah-philosophy" Paul has the right to call for (parakaleō) obedience to the "Torah" for Gentiles, i.e., the Noahic code.
20. On the function of this phrase here and in 4:9 and 5:1, see my SBL Seminar Paper entitled, "Apocalyptic and Didactic Elements in 1 Thessalonians."
21. See footnote 19 (above).
22. Funk has already shown that the apostolic 'parousia' can be a show of authority and even a threat. I add to that the function of confirming the success of his ministry. See Robert W. Funk, "The Apostolic Parousia: Form and Significance," in Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox (Cambridge: University, 1967), pp. 249-268.
23. Langevin, Jésus Seigneur, pp. 47-48.
24. Langevin, Jésus Seigneur, pp. 55-57.
25. Langevin, Jésus Seigneur, p. 58.
26. Munck, "Missionary Preaching," 106. He considers 1:9-10 a summary of the letter.
27. Funk ("The Apostolic Parousia," 254) has shown the elements of Paul's hope to see the congregation in person.
28. This argument is even stronger if Jervell is right in interpreting the "good news" as Gospel rather than news happily received. Jervell argues that the conversion of a community is the Gospel or "word of the Lord" (1:8). See his "Zur Frage der Traditionsgrundlage der Apostelgeschichte," ST 16 (1962), 30-35.
29. So G. Kittel, "λέγω," TDNT 4 (1967), 114-15.

30. Contra Langevin, Jésus Seigneur, p. 49.
31. "In the whole collection of the Pauline Epistles there is none so deficient in the character and substance of its materials as 1st Thessalonians." F.C. Baur, Paul (London: Williams and Norgate, 1875), 2. 85.
32. Karl-Gottfried Eckart, "Der zweite echte Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Thessalonicher," ZTK 58 (1961), 36-37.
33. Martin Dibelius, A Fresh Approach to the New Testament and Early Christian Literature (New York: Scribner's, 1936), p. 19.
34. Wolfgang Schrage, Die konkreten Einzelgebote in der paulinischen Paränese (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1961), p. 42.
35. See my SBL Seminar Paper, "Apocalyptic and Didactic Elements in 1 Thessalonians."
36. The "work" of 4:11 does not relate to the problem of apocalyptic idleness which appears in 5:14 and 2 Thess. Though if Spicq is correct even there the problem is community disorder and not work. See C. Spicq, "Les Thessaloniens 'inquiets' étaient-ils des paresseux?" ST 10 (1956), 1-13.
37. Sanhedrin 56b.
38. Adolf Schlatter, The Church in the New Testament Period (London: SPCK, 1955), pp. 131-32. Compare also E.G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan, 1952), pp. 373-74. Furnish rightly rejects the idea of churches as "neo-levitical communities", but that does not negate the influence of the so-called code. See Vistor Paul Furnish, Theology and Ethics in Paul (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968), pp. 38-42.
39. Helmut Koester, "The Structure and Criteria of Early Christian Beliefs," in Trajectories through Early Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), p. 211.
40. Ernst Käsemann, "On the Topic of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," in Apocalypticism (Journal for Theology and Church 6; New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), 115.
41. Ferdinand Hahn, The Titles of Jesus in Christology (Cleveland: World, 1969), p. 171.
42. On the debate see Langevin, Jésus Seigneur, pp. 73-76.
43. Fuchs, Glaube, p. 119.
44. Munck, "Missionary Preaching," 106.

I Thess. 5:12-28: A Case Study
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Until recently our attention was directed almost entirely toward the letter opening, the thanksgiving, etc. and the clues these held for understanding the letter as a whole.¹ Now, increasingly, we have been made aware of the structure and function of the letter ending. Harry Gamble's 1970 dissertation was devoted to a structural analysis of the ending with special reference to Romans.² Gordon Wiles' study also touched on the form and function of intercessory prayer in the conclusion,³ and William Doty has given us a more synoptic treatment through which we see the relationship of the ending to the rest of the letter.⁴ These studies among others⁵ recognize a high degree of flexibility in Paul's use of the letter form and that the conclusion in particular is remarkably fluid. This lack of precision in the conclusion makes any attempt to define those elements a risky business.

Uncertainty about what properly belongs in the conclusion⁶ or about the location of the boundary between the body⁷ and the end of the letter has persisted. Yet until we solve this problem our attempts to discern either the scope or function of the ending are likely to continue being frustrated. Doubt about the role the closing hortatory remarks play remains the principal barrier to drawing a precise diagram of the conclusion and the way it works.⁸ The resolution of this issue is essential for an adequate understanding of the ending of I Thessalonians because the map of the conclusion is often drawn to include a large tract of hortatory remarks (5:12-22). The primary purpose of this paper, therefore, is to attempt to learn if or how these closing hortatory remarks are related to the letter as a whole. A secondary but related aim is to seek to discover if and/or how those elements which all agree lie within the conclusion are connected with the epistolary situation.

Two questions frame our discussion of the paraenesis in I Thess. 5:12-22: (1) Does the paraenesis⁹ have any discernible structure or content? and (2) Does the paraenesis have any connection with the epistolary situation? According to Martin Dibelius the hortatory elements belong to tradition and "lack an immediate relation with the circumstances of the letter. The rules and directions are not formulated for special churches and concrete cases, but for the general requirements of earliest Christendom."^{9b} Recently Harry Gamble has correctly noted that the hortatory elements resist precise definition,¹⁰ but this should not be taken to mean that these elements have no structure at all. Moreover, is it not possible if not likely that much of the paraenesis has more than a general application?

1. Location of Materials under Consideration

Carl J. Bjerkelund has isolated certain paraka1ō sentences which he uses to define the beginning of the epistolary conclusion. These paraka1ō formulations are characterized by the lack of the usual prepositional phrase (e.g., ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ) and a preoccupation with community behavior.¹¹ While Bjerkelund's thesis is vulnerable at points¹² his instincts are sound. The concluding section of the parae-netic materials quite often does concern itself with responsibility for the order and growth of the community. Moreover, a certain pattern

both as to structure and content is discernible in these materials. The passages which conform to this pattern can be identified as I Thess. 5:12-22; I Cor. 16:13-18; II Cor. 13:5-11; Rom. 12:3-15:14; Gal. 5:16-6:10, and Philippians 2:25-30, 4:2-6. To be sure the pattern is somewhat irregular in some instances. The Romans passage, for example, fails to join the final peace wish, and for that reason, in the view of some, should be excluded from a consideration of concluding paraenesis. Robert Funk, however, has shown that this displacement of the final paraenesis by the apostolic parousia is understandable in terms of Paul's own purposes.¹⁴ Elsewhere, when travel plans appear at the close of the letter they either precede the final instructions on the nurture and order of the community (I Cor. 16:1-12; Phil. 2:25-30; II Cor. 12:14-13:10) or do not appear in the paraenetic materials at all (I Thess. and Gal.). Where no reference either to the apostle or his surrogate appears, a reference to the parousia of Christ or the final judgment appears in its place (Gal. 6:7-8 and I Thess. 5:1-11). In either case the parousia of the apostle or the Lord reinforces the call to obedience and corporate responsibility. In I Corinthians the final instructions fail to join the peace wish only because the peace wish is absent. Since the paraenesis terminates at the greeting and since the greeting is normally preceded by the peace wish, we have here only a ripple not an undulation in the pattern. Because of its private character Philemon has only limited relevance for this discussion. II Thess. is not discussed here because of its disputed character.

2. The Structure of the Closing Paraenesis

Our consideration will begin with but necessarily cannot be restricted to I Thess., the primary target of this seminar. In I Thess. 5:11 Paul ends his eschatological paraenesis with a command to exhort (παρακαλεῖτε) and to build one another up (οἰκοδομεῖτε). Vss. 12-22 make this admonition concrete: (1) by urging respect and esteem for those who instruct the congregation (νοθετούντας)¹⁶ and stand before the people ἐν κυρίῳ (5:12-13a),¹⁷ (2) through laying on all church members a mutual responsibility for the health and order of the community (ἐστηνεβετε, 5:13b)¹⁸ and (3) by giving instructions to the leaders¹⁹ concerning the disorderly (ἀτάκτους)²⁰ the discouraged, the weak (5:14), and "everyone else." Paul closes the section with a general prohibition against revenge, and broadens the admonition to do good to include the "outsider" as well as the "insider." The paraenesis ends with a cluster of imperatives (8) which though related develop no context and establish no sequence of thought. Such a conglomeration of injunctions would appear to have only general applicability, however, we shall see later how this arrangement also forges a direct link with the epistolary situation.²¹ This shotgun paraenesis which is clearly distinguishable from developed exhortation also appears elsewhere near the end of the hortatory materials (I Cor. 16:13; Phil. 4:4-6). In one case, II Cor. 13:11a, the paraenetic cluster and developed exhortation coalesce. Elsewhere, the paraenetic cluster precedes the developed exhortation (Rom. 12:9-13; Gal. 5:19-23).

The Thessalonian materials lend themselves to division into sections which deal with (1) respect for leaders (5:12-13a), (2) mutual responsibility for the health and order of the community (5:13b), (3) instructions (to leaders) for ministry to those with special needs (5:14), (4) reiteration of the mutual but general responsibility to do good to each other and the "outsider" (5:15), and (5) assorted

injunctions (the imperative or shotgun cluster, 5:16-22).

Two further observations deserve mention concerning these closing instructions. First, some type of reinforcement, either apostolic or eschatological always accompanies the closing paraenesis. Note, for example, I Thess. 5:1-11 which unlike 4:13-17 contains little if any information, but serves instead to urge continued vigilance (μὴ καθεύδωμεν . . . ἀλλὰ γρηγορῶμεν καὶ νηφώμεν [v. 6] . . . ἵνα . . .

σὺν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν [v. 10b]). This sense of eschatological expectation informs the general admonition of v. 11 which gains specificity in 5:12-15, as well as the exhortations in the shotgun paraenesis (5:16-22). Second, the paraenesis usually ends at the peace wish which serves as a means of transition from the end of one segment of the letter, i.e., the paraenesis, to the end of the letter per se. Because the closing paraenesis and letter ending are compact yet well developed in I Thess. they may serve as a working but provisional model for examining the other letters.

I Cor. poses special problems because of the scope and diversity of the instructional materials. Funk is correct in identifying all of 5-15 as a collection of essays on different topics,²³ and John Hurd has shown that the order itself is influenced if not dictated by the sequence of the questions from the Corinthians.²⁴ Such a development would explain the appearance of Paul's discussion dealing with the order and edification of the church in its present position (11:2-14:40) rather than at the end of the letter. In spite of this arrangement an echo of this discussion on order and nurture appears in the concluding paraenesis nevertheless. Given the fact that ch. 13 is the organizing center of the entire discussion on corporate responsibility (12-14) and that Paul consistently emphasizes the relational character of love,²⁵ there can be little doubt that 16:14 is an echo of the earlier full discussion. As such the admonition to "let all that you do be done in love" underscores the earlier emphasis on corporate responsibility (2). In 16:15-18 Paul urges the Corinthians to obey (v. 16) and give recognition (v. 18) to men such as Stephanus as well as to every συνεργῶντι καὶ κοινῶντι (1). Their work includes devoted service (δουλοῦντες) to the saints, representation of the home church to Paul, and ministry to the apostle through refreshing his spirit. The closing instructions come between the travel plans and the final greetings (since the peace wish is missing in I Cor.).

The apostolic reinforcement precedes the shotgun cluster in 16:13-14 with only the short Apollos reference intervening (16:12). Paul reminds his readers that Timothy is "doing the work of the Lord, as I am" (16:10; see 16:16) and warns "let no one despise him" (16:11).²⁶ The imminent arrival of Timothy reinforces all of the admonitions of the letter including the final imperative cluster. The exhortation to love receives even further emphasis in the final apostolic warning: "If anyone does not love the Lord let him be anathema" (16:22).

In the short paraenetic summary in II Cor. 13:11 we see most of the components which we identified in our model (I Thess.). The brethren are asked to heed the appeal of their apostolic leader (1, παρακαλεῖσθε), and to promote the health and order of the community (2, τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖτε, εἰρηνεύετε). Note also the exhortation to eschatological rejoicing (5, χαίρετε). This paraenetic formulation is unique in Paul in that it includes elements in the imperative cluster which usually appear only in developed exhortation.

The paraenetic summary is reinforced by the announcement of an impending apostolic parousia. From 13:5 onwards the references

to Paul's visit are interlarded with exhortations to prepare themselves for his coming. The Corinthians are commanded to examine (πειράζεστε) themselves, to put themselves to the test (δοκιμάζεστε) to see if they are in the faith (13:5), and not to do wrong but to do right (13:7). Paul obviously hopes for a favorable response so that when he comes he can use the Lord's power for οὐλοδομήν instead of καταλπεῖν (13:10). This apostolic warning clearly reinforces the paraenetic summary in 13:11. As in I Thess. so here also the imperative cluster joins the peace wish.

In Galatians the shotgun paraenesis precedes rather than trails the developed exhortation. Gal. 5:16-24 includes negative (19-21) as well as positive (22-23) exhortations. The catena of predicate nouns describing life in the Spirit (vss. 21-22) belong with the admonition in v. 25: "If we live by the Spirit, let us fall in line with the Spirit (στοιχῶμεν)." So, while strictly speaking the grouping is not an imperative cluster, the admonition to do all of the things named allows the grouping to function as one. Here then also we see the cluster paraenesis (5). Note also the eschatological reinforcement in 5:21: "I warn you as I warned you before that those who do such things [immoral, dissident acts] shall not inherit the Kingdom of God."

V. 26 opens the section on corporate responsibility.²⁷ This charge is fulfilled negatively by absterfion from deivise acts, and positively by restoring those who err and by bearing one another's burdens (6:1-2).²⁸ Whether or not the instructions in 6:1-2 are given to the leaders, there is no gainsaying that these verses emphasize mutual responsibility for the health of the community (2). Gal. 6:6 on the other hand deals with an appropriate response to the teachers (1). Following the eschatological reinforcement in 6:7-8 comes the general admonition in 6:10 which includes the "outsider" (4). A large portion of the subscription (6:11-15) is used to summarize the central thrust of the letter as a whole and thus serves a reiterative function.²⁹ The summary comes as one would expect between the end of the paraenesis and the peace wish (6:16) since the summary pertains to the entire letter while the peace wish serves only as a link with the conclusion proper.

The paraenesis in Romans is broad in scope and complex in its formation, nevertheless, certain contours are discernible even if the slopes are obscured by the haze at points. In 12:6-8 Paul admonishes all who have special gifts--the prophets, teachers, leaders (προϊσταμένοι, cf. I Thess. 5:12), administrators, etc.--to use their gifts for the nurture and the promotion of unity in the church (3).³⁰ The longest imperative cluster in the Pauline letters appears in 12:9-21 (5).³¹ The second half of the cluster, however, (14-21) emphasizes the proper behavior toward the outsider. Believers are urged to "bless those who persecute you" (12:14, probably outsiders), to live in harmony with one another (12:16) and to repay no one "evil for evil but take thought for what is noble in the sight of all" (12:18), to refrain from acts of revenge (12:19), and to feed the enemy (12:20). This entire section with its preoccupation with a peaceful relationship with the "outsider" serves as an introduction to 13:1-10 with its exhortation to submit to the governing authorities ("outsiders"). Although he does so in all of the other letters nowhere in Romans does Paul urge respect, submission or obedience to church leaders. To urge submission he uses the verb ὑποτασσέσθω (13:1,4) which he uses elsewhere only in I Cor. 16:

16 to mean submission to men. It appears that the usual command to obey or honor leaders in the community is replaced in Romans by an admonition to respect the governing authorities. Paul thus combines his exhortation to submit to the leaders (1) with the admonition to live in harmony with each other and all men (4) in an unusual if not creative way. The apostle strengthens his exhortation even further when in 13:8-10 he brings his command to be subject to the governing authorities under the rubric of God's command to love the neighbor. In light of 12:17-21 the statement in 13:10 that "love does no wrong to the neighbor" clearly designates the civil authorities as the neighbors (*πλησίον*) to be loved.³²

The final instructions on church unity and edification appear in Rom. 14:1-15:14. We find in this section the usual encouragement to build the brother up (15:1), to live in peace (15:6, and 14:19), to provide encouragement (*παράκλησις*, 15:4), and to live in harmony (*τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις*). Instead of encouraging respect for those who set minds straight (*νοθεύειν*, I Thess. 5:12-13), Paul expresses his confidence that his hearers are able to correct each other (15:14). The eschatological reinforcement for this paraenetic material comes in 13:11-14 and 14:10-12, 17.

As was the case in Galatians so here also a section of nonparaenetic material is wedged between the closing exhortation and the peace wish. Funk attributes this travelogue "appendix" (15:14-33) to Paul's attempt to "anticipate the oral with a written word, necessitated, on the one hand, by his commission to fulfill his ministry in the east (15:18 ff.) before moving to the west, and, on the other, by his charge to carry the gospel to those who have not heard it (15:21, 28)."³³ We note here also as in Galatians that Paul is looking back to an earlier discussion. As Michel notes, Paul's closing remarks reiterate those of the opening "Punkt für Punkt."³⁴

Philippians is so loosely structured that many have suggested that it is a patchwork of at least three fragments.³⁵ If 3:1-4:1 is a fragment as some suggest we can only wonder if Paul's command to honor such men as Epaphroditus (2:29-30) might have originally joined the paraenesis (4:2 ff.) as it does elsewhere. If, however, the breaks in the stream of thought are understandable in terms of Paul's own purposes and habits,³⁶ then 3:1-4:1 would function as eschatological paraenesis reinforcing the following exhortations.³⁷ In any case 4:2-7 is a part of the concluding paraenesis. This paraenetic section includes an admonition that Euodia and Syntyche be reconciled (2, *τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν*), instruction for Paul's "yoke-fellow" to assist them (3) followed by the imperative cluster (5) which includes an eschatological reinforcement ("The Lord is near"). Here as elsewhere we see the admonition to "let all men [including "outsiders"] know your forbearance" (4) which in turn is followed by the peace wish.

In the table below we see a summary of our discussion of the structure of the closing paraenesis. For our sketch of the paraenetic pattern we have used the numerical symbols adopted in the first part of this section. The eschatological reinforcement received the symbol A₁ and the apostolic reinforcement A₂. B denotes the peace wish.

I Thess. 5:1-22				I Cor. 16:13-18		II Cor. 13:1-11		Gal. 5:16-6:10		Rom. 12:4-15:14		Phil. 2:29f. 4:2-7		372
A ₁	1-11	5	13	A ₂	1-10	5	5:16-25	3	12:6-8	1	2:29-30			
1	12-13a	2	14	1	11	A ₁	5:21b	5	12:9-21	2	4:2			
2	13b	1	15-18	2	11	2 (or 3)	5:26-6:2	4 + 1	13:1-10	3	4:3			
3	14	A ₂	10-11	5	11	1	6:6	A ₁	13:11-14 14:10b-12	A ₁	4:5b			
4	15			B	11									
5	16-22					A ₁	6:7-8	2	14:1-15:14	5	4:4,6			
B	23-24					4	6:10			4	4:5a			
						Summary		Summary		B	4:9			
						B	6:16	B	15:33					

Note: The pseudopauline Colossians offers support for this division of the paraenesis. Whether or not such a structure exists in the Pauline materials, it seems clear that this author thought so. His duplication of the Pauline concerns is striking. See, for example, his instructions concerning the unity of the church (3:12-15), his exhortation to teach and admonish one another (3:16), his admonition to wives, slaves, and children to be subject to the relevant people (3:18-22) and to masters, husbands, and fathers to be fair (4:1). See also the encouragement to pray and give thanks (4:2) as well as to relate positively to outsiders (4:5). The eschatological reinforcement comes in 3:23-25. It is noteworthy that Ignatius also usually ends his paraenesis with an admonition to be subject to the church leaders (bishops, deacons, etc.) and an exhortation for the peace and unity of the church (Letter to Polycarp VI,1; to the Smyrnaeans VIII,1; IX,1; X,1; to the Philadelphians VII,1-2; VIII,1-2; to the Trallians XII,1-3; to the Magnesians XIII,2. Note also Hebrews has injunctions regarding "strangers" (13:2), "leaders" (13:7, 17), and "prayer" (13:18) followed by the peace wish (13:20).

3. The Language of the Closing Paraenesis

While the vocabulary of the materials under consideration is not identical in every case, it is sufficiently alike to warrant the belief that the closing paraenesis shares a common language as well as common structural elements. We see, for example, the admonition to watch (γρηγοροῦμεν, 5:6) reappearing in I Cor. 16:13. A synonymous expression is used in Rom. 13:11 ("It is high time to be waking up ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι"). The reference to those who are sleeping (5:12) is paralleled by κοιμῶντι in I Cor. 16:16. Νουθετοῦντας in 5:12 finds its counterpart in Rom. 15:14 (νουθετεῖν). The word for the leaders in 5:12 (προιστάμενους) is used also in Rom. 12:8. The command to submit to the church leaders (ὑποτάσσασθε) appears elsewhere in Romans 13:1 with reference to the governing authorities. The command to work for the peace and health of the community in 5:13 (εἰρηνεύετε) comes also in II Cor. 13:11; Rom. 12:18; 14:19; and Gal. 5:22, and the call to reconciliation or harmony (τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν) appears in Phil. 4:2; Rom. 15:5; and 12:16. The command to refrain from acts of recrimination (μὴ τις κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦτινι ἀποδῇ) in 5:15 occurs almost verbatim in Rom. 12:17 (μηδενὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες). The final command to rejoice (χαίρετε), pray and give thanks (προσεύχεσθε, εὐχαριστεῖτε) in 5:16 falls in exactly the same order in Phil. 4:5-6 and in Rom. 12:12 without the command to give thanks. The imperative χαίρετε appears alone elsewhere in II Cor. 13:11 (cf. Gal. 5:22). The general admonition to do good also appears frequently in the closing paraenesis (I Thess. 5:15; Rom. 12:9, 21; 15:2; Gal. 6:10). That Paul exercised a great deal of freedom in his use of language and the way he structures his conversation is readily apparent. It is inaccurate, however, to say the material is formless or that the paraenetic sections have no language or structure in common. While the structure is not rigid and the vocabulary is not uniform there are structural and linguistic patterns which occur in many of the letters.

4. Relationship to the Epistolary Situation

Although some of the closing paraenesis has only general applicability (e.g., I Thess. 5:15; cf. Rom. 12:17), many of the rules and directions have a specific reference. Through careful arrangement Paul can give general or even traditional elements a concrete application.

An analysis of the closing admonition in I Thess 5:16-18 will show how formal or general paraenesis gains specificity in Paul's hands. Already in 5:15 Paul couples the general admonition to do good with the adverb πάντοτε. The catchword πάντοτε obviously is used to prepare the reader (or hearer) for that which follows. Now appear three imperatives, two of which are preceded by adverbs of time (πάντοτε χαίρετε, ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε) and the third by the prepositional phrase ἐν παντί. Although similar admonitions appear elsewhere, nowhere else are they arranged to emphasize so strongly the need for perseverance in acts of eschatological watchfulness. In Phil. 4:4-6 we have the same admonition that we see in I Thessalonians--the exhortation to rejoice, pray and give thanks. In Philippians, however, the adverb does not occupy the point of emphasis in the sentence. The adverb associated with χαίρετε ap-

appears after the command. ὁ ἀλαίπτωρ is missing entirely before the reference to prayer, and although ἐν παντί has the same nuance in Phil. that it carries in I Thess. it lacks the power given to the Thessalonian reference through repetition.

This staccado arrangement underscores the need for perseverance which Paul stresses elsewhere in the letter. In 4:1, 10; and 5:11 the apostle exhorts the Thessalonian believers to continue doing what they are in fact already doing. The emphasis is on persistence in the life of faith and hope. Robert Jewett may be correct in arguing that an eschatological enthusiasm with its concomitants created sharp divisions within the community and a tense situation between the church and Paul.³⁸ The absence of sharp polemic, caustic comments and the conciliatory tone suggests that the enthusiasm has not created divisions so much as it has led to disappointment and disillusionment within the community. Consequently, it is not so much that the Thessalonian Christians do not know the right direction, but that they lack the will to pursue it. If eschatological enthusiasm is at the root of the problem, it is linked with its siamese twin eschatological disappointment and discouragement.³⁹ The death of community members who ostensibly already live by the Spirit produced a crisis of faith. Perhaps it is noteworthy that Timothy's report on the state of the congregation includes allusions to faith and love but no reference to "hope" (3:6).⁴⁰ Notice also the gentle admonition in 4:13 not to grieve over the dead as others do "who have no hope." It is at least possible that this omission and admonition is related to the pervasive emphasis on perseverance in struggle.⁴¹ We see, therefore, that Paul's arrangement of hortatory materials effects a link with the epistolary situation.

It is significant that Paul interrupts this catena of injunctions with the assertion, "For this is the will of God in Christ Jesus for you."⁴² Already Paul has appealed to divine authority in 4:1, 2, 3, 8, 9, and 15 to emphasize the importance of tenacity in moral action and mutual love. So here again in 5:18 Paul makes his final appeal to the authority of God to support his command concerning those acts which reflect life in the Spirit. Paul's tendency in this letter to link the appeal to divine authority with the encouragement to persist in the life of hope ("do so more and more," 4:1, 10) supports our view that 5:16-18 deals with the central purpose and intent of the letter.

In 5:20 Paul says, "Do not despise prophesying." It is strange that this prohibitive should appear at all if it has only general relevance. Reference to prophecy can hardly be a general feature of Pauline letters since allusions appear in only three epistles (Rom. 12:6; I Cor. 11:4, 5; 12:10, 28, 29; 13:2, 8, 9; 14:3, 4, 5, 6, 22, 24, 29, 31, 32, 37, 39). Without question the Corinthian references apply to a concrete situation. Given the character of the letter to the church in Rome, the reference in 12:6 is probably a general one. There is reason to believe, however, that the reference in I Thess. is specific in character. Judging from I Cor. 14:14, 15, 19 and 13:2 where prophecy is seen as a rational, charismatic exercise (τὸ νοῦ) it would appear that the "exhorters" in I Thess. 5:12 are prophets. The Thessalonian leaders perform many of the same functions which are attributed to the prophets in I Cor. Compare, for example, παραμυθεῖσθε in 5:14 with παραμυθία in I Cor. 14:3 (found elsewhere only in I Thess. 2:12), and the correction of the disorderly (ἀτάκτους, 5:14) with the support prophecy gives order (τάξις).

in I Cor. 14:40. I take the position of H. Campenhausen to be essentially correct, that Christian prophets in Paul's mind were local figures who worked within and were responsible for the edification of the local congregation.⁴³ The prohibitive in I Thess. 5:20 *προφητείας μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε* makes little sense unless prophecy was an integral part of the experience of the community. Although Paul grants that the believers are *θεοδιδάκτοι* and that they are not deficient in love, he, nevertheless, must admonish them to "work with their hands" (4:11) lest they become a burden to other people. We noticed above that part of the task of the leaders was to set straight the thinking of those who disrupt the congregation (5:14). Is it possible that those who were idle for whatever reason have become a problem for the community? Might this prohibitive then be directed at those who resist the correction of the prophets? If such is at all the case 5:20 would have concrete significance for Paul's addressees.

5. The Peace Wish as Transition

In the shotgun paraenesis (5:16-22) one senses that the end of the conversation is near. The staccado imperatives quicken the pace. The hasty speech, however, resembles neither animated conversation nor heated argument but the dialogue of an eager and earnest conversation partner bent on completing important business before he bids farewell. This last minute instruction, however, retains its ties with what precedes. I Thess. 5:16-22 reaches back to link up with 5:12-15 which in turn makes contact with 5:1-11. In some instances the imperative cluster does conclude or even summarize the paraenesis (I Thess. 5:16-22; II Cor 13:11; Phil. 4:4-6, and I Cor. 16:13-14), but it would be misleading to assign it to the letter ending. Its intimate ties with preceding materials, sometimes large blocks of material, make it risky to assign these remarks to the conclusion of the letter.

Harry Gamble's observation that the peace wish is set off from its context offers a clue for the solution of our problem. Through the use of the postpositives *δὲ* and *καὶ* and the addition of *αὐτοῖς* a break in the conversation is effected.⁴⁷ Gamble fails, however, to exploit this insight for the assistance it offers for defining the conclusion to the letter. Instead he suggests that no firm dividing line can be drawn between the "body and conclusion" in the Pauline or the Hellenistic letters.⁴⁸ Ultimately he assigns the hortatory remarks to a catchall, miscellaneous category.⁴⁹ Otherwise, his study is of great assistance in isolating five formal elements which are constitutive of the conclusion.

As we have noted above, the peace wish not only makes a break in the context but also interrupts the flow of conversation and thus signals the end of the paraenesis. It also serves as an epistolary threshold, for once one has crossed over this point he enters a new arena of conversation. Paul asks his addressees to reciprocate through an act which bridges the distance between them.⁵⁰ At the beginning of the letter Paul includes his hearers in his prayer to God (1:2) and now he asks his addressees to reciprocate. While the link between Paul and his churches is most often forged through prayer (Rom:30-32; Philemon 22b) it can also be made through gifts (Phil:4:10-19) or some other concrete symbol (i.e., a guest room, Philemon 22a). It is noteworthy that in the most polemical of the

letters no such request appears (I Cor., II Cor. and Gal.). The closing greeting and kiss likewise bridge the distance between the apostle and the community. The peace wish, therefore, functions as a transitional device making it possible to move from the business of the letter itself to the exchange of parting words without appearing abrupt or discourteous.

To say that the peace wish is transitional is not to exhaust its significance. Gordon Wiles has shown that the peace wish functions in other ways as well.⁵² In I Thess. 5:23-24, for example, the peace wish carries a special reassertive force. It alludes one last time to the promised salvation which is to come with the parousia (see other references in 1:9-10; 2:12; 2:19-20; 3:13; 4:6; 4:13-5:11). Surely the appearance of this number of allusions to the parousia at critical points in the letter qualifies this as a major item in the letter. Wiles has noted that the "wish prayer" functions "in such a way as to give in capsule form the main pastoral concerns of the letter."⁵³ Consequently, this peace wish not only serves as a transitional element but also carries special reiterative force. Thus once again we see Paul using conventional forms but relating them to the epistolary situation.

6. The Apostolic Pronouncement

While other features of the closing have been adequately treated elsewhere, one aspect of the conclusion deserves special mention. Immediately preceding the grace appears a surprisingly solemn injunction: 'Εννοκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν κύριον ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς (5:27). In two other letters equally sober adjurations appear in the same position (I Cor 16:22 and Gal. 6:17). The Corinthian admonition appears as an apostolic pronouncement⁵⁴ through which Paul reasserts the central exhortation of the letter. The apostolic warning includes within its purview but is not restricted to those who anathematize Jesus;⁵⁵ it embraces but is not limited to those who hurt the brother through the arrogant and selfish use of their charismatic gifts; it falls on but is not confined to those who profane the body. In this apostolic pronouncement Paul addresses the total epistolary situation in which the loveless behavior of the believers⁵⁶ threatens to destroy the church.⁵⁷

In Gal. 6:17 we see another apostolic warning: Τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω. ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω. . . It is possible that Paul intends to draw an unfavorable comparison between the "good showing in the flesh" of his addressees and the στίγματα of Jesus which he bears on his body. Erhard Guttgemanns has cogently argued that there is a "Real präsens" of Christ crucified in Paul's sufferings; consequently, to injure the apostle is to harm the Lord himself.⁵⁸

The solemn character of I Thess. 5:27 places it also in this category (not to mention its location). The somber character of the adjuration suggests that it is more than a public reading that Paul is requiring; it is more than a warning that Christ would punish those responsible if the apostolic adjuration is not obeyed; and, it is more than an apostolic wish "dass die Worte seiner apostolischen, vaterlichen Liebe auch allen bekannt werden."⁵⁹ These adjurations are understandable only in terms of Paul's own apostolic mission. Not only does the closing link the recipient with the sender, but it also underscores the apostolic character of the letter itself that as such

it is the word of God (note τὸν λόγον).⁶¹ Funk has already noted that the letter can serve as a substitute for the apostolic presence.⁶² It is significant that the three conclusions which recite these solemn adjurations lack a concluding reference to the imminent arrival of the apostle himself. I Corinthians refers only to the arrival of the apostolic surrogate and reveals some uncertainty in Paul's mind about the reception Timothy will receive (16:11). In Galatians no apostolic parousia appears in the paraenetic materials and the same is true of I Thessalonians. So these closing pronouncements underscore the importance of the letter as a whole as an apostolic event.

7. Summary

The first part of this study adduces both structural and linguistic evidence for assigning I Thess. 5:12-20 to the paraenetic section of the letter. We noted that the imperative cluster (5:16-20) may function as a conclusion to the paraenesis as well as a summary of it. The second section of the paper dealt with the way Paul uses general exhortations to forge a link with the epistolary situation. Since in I Thess. 5:12-20 Paul is still doing business pertaining to the primary purpose of the letter we made a distinction between the conclusion of the letter proper and the end of the paraenesis itself. The peace wish (5:23-24) cushions the abrupt move from the business of the letter to the conclusion. It serves as a bridge between the paraenesis and the epistolary conclusion, marking the end of one and the beginning of the other. While the conclusion may appear to be perfunctory in nature we noted that it also was used by Paul to serve his own epistolary interests. Certain pronouncements in particular underscore the apostolic character of the letter as a powerful eschatological event.

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NOTES

1. It began of course with the classic work of Paul Schubert, Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings, BZNW 20 (Berlin: Topelmann, 1939). For a good survey of more recent studies see William G. Doty's, "The Epistle in Late Hellenism and Early Christianity: Developments, Influences and Literary Form." (Unpublished Drew Dissertation, 1966).

2. "The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans." (Unpublished Yale Dissertation, 1970).

3. "The Function of Intercessory Prayer in Paul's Apostolic Ministry with Special Reference to the First Epistle to the Thessalonians." (Unpublished Yale Dissertation, 1965).

4. Op. cit.

5. See, for example, the massive work of Otto Roller, Das Formular der paulinischen Briefe: Ein Beitrag zur Lehre vom antiken Briefe (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1933). L.G. Champion, Benedictions and Doxologies in the Epistles of Paul (Oxford: Kemp Hall Press, Ltd., 1934).

6. Carl J. Bjerkelund, Parakalô, Form, Funktion und Sinn der parakalô-Sätze in der paulinischen Briefen (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1967), pp. 138, 134, locates the beginning of the conclusion at 5:12. Bartholomäus Henneken, Verkündigung und Prophetie im 1. Thessalonicherbrief (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1969), p. 108 sees 5:23 as the beginning of the conclusion. See also Schweizer, TDNT, "ἵκεῖν," VI, p. 422, n. 597. Robert Funk as cited by William Doty, "The Epistle," p. 168 includes 5:26 in the conclusion. Beda Rigaux, Saint Paul, les épîtres aux Thessaloniens (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1956), pp. 602ff. includes v. 25 in the ending. So also W. Bornemann, Die Thessalonicherbriefe (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1894), p. 228. Wiles, Intercessory Prayer, pp. 314 ff. makes the break at v. 24.

7. I am using the term "body" to include the paraenetic materials.

8. Because one finds great variety in the paraenetic materials inclusion of even one section of these materials in the conclusion greatly complicates any such consideration such as this.

9a. I share Professor Dahl's view concerning the inappropriateness of this term, nevertheless, I use it for the sake of convenience.

9b. From Tradition to Gospel, translated by Bertram Lee Woolf. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 238.

10. "The Textual History," p. 168.

11. Parakalô, p. 128.

12. His hypothesis only works for Romans if ch. 16 were a part of the original manuscript which is open to question. His thesis offers little help in dealing with the complex textual puzzle in Philippians. Faced by the problems this letter poses Bjerkelund says laconically, "Der Philipperbrief gehört nicht zu den Briefen, die in unserem Zusammenhang von grösstem Interesse sind" (p. 174). One also wonders how he separates Paul's instructions concerning church order and nurture (5:12ff.) from the preceding paraenesis (especially 5:11). Note especially p. 130 where Bjerkelund says, "Die Erwähnung der Gemeindeleiter geschieht hier [i.e., I Thess 5:12] wie 1 Kor 16,16 aufgrund der Briefsituation und nicht um der Paraenese willen."

13. Robert W. Funk, Language, Hermeneutic, and Word of God. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966), p. 272, n.78, touched on this emphasis, although in his view a warning against false teaching (prophets in the Didache) may come last in I Cor. 15. Unfortunately there was no time to secure and study his paper before the submission of this study.

14. "The Apostolic Parousia: Form and Significance," in Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox. Edited by W.R. Farmer, C.F.D. Moule and R.R. Niebuhr (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1967), pp. 251 ff.

15. This is not to say the two are synonymous. See Funk, "The Apostolic Parousia," p. 265, n. 1. Also note the warning of John Knox against attributing too much significance to Paul's eschatological role: "Romans 15:14-33 and Paul's Conception of His Apostolic Mission," JBL 83 (1964), 3ff.

16. The literal meaning of this word is "setting the mind straight."

17. It is conceivable that the "exhorters" are prophets. See further discussion below.

18. See I Cor. 14:33 where *εἰρήνη* is the opposite of *ἀκαταστασία*.

19. Bornemann, Die Thessalonicherbriefe, pp. 229-231 after weighing the arguments pro and con feels it is more probable that 5:14 is addressed to the leaders. A.M. Farrer, "The Ministry in the New Testament," in The Apostolic Ministry, edited by K.E. Kirk (London, 1946), p. 154, is incorrect in assuming that all of 5:13b-28 is addressed to the "overseers." C.E. Faw, "On the Writing of First Thessalonians," JBL 71(1952), 225, holds that all of 5:12-22 applies to the leaders, but that is unlikely. Eduard Schweizer, Church Order in the New Testament (SBT 32; London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 103, n. 394, simply asserts that the brothers in v. 14 "must be the same as those in the quite parallel sentence 12a," but why Christians who, though brothers, could not have different functions is left unanswered (see I Cor. 14:39). Moreover, reading the word "brothers" in 5:12a as "leaders" does not require that vss. 16-18 be read in this restricted sense. The shift from a limited to an inclusive category appears to occur in v. 15: "Watch out that no one gives back evil for evil." Note the parallel to v. 13b.

20. Rigaux, Les Épîtres aux Thessaloniens, p. 583, likewise argues that ἀτακτους refers to the disorderly, not the lazy. The root τάξις clearly refers to order but any link with a θεὸς ἀνείσ is tenuous.

21. Rudolf Bultmann, Der Stil der Paulinischen Predigt und die Kynischstoische Diatribe (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1910), p. 32 notes that imperatives often come close to the end of the diatribe. It is at least interesting that the papyrus letters which are otherwise devoid of imperatives often contain a final command. An early second century writer complains that he is having trouble going past the Antaeopolite nome by river. He ends the letter with the command, "Remember (μνησθε) the night-festival of Isis" Oxyrhynchus Papyri, translated and edited by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt (London: Oxford University Press, 1910), III, pp. 261f. (# 525). A First century B.C. letter from a man who had gone to Alexandria written to his wife ends with the admonition, "I urge you (ἐρωτῶ σε), therefore, not to worry" Oxy. Papy., IV, pp. 234f. (#744). Although Paul is following a tradition which includes instructions near the end of the letter, there is no need to multiply the number of citations to substantiate this point. Since the instructions are usually so brief in character they do not provide a very useful model for illuminating Paul's use of paraenesis.

22. Note that the admonition to watch and to pray strongly resembles an exhortation which the Gospel writers know (see Mk. 14:38).

23. Language, p. 272.

24. The Origin of 1 Corinthians (London: SPCK, 1965), pp. 114-207.

25. See my Judgment in the Community: A Study of the Relationship of Ecclesiology and Eschatology in Paul (Leiden: E.J. Brill, fall 1972), pp. 142-162.

26. Language, p. 254.

27. I follow the NEB translators who break the paragraph between 5:25 and 5:26 rather than between 5:26 and 6:1 (RSV).

28. Paul here addresses the pneumatikoi. The term is only used to refer to mature believers (I Cor. 2:13, 15; 3:1) or in a less polemical context, to prophets (I Cor. 14:37). It is possible, however, that the word here derives its meaning from 5:25 referring to those who "fall in line with" the Spirit. The context, however, is ambiguous for the prophet of I Cor. 14:19 also "instructs" just as does the "teacher" of Gal. 6:6 (κατηξίω).

29. I hope I am in agreement with Harry Gamble on this point at least with regard to Galatians. See his dissertation, pp. 164ff. H. Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), pp. 280 ff, likewise, views vss. 11-15 as reiterative.

30. As far as I have been able to tell this type of paraenesis or instruction has no consistent form. Recognizable only by its content (i.e. vocabulary), it adds specificity to general admonitions to build up the community and/or to sustain the order and unity of the church.

31. In an appended note, "Participle and Imperative in I Peter" to E.G. Selwyn's, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan, 1958), pp. 467 ff., David Daube shows that the participles and infinitives in this section have imperatival force. He cites instances in Hebrew codes where such injunctions regarding life within the community include participles without a subject carrying imperatival force. There as here imperatives can be mixed with participles and infinitives with all of the forms becoming commands. It is for this reason that we continue to use the term "imperative cluster." Note that the NEB translators have so translated the participles and infinitives as to give them imperatival force.

32. I am indebted to my colleague, Lloyd Gaston, for pointing out the relevance of the Claudius edict for my thesis. See Suetonius, Claud. 25: [Claudius] Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit. Claudius "expelled from Rome the Jews who were constantly stirring up a tumult under the leadership of Chrestus." The tension between Jewish and gentile Christians which appears in this section may be related to the return of the Jewish Christians after the death of Claudius in A.D. 54. The space devoted to this exhortation may give us some idea as to how deeply divided this Christian congregation was.

33. Language, p. 266.

34. Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Römer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), p. 362.

35. H. Köster, "The Purpose of the Polemic of a Pauline Fragment (Philippians iii)," NTS, 8(1962), p. 317, n. 1, has a good survey of literature on the subject. For arguments for the integrity of the letter see Introduction to the New Testament founded by Paul Feine and Johannes Behm and reedited by Werner Georg Kümmel, translated by A.J. Mattill, Jr., 14th ed. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965), pp. 235-237.

36. Kümmel, Introduction, pp. 226-237.

37. Note the threefold repetition of βλέπετε in 3:1 and the command in 4:1 to stand firm (στη'κατε).

38. See his paper "Enthusiastic Radicalism and the Thessalonian Correspondence" circulated to members of the seminar.

39. Nils Dahl has suggested in his remarks circulated to the seminar that there is no factionalism in the church which calls for a polemic from Paul. The Thessalonian believers, in his view, know "what is necessary and are moving in the right direction; they only need to be reminded in order that they may continue, and further encourage one another" (p. 3).

40. William Neal, The Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1950), p. 67, attaches no significance to the omission. Its absence, he believes, is understandable since references to hope appear elsewhere.

41. It is true that 1:3 appears to suggest that the addressees do have hope. Note, however, the strong emphasis on the "work of faith and labor of love and steadfastness of hope" (emphasis added). Is there some danger that the Christians in Thessalonica will not be able to "endure to the end."?

42. Following Bornemann, Die Thessalonicherbriefe, p. 241, who thinks the allusion to the will of God refers to vss. 16-18.

43. Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1953), pp. 66-67

44. W.C. van Unnik, "Den Geist löscht nicht aus" (1 Thess 5,19)," NT, X (1968), 255-269 offers a good summary of the various positions taken on 5:19-20 as well as a clear definition of the problems posed by the passage. His position, however, that 5:19 refers to glossalia and 5:20 to prophecy without any specific reference to the Thessalonian situation needs qualification. These admonitions appear to be more than general principles to guide the "spiritual" life. While Friedrich Lang, "εὐχολογία," TDNT, VII, 168, is correct that, "There does not have to be any particular case for this warning in Thessalonica," he offers no support for either position. Rigaux, Les Épîtres aux Thessaloniens, p. 591, suggests that in 5:19 Paul warns other Christians not to silence one speaking in glossolalia.

45. Bornemann, Die Thessalonicherbriefe, p. 228, says categorically, "Es ist ganz deutlich, dass sich die Stücke 5:12-22--5:23f.--5:25-28 reinlich von einander abheben."

46. "The Textual History," p. 134.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., p. 144, n. 1.

49. Ibid., pp. 167 ff.

50. Whether or not the prayer request has a formal parallel in the request for remembrance in the papyrus letters, surely it does have a functional resemblance. See H. Koskeniemi, Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Christus (Annales Acad. Sc. Fenn., Helsinki: 1956), pp. 123-126.

51. W.C. van Unnik, "Dominus Vobiscum," in New Testament Essays in Memory of T.W. Manson, edited by A.J.B. Higgins (Manchester: Univ. Press, 1957), p. 272 properly warns against a "pan-liturgism" which sees "in the Pauline epistles the background of the liturgy wherever a simple parallel in working between them and much later liturgies"

is found." There is no need to repeat observations which have already been made by Gamble, Wiles, Doty and others.

52. Wiles, "The Function of Intercessory Prayer," pp. 59 f.

53. Ibid. Wiles believes that 5:24 ("He who calls you is faithful, he will do it") functions as an Amen. Is it possible though that this phrase is an apostolic pronouncement?

54. See my Judgment in the Community, pp. 142-162.

55. Cursing God and slander in Ex. 22:27 and Lev. 24:16 are capital offenses.

56. Ernst Käsemann, New Testament Questions of Today, translated by W.J. Montague (London: SCM Press, 1969), p. 70, correctly says, "The charismatic does not merely warn, but proclaims the already present power of the Judge." The apostle, in his view, "as a representative of his heavenly Lord, possesses the authoritative power of blessing and cursing."

57. See my Judgment in the Community, pp. 161 f.

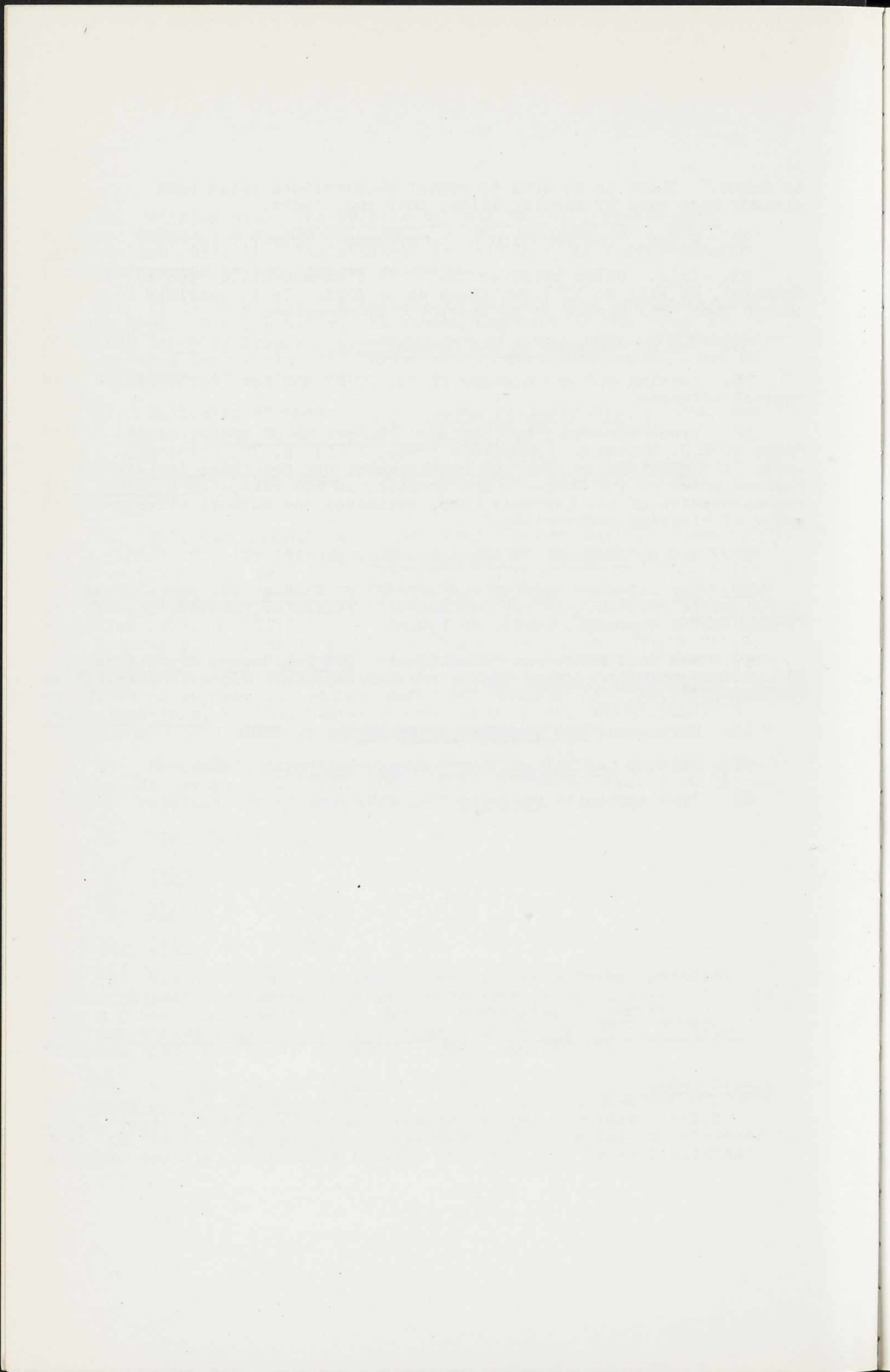
58. Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr, Studien zur paulinischen Christologie ("Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur," 90; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), p. 134.

59. See Hans Frhr. von Campenhausen, Die Begründung kirchlicher Entscheidungen beim Apostel Paulus (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1957).

60. Bornemann, Die Thessalonicherbriefe, p. 249.

61. Rigaux, Les Épîtres aux Thessaloniens, p. 118.

62. "The Apostolic Parousia," p. 258.



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(Note: This paper is a draft copy of Chapter III of a proposed book entitled The Holy Word in Gospel, Genre and History.)

The Philosophy of Genre Analysis

The overriding concern of this entire study is to pursue the quest of the historical Jesus along several new lines. As I have suggested, the quest is stalled in certain methods that have improperly defined the problem and have produced some unnecessarily negative results. The need is for new methods to provide ~~new~~ data for this discussion. In Part I, I have demonstrated and then applied such a method called "Content Analysis," which in connection with the new approach of "Audience Criticism" has produced a wealth of fresh evidence that now needs to be further analyzed and understood. Most particularly for our purposes here I am concentrating on the phenomenon of the Teachings of Jesus as a body of material distinct from narrative and clearly editorial insertions, seemingly treated with a unique sanctity, ^{and} possessing a peculiar stability that enabled it to reveal many patterns of word, praxis and theology. Accepting for the sake of discussion the "possibility" that this is true, the question that now arises is, what possible basis could there be for such patterns that point toward the Teachings of Jesus as a uniquely sacred, uniquely stable "Holy Word?" We propose, in other words, to check this first set of conclusions in another way.

I turn now to the use of an older method that is new in the sense that it has not yet been fully and carefully defined or applied to the current quest of the historical Jesus, that of "Genre Analysis."¹ Instead of working outward

1. Morton Smith gives a fine historical sketch of such parallel study in its more traditional application to the Christology of the Gospels. "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretologies, Divine Men, the Gospels and Jesus," JBL, June 1971, pp. 188-195.

inductively from the text of the Gospels, this method works in "parallel" fashion, comparing the Synoptics in this case with other ancient literature in order to understand more fully the nature and history of the Synoptic tradition. Since this method in its contemporary dress is in need of much clarification, this chapter is devoted to that need as a *prolegomena* to the application of Genre Criticism to Synoptic historiography.

Modern Genre Criticism is an extension of Form Criticism with its insistence, as Overbeck has put it, that a literature has its history in its form.² At the outset, clarity demands that we make several careful distinctions: between form, genre (*gattung*) and what I shall call "mode."³ The concept of "form" has been applied since Gunkel to the small individual units representing the materials out of which the literary work is composed. In this case the form inheres in the unit itself. Form is usually said to be a product of the use to which the transmitting community put the oral material, but this is not necessarily the case. As I have suggested elsewhere, form is perhaps better understood as a literary device, deriving from the intrinsic nature of the material itself.⁴ At least, we must not beg this question a priori. To observe form is one thing, to account for that form is quite another. The most that should be said of form, a priori, is that it is a category for analyzing relatively small, individual units of literary material.

2) Genre (*gattung*) is a category for classifying literary works as a whole. As such it is a collective category that requires many individual units

2. Fr. Overbeck, *Über die Angänge der Patristischen Literatur*, 1954, p. 23 f.

3. Klaus Koch objects to a distinction between form and *gattung*, but I tend to agree with Votaw that such a distinction is useful. Clyde Weber Votaw, *The Gospels and Contemporary Biographies in the Greco-Roman World*, Facet Books, 1970, p. vi.

4. See J. Arthur Baird, *Audience Criticism and the Historical Jesus*, Westminster Press, 1969, pp. 145ff.

often, but not always, of different types, which taken together constitute the characteristic features of the Genre. It is basically a literary designation, but in some cases, for example the Hortatory Address or the Aretalogy, the particular exemplar could have originally been oral. Lucian, for example, whose Demonax is particularly close to the Gospel genre, probably originally composed most of his writings to be given as orations. Indeed, some even insist that all ancient Greek writing was composed for oral presentation,⁵ so the distinction in the Greek world between form and genre in terms of the oral origins of the one and the literary origins of the other is somewhat dubious. The most defensible ^{distinction} ~~distinction~~ seems to be that form is a unitary, genre a collective, category.

3) As we shall see more fully later, there is a need for another category if careful analysis is to be done: that of "mode." This is a set of characteristics that cut across various forms and genres and identify patterns of thought or praxis that do not have the natural cohesive integrity of a form or a genre. The "mode" tends to pull together various forms and genres under a somewhat artificial, deliberate or temporary rubric, that deals more with the subtle details in the dynamic manner of presentation of either oral or literary material than it does with literary form or content. It is, for example, in the "Synoptic Mode" that we shall find the distilled essence of the Synoptic type of Gospel Genre. The mode, then, is a subtle syndrome of forces that tend to cohere temporarily or permanently for one reason or another.

But we must be exact concerning the definition of genre if this is to be a tool for literary criticism. As I see it, there are five phenomena that must be present in order to call a particular set of literary characteristics a genre: uniqueness, recurrence, coherence, persistence, transference. 1) In the first place, the genre must be recognizable as a unique set of literary characteristics

5. A. Q. Morton,

that set it apart as a distinctive literary type. One genre must be recognisable from another. 2) The genre must recur in sufficient quantity so that one can identify a recognisable literary pattern. How many occurrences would be "sufficient" could be a matter of some debate; certainly it would be more than one. 3) Within the genre the particular characteristics must cohere logically and naturally so that the "set" of characteristics makes sense, and has a believable, natural compatibility. 4) The literary qualities comprising the genre must persist, even when the original setting in life has disappeared. For example, I shall attempt to show that the Gospel Genre arose out of the particular nature and needs of the Christian situation at the earliest period. Long after this situation had radically changed, the Gospel genre continued, although we can see the degeneration of the genre and its eventual disappearance, with the other genres like the treatise or the apology replacing the Gospel. This suggests that "persistence" need not mean "permanence." 5) Between the literary "blocks" of the same genre there must be recognisable similarities in style, language and content that "transfer" from one block to another.⁶ One footnote needs to be added. The genre does not necessarily preserve a pure product. There is much overlapping of categories, and this is especially true as we shall see in the so-called "Gospel Genre." This is the problem of any typology, and we must be forewarned that at the very best, the Genre category is a blunt instrument.

Empirically speaking, there are two types of data to be observed in any text: they are form and content. These are the "givens," and it is in the

6. "The transition of a literary unit can be the result of the particularly striking character of the language which is used." Klaus Koch,

inter-relationship between form and content that genre criticism operates as a method of literary analysis. Furthermore, as a method, genre criticism can operate on at least four levels. 1) It can operate on the level of literary criticism where one catalogues patterns of form and content, as Rosa Stder has done in identifying the "Romance Genre,"⁷ and then compare the genre with other genres, or various works similar to a particular genre exemplar. The problem becomes quickly apparent that no one work is exactly like another, and there is so much over-lapping that at this level it is very difficult and sometimes quite arbitrary how we classify a particular literary piece. Morton Smith rightly warns us against the ambiguities of such classification.⁸ Still this can be a useful way of sharpening our understanding of a particular literary work by classifying it according to genre, and comparing it with other works of the same or different genre.

2) A second way genre criticism can operate as a method of research is at an historical level, where it becomes a tool of historical criticism in a more or less traditional manner. At this level genre criticism compares a particular work, say the Synoptic Gospels, with other literature of a parallel nature in order to discover something about the history of literary formation. This, then, becomes a type of etymological study that moves from the form of a unit or genre backward to the history of its composition. This tends toward the presupposition of some intuited "model" for the formation of the Gospels, based on more certain knowledge concerning the formation of the parallel material. This approach is especially popular today, and one finds a great many such "models" being proposed:

7. Rosa Stder,

8. JBL, *op. cit.* p. 195.

a Greek aretology model (Morton Smith), a wisdom Model (Robinson), a rabbinic model (Gerhardsson) etc.

3) A third level at which genre criticism can operate as a tool for the internal analysis of the material of a particular text. This is the level at which the Synoptic "Mode" emerges as one discovers the subtle characteristics of style, life, speech or writing that constitute the particular manner of the speaker or author, for example, the consistent way in which all the Synoptics reveal Jesus adapting his teaching to his audience ((Cf. AGEN)). This is peculiar to the Synoptics, and gradually disappears in later so-called "Gospel" literature. We shall be pointing out nine such characteristics which represent the distilled essence of the Synoptic "Mode". With these sharper tools, the Synoptic Gospels quickly separate themselves from other similar literature in a clearly observable spectrum of divergence.

4) From this step, one can go to an even deeper level, as the patterns of these modal characteristics point to their sources in various aspects of the historical situation, to the matters of purpose, process, sitz im leben, dominant influences and other factors making up the history of the Synoptic genre. This route is subtly but importantly different from route # 2) above in that it is not derived from the more or less intuitive adoption of a parallel model, but rather emerges inductively and statistically from the analysis of the Synoptic text itself. Routes # 3) and # 4) therefore represent the application of "Content Analysis" to genre criticism. This method is then the reversal of the usual approach where one begins by intuiting a model and so a set of assumptions regarding sitz im leben, purpose, process etc., and then works backward to the Synoptics. At times this has been useful, and it is probable that many of the parallels are justifiable; but the danger has been that we have been going too quickly from intuition to deduction, without the discipline of induction to keep us from distorting the evidence. There always seems to be some part of the Synoptics that must be "trimmed off" in order for them to fit any particular model

exactly. Methodologically, we have been putting the cart before the horse. The scientific method demands that we begin with the empirical data, in this case the text of the Synoptics, and from that induce whatever hypotheses are forthcoming, and use these then to discipline whatever intuitive judgments we might make about some parallel literature.

Varieties of Genre in Antiquity

What has Athens to do with Jerusalem? This ancient question has plagued Christian scholars through the centuries and continues to do so today. In more recent times the influence of one or the other over the thinking (usually modular thinking) of New Testament scholars has resembled the shifting game of the audience at a tennis match. The Tubingen and Form Critical schools focused our attention upon the Greek background of the New Testament. Then came the discoveries at Qumran and the focus shifted back to the Hebrew roots of early Christianity. Since then there has been a shifting back and forth from the Greek emphasis of "Aretalogians" like Morton Smith, to the Hebrew emphasis especially strong in the Uppsala school. My own guess is that both had an influence in various ways upon the Christian tradition.

Help can come from an old and continuing observation that in a rather loosely defined way one can detect two "Modes" in the writing of history and related genres in the first two centuries of our era: the Greek Mode, and the Hebrew Mode. Will Beardslee has characterized this in one of the more recent studies on literary criticism,⁹ and we can perhaps do no better than summarize his statement. The Greek Mode, or what Beardslee calls the "Hellenistic Form", has the following characteristics, based especially upon the mode established by Thucydides and Herodotus: 1) the observer attempts not only to record but to explain the course of history; 2) a dominant theme is that of fate versus the arete of the historical leader; 3) the history is strongly moralistic, even religious; 4) it is history

9. Literary Criticism of the New Testament, Fortress, 1970, pp 42-46.

cast in dramatic structure; 5) great events are models of recurring themes in history; 6) the dramatic pattern of rising and falling action is modelled on the plot structures of ancient literary criticism; 7) like drama, exalted figures were its subject matter; 8) finally I would add one more characteristic not mentioned by Beardslee, that of long speeches on the lips of the chief characters, intended to summarise their thought, but not necessarily recover the exact words. There are occasions where a Hellenistic writer seems to intend to reproduce his subject's exact words, for example Lucian's *Demonax*, but this I believe is the exception rather than the rule.

The Hebrew Mode on the other hand represented a rather dramatically different "stream" of historical vision, characterised by Beardslee as follows: 1) the tension between thought and action never came to consciousness as it did in Greek history; 2) the ultimate action in history was not human action, but that of God; 3) the Hebrew community shared a more common responsibility than the Greek, so that the Hebrew writer saw himself as within the historical process as a faithful community; 4) this was not a human drama as with Greek history, but rather a struggle between man and God, with a highly developed sense of morality and the over-all pattern of God's will; 5) the Hebrew historian made no effort to be universal, but was clearly writing his own history; 6) there was a clear relation between the history of the people and the foundation story of God's creation; 7) the Greek "cyclic" view of history was contrasted by the Hebrew "linear" view, where time was irreversible, and where history demonstrated the meaning and purpose that was consistent with the Hebrew's constant awareness of the Will of God; 8) in contrast to the more "stylised" picture of man in Greek history, the Hebrew historian attempted to give a more realistic presentation of the ordinary man. 9) Again, I would add one more characteristic to Beardslee's list, that of the Hebrew's concern to recover the very historic words of the subject, usually

in short utterances, typified by the Mishnaic collection of the sayings of the rabbis. Whether or not these are actually the ipsissima verba at any point is of course a moot question, but the historian regularly gives the impression at least that he is attempting to reproduce the words exactly. This would seem to be in line with the Hebrew's more "realistic" presentation of history, what Beardslee called Luke's "vision of a concrete community's historical existence." There are of course many illustrations of Hebrew writing where there are long speeches that seem to characterize rather than exactly reproduce the words of the subject. This would be the case with Josephus' Wars of the Jews where detailed, eye-witness and "realistic" information, is blended with long speeches, suggesting here a skillful blend of the Hebrew and the Greek modes by one whose own life and literary work spanned both traditions. I would want to insist, however, that the exact reproduction of the words, especially of their holy men, is sufficiently typical of Hebrew literary activity to be included as a modal characteristic. At a later point we shall be dealing with some new statistical information clearly revealing the difference between the Greek and the Hebrew modes, and particularly pointing in the direction of this last characteristic (pp 10 11).

When it comes to cataloguing the various genres of the ancient literary world, we have to back up and take a different approach. Here we come to a very confused and debated, even debatable, field of literary typology that defies clear and precise definition. As I see it, there are four main types of genres in the ancient world, including at least nineteen different genres that have been identified by one or another literary critic. It would draw us too far afield to do a detailed analysis of all of these, so I shall merely list them and then 10. Beardslee insists that "neither Jewish nor Hellenistic historical writing thought of speeches as verbatim records", op.cit. p. 49. I would tend to agree that this is probably true of Acts, but I suspect Birger Gerhardsson's insights

concentrate on a study of the Gospel genre in depth.

Genres of Antiquity

I. Theological-philosophical Genres

12.

- 1) Apology
- 2) Hortatory Address
- 3) Polemic
- 4) Epistle

II. Historical Genres

- 6) Martyrdom
- 7) Autobiography (e.g. Pseudo-Clementines)
- 13.
- 8) Stance
- 14.
- 9) Aretalogy
- 10) Acts

III. Sayings-oriented Genres

- 11) Diatribe
- 12) Dialogue
- 13) Memoir
- 15.
- 14) Logoi Sophoi
- 15) Gospel

along these lines are probably truer to the Hebrew mode. Memory and Manuscript, Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity, Uppsala, 196.

11. op.cit. p. 48

12. For the characteristics of the Apology, Cf. Richardson, Library of Christian Classics, Vol. I, Westminster, 1953, pp. 226 ff.

13. For a detailed analysis, Cf. Rosa Söder

IV. Revelational Genres

- 16) Prophecy
- 17) Apocalypse
- 18) Apocryphon
- 19) Revelation Discourse

16.

The Gospel Genre

The word euaggelion has antecedents in both the Hebrew and the Greek background of Christianity, and it is a matter of some debate as to where its rootage might chiefly lie. G. Friedrich insists that the background must be Hebrew.¹⁷ Hennecke-Schneemelcher on the other hand insist that its exact lineage is Greek,¹⁸ linked with its usage in the Imperial cult. The problem is that the noun euaggelion (besrah) does not occur in the Old Testament or the LXX in a religious sense, but only a slight secular usage, while it does occur many times in Greek literature as far back as Homer (Od. 11.415-2f), and in a religious sense as good news that is a gift of the Gods and for which sacrifice is to be made. In the Imperial cult, the Emperor is the savior figure, he proclaims euaggelia, his birth, coming of age, accession to the throne, are all "good news". It would seem then that when one finds its use in Josephus and in the Rabbinic literature in a religious sense, we are dealing with Greek influence on the Jewish tradition. The matter is complicated, however, by the fact that the verb euaggelizomai (bissar) does have significant religious use in Deutero-Isaiah

14. For a definite statement identifying the Aretalogy as the basis of the Gospel genre, Cf. Morton Smith, JBL, op.cit; See also Moses Hadas and Morton Smith, Heroes and Gods, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965; Ludwig Bieler, Theios Anēr, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967; Hans Dieter Betz, Lukian Von Samosata und das Neue Testament, Akademie-Verlag-Berlin, 1961. Cf. also Howard Kee, who rejects Smith's thesis: Jesus in History, An Approach to the Study of the Gospels, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970, p. 122.

(52:7;61:1) in passages that have long been considered messianic (Cf. Lk. 4:18). The use of this concept in a religious sense may indeed have come into the Hebrew language from Greek influence; but evidence seems to me to point to its entrance into the Christian vocabulary via the immediate Jewish, Rabbinic and Old Testament background to Christianity.^{19.}

The use of euaggelion in the New Testament is chiefly Pauline. It occurs on nine different occasions in the Synoptics, but there are several patterns that raise questions with regard to its authenticity as a word of Jesus. The word never occurs in Luke. It occurs twice in Mark and Matthew together (Mk. 13:10; 14:9), five times in Mark where Matthew omits (1:1; 14:8; 35; 10:29; 16:15) and twice in Matthew where Mark omits (4:23; 9:35). Five of the uses are within logia, but three of these are Markan additions.^{20.} All logia using euaggelion are directed to a disciple audience. All of this suggests that Jesus may have used such a term, certainly it was available for him to use, but the Evangelists seem especially prone to use it wherever they can, and very probably on occasions

15. This would I take it include both Halakah and Haggadah. See James Robinson for the most recent development of this genre. James Robinson, Helmut Koester, Trajectories Through Early Christianity, Fortress Press, 1971, p. 71 f.

16. For a discussion of this genre Cf. Koester, Trajectories, p. 193 f. One of the chief examples of this type would be the Epistula Apostolorum.

17. G. Kittel, Theological Word Book of the New Testament, p. 726

18. Edgar Hennecke, Wilhelm Schneemelcher, New Testament Apocrypha, Vol. I, p. 73.

19. Cf. J. Arthur Baird, The Justice of God in the Teachings of Jesus, Westminster, 1963, p. 35; Birger Gerhardsson, op.cit.

20. Mk. 16:15; 10:29; 8:35. This represents a phenomenon that occurs enough times in the Synoptics to call attention to itself where words that are editorial "pattern" words also occur in logia, casting doubt on their original use by Jesus. Cf. J. Arthur Baird, Audience Criticism and the Historical Jesus, Westminster, 1967, p. 78, Chart XVII.

where it did not originally belong.

There is a very clear pattern in the usage of this term in the Gospels, Acts and Paul in connection with the word "preach" or the activity of preaching, revealing the close connection between the verb euaggelizomai and the noun euaggelion. There is also another pattern in the Synoptics showing euaggelion used in connection with some phrase referring to the extent of the proclamation, "about all Galilee" (Mt. 4:23; Mk. 1:14), "all cities and villiages" (Mt. 9:35), "all nations" (Mk. 13:10), "the whole world" (Mt. 24:14; Mk. 13:9; Lk. 16:15). Perhaps the most dominant pattern, however, is the use of euaggelion from earliest times in Paul and the synoptics, and continuing unbroken through the Apostolic Fathers, as a summarizing word to identify the total substance of the Christian message, first in the word Jesus preached (Mt. 4:23; 9:35), and then in the preaching of the disciples (Mt. 28:10; 26:13; Mk. 16:15; Acts 15:7), Paul (Acts 29:24; Ro. 1:1; I Cor. 9:12; 2 Cor. 5:9 etc.), and the early fathers (Ignat. Phila. 5:1, 2; 9:2; I Ch. 4:2 etc.). In its basic meaning euaggelion as used throughout the N.T. and the early fathers is an authoritative statement of the heart of the Christian Gospel: what Jesus said, what he did, and what the early church believed about him. We shall have more to say about this later (pp.).

One further pattern must be noted. The use of the term euaggelion was a growing, expanding one that reveals a clear pattern of development. In its earliest usage in the New Testament, the word is always singular and refers in varying ways to the heart of the Christian belief concerning what Jesus said and did and what the church was saying about him and about the good news of what men could become through him: a solid core of Christian theology deriving from the life and teachings of Jesus. In the Apostolic Fathers, euaggelion occurs 16 times, mostly in the same sense as in the New Testament. In the Didache (15:3, 4; 8:2), 2 Clement (8:5) and the Martyrdom of Polycarp (4:1), however, we seem to have the beginning of the use of euaggelion to refer to a written Gospel, but still in

21. the singular. In the Ante-Nicene Fathers, this term refers mostly to written Gospel, and we see the beginnings of the use of the plural "gospels", but the 22. more primitive reference to the written Gospel in the singular still predominates. 23

Then in Eusebius, where the Gospels are sacred, authoritative and widely known, I find six references to individual written Gospels (H.E.I:11:1;3:25 etc.), and only two to the written Gospel in the singular (H.E.I:8:3;I:10:6). The pattern of development from the oral "Gospel" (singular) to written "Gospel" (still singular) to written "Gospels" (plural) can be perhaps most clearly seen in the following Chart. Note the movement from left to right. Figures indicate the number of occurrences

Chart # ..., DEVELOPMENT OF THE USE OF EUAGGELION

	ORAL	WRITTEN (Sing.)	WRITTEN (Plural)	TOTAL OCCURRENCES
Synoptic Gospels	10	--	--	10
Remaining N.T.	47	--	--	47
Apostolic Fathers	10	6	--	16
Ante Nicene Fathers	4	8	5	17
Eusebius (H.E.)	1	2	6	9

The Gospel as a self-conscious genre seems to have developed apace with the emergence of the use of the term euaggelion in the plural to refer to written documents. From the time when Gospels began to emerge as written documents (Cf. pp.), there seem to have been many such collections vying for supremacy, some of which, like The Gospel of the Egyptians, can be reconstructed only with difficulty. With the emergence of the non-canonical Gospels in the

21. Didache 15:3,4 is a clear reference to Mt. 5:22-26;18:15-35; Did.8:2 is a verbatim quote of Mt. 6:9-13; 2 Clement 8:5 is a quote of Lk.16:10-12. Helmut Koester insists that these are oral, not written, Gospel; but he might agree that 15:3,4 could refer to written: Synoptische Ueberlieferung Bei den Apostolischen Vatern, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1957, p.10,11.

second and third centuries, the position of the Gospel as a literary genre seems to have been established. As we shall point out later (pp), the causes of the emergence of this genre seem to have been inherent in the early Christian situation itself. As far as I can see there is no other body of literature in antiquity that claimed for itself the title euaggelion. This is peculiar to the Christian literature, and is an important fact to recognise.^{24.}

The question then is, what is a Gospel? Clearly, from the use of the term euaggelion within Christianity, it would seem that a Gospel is a document that contains an authoritative statement of what the early church believed Jesus said and did, and this was used as a basis for the theology and the life of the church. But can we say more? Are there certain characteristics that make up this genre? There have been many answers to this question in critical scholarship. Martin Kähler is credited with the oft-quoted dictum that a Gospel is a passion narrative with a long introduction. There is a growing chorus of scholars who see the Gospel genre as an expanded *aretology*. Gerhardsson calls the Gospel a "Christian Mishnah", and we see here the influence of the particular "model" a scholar has in mind as he answers this question. If one must try to characterize the Gospels in this way, I would suggest that the Synoptics represent an expanded apothegm (cf. pp), but any such statement risks over simplification.^{25.}

Actually there are many types of Gospels, and it is difficult to identify anything but the most basic elements as common denominators. The Synoptics con-

22. Iren. Ad. Haer. 2:22; 3:11:7; Hippolytus, Refutation; Tertullian 4:5 etc.

23. Justin, Trypho, 100; Iren. Ad. Haer. 3:4:1; Theophilus of Antioch 3:14 etc.

24. So also Hennecke-Schneemelcher, op.cit. Vol.I, p. 76.

25. Cf. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, op.cit. Vol.I, p. 80-84 for a useful classification of various types of Apocryphal Gospels.

tain at least six basic ingredients: 1) birth narrative, 2) teachings of Jesus, 3) travel narratives, 4) miracle stories, 5) passion narratives, 6) resurrection narratives. Some of these elements occur in each of the Christian documents called "Gospels", but as is well known, all of them do not occur in all so-called Gospels. The Gospel of Thomas, for example, has neither infancy narratives, miracle stories nor passion nor resurrection narratives, and yet it is called a "Gospel". Furthermore, some documents of this genre so stress one or another element, for example the Infancy Gospels, as to completely change the Synoptic image of a Gospel. Still further, as one compares the Synoptics with all similar literature of antiquity, it becomes clear the the Gospel genre overlaps many of the other genres so obviously that it has been a favorite exercise of New Testament scholars to identify the Synoptics as an outgrowth of one or another of these genres. Actually, the Synoptic Gospels contain elements of at least twelve of the nineteen genres listed above (p.): polemic, martyrdom, romance, aretology, acts, dialogue, memoir, logoi sophon, prophecy, apocalypse, apocryphon, revelation discourse. What seems to me to be the closest to the truth is that the Synoptics represent a literary composite that can only loosely be called a genre. One might even call it a "pseudo-genre", or a "collective genre". The one common denominator is that a Gospel claimed to say something authoritative about the life and/or teachings of Jesus. Furthermore, as a study of the Apocryphal New Testament makes clear, it was a temporary genre, which had no history prior to the origin of Christianity, persisted for a while, gradually degenerated (Cf. pp) and eventually disappeared as an active literary form. The Gospel genre does not seem to have had a sufficient natural, inherent uniqueness, recurrence, coherence, persistence and transference, qualities which we have said are necessary to the existence and survival of a genre (Cf. pp). In this sense then it is an "artificial genre". One aspect of its uniqueness seems to have been that it arose out of a particular situation, was created for a particular purpose, at a par-

ticular time, was a temporary composite of many forms and genres, and eventually it disappeared. It's primary *raison d'être* is as the vehicle for the "good news" about Jesus. It is the content that chiefly determines the name. The form or genre seems to be a natural outgrowth of the nature and context of this "good news". We shall continue to speak of the Gospel genre, but with these qualifications and reservations in mind.

Synoptic Sub-Genres

The problem here is that the concept of "genre" is too crude and all-encompassing to say much that is truly accurate about a particular piece of literature. We must be more specific. The Synoptics represent a particular type of Gospel, agreeing with each other in genre, but seen to be more and more strikingly different as one moves to John, and then to the Apocryphal Gospels. What we must do then is characterize the Synoptic Gospels more exactly if this research too we are fashioning is to have any sharpness at all. Within the Synoptics there at least fourteen special types of material which we shall call "Sub-genres", and these are what give these gospels their peculiar quality: 1) sayings collections, 2) polemical "streitgespräche", 3) parable collections, 4) thematic sermon collections, 5) miracle stories, 6) legends, 7) Passion narratives, 8) birth and infancy narratives, 9) testimonia, 10) apothegm collections, 11) genealogies, 12) hymns, 13) creedal and liturgical statements, 14) apocalyptic material. Some of these would represent sources (Cf. pp.), others would merely be ways of classifying material, or would represent the form of individual units. Taken together, they constitute the quality, the flavor, the general dimensions of the Synoptics. Which sub-genre is most "definitive" is difficult and perhaps unnecessary to say, since the Synoptic genre represents the totality of them all; nevertheless, one notes the predominance of the teachings of Jesus, and we shall see this general category emerging as the dominant concern of the early church. Furthermore, it is becoming clear that of all the types of sayings, the apothegm is the closest to the "Synoptic Mode" to which we now turn (Cf. pp.).

The Synoptic Mode

To get at the heart of the Synoptic genre, and to apply the scientific techniques of "Content Analysis" to genre criticism, we need one more set of categories. I shall call these the "Synoptic Mode". They represent an attempt to get at the underlying subtleties of the relation between content, form and praxis in the Synoptics. As I see it, there are at least nine such categories. These will be further scaled according to a quality rating of a,b,c.

SM-1, INDEPENDENT

One of the most basic and widely held axioms of Form Criticism is that the Synoptic Gospels are composed of independent units, whether logion or narrative "block", containing the inner integrity that enables them to stand alone with a minimum dependence on what precedes or follows in the text. They possess a unity and polish that make them completed creations, and give them the sense of having existed independently before being edited into the Synoptics. The quality rating for this category will depend on comparison with the Synoptic Gospels. The Synoptic unit most like the above description will be quality a), that least like it, quality c); but for all practical purposes, all Synoptic units will be either a), b) or c) quality. If another literary work does not compare with any of these qualities in terms of this category, they will receive no quality rating at all.

SM-2, SHORT

Even the longest of the Synoptic logia or narrative units are uniquely short when compared with the literature reproducing the sayings of other great men of antiquity, especially within what we have called the "Greek Mode". One might for example compare the Mishnah sayings of the rabbis with the long speeches of Socrates in Plato's Republic, or in Xenophon's Memorabilia. The quality ratings again will

be based on the Synoptics. The shortest Synoptic saying will be quality a), the longest, quality c), and the judgment concerning quality b) will attempt to find a middle ground. Any comparative literary unit that is longer than the longest Synoptic unit will receive no quality rating.

SM-3, DIRECT DISCOURSE

The Synoptics are typically Hebrew in their apparent serious attempt to reproduce the ipsissima verba of Jesus, however successfully, and to present the thoughts of others in his audience in direct discourse. Gerhardsson shows clearly that in ancient Israel "a person's views were conveyed in his own words!" This was especially true of the repetition of the words of one's teacher: "It is a man's duty to state (a tradition) in his teacher's words."²⁶ When this actually emerged as a rabbinic "rule" in this particular form is irrelevant. The practice clearly dominates the Mishnah from its earliest times, and the attempt to make this impression is apparent in the Synoptics.²⁷ Whether they actually are the exact words of Jesus is of course the moot question. The point here is that the literary "mode" appears as a serious attempt to reproduce the exact words of those being reported, and especially Jesus. The quality categories here will attempt to measure two things, the nature of the unit as direct discourse, and the historically "realistic" credibility of the logion as an actual saying of someone. This must at this point necessarily be the impression that the author succeeds in

26. Gerhardsson, op.cit. p.130,131.

27. Cf. below, pp for a discussion of Morton Smith's challenge to Gerhardsson in terms of the early dating of these rabbinic parallels.

giving the reader. Indirect discourse will receive no quality rating at all. The so-called "legendary" material in the Synoptics will be rated quality c). The material that is direct discourse, but seems to be more a paraphrase will be category b). That which by its unity, integrity, poetic character or abundance of pattern words and ideas (Cf. above, pp) seems to be the best candidate for an historical saying will be category a). The brilliant sallies of Demox, for example, would have to be reported with a careful fidelity for the plays on words to retain their sharp humour, and so would rate quality a).

SM-4, EASILY REMEMBERED

The style of the logia is homiletic and anemonic, and gives the appearance of material created to be remembered. One can see this at three different levels. First, in the individual logia themselves. Their brevity, clarity, simplicity, often poetic character, the brilliance of metaphor, the plays on key words, the use of commonly known and understood similes, the direct and often painful adaptation to the audience, the clear relevance of the teaching for people's human situation, all these give to the teachings of Jesus the kind of memorable character that is the key to the homiletic art. The Synoptics present Jesus as a preacher, whose teaching was filled with the techniques that augment the evangelistic teacher's need to be understood and remembered. The incident at Caesarea Philippi shows Jesus' concern to have his disciples repeat to him what they had learned (Mark 8:27-30). The different versions of some of his chief metaphors might well suggest the repetition by Jesus of material in slightly different form. Gerhardtsson²⁸ quotes a common injunction of the rabbis:²⁹ "a man's duty is to repeat

28. Cf. J.A.Baird, The Justice of God in the Teaching of Jesus, p.26.

29. op.cit. p. 121.

(a passage) to his pupil four times." It is difficult to imagine a man like Jesus, travelling about as he did, not repeating his better material many times. One can probably assume that the disciples will have heard his sayings and parables many many times. The point here is that in the Synoptics, they give the impression of "polished" utterances: whether by Jesus, or by the disciples or the early church is a moot question. For our purposes here, we need only observe that they give the appearance of being easily remembered.

At a second level, one sees the mnemonic devices of those who remembered, collected and transmitted the material at work in the various sub-genres listed above, for example the gathering of sayings together around a theme, a metaphor or a catchword. At a third level, one can detect the same quality of ease of remembering in much of the Synoptic narrative. It possesses the simplicity of detail, the vividness, the organisation, the artistic balance, the building to a climax, that represents stories often repeated and achieving a homiletic polish before being written down, or written down by those with a homilist's eye to their being read and repeated throughout the church. However one interprets these phenomena, the simple test here is, can this saying or narrative be easily remembered? In the Synoptics, the answer is uniquely, yes. The quality categories would again span the spectrum from the most to the least easily remembered material in the Synoptics, using the above considerations as keys to the evaluation.

30. Gerhardsson points to this "principle of association" as well as other mnemonic techniques of the rabbis that are visible in the Synoptics. *op.cit.* p.148f.

SM-5, ORACULAR QUALITY

The logia possess an oracular quality, a ponderous, portentous, definitive,³¹ "kairotic" quality that derives from the significance of their content, the self-consciousness of the speaker, and the nature and authority of the speaker in the eyes of his reporters. One might scale this category in the following ways: a) Indicative (declarative) statements would be like those conversations between Apollonius and Damis as they travelled to the cities of the east.³² b) imperative statements would include those with a more decisive, moralistic, religious call to some action or decision. Beardslee for example typifies the proverb as "a summons to action...an imperative."³³ Many of the sayings of the rabbis in the Mishnah would qualify in this category. One would call the most potent of these quality a), the oracular mode, best typified by those sayings of Jesus where he begins with "amen lego vobis." The closest equivalent to these I find in the God sayings in the prophetic literature, or those oracles introduced by the formula "thus says the Lord." (Cf. pp). As we shall see, this oracular quality of the teachings of Jesus is perhaps the most unique element of the Synoptic mode.

SM-6, AUDIENCE IS CLEAR

One of the most unusual facts about the Synoptic Gospels is the almost awkward concern of the editors to identify the audience to which any particular logion is addressed. Huck-Lietzmann's Synopsis divides the Syn-

31. J.A. Baird, The Justice of God in the Teachings of Jesus, p. 96.

32. Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, tr. F.C. Conybeare, Harvard, 1918.

33. op.cit. p. 32.

optics into 422 separate units. In 395 of these, or 94 per cent, the audience is clearly identified. I have shown elsewhere that this is an important factor in the interpretation of any logion, and it is interesting to note how the audience factor tends to cling to logia in the Apocryphal New Testament, and to sayings reported independently by the Fathers.³⁵ The quality ratings here will be determined on the basis of clarity or ambiguity of audience identification. If no audience is indicated, then no quality rating will be given.

SM-7, SIGNIFICANT INTERRELATION BETWEEN LOGION AND AUDIENCE.

One of the more unique features of the Synoptic Gospels is the close relation between logion and audience. There is an appropriateness, a vigor and lively credibility to the logion-audience relationship that reveals Jesus as a master teacher, regularly adapting his teaching to his audience. He explains his parables to the disciples, and identifies his audience in the various figures and metaphors of his sayings as wicked servants or salt without savor. All of the sources are agreed in the regular and consistent ways the vocabulary, imagery, theological emphasis and praxis of Jesus changes from the twelve to the larger group of disciples, to the small core of opponents, to the larger opponent crowd.³⁶ The quality scaling of this category depends on the appropriateness, vigor and credibility of the relationship, using the best of the Synoptics to identify quality a), and the weakest for quality c). It is surprising how many of the so-called parallel sources have none of this quality.

34. Audience Criticism and the Historical Jesus.

35. In the Gospel of Thomas, there are 24 sayings with audience clearly attached: 6, 12, 13, 21, 22, 24, 37, 39, 43 etc. Cf. Martyrdom of Polycarp, Fragments of Papias etc.

36. Audience Criticism and the Historical Jesus.

SM-8, LIVELY AND CONVINCING HISTORICAL NARRATIVE CONTEXT

There is a realistic, convincing vitality to the Hebrew Mode of historiography that contributes much to the Synoptic mode. One is impressed that the authors intended to give us real history, real geography, real references to time. This historical realism can also be found in Philo and Josephus, who claimed to be an eye-witness taking notes of the destruction of Jerusalem during the event. His history has a brilliance and detail that is regularly accepted as the evidence of its authenticity. I am not trying to decide these historical questions ahead of time; but only pointing to this vivid quality which Beardslee has identified as one of the chief characteristics of the Hebrew Mode.³⁷ One of the special Synoptic adaptations of this mode comes when Jesus is pictured sizing on some historical incident and turning it to theological account: "No, but unless you repent, you will all likewise perish." (Lk.13:33) The quality ratings assign a) to the most vivid and convincing historical narratives, and c) to the least, usually the "legend" material. We will be noting the regular absence of any SM-8 in such literature said to be similar to the Gospel genre.

SM-9, LOGIA OR NARRATIVE UNITS SEPARATED BY CLEARLY IDENTIFIABLE SEAMS.

This modal characteristic is the complement to number one, and is an editorial indicator that has importance in the history of Gospel formation. Since Bultmann's book, Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition,

37. See Josephus, Against Apion, for his description of Hebrew historiography as compared to Greek.

it has become axiomatic that we are dealing in the Synoptics with independent units strung together like beads on a string. I have identified ³⁸ 352 separate logia; Huck-Lietmann's Synopsis locates 422 separate units. The various independent logia, even when gathered together into long speeches, like the Sermon on the Mount, can still be separated out by identifiable "seams", so that these speeches give the appearance of being editorial confections of independent units rather than the total creations of one editor. My own impression of the Synoptic editorial activity generally is one of the almost slavish carefulness of the editors in reproducing their sources with a minimum of editorialising. ³⁹ These "seams" are evidence of this which I take to be a fact, and consist of the following types: an obvious editorial comment that separates logia (kai ologen is the simplest); a change in subject often introduced by lego humin; a change in logical unity where there is a new idea or figure of speech; a change in audience; a shift in geography; source disagreement or other evidence of editing such as the periodic summarizing generalizations (e.g. Lk.19:11). The clarity of the seams can also be rated for quality, again with a) referring to the most vivid, c) to the least vivid in the Synoptics. Much so-called parallel literature has no evidence whatever of such seams.

Dynamic Modal Groupings

There is one more critical tool that must be fashioned. The need for this will become apparent as we summarize the "modal" comparisons of the Synoptics with

38. Audience Criticism and the Historical Jesus, Appendix A.

39. *ibid.* pp 137 ff. Cf. pp below.

all so-called "parallel" literature. The Synoptic mode is a product of the interaction of nine modal characteristics comprising three "dynamic" types of phenomena: 1) the way the editor hands the historical narrative; 2) the way he handles the "Word"; 3) the way the material has been transmitted and reproduced. It is the interaction of these nine modal elements as they cohere dynamically in these three literary-historical "syndromes" that produces the Synoptic mode and identifies deviations from it. I propose the following dynamic modality:

TYPE A. NARRATIVE MODALITY (SM-6,8)

This type of modal category deals essentially with the concern for the historical reality of the Synoptic material. The audience identification (SM-6) and the clear historical narrative (SM-8) are the two modal elements that most contribute to the historical vividness and credibility of the Synoptics.

TYPE B. "WORD" MODALITY (SM-2,3,4,5,7)

This modal collection embraces these categories dealing with the teaching content of the Synoptics. The sayings material is given in short (SM-2), direct discourse (SM-3) and easily remembered fashion (SM-4), and possesses an oracular quality (SM-5) and an in-depth relation to the audience (SM-7) that taken together identify the modal essence of the teaching material, what I shall be calling the "Word".

TYPE C. METHOD MODALITY (SM-1,9)

This modal grouping identifies the literary-historical method of the editor and/or the transmitting community. The independent nature of these sayings (SM-1) and their separation from each other by identifiable seams (SM-9) is a uniquely important ingredient in the Synoptic mode, where we see that editorial characteristics (SM-A), content (SM-B)

and transmission process (SM-C) all are closely interrelated, and together make up the Synoptic mode.

As we proceed to the actual use of these tools in the analysis of the Synoptics and related material, we shall discover that the Synoptics diverge not only in degree, based on the numerical averages of the quality presence of the nine modal characteristics, but we shall also see that there are subtle but all-important differences in "kind" in the interrelationship of Narrative (SM-A), Word (SM-B) and Method (SM-C). The Synoptic genre then is seen to represent a uniquely high degree of SM-1 to 9, and a particularly unique relationship between Narrative, Word and Method. It is in the divergence from this Synoptic archetype, measured in ^{40.} these ways, that we shall note the difference or similarity between the Synoptics and other comparable literature. It is in this way that we can detect the "degeneration" of the Synoptic mode, as the Gospel becomes a dialogue, an apocryphon, or a treatise in the history of Christian literature (Cf. Chapter VII). The Synoptic genre therefore will be defined as a high degree of SM-1 to 9, and a particular interrelation between SM-A, B and C, the details of which will be spelled out later in this section.

The thesis emerging from this study is that the Synoptic Gospels are unique among all ancient literature. We shall be measuring this uniqueness in terms of the sub-genres, and more specifically in terms of the Synoptic mode, and even more specifically in terms of these dynamic modal groupings. The purpose of all this is to apply the empirical, statistical discipline of Content Analysis to genre criticism in the quest for the historical Jesus.

40. To turn this into mathematics, we need only assign the value 3 to quality a) factors, 2 to quality b) and 1 to quality c).

THE CONCEPT OF GENRE IN LITERARY ANALYSIS

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"We discover that the critical theory of genres is stuck precisely where Aristotle left it." Frye, 1957, 15.*

"...The determination of formal genres offers formal criteria by which we can identify and measure cultural phenomena, both historical (and therefore social) and intellectual (and therefore theological)." Peterson, 1970, 5.

"En littérature, dans les arts, les genres ne sont pas des idées vaines, des créations artificielles. Les genres tiennent à la nature même de l'esprit humain." Kohler, 1940, 96.

"The attempt to define is like a game in which you cannot possibly reach the goal from the starting point but can only close in on it by picking up each time from where the last play landed." Rosenberg, 1961, 23.

"Les genres sont l'économie (règles pour diriger sa maison) des arts et les lettres." Kohler, 1938, 242.

Preface: The Situation, Aims, Method

Classification is a mode of naming, and I have enough empathy with the elementary principle of naming to desire that names assigned in classifying do their jobs--the exerting of a certain amount of linguistic control over entities. For our purposes we speak of names of genres and mean thereby to identify specific types of literature. Concern for the genre littéraire of a literary piece is part of one's historical-critical apprehension of that text, and regulates attention given to it by recognizing the variability

* references begin on p. 30.

of possible hermeneutical starting points.

Confusion about the appropriate generic classification of a literary work may arise from the complexity or difficulty of the text itself or from subsequent readers' lack of comprehensive (circumspective) precision. In so far as contemporary analysis of certain primitive Christian literary genres is concerned, I suspect that both reasons for confusion exist. I shall argue that the primitive Christian literary genres can best be comprehended by the approach which locates them not in terms of absolute generic identity but as positioned upon particular generic trajectories prevailing in Graeco-Roman Hellenism.

Genres dominant in the critic's own time strongly influence his literary analysis

Wimsatt-Brooks, 1957, 36.

and lack of clear generic distinctions may explain the relatively minor attention to literary genres of antiquity in recent years.

The "eclipse" of attention to the concepts of literary classes and genres is noted by Vivas, 1968, 97.

Our time is one in which literary works are being produced in a strikingly formless manner.

This is not the place to detail the "breakdown" of the novel or similar modes of fiction, so I must assume some agreement that contemporary writers, especially imaginative writers, no longer share the earlier certainty that there are rigidly-defined componental exponents which legislate the generic shapings of their products. Although theological journals, as well as scholarly journals in general, appear to be as formally conservative as possible, it would not be difficult to demonstrate a similar lack of formal regularity in articles appearing in their pages--to say the least, contemporary scholarly writing includes references to many more disciplines and hence methodologies than would have been the case several years ago.

My attempt in this paper proceeds, then, from the understanding that clarity is lacking within biblical criticism with respect to identifications of primitive Christian (and other) literary genres, and that exploration of the concept of genre may contribute to the clarity of approach which enables more sufficient

understanding. The paper is structured in such ways that it can hardly be generically identified itself: partly I am raising to more acute consciousness aporia which have already been noticed, partly I try to introduce perspectives and data into biblical criticism which were formulated in non-theological literary scholarship, partly I argue with recent discussions and point out the methodological miasm in which biblical criticism is presently situated, and finally I propose means of approaching biblical genres that will allow maximum flexibility for interpretation. Arguments for the importance of generic classification will be made in the section on generic ontology.

I am grateful to the Task Force for the opportunity to present this essay for discussion by scholars who have been specifically engaged in analysis of one genre, the gospel, for several years, and I hope to improve my analysis by incorporating insights you have gained from work with specific texts.

Since discussion at Los Angeles must be briefer than usual, I am sorry that the essay is so long, and so inclusive; rather than drawing out only one thesis for argument, I have put a large amount of materials before you. I will appreciate correspondence treating issues we are not able to discuss at Los Angeles.

I would like to record here my gratitude to the Society for Religion in Higher Education for the Post-Doctoral Fellowship for Cross-Disciplinary Study, which has freed me to work on non-theological literary criticism during 1971-72.

A. INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITIONS

Discussion of the use of the genre concept in literary criticism leads quickly beyond the scope of this essay. The concept has not had an easy history, but perhaps it will suffice here to identify two major approaches. The first approach is represented by classical writers such as Cicero, who urged conformity to traditional genres; the approach reappeared in neo-classicism, where it led to rather absurd formalist extremes.

Basically the argument entailed determination of the "success" of a literary work on the basis of its

relative deployment of the characteristics defined as proper to the genre. See Ehrenpreis, 1945, 7.

Since Lessing, especially, the second major approach has prevailed: genres are taken to represent descriptive patternings of literature rather than regulative norms.

So Wellek-Warren, 1956, Chap. 17; cf. Frank, 1948.

Within literary criticism unanimity is as rare as within biblical criticism, and uniformity with respect to the term "genre" is hardly to be considered. The next section attempts working co-ordination of concepts; basically, however, definitions there are those proposed by critics following the descriptive approach.

Unfortunately few classification systems are co-terminous. The vast range of terms, concepts, and indeed approaches can be sighted in any survey of the history of the genre concept in literary criticism. At the 3^e Congrès International d'histoire littéraire, at Lyons in 1939, and devoted exclusively to the problems of generic criticism, Wolfgang Kayser (1959-a, 332) noted "...eine fast verwirrende Fülle disparater Auffassungen...".

It should probably be noted that this essay is concerned neither with the three traditional genres (lyric, epic, drama) nor the fourth (traditionally: didactic--which however begs so many questions that if a fourth is necessary, we might accept Ruttkowski's (1968) "artistic," in his sense of that term), used since the eighteenth century, nor with the stylistic use common to biblical scholars, by which materials such as paraenetic materials are usually generically identified. Viëtor is probably correct in stating that "the big three" are not generic classifications in the present sense, and that we ought to use the term only for types derived from specific historical actualizations.

Viëtor, 1952, 300-305. Jolles, 1958, 2, distinguishes on the other hand between Hauptgattungen (lyric, et al.) and Untergattungen (elegy, novel, et al.)--the distinction is not conventional.

At any rate it should be clear that we are operating in the realm of specific historical types rather than fundamental distinctions such as lyric and epic.

Justification for analysis of the genre concept by biblical critics derives not only from the attempt to learn from contemporary literary-critical positions, but from within biblical literary analysis itself, since the early form critics stressed generic differentiation in their works.

There is a sort of curious reversal here: Helmer Ringgren, 1966, 643, referred to Gunkel's *Gattungs-geschichte* as a "forerunner of form criticism," which it was so far as it did not yet have the full technical specifications which developed--and now contemporary criticism has moved from a focus on form criticism to at least ancillary focus (as seen in this Task Force) on generic studies. The "linguistica biblica" research project headed by Erhardt Güttgemanns stresses the importance of the texteme--the linguistic givenness of the genre as context--for the development of a rigorous linguistics of biblical literature. See Güttgemanns, 1971-b, 184-230.

Indeed our concern with genres evolves from the growing recognition that form criticism treated the gospels, especially, as still scenes from movies (Bouwman, 1969) rather than dynamically.

Hermann Gunkel was not guilty of this mistake, and stated his inclusive position on literary history in such a way as to demonstrate that Gattung-identification was hardly a piecemeal focus.

Literary history should include the identification of the literary types, of the history through which these types have passed (including the sociological setting), of the process of collecting and stylizing according to artistic conventions, and the survey of cognate literary types and affinities. Gunkel, 1928, 60-61.

Within studies of primitive Christianity the issue of Gattung was raised especially by Rudolf Bultmann's dissertation, in which the author showed keen awareness of the importance of understanding the "Gattung der Diatribe" (Bultmann, 1910, 2) as he analyzed Paul's epistolary modifications of the diatribe in popular hellenistic philosophy. Analysis of particular gospel sub-genres or "forms" by form critics and now redaction critics

are too numerous to survey. I take it that most scholars agree with Norman Peterson, both when he complains that "the notion of genre is being used in an at best ambiguous way," and when he states that "Valid genre determination...is a priori a prerequisite to historical understanding and historical reconstruction." (Peterson, 1970, 4.)

Biblical critics seem to have their own terminological confusions, as for instance in the use of the term *Gattung* by German NT scholars to indicate literary type, but more commonly by OT scholars to indicate pre-literary types--which the Neutestamentler call *Formen*.

Given such terminological unclarity, it would be foolhardy to raise hopes for a definitional statement that would establish consensus among critics. Our more limited aims: survey of usual definitional inclusions; survey of functional components; use of definitions; some suggestions. (Reminder: the essay does not include characteristics of the "big three," epic, drama, lyric.)

Attempts to define genres range from broadly inclusive to narrowly exclusive, as we might anticipate. The most inclusive definition is stated by Rolf Knierim (1970, 246): "A *Gattung* is a characteristic unit of linguistic expression which can be either spoken or written," depending upon the sociological setting; similarly universal is Kayser's suggestion (1959-a, 285) that genres are "Bereiche, Kraftfelder, 'Spielräume' mit strukturierbaren Potenzen auf denen die verschiedenartigsten Konkretisierungen erwachsen."

More restrictive, however, and more prevalent, are definitions which carry reference to formal or structural characteristics. Formal elements alone are mentioned by R. S. Crane (1971, 38): "...It is a question of distinguishing with adequate precision, in terms of the constructive principles operative in each, the generic and specific natures of the concrete wholes which writers, for one reason or another, chose to produce, and of doing this in such a fashion as clearly to indicate, for any group of works thus differentiated, the peculiar formal requirements which the

choice of this principle rather than of some other, in the shaping of the material, imposed upon their writers.

Crane does not emphasize the formal characteristics, however, and in an earlier passage in the same essay, he speaks rather of "complexes of qualities" found in the forms than of the forms themselves: "Distinctions of genre...are distinctions not among species of individual art objects or among historically determined conventions

Other critics place emphasis precisely at this point e.g. they suggest that genres ought to be identified only on the basis of historical exemplars.

but among general qualities or complexes of qualities which are often identified as peculiarly characteristic of one or another of the recognized forms but not restricted to it." (Crane, 1971, 8)

Crane seems to desire language which will enable the critic to speak of the "thingness" of the genre apart from--or finding expression in--the formal constructions. Other critics are more interested in emphasizing formal characteristics. Alastair Fowler, for instance, sounds much like Crane in the first part of a statement on genre: "Recognition of genre depends on associating a complex of elements, which need not all appear in one work." He moves on, however, to introduce external formal elements--or perhaps we should already identify "external/internal" formal elements: "But invariably external forms will be among the indicators: structure, or formal motif, or rhetorical proportion." (Fowler, 1971, 202.)

We are confronted with what the Russian Formalist school referred to as a "cluster of compositional devices," (Erlich, 1967, 246) or what Abrahams (1969, 104) calls a "taxonomy of expressive habits and effects." Norman Peterson summarizes well: "External structure and formal characteristics are genre traits which signal types of meaning which are to be construed by audience and interpreter alike from content shaped in this way." (Peterson, 1970, 43.)

Few critics work with formal or structural criteria alone, preferring something like "complexes of qualities" (Crane). Style, themes, and motifs, and often some means of indicating the motivational purpose are also usually discussed as generic identifiers.

Cf. Buss, 1969, 1, where he characterizes a literary type or genre by 1. its "thoughts and moods," 2. its "form-language," including vocabulary, grammatical and expressive peculiarities, and other aspects of style, 3. the "life-situation" out of which it grows--thus far Buss is following Gunkel--and 4. the rationale or *raison d'être*, which interrelates the first three or any two with each other, in order to reach "insight" (*Verstehen*). Such an approach Buss names "morphological" by which is indicated a unified comprehension of the literary work including formal and content aspects.

So too Peterson (1970, 19), referring to Hirsch, speaks of genre "...traits characteristic of a total literary unit which collectively communicate a certain type of meaning."

Typing on the basis of motifs and themes has been most elaborately developed by Northrup Frye.

See especially Frye, 1957. I have not given space to discussion of the seasonal theories of Frye or to the related patterns of Theodor Gaster since they are so well known. A brief resume of Frye's position is found in Frye, 1966. The problem for this approach caused by occurrence of like motifs in disparate genres is discussed by Fowler, 1970, 203.

"Archetypal criticism" beyond Frye has attempted to identify the deep impulses commonly expressed in literary motifs and structural themes--especially psychological impulses.

3/ Junian and Freudian type-analysis has focussed more on the psychological than upon the literary dimensions, and hence has not contributed as much to technical literary analysis as it has to literary exposition. See Tillyard, 1959, and Bodkin, 1951, and espec. 1934.

At the opposite extreme from critics emphasizing generic continuities are those who prefer to classify primarily on the basis of historical association alone. E. D. Hirsch (1967, 110), for instance, wants to discuss genres only for a narrow group of texts within a particular historical period. And the three-volume

work by the Chadwicks demonstrates how elaborate sets of genre characteristics can be deduced from particular works in a single culture.

Although the authors set out (Chadwicks, 1968, I, xviii) "...our proper theme--the comparative study of literary genres," the work would probably strike most people as a "literary history" rather than a study in genres. The question as to what comprises a literary history is currently very much in debate--witness several programmatic articles, and especially the founding in 1969 of the journal New Literary History.

Genres can be modified, either over a period of time by gradual shifts in works of many authors, or by a particular writer. While generic change will be discussed in more detail later in this paper, it is necessary to indicate here, in connection with typing according to historical periods alone, that genres can be altered in so far as they represent cultural artifacts--or "institutions" in the sense proposed by Wellek and Warren.

"The literary kind is an 'institution'--as Church, University, or State is an institution. It exists, not as an animal exists or even as a building...but as an institution exists. One can work through, express oneself through, existing institutions, create new ones, or get on, so far as possible, without sharing the politics or rituals; one can also join, but then reshape, institutions." Wellek-Warren, 1956, 226.

Such a view moves toward understanding genres as clusters of defining traits, as the particular "sum of aesthetic devices at hand, available to the writer and already intelligible to the readers," (Wellek-Warren, 1956, 235) which is chosen by a writer both as a means of continuing a tradition (or "institution") and forcing traditional materials into his own channels.

"The totally familiar and repetitive pattern is boring; the totally novel form will be unintelligible --is indeed unthinkable....The good writer partly conforms to the genre as it exists, partly stretches it." Wellek-Warren, 1956, 235.

The fully-operative generic definition will show us not only the outlines of the genre, its total construct which it shares

with other works,

"The genre of any given text is made available to us only in the structure and configuration of the whole; the genre of a text is that which is characteristic of the whole yet in common with other texts sharing those characteristics." Peterson, 1970, 12.

but it will also provide a grasp of the coming-into-existence of the genre. It will not so much enable us to identify on demand that a particular work is generically perfect as to enable us to locate its immediate literary context or linguistic horizons.

"The literary genre does not define its members, only their forms." Fowler, 1971, 206. Traits selected should use not limiting but accenting differentia, Ruttkowski, 1968, 16-19.

It will help us understand why the text has been given the shape it has rather than some other. It may also enable us to appreciate the possibilities of writings which are organized according to a major genre for the whole, but with differentiated generic patterns in the microstructures.

Cf. Koch, 1964, 27f., 31 f.--he differentiates between Rahmen- and Gliedgattungen. Also, on the interrelations of parts: Abrahams, 1969, 109-12 and San Juan, 1968, 262-64.

The difficulties in identifying the "gospel" genre are evident to this Task Force. Mr Peterson's paper two years ago portrayed the necessity of seeing "gospel" as a literary type within the over-all patternings of Graeco-Roman literature; and he stressed the importance of the genus "canon." (Peterson, 1970, espec. 33 f.) Perhaps all one can hope for is the delimitation of "gospel" from such literary types as epistle and apocalypse, with full allowance for specific adaptations of the generic pattern by each exemplar's author.

B. SOCIOLOGICAL SETTINGS

The understanding that literary entities are to be comprehended in terms of their cultural settings is shared throughout modern literary criticism, although some critics emphasize the

social setting much more than others. After a period of "sociological" criticism, now largely rejected, contemporary criticism and linguistics seek full appreciation of what biblical critics call (in its widest sense) the sociological setting (I use this term for *Sitz im Leben* throughout), without allowing analysis of contexts to dominate final interpretations. Discussion here centers on the interrelations of context and text, and expanded perception of the sociological settings concept, and--since literary forms change as social contexts change--the mutation of genres.

Gunkel's emphasis upon the sociological setting strongly influenced the biblical literary criticism which followed him. His reference was not to a particular historical matrix of a particular literary unit so much as to the type of situation which was often the structural matrix. Objecting to Dibelius' use of the concept, Gunkel himself sought answers to questions such as "to what problem is this text an answer?" or "what sort of situation would occasion such an expression?" or in the widest sense, "to what structural element in a society might a particular unit characteristically correspond?"

See Buss, 1971, 464-66, and 1969, 1; Hamp, 1960, 687, notes however the general tendency of form critics to replace the general sociological matrix with the "bestimmten aktuellen Umgebung" of a particular pericope. See further on Gunkel: Lapointe, 1970, 11 ff.

The literary interpreter seeks to comprehend the social institutions which existed in the same time and linguistic space as the literary materials. Malinowski (1945) stressed this aspect in conjunction with Ogden and Richards' (1945, Chap. III) linguistic sign-situation concept.

Cf. Pearson, 1941, 68, referring to Malinowski: "The study of literature may...be said to comprehend 'a vast instrumental reality'. In this sense the aspects of a culture are roughly equivalent to the materials of literature, and the forms and types in which the writing takes shape are the institutions which give the 'concrete picture'."

The sociological setting of written materials does not have the importance that it has for oral materials, since the written word is abstracted from any situation in the sense that as literature it now has its own integrity, impact, and ability to convey its own meaning. The question of the sociological setting of materials which may have been present in oral stages before becoming literary, is still relevant however as we seek to understand how sociological settings were generative of the materials which became literature. Güttgemanns is correct in noting that we ought to be wary of any one-to-one reconstruction of the original situations; it was precisely the aid to comprehension which the original setting provided that is no longer present. What may have been an almost unconscious influence (the "world" of the material) is reconstructed by us only with tenuous evocation of original potencies.

Cf. Güttgemanns, 1971-a, 140-42, and Lord, 1960.

We attempt to determine how the original interaction between social setting and literature "felt"; but we can only do this with the understanding that our reconstruction will be at best a good guess, and that the sociological setting provided by the literary work as a whole is now for us the dominating sociological setting. It is the sociological setting of the text itself (the *texteme*) which is our immediate focus; the attempt to discover primordial originating contexts can only be valid in general terms.

Cf. Jolles, 1958, 62: "The world of an elementary form is only valid and convincing in itself; as soon as we take something out of this world and carry it over into another, this relationship to its earlier context is lost and becomes invalid."

Precisely the tentativeness of such reconstruction has, however, often been lost to view, and historicistic over-determination of aesthetic objects continues to this day.

Cf. Lapointe, 1970, 15-16; Via, 1967. The necessary sophistication can be seen in Hamp's definition (1960,

687): "Jede literarische Gattung samt ihren Unterarten hat ihren Ursprung nach Inhalt und Form in einer bestimmten aktuellen Umgebung, die miterfasst und möglichst lebendig rekonstruiert werden muss...", since the words I have emphasized can be taken to mean "definite historic context" or "particular historical wide-context"--this is not a question of translating the German words, but of the relative importance given to the specific situation vis-à-vis the typical context.

More concern in recent biblical literary criticism has been devoted to the traditioning process and consequently to the determination of various "Sitze."

A trilevel system seems to have become established in NT scholarship: the setting of Jesus, of the early church, of the evangelists. The best recent discussion of the setting is by Knierim, 1970-a; it is also featured in Chap. II of Norman Perrin's forthcoming introduction to the NT.

What has not always been evident, however, is recognition of the extent of the changes brought about by the movement of materials through different settings. Nor have we given much attention to genre:setting (as opposed to forms:settings) correlations; the key here is generic intention. "There is the original intention of a genre and the intention of the manner in which a particular genre is used by a speaker or author" (Waldow, 1971, 592); "...the intention of the speaker dominates the intention of the employed genre." (Ibid., 593 ff.; cf. Ogden-Richards, 1945, Chap. IX.)

We are at the point of suggesting, given the linguistic interlocking between "world" and literary material, that sequential change in temporal and cultural settings will entail literary change as well. When "cultural background is different...so are the intentions," and we are led to analysis of reasons why some genres are prominent in certain societies but not others, and the further question as to why the same (approximate!) setting in two cultures will evoke different generic expression (Cf. Waldow, 1971, 587-600).

A related observation is made by Wilder, 1964, 29, where he suggests that the length of the primitive Christian materials was determined by the length necessary to express "the message called for in the given situation or the needs of instruction or exhortation." The trouble with such an explanation is that the various literary materials in primitive Christianity which seem to express the same message are not always of equal length. On the other hand, what Wilder names as "faith or life-orientation" (p. 33), is related to "intention" of the literary critics, and it is often necessary to get this broader view of impulses into view.

Literary history must include charting both of sequential and of familial literary relationships and historical-sociological developments.

Greenwood, 1970, 424: "The ideal classification of literary types would indicate the relative periods during which the individual units and subunits flourished." Fowler, 1971, 204: "...valid interpretation will often involve laboriously chronicling a work's moment in its genre's history."

The question of mutation of genres is therefore an important one for literary criticism. Strong rejection of biological-evolutionary models (Brunetière; see Wellek, 1963, Chap. 3) has tended to obscure the chronological modification of genres which runs from inception to sterility. The point is strongly expressed by Victor B. Sklovskij, a Russian Formalist:

Each art form travels down the inevitable road from birth to death; from seeing and sensory perception, when every detail in the object is savored and relished, to mere recognition, when the object or form becomes a dull epigone which our senses register mechanically, a piece of merchandise not visible even to the buyer.

Quoted from a 1923 work by Erlich, 1965, 252; see also Lane, 1954, on the problem of identifying terms shifting values after initial formulation, what Aneschi, 1958, 530 f., calls "a kind of semantic pendulum swing..."

I prefer not to speak of the "life and death" of genres, a common reference which ascribes too much independence to the literary entity as opposed to the artist. Rather we ought to

refer to the relative acceptance or rejection of a generic pattern at particular temporal stages. By convention we come to speak (imprecisely) of the genre coming to fruition, etc....and indeed of a generic trajectory, though we need to remind ourselves that this is really argot for "the specific literary patterning used more or less inclusively by writers within a given time span." Sensitive though I am to such phrases as "the speaking of being through language,"

Cf. Storz, 1957, 406: "Dichtung wird als Erscheinung der Sprache gesehen....durch den einzelnen Menschen spricht die Sprache hindurch" and Poulet, 1969, 59: "The work lives its own life within me; in a certain sense, it thinks itself, and it even gives itself a meaning within me."

I am not willing to ascribe independence of existence to the literary modes themselves. A great deal of confusion in literary criticism has been caused by focus upon the nature of the genre (its ontology, as it were) rather than upon the actor who uses the genre according to his own intentions.

Certainly "phases of generic development" (Fowler, 1971, 212) can be recognized. Fowler distinguishes three main phases: "During the first phase, the genre-complex assembles, until a formal type emerges." Independent motifs, used several times by writers, come to represent a predictable pattern. Then in phase two, writers consciously utilize this pattern and develop and vary it. It may be the case that actual events lie behind the literature of the first phase, whereas in the second phase, stereotype and artificiality are predominant. And finally a tertiary phase occurs "when an author uses a secondary form in a radically new way. The tertiary form may be burlesque, or antithetic, or symbolic modulation of the secondary."

If I remember correctly, there have been discussions of the satirical modification of the hellenistic Romance in this Task Force.

Part of the tracing of generic viability involves not only the ways in which authors respond to available patterns, but how such adaptation of patterns is received. Hans Robert Jauss (1970-71) stresses the "reception and impact" aspects of the literary work as a corrective to overly-abstract theorizing about literary construction. Not only the contemporary reactions of readers are to be charted, but also the subsequent regard for the text, for "A literary work is not an object which stands by itself and which offers the same face to each reader in each period." (p. 10) Analysis of a particular generic pattern will not be complete until it includes recognition of the genre's relative appeal to the contemporary reader.

The importance of audience reception and of the event of the original "performance" is also discussed by San Juan, 1968, 259; Styan, 1968; and Erlich, 1965, 201.

C. GENERIC ONTOLOGY

A question placed by Wolfgang Kayser (1959-b, 285) will serve to introduce this section: "...kann die Poetik die Gattungen entwerfen oder sind die Gattungen erst in der Geschichte zu erfassen, das heisst sind sie geschichtliche Phänomene?" Kayser's question leads to the question of the nature or ontology of genres: are they merely to be understood as signs (names) attached in the semiotic process to particular linguistic entities? Mostly the question has to be answered affirmatively,

Against Wellek-Warren, 1959, 226: "The literary kind is not a mere name, for the aesthetic convention in which a work participates shapes its characters." The point, however, is that genre names are not symbols which participate the reality of their referents. Cf. also Viñtor, 1952, 294 f. and 302 f.

but it then leads to the more important set of questions: to what extent can we understand genres as operating? how are generic intentions satisfied? may we correlate genres and psychic satisfactions? The questions go far beyond the scope

of the present essay, and here we can only discuss briefly the relationship between intention and genre; a second focus will be on the importance of generic anticipation in hermeneutics.

The persistence of generic intentions throughout the history of literature has been argued especially by Ferdinand Brunetière (1892) and André Jolles (1958). Brunetière's dependence upon an early Darwinian model of evolution led him to posit literary transformations on a biological basis which are rejected by modern scholarship.

He thought that we should ask, for instance, "Comment un Genre naît, grandit, atteint sa perfection, décline, et enfin meurt." Brunetière, 1892, 23.

Jolles' book, which received little attention at first, has had a wider hearing in recent debate on genres, especially "folk" materials.

See especially Utley, 1969, 92 ff.; Ben-Amos, 1969, 282 f.; and Mohr, 1958.

He argues that we can best comprehend genres of the past when we know how the intentions of that genre (found in its *Geistesbeschäftigungen*) are met by subsequent related literary modes. So for instance we recognize the aim of imitatio today in accounts of a contemporary sports hero--and that same interest appeared earlier in medieval saints' legends.

The "record" replaced the miracle, but the same placing of an ideal to be emulated is to be found. Other transformations are traced by Jolles, such as the movement from the ancient proverb to the mystery story.

Genres have frequently been singled out for attention because they are understood to represent especially clearly man's ontological possibilities.

Kayser, 1959-b, 333, referring to E. Staiger: "The concepts lyric, epic, dramatic, are scientific literary names for fundamental possibilities of human existence as a whole." Storz, 1957, 405, discusses the attempts of Staiger and Snell, "...die dichterischen Gattungen an menschliche Verhaltensweisen elementarer Art anzuschliessen...". Hankiss, 1939, 129, contrasts

the fundamental and the historic: "Die Gattung wurzelt als Desideratum, als bestmögliche Befriedigung eines tief menschlichen Bedürfnisses, im Generellen, aber sie wird erst durch den Wandel, im individuellen Geschehen zu einer Wirklichkeit." Also: Vißtor, 1952, 292, with positive reference to Hartl, 1924.

Such a view underlies the frequently-expressed sentiment that one learns how to live by reading novels--or at any rate one did, before novels were largely supplanted in our culture by popular psychological, anthropological, and sociological writings --but it refers more technically to the attempt to correlate specific human emotions with specific literary expressions.

That "genre" must stand at least partly to indicate something beyond form I take to be self-evident. "Meaning," a common way to designate this additional factor, is genre-bound

Fowler, 1971, 205; Peterson, 1970, 49, refers to
 "...the cultural 'agreement' to differentiate meaning,
 and to signify differentiated meaning by traits
 characteristic of different types of meaning." Cf.
 also Ogden-Richards, 1945, Chap. IX, "The Meaning
 of Meaning."

--probably not so much ontologically as ontically--e.g. historically certain literary modes have conveyed certain meanings. Again the role of convention is to be emphasized, since generic expression must rank among the most important signal-systems used by an author. As Fowler (1971, 201) puts it, "Traditional genres and modes...serve primarily to enable the reader to share types of meaning economically," and Jauss (1970-71, 12 f.) stresses that "The literary work depends upon its progenitors, and especially upon their having established certain perceptions which the author wishes to reestablish in his own time and place."

Generic choice, then, is one of the ways of fitting into his literary milieu which the author must choose. At the same time genres must not be granted such "reality" that they can be said to override the author in such a way as to determine his product. Such was the classical and neo-classical ideal

which also surfaced in formalism; Erlich quotes Sklovskij: "the mode of existence of the literary genre determines in the last analysis the writer's consciousness."

Erlich, 1965, 125. The classical position is aptly summarized by H. J. C. Grierson (quoted by Bodkin, 1934, 115): "...the work of the classical artist is to give individual expression, the beauty of form, to a body of common sentiments and thoughts which he shares with his audience." See also summary of the classical position in Wimsatt-Brooks, 1957, 80 f., and on the neo-classical rules of decorum, 163 f. Also see Ehrenpreis, 1945, 7, and Viëtor, 1952, 304.

Sentiments such as these do, however, point up the "atmospheric" quality of genres--there is an important sense in which no writer escapes cultural generic expectations, and these expectations are seldom as self-consciously identified as they are in our own culture.

Note Gunkel's suggestion that "To the people of Israel the laws of literary form were as familiar as the rules of Hebrew grammar. They obeyed them unconsciously and lived in them; it is only we who have to learn to understand them," Gunkel, 1928, 60-61. The grammatical analogy sounds strangely proleptic in light of current linguistics' analyses of surface structure and deep structures.

One of the most recent attempts to reformulate generic research, Lapointe, 1970, rejects the usual ways of differentiating genres in order to develop a triadic structural framework in which the key is the relative "reality" expressed in literary works. The value of the typology Lapointe develops (charted, p. 37) is that it allows for the traditional threefold narrative/dramatic/lyric divisions (or "optiques," in Lapointe's language) within each of the stations on the "axis du réalisme" (which extends as asymptote to the curve real $\leftrightarrow$ unreal). As with the master typology of Frye, 1957, however, one feels a certain arbitrariness; Frye's schema is less abstractly presented, and includes formal and structural features. Lapointe seeks

to transcend the methodological confusion caused by emphasizing any one of the many criteria used for generic definition (compositional technique, form, structure, contents, motifs, sociological setting, topoi, temporal dimension).

Much of the article strikes me as arguing the problem of "art vs. reality" rather than generic criteria. The attempt to provide a model is heartily commended, but I see use of the typology only when it is complemented by other factors than the tensions between realism./un-realism.

The expectational and educational aspects of training in genres need to be emphasized. Few textbook approaches to the primitive Christian literature, for example, give the beginning student a sense of the types of literature to expect. (The situation is somewhat better in introductions to the Tanak.) I find in my own teaching that I encounter much less resistance to treating biblical literature and history in a critical manner if I begin with a survey of literary materials of related types from Ancient Israel or Hellenism. This type of education I take to be related to the concept of the *Vorverständnis* familiar in works on hermeneutics.

Cf. Frye, 1957, 248, "The purpose of criticism by genres is not so much to classify as to clarify such traditions and affinities [i.e. from which possibilities an author has chosen] thereby bringing out a large number of literary relationships that would not be noticed as long as there were no context established for them." On the propaedeutic work of the contextualist critic, see Vivas, 1963, 198 ff., and on the process of analyzing the full set of relational and type factors, Whitmore, 1924, 728-36 and Sacks, 1968, 106.

Biser, 1970; Frör, 1964; and Baldermann, 1963, are three examples of attention to practical applications of hermeneutical theory to teaching religion in Germany. There the whole hermeneutical movement has had a pragmatic side not common in the English-speaking world. While we do not have as much teaching of bible in the elementary and secondary school levels, and hence less "market," it is striking to see how

hermeneutics has remained by and large a topic of intellectual discussion. While hardly "non-intellectual," Hart, 1968, provides a necessary discussion which any such practical reflection must now take seriously. While Ehrenpreis, 1945, is not mostly out of date, it includes some substantial reflection on teaching literature by generic rather than diachronic presentation, and the book has an excellent brief historical sketch of the use of the genre concept. /w

D. "FORM" AND GENRE

The question of "form" and "forms" is a component of discussion about genres because some reference to formal literary properties is necessary to generic definition. It is even more necessary in the area of biblical research because of the common tendency to confuse form and genre; and translation English has not served us well in its frequent confusion of stable equivalents for the German *Gattung* and *Form* (the terminological confusion was noted on p. 6). Furthermore modern criticism has at last overcome the unfortunate proclivity to disjoin form from content, and a new sensitivity to formal features can be noted,

As in von Rad, 1965, II, 39: "The form in which a particular message is cast is also important in a stricter sense of the word 'form,' for a 'form' is never just something external, concerned with literary style alone; in the last resort, form cannot be separated from content. What determines the choice of the form cannot be separated from content." See also Weiss, 1961, 257-62; Via, 1967; and Beardslee, 1970, Chap. I.

especially as the concept of structure has been developed. E. Kahler subtly interweaves the two in a helpful clarification:

Commonly, form is identified with shape. In this broadest, most palpable sense, anything bounded would have some form, and 'form' should be equivalent to discernible bounds. But this appears to me a very superficial, purely external conception of form. Shape may be the outer aspect of form, but seen in itself, it is not form. Only inasmuch as shape constitutes the outer appearance of a structure, which means, of an inner organization, an inner organizational coherence of a bounded entity, does it belong to form. Form, accordingly, can be

defined roughly as structure manifesting itself in shape."

E. Kahler, The Disintegration of Form in the Arts, 1968, p. 4, quoted by Peterson, 1970, 1; cf. also Kahler, 1963, espec. 131 f.

Kahler's emphasis upon "shape" strikes me as a healthy corrective to inclusion of "...all those elements of a verbal composition--rhythm, metrics, structure, coherence, emphasis, diction, images--which can more or less readily be discussed as if they were not a part of the poem's 'content,' message, or doctrine." (Wimsatt-Brooks, 1957, 748) The Wimsatt and Brooks definition is understandable, as they fight their way free from occlusion of form/content, but there probably needs to be something "more" (or "less") to the definition if we are not to be restricted to the usual poetician's struggle to delimit the specific metric pattern ingredient to a particular genre. Structure understood as "the totality of relations between the parts of a whole," (Buss, 1971, 469) or as "...the outline, the pattern or the scheme of a given piece of literature or a given genre," (Tucker, 1971, 12), seems the appropriate way to utilize "form" conceptions in genre studies.

Unless formal/structural criteria are explicitly stated in such a way, genre tends to be equated with form. Tucker has clearly differentiated the issues:

One of the most important factors of a Gattung is its particular Form, but as Koch points out, formed language alone is no Gattung (p.5). Both form and content determine the nature of a Gattung. Consequently, if the term Form is to be used, as many use it, to refer to the Gattungen, it must be made clear that the word has thereby taken on a second connotation." (Tucker, 1966, 145.)

Confusion of terms is to be seen in even the most sophisticated biblical literary criticism: Amos Wilder refers to "particular literary forms such as the 'gospel' and the 'epistle,' or the 'parable' and 'canticle'," then refers to this group as "speech-forms" on the next page, and then later lists as "literary forms" materials ranging from "single metaphors and tropes" through "parables, allegories, visions, hymns, doxologies and oracles to extended mythological sections." (Wilder, 1964, 16, 17, 128.)

The usual literary critical distinction which is proposed to deal with the tension between external shape or structure, and the close interrelation between form and the content, is the distinction between "inner" and "outer" form. Inner form seems to be a contribution of Dilthey-ian *Geistesgeschichte*; outer form has been especially important since the development of the American New Critics and their analogous "close reading" friends. The distinction is utilized by Richter (1970) for exegesis of the Tanak; for him "outer form" means primarily grammar, "inner form" primarily vocabulary, personal names, dialogic movement.

Contemporary criticism is perhaps best represented by in the position taken by Wellek-Warren, 1956, 231: "Genre should be conceived, we think, as a grouping of literary works based, theoretically, upon both outer form (specific metre or structure) and also upon inner form (attitude, tone, purpose--more crudely, subject and audience). The ostensible basis may be one or the other (e.g. 'pastoral' and 'satire' for the inner form; dipodic verse and Pindaric ode for outer); but the critical problem will then be to find the other dimension, to complete the diagram."

The discussion of "form" in aesthetics and in literary criticism in recent years strikes me as not generally relevant to our discussion; the techniques used to identify forms belong mainly to form criticism. I suggest here only that scholarly references ought to differentiate more clearly between form and genre, to establish how they are understood as different by the particular analyst, and to indicate on what bases particular forms are taken as constituting (or "characteristic of") particular genres. At the same time, there is a broad sense in which we speak of the formal nature of the genres--perhaps we may focus upon and use the term "the structure of the genre" in such instances.

I do not pretend to be able to solve the problem of the "whole and the parts" here,

The problem is discussed in terms of the dangers of the structuralist alternatives of structureless

genesis (atomism) and ungenerated wholes (synthecism)
by Piaget, 1971, 9.

or the problem of the repetition of parts. We need clarity about the extent to which particular patterns must be repeated in order to qualify as the main signifier of the form, e.g. which microstructures characterize the generic macrostructures, as LaDrière (1959, 35 f.) phrases it:

In some poems the significant or relevant unit in the total form appears to be a relatively small structure or system, continuously repeated through the whole; in others, the significant units are large, and in some such structures there seems to be no poetically significant use of microstructural units; in still others a complex microstructure is accompanied by an elaborate structure of larger units.

E. RHETORICAL AND STRUCTURAL CRITICISM

It is striking, given the attention to methodological matters in recent biblical criticism, that biblical analysis is probably more diffuse in approach than it has ever been. Isolated groups such as the Form Criticism-Hebrew Scriptures Seminar of the S. B. L. seem to have achieved enough consensus to operate--albeit with considerable interchanges in which participants question each other's approaches. But on the whole, contemporary criticism seems marked by an almost endless proliferation of approaches, and indeed of similar approaches named differently by individual interpreters. So we have genre criticism as the outcome of the circle extending outward from synoptic source analysis, form criticism, and redaction criticism. Or we have rhetorical criticism as a specifying corrective to the generalizing form criticism (Muilenburg, 1969), or "morphology" as the structuralist answer to the atomism of form criticism (Buss, 1969). Additional software inputs arrive almost daily: Guttgemanns and his circle stressing the merits of linguistics, other stressing structuralism--or, from literary critics, audience criticism, "new literary history," or performance models.

Criticism of form criticism has been especially prominent. The form-critical method has been developed to the point where users now have some distance on it, and have experienced a sense of sterility in its use. The criticism^{SI} I have in mind are not those advanced in the first decade following the introduction of the method into biblical criticism,

Summarized in Doty, 1969, 303 ff., and 1972, 66-69. so much as the more recent criticisms reflecting the developments in redaction criticism and rhetorical criticism. The latter, as sponsored by James Muilenburg (1969) and David Greenwood (1970), seeks to move beyond the atomism and generalizing of form criticism to a focus on literary units as self-contained entities. Rhetorical criticism stresses the structure and the rhetorical devices of the composition itself, although another proponent, Stein (1969, 53) also emphasizes the relation of the author to his sources.

These scholars agree that redaction history has been wrongly subsumed under form criticism, and Peterson (1970, 22) notes the skewing of genre history within form criticism by its entertaining suggestions of historical development at a time when the method was not refined enough to deal with such redactional and tradition-ing issues.

See the criticism of the "tradition to literature schema" in Peterson, 1970, 38 f. and Güttgemanns, 1971-a. I have found Güttgemann's references to Lord, 1960, worth pursuing.

With respect to generic criticism, such methodological confusion has contributed to an unfortunate focus upon forms within the larger biblical units, and "...the genre of the whole has, if not disappeared from view, been dissolved into the question of the parts." (Peterson, 1970, 99)

Buss, 1969, and in correspondence, seeks a "morphological" criticism which incorporates the best features of form criticism but unifies analysis into a comprehensive view of all literary features of a text.

We need, then, what may be called a holistic approach (Doty, 1972, Chap. 3) that unifies the various moments in the exegetical and analytical process while not skipping any of the constituent types of approach. I am pleased to see featured on the program of this convention the structuralist analysis of texts, an approach which has been worked out fairly clearly now in anthropology, and to a lesser degree in literary criticism.

Dependence upon the specialized languages and concepts of contemporary linguistics (notably Chomsky's generative transformational grammar) has lent a certain obscurity to structuralist discussions that has not facilitated widespread comprehension. Until this convention there has been almost no application of the method to biblical texts, except for studies by Edmund Leach (1970), although biblical scholars have indicated the promise of structural analysis (Greenwood, 1970, 424; Knierim, 1970, 246-72; Richter, 1970, 224).

I find Lane, 1970, to be the most handy collection of essays on structuralist analysis, with Chomsky, 1968, Part II--Language and Mind, as a basic beginning point. Gütgemanns, 1971-b, discusses structuralist analysis and gives examples. Sebeok, 1960, includes an important resumé by Jakobsen; the volume represents some of the main working areas, especially with respect to "style."

Structuralism contributes precision in identifying a) the linguistic configuring of the text--its "surface structure" and sequential flow, relationship of actors, and the like, and b) the "deep structure," e.g., the underlying (and often hidden to initial view) relationships of values, emotions, and ideas which determine the final over-all valences of the text. I hope that structuralist analysis will be pursued in both these areas, and that it will not simply become another of the many passing fads in biblical criticism. Above all it should be seen as a constituent part of the total pattern of analysis, rather than a new master system.

Conclusions

My survey of genre criticism, as well as personal reflection, lead me to the following observations, suggestions, and conclusions:

1. Generic definitions are best understood as relational terms--they demonstrate how some literary works are similar. They are of dubious value as prescriptive or judgemental devices.

2. Generic definitions should focus upon the formal, structural composition of the literary works rather than upon thematology. It may be necessary to keep characteristic motifs in view, but identifications of subject matter are of dubious value, since related subjects may be expressed in several genres.

I do not mean to advocate form-vs.-content analysis; indeed I would argue that there are instances in which certain "content" only comes into language in certain "forms."

3. "Forms" are constituent elements of genres, and can be identified by scientific criteria. Generally forms are smaller elements than genres, and it will often be possible to chart forms typical of certain genres.

4. The structure of the work as a whole (I prefer not to speak of the "form" of the whole) is a generic distinguishing trait. The structure is manifested in the work's sequential rhythms, its outline of parts, and its explicit and implicit character relationships. "Deep" tensions and values-oppositions generate structural and functional valences which are not always obvious.

5. Generic definitions ought not be restricted to any one particular feature (such as form, content, etc.), but they

ought to be widely enough constructed to allow one to conceive of a genre as a congeries of (a limited number of) factors.

The cluster of traits charted may include: authorial intention, audience expectancy, formal units used, structure, use of sources, characterizations, sequential action, primary motifs, institutional setting, rhetorical patterns, and the like.

6. Genres ought to be seen as representing particular positions or stages in the overall literary corpus of their historical periods. (The gospel genre--I think this is sufficiently established by Peterson, 1970--for example, represents such a position or moment in the literary history of Graeco-Roman Hellenism.) Hence it is vital to comprehend generic exemplars in their total literary contexts, which especially include works upon which the exemplar has had influence (positively or negatively).

7. We may need to speak of sub-genres, in order to indicate literary works which cannot be clearly classified within a major generic classification. In some cases such sub-genres would represent idiosyncratic adaptation, or stages in the developments of the genre.

I would so identify the Pauline letters--which are transitional between Greek letters and the ecclesial letters of early Christianity. I have tried to indicate initial sightings of this genre in Letters in Primitive Christianity, Chap. 4, forthcoming, 1973.

Chronological priority is less important than approximation to the most fully realized exemplar.

8. Employment of a genre varies both synchronically and diachronically. The synchronic variation is largely a matter

of individual modification and of sub-genres or forms used. Diachronic change involves the degree of relative utilization and appreciation of a genre over several generations, or even centuries. The "life and death" of the utilization and appreciation of genres is a matter not only of classifying literary works, but a matter of importance to interpretation, since the relative contemporary acceptance influences one's disposition to the literature.

10. While I am personally quite sympathetic to the suggestion that use of literary genres can be correlated (in some way) with particular human interests (something like Jolles' *Geistesbeschäftigungen*), such correlations are extremely difficult to specify. We learn a great deal from Northrup Frye and from the psychologist critics--but simple one-to-one correlations are impossible. I do ~~not~~ think that we need to study more carefully the ways literary patterns are used, e.g., how they function in the view of authors and receptors, and I see structuralist analysis as an important auxiliary, along with audience analysis, in literary criticism.

I suspect that analysis of the functionality of canonical vs. apocryphal gospels, for instance, might clarify the paucity or the generic modifications of the latter. The approach is similarly helpful in understanding the phenomenon of pseudo-apostolic epistles. It seems to me, for example, that the authors of pseudo-Pauline letters saw themselves as doing what Paul would have done if he had lived long enough to address their later situations. But I am not clear whether they saw "writing apostolic letters" or "shaping Christianity" as the central function in both cases.

Schemes which attempt to account for all possible literary products (Lapointe, 1970, Ruttkowski, 1968) strike me as interesting,

but as too diffuse to be of much pragmatic value for specific works.

11. Analysis of the reception (or audience reaction) to literary works needs to be developed. The history of the way materials are transmitted should engender clearer apperception of the function of texts in their originating contexts.

While I have not yet read Morton Smith's Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament, I am very much in favor of approaching the Tanak from the point of the Pharisaic setting of the canon which he advocates. Gerhard Ebeling and others have emphasized the importance of reading the history of transmission as an essential aspect of the original text itself.

12. The main propaedeutic role of generic classification lies in the training of the interpreter to comprehend adequately

a) the associational complexes in which a work appears, b) its ability to serve the author's intentions and/or the audience's expectations, and c) the preperceptions about the type of writing which the interpreter carries forward out of his own context, and which hinder or aid interpretation.

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Jacob's struggle with a "man" at the fords of the Jabbok has received extensive treatment both in commentaries and in journals.¹ Recently, Gene Tucker utilized this passage as a representative example of the kind of results which could be obtained by asking form critical questions, although he noted that it did "not offer a simple test for form critical analysis."² In spite of this complexity, however, there has been remarkably little disagreement over the form critical conclusions opened up by Gunkel at the turn of the century.³ Because of this it affords a valuable point from which to re-examine some of the established form critical procedures and conclusions. This paper will attempt to do some of both.

I. Form Criticism and Source Analysis

It is clear from observing Gunkel's Genesis that early form criticism accepted source analysis as a primary--indeed, a preparatory--step in form critical work. Generally speaking this remains a rule of thumb today.⁴ There can be little objection to such a procedure as long as texts are clearly composite and there is a general consensus on the division. It becomes a problem for narrative form criticism when there is no consensus and when there is the possibility of a growth process rather than an editorial process at work. With the increasing tendency to question the presence of sources, the narrative form critic is faced with a procedural decision.⁵ Should structural analysis, the first form critical procedure, be done without reference to source analysis?

In the text under consideration here source analysis has reached fundamentally different conclusions. Early critics found duplicate traditions, but were unable to reach any agreement on which elements belonged to the J and E parallels.⁶ More recently, scholars have agreed that the entire work is that of the Yahwist.⁷ Which set of conclusions does the form critic accept as a beginning point?

It would seem to be more proper, especially on passages in which there is great confusion concerning sources, to begin form criticism on the whole text. Since structural analysis is a different way of looking at a text,⁸ it should provide basic data for source divisions if there are any; on the other hand, it should prevent us from removing load-bearing elements of structures on the basis of superficial evidence. One of the tasks of narrative form criticism, it seems to me, should be the development of better techniques and criteria for structural analysis. The determination of tension and its resolution in narratives, for example, is a crucial step in identifying the genre itself. But the measurement of tension is even more risky than the assignment of phrases to sources. What constitutes a tensor? What does a tension releasing "trigger" look like? Are there linguistic or syntactic keys to be used or are we dependent completely on aesthetic judgments in structural analysis?

II. Structural Analysis of the Unit and its Context

A. The Larger Unit: Gen 32:1-33:16

Gen 32-33 forms a complete unit, although it is difficult to tell precisely where the unit should end.⁹ The complete unit contains the following elements:

Introduction

- A. Travel note 32:2_a
- B. Mahanaim aetiology 32:3 (introduces "camp" motif)

Body

- A. Introduction of Tension
 - 1. Messengers sent to Esau 32:4-6
 - 2. Messengers warn of Esau's coming 32:7
 - 3. Jacob prepares by dividing into camps 32:8-9
- B. Development of Tension
 - 1. Jacob's prayer 32:10-13 (possibility of divine intervention introduced)
 - 2. Jacob sends gifts 32:14-22 (raises question of Esau's reaction; introduces "face" motif)
 - 3. Jacob wrestles with a man 32:23-33
 - 4. Jacob meets Esau 33:1-3 (tension reaches climax)
- C. Resolution of Tension
 - 1. Esau embraces Jacob 33:4 (tension releasing verse)
 - 2. Esau meets wives and children 33:5-7
 - 3. Esau accepts gifts 33:8-11 (all major motifs tied off)

Conclusion

- A. Dialogue concerning travel 33:12-14
- B. Dialogue over continued relationship 33:15
- C. Esau departs 33:16

It is well known that this unit does not read as smoothly as an outline might indicate. However, it is clear that there is a well defined narrative whole here. The tension moves directly to 33:4 with the possible exception of the wrestling episode. Every scene except 32:23-33 and the Mahanaim etiology is tied to Jacob's encounter with Esau. It is apparent that the focal point of this narrative is 33:4; thus it is equally clear that 32:23-33 is not the structural climax of the narrative. The function of 32:23-33 is admittedly arguable. It does not appear to increase the tension related to the whole. It may be viewed as an obstacle story whose "purpose is to arouse suspense and sustain interest by recounting episodes which threaten or retard the fulfillment" of the plot.¹⁰ It may be essentially unrelated to the narrative except as the result of editorial insertion¹¹ or merely a foreign piece that was not completely malleable. Or it may owe its place in the narrative to the combination of sources. But whatever the reason, it is not the major element in the narrative.

This appears to raise a fundamental question for the understanding of the entire unit as well as for the sub-unit, Gen 32:23-33. Is it legitimate to find programmatic theological elements in materials which are clearly secondary within the structure? Does the structure of a narrative correspond to the author's intention? Two of the units which have been outlined above as tensors are commonly treated as programmatic for the Yahwist's theology.¹² One is the prayer in 32:10-13; the other is the wrestling episode.¹³ The prayer expresses clear theological motifs commonly used by the Yahwist and forms a clear

part of the whole.¹⁴ The same cannot be said for 32:23-33 it seems to me. Is it probable that the Yahwist intended to use a sub unit to express a major concept of God comparable, for example, to the Bethel narrative (Gen 28)? I would suggest that it is not probable and that narrative form criticism needs to deal with the relationship between structure and theology more carefully.

Before leaving this section the question of sources must be touched on again. Does not the structural analysis presented here simply ignore obvious source conflation? Virtually every treatment assigns the Mahanaim etiology (32:3) and the section in which Jacob sends gifts (32:14-22) to the E source. There is no question that angels play a role in the E source as commonly discerned. Nor is there any question of the similarity of 14-22 to 7-9. But structurally there is no E source; the common complaint about the fragmentary nature of the E materials obviously applies here. Stylistically and linguistically there is no evidence that 14-22 is E.¹⁵ The Mahanaim etiology is continued primarily in 7-9 which is clearly J, and the use of minchah in 14-22 is not a close play on machaneh although a word play cannot be denied there. Thus the question must be asked, whether 14-22 is better understood as part of the basic structure or apart from it. It appears possible to isolate 14-22 and 33:10 as motifs that may reflect a parallel account. However, it is more probable that 14-22 is consciously used repetition which serves to lengthen the narrative and increase the tension.

B. The Smaller Unit: Gen 32:23-33

The structure of this unit may be outlined as follows:

Introduction

- A. Travel note (crosses Jabbok) 23
- B. Interpretive modification of travel note 24
- C. Conclusion of introduction: Jacob is alone 25_a

Body

- A. Introduction of Tension
 - 1. Opponent wrestles 25_b
 - 2. Opponent senses defeat 26_a 16
 - 3. Opponent touches Jacob's thigh 26_{ab} 17
 - 4. Jacob is injured 26_b
- B. Development of Tension
 - 1. First dialogue 27
 - a. request: let me go
 - b. demand: bless me
 - 2. Second dialogue 28-29
 - a. request: your name?
 - b. response: Jacob
 - c. result: Name changed to Israel
 - 3. Third dialogue 30-31
 - a. request: your name?
 - b. response: why ask?
 - c. report of action: he blessed him
[tension released here]
 - d. result: Peniel named

Conclusion

- A. Parting of characters 32_a
- B. Result of wrestling 32_b
- C. Food etiology related to thigh 33

These eleven verses are divided into blocks of reported activity and dialogue. Every sentence with the exception of 33 begins with a consecutive imperfect.¹⁸ It may or may not be significant that the unit is bracketed by subject/verb inversion clauses.¹⁹ Within these verses, however, it is clear that the basic ingredients of a narrative are present.

In terms of tension development and resolution it is clear that there is an increase in tension only through the first dialogue. At that point the struggle has reached a critical stage: Will the opponent surrender to Jacob's demand? Conceivably, as Gunkel suggested,²⁰ the change of Jacob's name could serve to resolve this uncertainty. But as the narrative now stands the trigger which releases the tension is 30b where it is actually reported that the opponent blessed Jacob. The essential elements of the narrative are therefore: the struggle, the impending defeat of the opponent, Jacob's demand for a blessing, and the fulfillment of the demand.

None of the etiological elements are essential to the basic narrative. Is it possible to say which of the etiologies is more deeply rooted in the structure than the others? Only the Peniel etiology is carried forward into the larger structure. The "face" motif is, however, introduced earlier,²¹ and it is possible that the Peniel element originates as a link to tie the unit to the whole. On the other hand, Jacob is not "Israel" when he meets Esau; neither does he limp. If either of these elements were original they were ignored by the narrator in molding the larger unit.²² Thus while certainty in the matter is beyond reach, it can be generally concluded that when the unit was worked into the larger whole²³ the Peniel element was primary for the author.²⁴ If this is true, then the point of the larger narrative must be traced through the "face" motif. Gen 32:23-33 was an independent narrative which either contained the "face" motif or acquired it at the time it was used in the larger context.

III. Genre and Tradition-History

A. The Form Critical Consensus

Gen 32:23-33 is a narrative--but what kind of a narrative? As Tucker has pointed out, this passage contains characteristic elements of the hero saga as well as cultic and etymological etiologies as they are defined by Gunkel.²⁵ The mixture of genres is considered as evidence of a long history of transmission and the various elements are then related to stages in the growth of the unit. The last stage of growth is commonly associated with the food etiology (33) and the genre at the last stage is called etiological saga. In the hands of the Yahwist it is also etiological saga but with the focus on one of the other two etiologies, Israel or Peniel. At the pre-Israelite level the narrative was either a cult legend or an etiology explaining the name of a place, or perhaps a fairy tale of a nocturnal river demon. With relatively minor variations this description of the genre development of Gen 32:23-33 has been accepted since Gunkel's *Genesis*.

B. A Review of Presuppositions

Two processes are basic to the present consensus. One is the

process of genre identification; the other is the process of tradition history. Taking the latter first, the process and its results will be re-examined.

1. What are the fundamental assumptions which underlie the common description of the history of the genre in this case? It is assumed that: 1) 32:23-33 is an independent narrative; 2) accounts of river demons and/or nocturnal deities attacking men are parallels to this episode; and 3) the reference to the attacker as a "man" indicates a modification of a pagan divinity to Yahweh.

Are these assumptions valid? The first can hardly be denied. The second and third are more debatable. Gunkel was heavily influenced in his search for comparable motifs by the location of Peniel on the Jabbok and by the temporal framework of the narrative, i.e., the references to the sun-rise. Both are highly suspect as keys for studying the pre-Yahwistic narrative. Both literary criticism and structural analysis suggest that 23 which locates this episode on the Jabbok is not part of the independent unit. Structural analysis also suggests that the Peniel etiology (31) is best understood in relation to the narrator of the larger unit (presumably the Yahwist) and not as an original element. In addition, Martin Noth argued persuasively that the East Jordan Jacob figure was native to the Bethel-Shechem region and secondarily tied to major points on established routes.²⁶ Is it not, therefore, more proper to relate the location of this event to the Yahwist, or at the earliest to the Israelite oral transmission, than to an "ancient nucleus"?

These considerations call into question the assumption that this account was original to the Peniel tradition. They suggest that, like most of the Jacob-Esau materials, this episode does not require a specific locale.²⁷ In addition there are faint hints that it is not necessarily tied to either a river crossing or a nocturnal process. The action is described by a denominative of the noun 'abak, "dust,"²⁸ which is surely not the most descriptive of terms for an attack by a river demon. Moreover, there is a distinct possibility that the temporal framework is due more to the narrator's style than to any inner necessity of the narrative.²⁹

Is the other assumption valid? Must we assume that the union of an etiology involving the face of God with a story of a struggle with a man necessarily demands that the original figure was a non-Israelite deity? If the figure involved is a deity it is difficult to see why this episode should be embarrassing if the deity were Yahweh. The refusal to reveal the name is associated with Yahweh in Judg. 13:17, 22, and there is no hesitation on the part of the Yahwist in describing the activity of Yahweh as the action of humans in Gen 18. And it is obvious that crudely conceived activities of presumably non-Yahwistic deities or demons can be taken up without embarrassment by the later traditionists (note Ex. 4:24). Thus instead of assuming a pre-Israelite tradition of a nocturnal demon here, it would be much better to apply vonRad's conclusion concerning the Gen 18 passage to this unit: "One must ask, however, whether this lack of precision is to be attributed only to a certain bondage to the oldest pre-Israelite tradition, or whether it did not lend itself to the narrator's intention by veiling Yahweh with incognito."³⁰

I conclude therefore, that Gen 32:23-33 was an originally independent unit, but that its beginnings were not necessarily those described by Gunkel and commonly assumed. This means that the narrative cannot be traced to either a pre-Israelite cult saga or to a demon

story associated with the fords of the Jabbok. Indeed, the narrative probably cannot be traced behind a pre-Yahwistic Israelite stage with any assurance--and may not actually go any further back. The unit was inserted into the larger whole by the Yahwist; the Israel etiology was already a part of the unit the Yahwist received.

At the pre-Yahwistic Israelite stage, the narrative told of Jacob's victorious struggle which resulted in the name change and the blessing. There was no deity involved and presumably the "man" was either Esau or some East Jordanian figure whom Jacob overcame.

The Yahwist either introduced the touch or re-interpreted its meaning³¹ by adding 26^b. Jacob is still victorious but wounded. The Yahwist also introduced the Peniel etiology. But did he mean that Jacob had seen God in the opponent--or in the victory? Jacob say God and survived. It was through God's help that the victory came. Elliger has correctly seen that 31b is a direct reference to the prayer, but he is surely wrong in suggesting that God's answer to the prayer was that he would smash Jacob.³² The answer was that God was delivering Jacob by affecting the outcome of the battle. Thus according to the Yahwist Jacob who should have been subdued by the opponents "touch" is miraculously able to demand a blessing and get it. Jacob then confessed that he had seen what he prayed for, the delivering presence of God.

This unit was placed in a larger context which represented Esau's attitude toward Jacob as one of gracious reception. That Jacob was able to see Esau's face, to be received with astonishing graciousness instead of murdered as he feared, was to see God's face again. Thus Elliger is certainly right when he sees the total emphasis here on the act of God rather than on man's struggle.³³ But in the larger unit the act of God is hidden, not seen at all--except in Esau's reception and Jacob's victory over the man.³⁴

2. The other fundamental process involved here is that of genre identification and with this can be lumped the process of discovering the Sitz im Leben. Actually this process is closely dependent on the understanding of the history of the tradition. If the preceding treatment of the history is accepted, the earliest visible genre would be that of etiological saga explaining the name Israel³⁵ and probably rooted in the Ephraimite conquest of Gilead. At the Yahwistic level the narrative cannot be described by the old saga types proposed by Gunkel. It certainly is not cult legend nor etiology for him. As is well known by all, the designation of narrative genre is problematic. This passage serves to draw attention to this as well as any. Perhaps it cannot be more closely labeled than to describe it as theological narrative.

Conclusions

This paper has suggested that the commonly assumed form critical results pertaining to Gen 32:23-33 and the procedures used to gain them need re-examination. Procedurally it has been suggested that narrative form criticism should: 1) utilize structural analysis prior to source analysis in most cases, 2) attempt to define more closely the techniques and criteria for structural analysis, and 3) re-examine the process of tracing the original nucleus of a narrative. For Gen 32:23-33 this suggested that: 1) the unit was not the major point of the larger unit and thus not a "pillar" of the Yahwistic presentation

comparable to the Bethel narrative, 2) the Yahwist did not understand Jacob's opponent to be Yahweh but a human adversary whom Jacob defeated, and 3) seeing the face of God refers to seeing the hidden activity of God in victory against overwhelming odds.

FOOTNOTES

1. See major commentaries: especially H. Gunkel, Genesis (Sixth edition: Göttingen; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964); G. von Rad, Genesis (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961); and J. Skinner, Genesis (ICC: Edinburgh; T&T Clark, 1930). See also H. Eising, Formgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Jakoberzählung der Genesis (Emsdetten: Anstalt Heintr. & J. Lechte, 1940). Major journal articles include: P.A.H. de Boer, "Genesis xxxii 23-33: Some Remarks on the Composition and Character of the Story," Nederlandsch Theologisch Tijdschrift I (1946-1947), 149-163; W. Dommershausen, "Gott kämpft. Ein neuer Deutungsversuch zu Gen 32:23-33," Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift 78 (1969), 321-334; O. Eissfeldt, "Jakobs Begegnung mit El und Moses Begegnung mit Jahwe," Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 58/7-8 (1963), 325-331; K. Elliger, "Der Jakobskampf am Jabbok Gen 32,33ff[sic] als hermeneutisches Problem," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche xlviii (1951), 1-31; H. Gunkel, "Jacob," in What Remains of the Old Testament (New York: Macmillan, 1928); J. L. McKenzie, "Jacob at Peniel: Gn 32,24-32," CBQ 25 (1963), 71-76; L. Sabourin, S.J., "La lutte de Jacob avec Elohim (Gn 32,23-33)," Sciences Ecclesiastiques x (1958), 77-89; J. Schildenberger, "Jakobs nachtllicher Kampf mit dem Elohim am Jabbok (Gn 32,23-33)," Miscellanea Biblica B. Ubach, Montœrat (1953), 69-96; M. Schmidt, "Jakob kämpft um der Segen," Judaica 4 (1948), 258-267; H. J. Stoebe, "Der heilsgeschichtliche Bezug der Jabbok Pericope," Evangelische Theologie 14/10 (1954), 466-474; L.A. Trigt, "La signification de la lutte de Jacob près du Yabboq, Genèse xxxii 23-33," Oudtestamentische Studien xii (1958), 280-309. Related articles dealing with the tradition as it appears in Hosea 12 are: P. Ackroyd, "Hosea and Jacob," VT 13 (1963), 245-259; A. Bentzen, "The Weeping of Jacob," VT 1 (1951) 58-59; and M. Gertner, "The Massorah and the Levites, Appendix: An Attempt at an Interpretation of Hosea xii," VT 10 (1966), 241-284.
2. G. Tucker, Form Criticism of the Old Testament (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 41.
3. Gunkel saw the roots of this account in a very old pre-Israelite saga--probably a cult saga--which was independent of the Jacob-Esau cycle. The original account is paralleled by the legends of nocturnal attacks by demons or deities known from world literature. The saga was adapted by J and E. Gunkel, Genesis, 359-363.
4. Tucker, Form Criticism, 42. "The form critical analysis of a text should be based on the solution of the source critical questions."
6. See Elliger, ZTK 48 (1951), 6-note 2 for a convenient listing.
5. Tucker, Form Criticism, 43.
7. Von Rad, Genesis, 315. Elliger, ZTK 48 (1951), 1-31.
8. An excellent example of structural analysis is offered by W. Richter, Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufungsberichte (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970). See pp.40-42. Richter, however, does structural analysis after source analysis.

9. Richter has pointed out the use of subject/verb inversion as scenic dividers (see note 8 above). These materials are not so divided, however, there is such inversion in 32:2 and 33:17 with other instances at 32:22b, 32:32b, and 33:1, 3, 14. Some of these come at scenic breaks but others, e.g., 33:14, clearly do not.

10. So suggests P. Ellis, *The Yahwist* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Fides Publishers, Inc., 1968), 136.

11. Many have noted the very rough introductory verses, e.g., von Rad, *Genesis*, 315.

12. Von Rad asserted, "The prayer of Gen. xxxii.10-12 is indicative of the whole course of Jacob's life history." *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 59. Von Rad also linked together the Bethel saga (28) and the Peniel saga as "landmarks in the story of the patriarchs relationship with God...."; See also Elliger, ZTK 48 (1951), 18—"Wir nehmen das Gebet als programmatische Äusserung des jahwistischen Schriftstellers in Anspruch." 13. Elliger sees 32:23-33 as the answer to Jacob's prayer. Most follow von Rad in speaking of the symmetry between Bethel and Peniel. See e.g., McKenzie, CBQ (1963), 75.

14. How does one judge the fit of such elements in a structure? Can one really say that one unit serves to increase tension or prepare for the use of a motif better than another?

15. Skinner remarks, "14b-22 must therefore be E though no positive marks of that writer's style can be detected." *Genesis*, 404.

16. M. Weiss calls such sentences which present a fact or an experience from the perspective of a character but are neither indirect nor direct experiences an "interior monologue." "Einiges über die Bauformen der Erzählens in der Bibel," VT XIII (1963), 460-462.

17. As is well known, there is a dearth of proper names in the whole section. Literally it is "he touched the hollow of his thigh." The meaning of the touch is also debatable. Gunkel thought of a blow (*Genesis*, 359); Elliger (ZTK 48, 1951, 6) argued that the normal meaning of ng' is a "magical touch". Could the touch originally have had something to do with an act of surrender? Placing the hand under the thigh is an act of submission to another's wishes in oath taking (Gen 24:2; 47:28). It follows the recognition of defeat and precedes the acquiescence to Jacob's demand. It is widely recognized that the interpretation placed on the touch by 26b jars the reader. Should it not be taken as a later interpretation of the meaning of the touch?

18. The food etiology in 33 is generally conceded to be a late element *traditio*=historically. See Elliger, ZTK 48 (1951), 27.

19. See footnote 9.

20. Gunkel contended that "die Namensnennung Israel ist schon eine Art Segen 28f..." *Genesis*, 359.

21. Note the four-fold use of the word in 21.

22. Elliger argues that this narrative was originally a pre-Israelite cult saga which was first assimilated to the patriarch of the north. Thus the re-naming was a part of the account before the Yahwist got the material just as the demon had already been changed to an Elohim. ZTK 48 (1951), 12.

23. That this unit is worked in is indicated by two factors: 1) If alone of all the scenes in 32-33 is a narrative in itself. The others are not independent units. 2) The introductory verses do not simply introduce. Verse 23 brings on the scene people who are not involved in the narrative at all. Then 24 must take these characters out of the scene in order to leave Jacob alone. Verse 24 is an adaptor.

24. McKenzie, CBQ (1963), 75, reaches the opposite conclusion: the Peniel element is "actually discordant" because "it is vital to the story that Jacob did not see the fact of his adversary." I disagree because this takes the words much too literally. See also Tucker, Form Criticism, 49, where the Israel etiology is considered more closely related to the narrative.

25. Tucker, Form Criticism, 46.

26. M. Noth, A History of Pentateuchal Traditions (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 94-95, 99. It should be noted however, that Noth considered the narrative an ancient local legend of Peniel, cf. p. 100.

27. Noth, Pent. Trad., 95.

28. BDB, 7.

29. Note Gen 15:12, 17; 18:1; 19:2, 15, 23; 28:11, 18.

30. Von Rad, Genesis, 200.

31. See above note 17.

32. "Also das ist die Antwort: Gott will Jakob niederringen, ihn zerschmettern." ZTK 48 (1951), 22.

33. Elliger, ZTK 48 (1951), 27.

34. As in God's dealing with Laban (31:24) and the brothers of Joseph (50:20). Note R.M. Hals, The Theology of the Book of Ruth (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), 34-37. Perhaps the motif of God's hiddenness is characteristic of the Yahwist.

35. But as is well known the recent work of B. O. Long, The Problem of Etiological Narrative in the Old Testament, BZAW 108 (Berlin: Topelmann, 1968) casts serious doubt on the existence of etiological saga or narrative.

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Introduction

1.0 The Book of Job exhibits radical divergences between its form in the Masoretic Text (MT) and its earliest form in Greek (OG=Old Greek). Not only does the Greek translation (often paraphrastic) present difficulties in language, style, and content when compared with MT; the very length of the translation is even more perplexing. OG is fully one-sixth shorter than MT, missing some 180 verses that are present in MT.¹

1.1 The debate as to which extant tradition, the MT or OG, more closely reflects the original content and length of the book is long standing. Moreover, the general tendency among scholars, beginning already with Origen and Jerome, and in more modern times exhibited by Bickell, Gray, Dhorme, and others, has been to see OG as inferior to MT because of the translator's errors, deletions, theological bias, or paraphrastic method, i.e., because of general irresponsibility in the technique of translation.²

1.2 Recently, however, H. Orlinsky has effectively countered critics of OG's content and style. He has shown that the paraphrastic nature of the Greek translation of Job rests not on whim or misunderstanding but on definite stylistic grounds for turning Hebrew into Greek.³ Orlinsky has discussed also a number of readings where it appears that inner-Greek corruptions account for a seeming disparity between OG and MT.⁴

1.3 At the same time, the discovery of variant Hebrew textual traditions among the biblical MSS at Qumran has led to a number of studies in which it has been demonstrated that where the Greek diverges from MT in an Old Testament book, the difference can be traced to a variant Hebrew text used and faithfully reproduced by the Greek translator.⁵ These developments should lay to rest all simplistic Hebraica veritas theories,⁶ also as they might apply to the Book of Job.

1.4 The object of this paper is to indicate that now a third line of evidence may converge to explain the tradition of a longer and shorter text for the Book of Job. Careful study of the Joban poetry reveals the presence of a large number of formulas and formulaic systems, a strong indicator that oral antecedents may underlie the book. In the first half of the paper I will present a representative selection of these formulas. In addition, the overall development of the Joban dialogues indicates a dependence upon repeated major and minor themes and motifs, a second indicator that we may be dealing with a traditional song-cycle in the Book of Job. In the second half of the paper I will discuss a number of these themes.⁷

1.5 If we are justified in suggesting that the formulas and themes still recognizable in the Book of Job point to original oral composition and performances of the Joban poetry, we may have a valuable clue that can help the text-critic account for some of the zero-variants between MT and OG. At the conclusion of this paper I will discuss a few striking examples of zero-variants that reflect concise versus more expanded forms of formulaic or thematic materials.⁸

Formulas in the Song-Cycle of Job

2.0 The basic building-blocks for Old Testament poetry in parallelism⁹ are the traditional word pairs.¹⁰ The word pairs are formulaic in the strictest sense because they provided prefabricated materials, ready at hand for the Hebrew poet to use in composing his parallel cola. As Wm. Whallon puts it, "the diction became formulaic because it was developed by oral poets, who composed on the instant and therefore needed word pairs, such as 'wine/strong drink' and 'death/grave,' that came immediately to mind...."¹¹ It is not our intention to list here the word pairs that occur in the Joban poetry. Suffice it to say that the traditional pairs are everywhere in evidence, along with several pairs that appear to be peculiar to the Joban cycle.¹²

2.1 Besides the word pairs, moreover, the oral poet used another device to aid rapid composition for a performance. That device consists of formulas and formulaic systems. For the Homeric epics Milman Parry defined the formula as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea."¹³ As Albert Lord has pointed out,¹⁴ these repeated phrases are characteristic also of the traditional epic poems of Yugoslavia. He goes on to explain that the "most stable formulas will be those for the most common ideas of the poetry. They will express the names of the actors, the main actions, time, and place."¹⁵ This, of course, covers just about everything! The formula may cover a half-line or a line, and groups of formulas and formulaic variations strung together in the "adding style" (the description is Parry's) provide the flesh and blood of the poet's song.

2.2 Following the lead of Parry and Lord, Robert Culley has attempted to list and analyze the formulas and formulaic systems in the biblical Psalms. Sticking to his definitions that "a formula will be a repeated phrase a line or a colon long" and that "a formulaic system will include only phrases that have the same essential syntactic structure and at least one major lexical item in common,"¹⁷ Culley lists 177 such formulas and systems that he has found in the Psalms. In addition, he discusses 15 possible "runs," i.e., "groups of formulas or formulaic phrases that often appear together in the same or slightly different order."¹⁸

2.3 I list now a similar sampling of the formulas and formulaic systems that I have found in the Book of Job. The Joban song-cycle, of course, contains much less material than the biblical Psalms. The Massorettes have counted over 2,500 verses for the Psalms, slightly over 1,000 for Job (the OG, remember, lacks one-sixth of these). These materials seem limited, indeed, compared to the 27,000 lines of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Nevertheless, I believe there are sufficient strong items (and a large number of probable items) that deserve recognition as formulas in the Joban poetry. I have felt free, moreover, to use formulaic evidence from the Psalms and Proverbs especially, but also from elsewhere in the biblical corpus of poetry, wherever there are coincidences with Joban materials.

2.4 I use the following notations:

- a b c etc. stand for the individual units of a colon
- / separates cola
- a a' a" etc. indicate paired, synonymous, or equivalent forms
- a-b etc. indicates a bound-structure
- + indicates addition or variation of a suffix
- () indicates variation in tense, mood, conjugation, number or person in a verbal form

, indicates variation in word order
[] indicates parts of a colon outside the formula

i. a. Formula: a b c / b' d-a'

וּתְּחַכְּמֶנָּה זֵאֵן / תַּעֲצָא / וְאִי זֶה מִקֹּדֶם בִּינָה Job 28:12 A

Variation: a b c' / b' d-a'
וּתְּחַכְּמֶנָּה זֵאֵן / תְּבוּא / וְאִי זֶה מִקֹּדֶם בִּינָה Job 28:20 B

The formula covers an entire line. For the verb in B, compare Job 1:7. On the poetic pairing of m'yn and 'y zh, compare Job 1:7 and 2:2.

b. Variations to the second colon:

a" b' d+
וּשְׁדָא אִי זֶה מִקֹּדֶם Job 38:19b C

b' d' (c") a"
אִי זֶה וְדֶרֶךְ שְׁכָן אֹר Job 38:19a D

b' d' (c"') a"
אִי זֶה וְדֶרֶךְ יִחְלָק אֹר Job 38:24 E

Note the poetic pairing of drk and mqm in C-D. If we now take into account also the second cola of A and B above, we may outline the formulaic system as follows:

'y zh	}	mq(w)m	}	+ bound noun
		(h)drk		+ suffix and noun in apposition
				+ verbal modifier

ii. Formula: a b c / c' (a')

יָרַע מִעַלִּי שְׁבָט / וְאַעֲתוֹ אֶל תְּבַעֲתִי Job 9:34 A

Variation: c"+ b a" / c'+ (a')
כַּפֶּךָ מִעַלִּי וְרִחֶק / וְאַעֲתֶךָ אֶל תְּבַעֲתִי Job 13:21 B

Variation: c'+ (a')+ / c"+ b' (a")
(וְהִנֵּה) אַעֲתִי לֹא תְבַעֲתֶךָ / וְאַכְפִּי עֲלֶיךָ לֹא יִכְבֹּד Job 33:7 C

In 33:7b we read *kpy with LXX. Note the variations in mood: A has jussive followed by negative command; B has impv and negative command; C has two indicatives (both impf) plus l'. The introductory particle, hnh, in C is a free addition.

iii. Formula: a-b c

(כְּמִתָּה) כִּי רִשְׁעִים יִדְעָ Job 21:7 A

(ו) כִּי רִשְׁעִים יִדְעָ Pv. 13:9 B

כִּי רִשְׁעִים יִדְעָ Pv. 24:20 C

Variation: a'-b c

(גם) אור רשעים ידעך Job 18:5 D

nr and 'wr are a poetic pair; see Job 18:6 (which follows) and 29:3. Again, note the variation of introductory particles.

Variation: a+ d c

(אור חשך באהל / ו) נרו עליו ידעך Job 18:6 E

Compare: c a+ e

ידעך נרו באישון חשך Pv. 20:20 F

Like A-D, both E and F also refer to the fate of wicked people.

iv. Formula: a b c-d / b' c-d'

חשך גדלות ואין חקר / נפלאות עד אין חספר Job 5:9 A

חשך גדלות עד אין חקר / נפלאות עד אין חספר Job 9:10 B

There is a slight variation in the particles (w-, cd) in the first colon.

Related system: a b c' e

(ירעם אל בקולו נפלאות) חשך גדלות ולא נדע Job 37:5 C

Variation: b' f c' (e)

נפלאות מצני ולא אדע Job 42:3 D

Note the poetic pairing of npl'wt and cáh gdlwt in C as in A and B (although the order is reversed). As C and D illustrate, each member of a pair can be used interchangeably in a formulaic system.

Compare: g h c' e / d'-b" c' d

(ובן) אל שגל ולא נדע / חספר שני ולא חקר Job 36:26 E

It will now be seen that both cola of A and B, the two cola C and D, and both cola of E are all variations of a single more inclusive system:

cáh gdlwt	}	w'yn	+	hqr
npl'wt (mmny)		cd 'yn		mspr
hn 'l sgy'		wl'		√ydc
mspr šnyw				

The system appears in slightly variant form (a preposition is added) in

(גדול יבוט ומפלל מאד) ולגדלתו אין חקר Ps. 145:3 F

(גדול אדוב'כו ורב כח) ולתבוכתו אין חספר Ps. 147:5 G

Compare:

(אלה' עולם יבוט...) אין חקר לתבוכתו Isa. 40:28 H

The idiom 'yn/1' hqr occurs only twice more in OT, at Job 34:24 and Pv. 25:3. In both instances it stands at the end of a colon, as in A, B, E and F. Only in Isa. 40:28 (H) does it begin a colon.

v. Formula: a b c d

אָדוֹת דֵּי אֶךְ אֲנִי Job 32:10 A

אָדוֹת דֵּי אֶךְ אֲנִי Job 32:17b B

Variation: a' c d b'

אֶעֱנֶה אֶךְ אֲנִי חֶלֶק Job 32:17a C

Compare: (a) b e

מִדּוֹת דֵּי אֶתְכֶם Job 32:6 D

a" b f

(כִּתְרִי לִי זָעִיר וְאֶדוֹךְ...!) אֲשֶׁךְ דֵּי לַעֲרִידוֹן Job 36:2a, 3a E

Note the poetic pairing of dc with hwh in E (compare A, B and D). Only in Job 37:16, where the plural dcym occurs, is dc not associated with a form of the verb hwh. These are the only occurrences of the noun dc in OT. As for hwh, it occurs only twice more in Job (in 13:17 and 15:17, both of which express a theme identical with that in A-E above; see Formula vi, below) and in Ps. 19:3 (precisely in the expression yhwh dcl)

vi. a. Formula: a b

שִׁמְעוּ שְׁמוֹעַ מִלִּי' (וְאֶדוֹתִי בְּאֲזִיכֶם) Job 13:17 A

שִׁמְעוּ שְׁמוֹעַ מִלִּי Job 21:2 B

Variation: a c-b'+

שִׁמְעוּ שְׁמוֹעַ בְּרִגְזִי קִלּוֹ Job 37:2 C

b. Formula: a b

(אֶדוֹךְ) שִׁמְעֵ לִי Job 15:17 D

שִׁמְעֵה לִי (אֶדוֹת דֵּי אֶךְ אֲנִי) Job 32:10 E

(וְתִשָּׁעֶה אִיּוֹב) שִׁמְעֵ לִי Job 33:31 F

Variation: (a) b

(אֵת אִין אֶתְהֶ) שִׁמְעֵ לִי Job 33:33 G

Variation: a b'

וְאוֹלֵת שִׁמְעֵ-כֹּחַ (אִיּוֹב) מִלִּי Job 33:1 H

Note the similarity of F and H (both contain a vocative), and compare them to the following system.

c. System: a b c

שטצן װאָרען זי Job 34:2a I

Variation: b' a' c'

(ו)ידענען זאָרען לי Job 34:2b J

Variation: b" a' c'

אנשי לרב שטצן לי Job 34:10 K

Variation: b" (a") c'

אנשי לרב יאָרען לי Job 34:34a L

Variation: b"" (a) c'

(ו)גבר װאָרען שטצן לי Job 34:34b M

hkmym, yd^{cym}, 'nāy lbb, and gbr hkm are, of course, synonymous. Note the variation again between my (compare A, B, and H) and ly. The substitute verb in L is impf; the verb in M is a participle (compare G).

vii. Formula: a b c

כ' (אז) על שדי תתענג Job 22:26 A

(אם) על שדי תתענג Job 27:10 B

Variation: c a b'

(אז) תתענג על יהוה Isa. 58:14 C

Again, note the free variation in the introductory particles.

viii. Formula: (a) b c+

(ו)קרא זאנכי אננך Job 13:22 A

תקרא זאנכי אננך Job 14:15 B

Variation: (a) b' (c)+

קרא-נא אם יש עונך Job 5:1 C

Variation: (a) b" (c)

(אז) תקרא ויהוה יצנך Isa. 58:9 D

Note that the opening verb is addressed to the second person (A and C are impv) in each instance.

ix. Formula: a-b c

(ו)שפעת מים תכסך Job 22:11 A

(ו)שפעת מים תכסך Job 38:34 B

Variation: a-b' c+

שפצת גמלים תכסך Isa. 60:6 C

The suffix attached to the verb is feminine (it is masculine in A and B).

Compare: a-b"+ (c)+

(ט)שפצת קוביו יכסך (אבקם) Ezk.26:10 D

The bound-structure is no longer the subject of the verb but part of a prepositional phrase. Note the particular affinities of C and D: both refer to a multitude of animals (gmlym and swayw), and both attach the 2fs pronomial suffix (referring, respectively, to the cities Jerusalem and Tyre) to the verb.

x. Formula: a b c d e

אולם אני אדרוש אל אל Job 5:8a A

Variation: a b d e' c'

אולם אני אל שד' אדבר Job 13:3a B

Variation: d e" c" f

ואל אלוים אש'ם דברתי Job 5:8b C

Variation: f' d e c""

והוכח אל אל אפך Job 13:3b D

Note that A and C make a complete line, as do B and D. Note also the presence of dbt in nominal form in C, but as a verb in B. Of course, 'dbt' and 'syn dbt' are synonymous expressions.

xi. Formula: a b-c / d-e f g

בשעפ'ים (ט)חז'כות לילה/ בנפל תרדמת על אנשים Job 4:13 A

Variation: a' b-c / d-e f g

בחלום חז'ין לילה/ בנפל תרדמת על אנשים Job 33:15 B

In the first cola, note the variation between plural nouns in A and singular nouns in B, the paired substitution in the first word of the line, and the extra preposition in A.

The poetic pair, hlwm/hzywn lyh, occurs elsewhere only in Job 20:8. The pair, hlwmwt/hzywnwt, occurs at Job 7:14 and Joel 3:1. These are all the occurrences of the pair hlwm/hzywn in OT.

The idiom, npl trdmh, occurs elsewhere in OT only at Gen. 2:21, 15:12; I Sam. 26:12; and Pv. 19:15. Compare Isa. 29:10.

xii. Formula: a b-c d / b'-c'+ d'

זת חלק אדם רשע מאלוים/ ונחלת אפרו פאל Job 20:29 A

Variation: a b-c d' / b'-c" d"

זת חלק אדם רשע עם אל/ ונחלת ערצים פשד (יקח) Job 27:13 B

Since the conjunction at the beginning of the second colon is poetic surrogate for zh (i.e., zh does double duty), both cola of both lines actually follow an identical pattern. There is an extraneous verb at the end of B.

Compare: a' b-d''' / b'-d'''

(וְאֵת חֵלֶק אֶלֶף מִמֶּלֶךְ / וְנָחֳלֶת שְׂדֵי מִרְמָיִם) Job 31:2 C

Since mh does double duty for both cola, the formulaic pattern is identical for both.

These lines contain all the occurrences of nhlh in the poetic portions of Job; in each instance it is paired as a B-word with hlq and always stands as the first member of a colon.

We interpret 'lwh mcl and šdy maraym as paired epithets.

xiii. Formula: (a) b c+

(וְיָשָׁבְנִי לְאוֹיֵב לִי) Job 13:24 A

יָשָׁבְנִי לְאוֹיֵב לוֹ Job 33:10 B

Variation: (a) c+ b'+

(וְיָשָׁבְנִי לוֹ כְּצִרִי) Job 19:11 C

Compare: b" (a)

לִזְרַת יָשָׁבְנִי Job 19:15 D

xiv. Formulaic System: a b c d (where b, a nominal unit, and d, a verbal element, have any number of variants)

(וְיָשָׁבְנִי לְאוֹיֵב לִי) Job 3:12 A

מִתְּכַחֵי כִי אֵינִי Job 6:11a B

(וְיָשָׁבְנִי לְאוֹיֵב לִי) Job 6:11b C

מִתְּכַחֵי אֲבוֹשׁ כִּי תִגְדֹּל (כֹּחַ) Job 7:17 D

מִתְּכַחֵי אֲבוֹשׁ כִּי יִזְכֶּה Job 15:14 E

מִתְּכַחֵי שְׂדֵי כִי תַעֲבֹד (כֹּחַ) Job 21:15a F

(כִּי) מִתְּכַחֵי תִקִּית וְדָנָה כִּי יִבְצֵעַ Job 27:8 G

Variation: a b' c d (where b' is a verbal element)

(אוֹ) מִתְּכַחֵי יִמְרִיעַד כִּי תַעֲבֹד Job 16:3 H

(וְיָשָׁבְנִי לְאוֹיֵב לִי) Job 21:15b I

(וְיָשָׁבְנִי לְאוֹיֵב לִי) Job 31:14 J

Note that several of the cola have an attached (D, F) or unattached (C, I, J) object after the final verb.

This poetic construction is peculiarly Joban in the poetry of OT. Only a few instances elsewhere resemble this pattern (see e.g., Isa. 22:1, Ps. 114:5, Mal. 3:14). Of these, Mal. 3:14 also bears striking thematic resemblance to Job 21:15 (F and I above):

(אפרתם שוא עבד אלהים) / (וצה בצצ כי שפרנו) (משברתו) Mal. 3:14 K

xv. a. Formulaic System: a b c

- Variation: a' + b (c)
- Variation: a" b (c')
- Variation: c" b a"'+
- כפך מעלי וזרחק Job 13:21 A
- אחי מעלי וזרחק Job 19:13 B
- כבודי מעלי תפשיג Job 19:9 C
- יסר מעלי שבטו Job 9:34 D

D like A is in the jussive-impv mood and expresses a synonymous idea.

b. Formulaic System: a b c

- Variation: a' b' c
- (לילה) עצמי נקר מעלי Job 30:17 E
- עור' שחר מעלי Job 30:30 F

The cola are synonymous. Like A-D above, they are included in Job's complaints.

xvi. Formula: a-b c

- Variation: a-b+ c'
- Variation: b (c)
- (תלא תוא יראת דרכי) / וכל צעדי יספור Job 31:4 A
- (כי עיניו על דרכי איש) / וכל צעדיו יראת Job 34:21 B
- (כי עתיד) צעדי תספור Job 14:16 C

xvii. Formulaic System: a b c-d / c'-d' e

- Variation to first colon: a (b') c-d
- Variation to first colon: a' (b') c"-d"
- פרות יליכו מבלי לבוש / ואין כסות בקרת Job 24:7 A
- ערום תלכו בלי לבוש Job 24:10 B
- קדר תלכתי בלא חפית Job 30:28 C

Variation to second colon: c'-d' e'

(... מְבִלִי לְבוֹשׁ) וְאֵין כְּסוֹת לְאַבְיוֹן Job 31:19 D

Variation to second colon: c'-d' e''

(עֲרוֹם ...) וְאֵין כְּסוֹת לְאַבְדוֹן Job 26:6 E

bly and mbly are bi-forms; bl' and bly are paired poetically in Job 8:11. This formulaic system is actually part of a frequently recurring metrical system in Job that has bly + noun as the final member of a colon: see 8:11, 30:8, 31:39, 33:9, 34:6, 38:2, 39:16, 41:18, and 42:3. (These are all the occurrences of bly in Job.) See also bbly + noun in the same metrical position in 36:12 (but contrast 35:16); similarly, see lbly + noun in 38:14 and 41:25; similarly mbly + noun in 4:11, 6:6, 18:15, and 31:19 (but contrast 4:20 and 24:8).

xviii. Formula: a b c / d e f

שְׂרִידוֹ בַּפּוֹת יִקְבְּרוּ וְאַלְעֲנֵתוּ לֹא תִבְכֶּינָה Job 27:15 A

Variation: a' b' c' / d e f

כִּתְבֵּינוּ בַּחֲרֵב נִפְלוּ וְאַלְעֲנֵתוּ לֹא תִבְכֶּינָה Ps. 78:64 B

Note: If this formal analysis is correct, we will have to retain the MT pointing, *bam-māwet in A and reject Albright's suggestion (VT Suppl. IV, p. 206) that we read an adverbial accusative, *bamôt (compare R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel, p. 287, and M. Pope, Job, p. 172).

xix. Formula: a b (c) d

תִּרְחַם עֲמַל וְיִלֵּד אֹן Job 15:35 A

תִּרְו עֲמַל וְתוֹלִיד אֹן Isa. 59:4 B

The idiom, $\sqrt{\text{hrh}}$ inf abs followed by Cml, occurs in MT only in these two instances. The only other occurrence of $\sqrt{\text{hrh}}$ inf abs is in Isa. 59:13.

Variation: (a) b / (c) d'

(תִּנְכַּח יִחְבֵּל אֹן) וְתִרְחַם עֲמַל וְיִלֵּד שֶׁקֶר Ps. 7:15 C

Here both verbs are finite (Qal pf). C consists of three short cola; since 'wn has been used already in the first colon, it is replaced by a paired word, sq̄r, in the last colon of the formula.

xx. Formula: (a) b+ c+

חָרַק עָלַי (ב) שִׁבְיוֹ Job 16:9 A

חָרַק עָלַי שִׁבְיוֹ Ps. 35:16 B

(ו) חָרַק עָלַי שִׁבְיוֹ Ps. 37:12 C

Culley has already recognized B and C as a formula in the Psalms (see his #93). The only significant variant in A is the attached preposition, b-. In MT the verb is pointed as pf in A, inf abs in B, ptc in C.

xxi. Formula: a b c d

ולא יכירנו עוד מקומו Job 7:10 A

ולא יכירנו עוד מקומו Ps. 103:16 B

Variation: a c b' d

(ועין שזפתו ולא תוס'ת) Job 20:9 C

ולא עוד תשורכו מקומו

The feminine verb in C is no doubt the result of parallel influences: note the first colon.

xxii. Formula: a b c

תבס שמים וראת Job 35:5 A

תבס שמים וראת Ps. 80:15 B

תבס שמים וראת Isa. 63:15 C

Variation: a b' c

תבס ימין וראת Ps. 142:5 D

Culley has already identified B-D as belonging to a formulaic system (see his #112).

xxiii. Formula: a b c

לפת פניך תסתיר Job 13:24 A

לפת פניך תסתיר Ps. 44:25 B

Variation: a [] / c b []

לפת (יתות תזנח נפשי) Ps. 88:15 C

תסתיר פניך (ממני)

See Culley's #21 for the related formula, 'l tstr pnk many and variations. Culley includes C among his variations, but he has not noted either A or B.

The idiom, "to hide the face," is, of course, common elsewhere in OT. Interesting contextual variants of pnym and str in association with each other occur in Job 13:10, 24:15, and 34:29.

xxiv. Formula: (a) b-c

ורבצת ואין מחריד Job 11:19 A

ורבצו ואין מחריד Isa. 17:2 B

ורבצו ואין מחריד Zeph. 3:13 C

Compare prose:

ושכבתם ואין מחריד Lev. 26:6 D

xxv. Formula: a-b c d

כִּי יָד יִתּוֹת עֲשֹׂתָהּ זֶאֱתָ Job 12:9 A

כִּי יָד יִתּוֹת עֲשֹׂתָהּ זֶאֱתָ Isa. 41:20 B

Compare: a-b' c' d'

כִּי יָד אֱלֹהִים נִגְעָהּ בִּי Job 19:21 C

xxvi. Formula: a b c

(ו) פָּדָדוּ יָפֵל עֲלֵיכֶם Job 13:11 A

Variation: (b) a+ c+

(כִּי) נָפַל פָּדָדָם עֲלֵיהֶם Ps. 105:38 B

Variation: (b) c+ / [] a

תָּפַל עֲלֵיהֶם / (אֲיִמָּתָהּ ו) פָּדָד Ex. 15:16 C

A and B vary significantly only in word order. C exhibits a metrical variation; it is one couplet in a series of short cola in Ex. 15:15-16 (see F.M. Cross, Jr., "The Song of the Sea and Canaanite Myth," in *God and Christ*, R.W. Funk, ed., p. 15).

The formula also occurs several times in prose variations. See Est. 8:17, 9:3; I Sam. 11:7; Est. 9:2. Compare also II Chr. 14:13, 19:7, 17:10, 20:29.

xxvii. Formula: a, b, c

יָבֹל בְּזֹבֵב יִמִּיתָם Job 21:13 A

יָכֹל יִמִּיתָם בְּזֹבֵב Job 36:11 B

Very likely, we should follow the Massoretic Qere and read yklw in A (LXX has $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\upsilon$ and $\ast\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\upsilon$ in A and B, respectively).

Compare: (a) b' c

וְיָכֹל בְּתֵבֶל יִמִּיתָם Ps. 78:33 C

We have here an antonym in the prepositional phrase.

Compare: (a) b" c+

וְיָכֹל בְּבִשְׁתִּי יִמִּי Jer. 20:18 D

Unlike A-D, MT points the verb in the simple, not intensive conjugation.

xxviii. Formula: a b c-d

וְדָרַךְ עַל כַּפְתִּי אֲרָץ Amos 4:13 A

וְדָרַךְ עַל בְּעוֹתֵי אֲרָץ Mic. 1:3b B

Variation: a b c-d'

וְדוֹרַךְ עַל כַּפְתִּי יָם Job 9:8b C

MT points the verb in A and C as Qal ptcp but in B as Qal pf. Most probably, the verb in B should be read also as ptcp (note the poetic parallel, yōgē'--Qal ptcp!--in Mic. 1:3a).

Compare: (a') + b c-d

וִירְכֵבְנוּ עַל בְּמוֹתֵי אֶרֶץ Dt. 32:13 D
וְתִרְכֵבְתִּיךְ עַל בְּמוֹתֵי אֶרֶץ Isa. 58:14 E

Compare also W.F. Albright's rendering of Hab. 3:19: wcl bmtwy <ym> ydrkny ("The Psalm of Habakkuk," note 1', p. 18, in Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, H.H. Rowley, ed., Edinburgh, 1950). In the same note he refers to Job 9:8b in support of his emendation. He suggests also a probable emendation of Ps. 18 (= II Sam. 22):34 to: wcl bmtwy y<m> (sic) ycmdn. For the latter emendation, see already F.M. Cross, Jr., Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry, 1950, p. 268 and note 78, p. 307, who suggests wcl bmtwy <mt> / <ym> ycmdny, preferring <mt> in the context.

Themes in the Song-Cycle of Job

3.0 If formulas provide the flesh and blood for the songs of an oral poet, themes provide the skeleton. Lord's remarks are instructive:

Formulas and groups of formulas, both large and small, serve only one purpose. They provide a means for telling a story in song and verse. The tale's the thing.

Anyone who reads through a collection of oral epic from any country is soon aware that the same basic incidents and descriptions are met with time and again....

Following Parry, I have called the groups of ideas regularly used in telling a tale in the formulaic style of traditional song the "themes" of the poetry. The first major theme in the "Song of Bagdad" (I, No. 1) is a council, one of the most common and most useful themes in all epic poetry. This one is surprisingly like the opening theme of the Chanson de Roland....

Incidents of this sort occur in song after song, and from much hearing the pattern of the theme becomes familiar to the youthful bard even before he begins to sing. He listens countless times to the gathering of an army or of a large number of wedding guests (the two are often synonymous). He hears how the chieftain writes letters to other chiefs; he comes to know the names of these leaders of the past and of the places where they dwelt; he knows what preparations are made to receive the assembling host, and how each contingent arrives, what its heroes are wearing and what horses they are riding and in what order they appear. All this and much more is impressed upon him as he sits and is enthralled by his elders' singing of tales. He absorbs a sense of the structure of these themes from his earliest days, just as he absorbs the rhythms and patterns of the formulas, since the two go hand in hand.¹⁹

Themes, then, are recurring groupings of ideas.

3.1 A careful analysis of the Joban song-cycle indicates that it is built up entirely of themes common to the laments in the Psalter, in the so-called Confessions of Jeremiah and in the allied Book of Lamentations; of themes common

to the traditional Wisdom of the biblical book of Proverbs and of other Ancient Near Eastern Wisdom literature; and of other themes current in the hymnic, legislative or folk-tale traditions of Israel and her neighbors. The Joban complaints are paralleled everywhere in biblical laments; the descriptions of the righteous and the wicked and their respective fates are reflected in the promises and threats in law codes, covenant ceremonial, and prophetic oracle, as well as in the contrast between the upright/wise and the wicked/fool in the proverbs; and the recurrent motifs of the creative and providential might and power and governance and wisdom of Yhwh are echoed over and again in biblical hymn and story.

3.2 In its broad outlines the Book of Job resembles nothing so much as a typical biblical lament. A look, for example, at the famous lament of Psalm 22 is revealing. The Psalmist begins (vv. 2-3) by asking why God has forsaken him and why he does not answer his complaint; questions like these are never far from the lips of Job. Then the Psalmist recalls (vv. 4-6) how God acted differently in the past, how he helped and guided those who called upon him. The motif is echoed by Job's reminiscence about his good life now gone in ch. 29. Then the Psalmist takes up a series of thematic ideas which he repeats several times over: viz., I am suffering and my body is wasting away (vv. 7, 15-16, 18); everyone else mocks at me and despises me (vv. 8-9, 13-14, 17, 19); please help me, God! (vv. 12, 20-22; these verses take up the opening plea of the Psalmist in vv. 2-3). These are precisely the ideas repeated over and again in the retorts Job directs at his friends. Here, too, the Psalmist recalls how God brought him safely into the world at birth (vv. 10-11); this motif is the subject of Job's curse in ch. 3. Finally, the Psalmist recalls for all to hear the power and dominion of his God (vv. 23-24, 28-29; the theme has its expanded parallels in the speeches from the whirlwind in Job 38-41); he asserts that God will indeed help the afflicted (vv. 25-27; a typical response on the lips of Job's friends, a main thrust of Elihu's argument, and the ironic prose conclusion to the song-cycle); and he calls on all to humble themselves before Yhwh (v. 28; cp. vv. 30-32; precisely Job's reaction in ch. 40 and 42 at the close of Yhwh's speeches). But the Joban cycle repeats not only the typical lament theme; in the speeches of Job's friends it contains also the traditional Wisdom about good and bad people and why they suffer. In this way it presents a foil to the typical protestations of innocence found in the laments.

3.3 I present now in more careful analysis a few of the Joban themes.²⁰

i. The Ironic Exordium

Several complaints occur in the introductory lines of the speeches of the Joban dialogues (see, e.g., Pope's characterization of 26:2-4 as "typical ironical exordium," Job, p. 171). They are voiced whether Job or one of the friends happens to be taking up his discourse. They can be seen as variations of a major theme, The Worthlessness of an Opponent's Argument, and may be divided into three main groups:

- a. Complaint: Your speeches are longwinded but empty;
- b. Protestation: I am no less wise than you are;
- c. Accusation: Your advice is really torment and mockery.

a. Complaint: Your speeches are longwinded

אד אן תמלל אלת / ורוח כביר אמרי פיך 8:2 A
 תרב דברך לא יעננה / ואם איש שפתים יאדך 11:2 B

תוֹכֶם יִעֲנֶה דַעַת־רוּחַ / וַיִּמְלֹא קִדִּים בִּטְנוֹ	15:2-3	C
תוֹכֶם בַּדְּבַר לֹא יִסְכֵּן / וּפְלִים לֹא יוֹעִיל בֶּם		
תִּקְץ לַדְּבַר רוּחַ / אוּמָה יִמְרִיצַךְ כִּי תַעֲנֶה	16:3	D
עַד אַתָּה תִשְׁמִי'ן קִנְיָ לַפִּלִּין / תִּבְיִנוּ וְאַחֲרֵי כֵן דְּבַר	18:2	E
עַד אַתָּה תוֹגִ'ין נַפְשִׁי / וּתְדַכְאוּכִי בַצִּלִּים	19:2	F
אֶת מִי תִגְדֹּת מִלִּין / וְנִשְׁמַת מִי יֵצֵאת מִפֶּה	26:4	G

Compare two concluding statements:

וְאִיךְ תִּתְחַמְּצוּ הַבֵּל / וְתִשׁוּבוּתֵכֶם נִשְׁאָר מַעַל	21:34	H
וְאִיבֹ הַבֵּל יִפְצֹץ פִּיָּו / כִּבְלֵי דַעַת מִלִּין יִכְבֵּר	35:16	I

These lines bear not only thematic but also formal similarities to each other. With the exception of the last example, they are made up entirely of rhetorical questions, formally expressed by the question "How long?" in A, E and F, or by the he-interrogative in B, C and D. Only G and H formulate the question differently. The worthlessness of the opponents' speeches is expressed by various metaphors having to do with wind or breath in A, C, D, G, H and I. The import of this metaphor is made explicit in the second line in C. The speaker in B complains that there are too many words, whereas the speakers in D and E wonder when they will come to an end.

[In 18:2 we read *qnsy* as corruption of an original *qg*; compare LXX, *οὐ πολλὸν* and Vulg., *finem*. The idiom, *s(w)m qg l-*, occurs also in 28:3. The line then would read, "How long before you (pl!) limit your words!? (Stop to) think, so we may have a say!" On the translation, "(Stop to) think" for *tbynw*, compare LXX *ἐπιλογέσθαι*. There is some problem with the plural verbs in this line. LXX translates singular in both cola. If the 2mpl forms are correct in MT, we may have an example of formulaic contradiction, i.e., the poet has failed to adjust the formula to fit the context of his poem, in this instance, Bildad addressing Job (a single person).]

Lexical items which recur frequently are various formations from $\sqrt{ml}$ in A, C, E, F, G and I; similar formations from $\sqrt{dbr}$ in B, C, D, and E; various impf forms of $\sqrt{cnh}$ in B, C and D; the noun *rw* in A, C and D; various references to the mouth and lips in A, B and I.

b. Protestation: I am as wise as you are

אֲנִי כִּי אֵתֶם עֵם / וְעִמָּכֶם תִּמּוֹת וְחִכְמָתִי	12:2-3a	A
גֵּם לִי לִבִּי כְמוֹכֶם / לֹא נָפַל אֲנִי מִכֶּם		
תֵּן כָּל רֵאיוֹתַי עֵינִי / שְׁפֹצֶת אֲזִי וְתֵבֶן לִדִּי	13:1-2	D
כְּדַעְתְּכֶם יִדְעֵנִי גֵם אֲנִי / לֹא נָפַל אֲנִי מִכֶּם		
גֵּם אֲנִי כִכֶּם אֲדַבְרֶה	16:4	C

Compare:

מִתּוֹ יִדְעַת וְלֹא יִדְעַת / תֵּבֶן וְלֹא עֲצֵנוּ תוֹא	15:9	D
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Note that the final cola in A and B are a formula. Note also the formal and lexical similarities between C and the third cola in both A and B. Line D exhibits thematic but not formal similarities to A, B and C. The motif is developed differently in the following lines:

ואולם כלם תשבּוּ ובאונָ / ולא אמצא בכם דכם 17:10 E
מדוע נחשבנו כבתמה / נגמ'נו בעי'כם 18:3 F

Here the argument is no longer, "I am as wise as you," but "None of you is wise" (E) or "Why are we and, by implication, our wise sayings despised by you?" (F)

c. Accusation: Your advice is really lies, torment and mockery

בד'ך מתי' יח'ר'שו / ותלעג ואין מכלם 11:3 A
ואולם אתם ספלי שקר / רפאי אלל כלכם 13:4 B
מנחמי עצל כלכם 16:2 C
עד אנה תוגיון צפשי / ותדכאונכי בפלים; 19:2-3 D
זה עשר פעמים תכלימוני / לא תבשו ותכרו לי
מוסר כלמתי אשמע 20:3 E
שאוני ואנכי אדבר / ואחר דברי תלעג 21:3 F
מת צרתי ללאכח / תושעת זרוע לא-עז; 26:2-3 G
מת יעצת ללא-חכמה / ותושיה לרב תודעת

Compare:

אחי בגדו כמו נחל / כאפיק נחלים יעברו 6:15 H

B (second colon) and C seem to be a formulaic system, while B (first colon) appears to be a variant of the same system. Similarly, the first and third cola of G are formulaic in series, the second colon being a slight variant within the series. In both B and H Job accuses his friends of deception. Whereas he scorns their inability to help in B and G, he complains of the actual harm they do in D.

Lexical items that recur are words formed on $\sqrt{klm}$ in A, D and E (these are the sole occurrences of this root in Job), and second person impf forms of the verb $l^c g$ in A and F.

Complaints about the mockery, lies, and unbearable speeches and slanders of one's tormentors abound in the lament Psalms. See, e.g.,

עד מתי ... תאבהון ריק / תבקשו כח Ps. 4:2
כי אין בפיתו כנכות / קרבת תוות Ps. 5:10
קרב פתיוח גרונם / לשונם יחליקון; Ps. 10:7
פיתו מלא ופרמות ותך / תחת לשונו עצל ואון

- חלבו סגרו / פִּטוּ דברו בגאות Ps. 17:10
- כל ראי ילעגו לי / יפסירו בשפה / יִצְטוּ ראש Ps. 22:8
- דברי שלום עם רעיתם / ורעת בלכבת Ps. 28:3
- מכל צררי תִּיִּיתִי / ודרפת Ps. 31:12
- וירחיבו עלי פִּיתִם / Ps. 35:21
- אמרו תאחז תאחז / לאתת עינכו

ii. List of Injustices

- כ' תחבל אחיך חנם / ובגדי ערומים תפשט Job 22:6-9 A
- לא מים פִּיתָ תשקה / ופרעב תמנע לאדם (7)
- ואיש זרוץ לו תאחז / וכשוּא פנים ישב בה (8)
- אלצנות שלחת רִיקֶם / וזרעות יתמים ידכא (9)
- גבולות ישיגו / עדר גזלו וירצו Job 24:2-10 B
- (passim)
- חמור יתומים יכתגו / יחבלו שור אלצנת (3)
- יִשׁוּ אביונים מדרך (4a)
- ערים יליכו מבלי לבוש / ואין כפות בקרת (7)
- יגזלו משד יתום / ועל עני יחבלו (9)
- ערים תלוכו בלי לבוש / ורעבם נשאו עמר (10)

On 24:7, 10a, see Formula xvii above.

Compare:

- ודרך עבדים יִשׁוּ Amos 2:7aβ C
- ועל בגדיהם חבלים יִשׁוּ (8aα)

These cola are part of a longer list in Amos 2:6-8 which recounts the sins of Israel.

- עד מתי תטפסו עול / ופני רשעים תשא Ps. 82:2-4 D
- שפסו דל ויתום / עני ורש תצדיקו (3)
- פלסו דל ואביון / מיד רשעים תצילו (4)

See also the following legislation, linked to the Mosaic covenant:

ואם חבל תחבל שלמת רעך עד בא ופשט תשיבנו לו Ex. 22:25 E

ולא תסות משפט יתום ולא תחבל בגד אלמנת Dt. 24:17 F

This legislation is basic to the complaints in C and D and to the List of Injustices in A and B. The first three examples refer to garments taken in pledge (Job 22:6; 24:7,9-10a; Amos 2:8a). Similarly, all three complain of the weak, the widow, and the orphan being "turned aside" (Job 22:9; 24:4a; Amos 2:7a). The theme in Job 22 is expanded to include a complaint about the poor starving (v. 7) and to elaborate on the disparity between might and right (v. 8). In Job 24 the poet expands the complaint to decry the removal of landmarks (v. 2; cf. Dt. 19:14, l' tsyg gbwl rck; 27:17, 'rwr msyg gbwl rchw; see also Pv. 23:10, 'l tsg gbwl c'wlm / wbsdy ytwym 'l tb') and the stealing of livestock (vv. 2-3).

In Psalm 82 the poet gives no list of particulars; he is content to voice a more generalized complaint that the gods pervert justice by favoring the wicked (v. 2; cp. Job 22:8) and forgetting their responsibility to protect the weak (vv. 3-4). The theme is paralleled in the Ugaritic legend of KRT, where the infirm king is unable to protect the widow ('almnt), the broken in spirit (qsr nps), or the lowly (dl) from their oppressors. He can no longer feed the fatherless (ytm) or widow ('almnt); compare Job 22:7! (See KRT, C, lines 32-36; compare the expanded variation in lines 44-52.)

Of course, this theme has its counterparts in all those poetic descriptions of the just and righteous ruler who does defend the poor and weak, the widow and orphan (see, e.g., the Prologue to Hammurabi's Code, the characterization of Daniel in the Ugaritic legend of 'Aqht, and Psalm 72 in OT).

The stock poetic parallel between widow and orphan ('lmnh/ytwm), which appears in A, B, E, and KRT is too common in OT and elsewhere in the literature of the Ancient Near East to require further elaboration here. The other related terms in B (viz., 'bywnym and cny) are paralleled in D (dl, cny, rs, 'bywn) and KRT (qsr nps, dl).

iii. Can Man Be Righteous?

In the preceding theme we saw just what it was that Job objected to in his friends' speeches; Eliphaz, for example (ch. 22) runs down the list of Job's alleged injustices. (Interestingly enough, when Job responds in ch. 24, he, too, launches into a similar description of how wicked people conduct themselves.) In the long run, however, Job's actual conduct is not of ultimate relevance to the orthodox convictions of his friends. For, they ask rhetorically, how could it ever be possible for mere mortals to stand up to the scrutiny of a holy God?

ותאנוש מאלות יצדק / אם מעשתו יסתר גבר 4:17-19 A
 הן בעבדיו לא יאמין / ובמלאכיו ישים תהלות (18)
 אף שכח' בת' חפר / אשר בעפר יסודם / (19)
 ידנאום לפנ' עש

מִתְּ אֲנוֹשׁ כִּי יִזְכֶּה / וְכִי יִצְדָּק יְלוּד אִשְׁתּוֹ	15:14-16	B
הֲבֵן בִּקְדָּשׁוֹ לֹא יֵאֱמָיִן / וְשָׁמַיִם לֹא זָכוּ בַּעֲיָנָיו	(15)	
אֵךְ כִּי תִתְעַב וְתִאָּלֵף / אִישׁ שִׁתָּה כְּמִים צוּלָה	(16)	
וּמִתְּ יִצְדָּק אֲנוֹשׁ עִם אֵל / וּמִתְּ יִזְכֶּה יְלוּד אִשְׁתּוֹ	25:4-6	C
הֲבֵן עַד יִרְחַ וְלֹא יֵאֱמָיִן / וְכּוֹכְבִּים לֹא זָכוּ בַּעֲיָנָיו	(5)	
אֵךְ כִּי אֲנוֹשׁ רְמִיהַ / וּבֵן אָדָם תּוֹלַעַה	(6)	

4:17a, 15:14a-b, and 25:4a-b appear to be variations of a single formulaic system. Similarly, 4:18a and 15:15a are clearly formulaic, as are 15:15b and 25:5b.

Note the progression of introductory particles: in each case the first line begins with an interrogative (h- or mh), the second line with hn, and the third with 'p.

It seems debatable whether we should designate these lines "formulaic clusters," related "motifs," or a grouping of ideas that spell out a "theme." For example, 4:17b and 18b are thematically related to the corresponding cola in B and C but depart from them both formally and lexically. Again, the final lines are thematically related but formally and lexically distinct in all three examples. A emphasizes the ephemeral nature of humankind (this idea is fully developed as a theme in 7:1-21; 14:1-6; 10:1-22; cp. Pss. 90; 103:15-16; Isa. 40:6b-8); B dwells on man's wickedness; C compares man to a worm. Note also that A has expanded the final line into a tricolon.

iv. The Order of Creation

God himself bespeaks his surpassing power in a thematic passage about the creation of the world.

אֵיפֹה הָיִיתָ בִּיפְדִי אֶרֶץ / וְהִגַּד נָא אִם יִדְעַת בִּיכָה	Job 38:4	A
מִי שֶׁם מַמְדִּיתָ כִּי תִדְעַ / אוּ מִי כִשֶׁת עֲלִיָּה קוֹ	5	
עַל מַתְּ אֲדֹנִיָּה תִשְׁבְּצוּ / אוּ מִי יִרְחַ אֲבֵן פִּכְתָּה	6	
בְּרֹן יִחַד כּוֹכֵבִי בִקְרָ / וִירִצּוּ כָל בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים	7	
וַיִּסְךְ בְּדֹלֵתִים יָם / בִּגְיָחוּ מִרְחֹם יָצָא	8	
בְּשׁוּמֵי עֵקֶן לִבְשׁוּ / וְעִרְפֹּל חִתְּלָתוֹ	9	
*וַאֲשֶׁבֶר עֲלִיו חֲקִי / וְאֲשִׁים בְּרִיחַ וְדֹלֵתִים	10	
וְאֲמַר		
עַד פֶּתַח תִּבּוֹא וְלֹא תִסְיָה / וּפֹא יִשִּׁית בִּגְאוֹן גִּלְיָח	11	

*LXX: εθεμελιωθη = ואשית

יְתֹת קִנְכִּי רֹאשִׁית דְּרֹכֹו / קֹדֶם מִפְּעָלוֹ מֵאֵז	Pv. 8:22	B
מִצֹּלֶם נִפְתִּיתִי / מֵרֹאשׁ מִקְדָּמִי אֶרֶץ	23	
בְּאֵין תִּהְיֶינָה וְדֹלֵלֵתִי / בְּאֵין מִפְּעֻלֹת נִכְבְּדִי מֵיִם	24	
בְּזֶרֶם הַרִים תִּשְׁבְּצֹו / לִפְנֵי גִבְעוֹת דֹּלֵלֵתִי	25	
עַד וְלֹא עָשִׂיתִי אֶרֶץ וְדֹדֹצוֹת / וְרֹאשׁ עֲפֻרוֹת תִּבֵּל	26	
בְּתִכְנִי שָׁמַיִם שֶׁם אֲנִי / בְּדֹקוֹן דֹּחַג עַל פְּנֵי תִהְיוֹם	27	
בְּאִמְצֹו שִׁחְקִים מִמַּעַל / בְּעִזָּז עֲיִנֹת תִּהְיוֹם	28	
בְּשׁוּמוֹ לִיִּם דֹּקוֹן / וְעֵיִם לֹא יַעֲבֹר פִּיֹו /	29	
בְּדֹקוֹן מִוִּסְדִּי אֶרֶץ		
וְאֵתִיתִי אֲצִלוֹ אֲמֹוֹן /	30	
וְאֵתִיתִי שְׁעֻשׂוֹתֵיִם יוֹם יוֹם / מִשְׁחָקֶת לִפְנֵי בְּכָל עֵת		
מִשְׁחָקֶת בְּתִבֵּל אֶרְצוֹ / וְשַׁעֲשַׁעִי אֶת בְּנֵי אָדָם	31	

v. 27b is a formula; see Job 26:10.

In each example above, note the formulaic succession of temporal clauses introduced by b- + verbal noun:

<u>A</u>		<u>B</u>	
v. 4	bysdy	v. 27	bhkynw
7	brn		bḥwqw
8	bgyḥw	28	b'mq̄w
9	báwmy		b'czwz
		29	b'swmw
			bḥwqw
		(cf. 24	b'yn
			b'yn
		25	b'trm)

A and B contain the following parallel motifs:

<u>A</u>		<u>B</u>	
Motif a.	vv. 4-6: Yhwh founded the earth (<u>ysdy</u> <u>'rs</u>) and measured it its foundations are sunk (<u>'dnyh</u> <u>hṭb'w</u>)	vv. 26, 29c, 25a: Yhwh made the earth and marked out its foundations (<u>mwsdy</u> <u>'rs</u>) the mountains were sunk (<u>hrym</u> <u>hṭb'w</u>)	
Motif b.	v. 7: The stars and gods rejoiced (<u>'rnn</u> , <u>'rwc</u>)	vv. 30-31: Wisdom rejoiced (<u>'šcc</u> , <u>'šhq</u>)	

Motif c. vv. 8-11: Yhwh shut in the sea (y_m),
made clouds its garments (c_{nn} || c_{rpl}),
prescribed its bounds (h_{qy} || w'sym bryh),
commanded its obedience (w'mr cd ph tbw' wl' tsyp)

vv. 27b-29b: Yhwh drew a circle (b_hwqw h_{wg}) on the deep (thwm),
established the clouds (shqym),
prescribed bounds for the sea (b_swmw lym hqw),
commanded its obedience (l' y_cbr pyw)

Of course, underlying all these motifs is the unifying theme of the Role of Wisdom. In B, personified Wisdom is speaking about what she witnessed first-hand at the creation. In A, Yhwh challenges Job: hgd n' 'm yd^{ct} bynh!

Ps. 65:7 C
מִכֵּן הָרִים בְּכֹדוֹ / נֶאֱזַר בַּגְּבוּרָה
מִשְׁבִּיחַ שֶׁאֵין יָמִים / שֶׁאֵין גְּלִיתָם / וְהִטָּן לֵאמֹר
וַיֵּרְאוּ יֹשְׁבֵי קְצוֹת פְּאוֹת תֵּיֶד /
מוֹצֵאֵי בָקָר וְעֶרְבֵי תִרְבֵּן 8 9

Here are developed the same motifs as in A and B, although again in a different order:

Motif a. v. 7: Yhwh has established the mountains (mkyn hrym)
b. v. 9: The stars rejoice (trny_n)
c. v. 8: Yhwh has stilled the seas (mšbyh š'wn ymy_m)

Comparing C with A, note the similar bound-structures:

š'wn glyhm (v. 8) g'wn glyk (v. 11)
mws'y bqr (v. 9) kwkby bqr (v. 7)

(On the latter parallel, see Dahood's translation and notes for Ps. 65:9, Psalms, ad loc.)

Ps. 65 concludes with a description (vv. 10-12) of the bountiful rains of God which cause the earth to bloom (cp. Job 38:25-28 and 34-38); this leads into a final variation on the rejoicing motif, as follows:

Ps. 65:13b
וְגִל גְּבֻעוֹת תַּחְגְּרִכֶּה /
לִבְשׁוּ כְרִים וְזִצְאֵן / וְעִמָּקִים יִעֲשׂוּ בָר /
יִתְרַצְצוּ אֶדֶן יִשְׁרָאֵל 14

The Psalmist uses rw^c in parallelism with šyr and gyl. Compare v. 7 of A above, where rw^c || rnn.

Compare:

Ps. 104:5 D
יִסַּד אֶרֶץ עַל מְכוּנֶיהָ / בִּל תִּמּוֹז עוֹלָת וְעַד
תִּהְיֶה כְּלִבוֹשׁ כְּפִיתָהּ / עַל הָרִים יִעֲשֹׂד מִיֵּם
מִן גְּעֻרֶתָּךְ יִבוֹסֶן / מִן קוֹל רַעֲמֶךָ יִחַפְּזוּן
יִעֲלֻ הָרִים יִרְדּוּ בַקְצוֹת / אֶל מְקוֹם זֶה יִסְדֹּת לִדְם
גְּבוּל שְׁמֵת בֵּל יַעֲבְרוּן / כֹּל יִשׁוּבֹן לִכְפּוֹת הָאָרֶץ 6 7 8 9

Here again we meet two of the same motifs discussed above, viz.,

a. v. 5: Yhwh founded the earth (y_sd 'r_s)

c. v. 9: He restrained the waters of the deep (g_bwl s_mt bl y_cbrwn || bl y_swbn).

The Psalmist also uses the familiar catalogue of terms: 'r_s, thwm, hrym, mym. (One should note here perhaps the recurrence of bl in three of the examples above, viz., Job 38:9, Ps. 65:14, Ps. 104:6. In each instance the metaphor is similar—the sea clothed in clouds; the hills clothed in flocks; the earth clothed in deeps—though form and content vary.)

See also:

	צורי צור / לבטי צר / צור יתוע	Isa. 51:9 F
	צורי כי קדם / דריות פולצים	
10	תלא את תלא / תפחצבת רתב / מחוללת תנן	
	תלא את תלא / תפחצבת ים / מי תנזם רבה	
11	תשטה מעמקי ים / דרך לעבר גאולים	
	ופדויי יתוע / ישובון / ובאו צין ברכת	
	ושפחה פולם על ראשם / ששון / ושפחה ישגון	
12	נכס יגון / ואנחה	
	אנכי אנכי / הוא מנחצכם / מי את ותיא	
	ניאכוש ימות / ופבן אדם / אציר ינתן	
13a	ותשכח יתוע / נחצת שנים / ויגד ארץ	

Again we meet the same basic motifs, here joined together in marvelous fashion (the poet begins with an apostrophe to the arm of Yhwh, vv. 9-10; adds his own hymn of confidence, v. 11 = Isa. 35:10; and concludes with a direct speech of comfort from the mouth of Yhwh, vv. 12-13) so as to transform them into an oracle of hope for the deliverance of Israel from exile:

- a. v. 13: Yhwh stretched out the heavens and founded the earth (n_h s_mym wy_sd 'r_s — a formulaic expression, cf. Zach. 12:1; on n_h s_mym see also Isa. 40:22, 44:24, 45:12, cp. 42:5; Jer. 10:12=51:15; Ps. 104:21; Job 9:8)
- b. v. 11: The redeemed will rejoice (b'w brnh, w_sm_h, s_swn)
- c. vv. 9b-10a: Yhwh's arm restrained the sea (m_hsbt r_hb / m_hwilt t_nyn; m_hrbt ym / my thwm r_bh).

Note the magnificent transformation in vv. 10b-11. In the examples above, Yhwh set bars ('s_m bryh, Job 38:10) and limits (b_swmw lym h_qw, Pv. 8:29; g_bwl s_mt, Ps. 104:9) on the Sea at Creation. He stilled Sea's waves (g'wn glyk, Job 38:11; g'wn glyhm, Ps. 65:8). After they had fled at his rebuke (mn g_crtk ynwswm, Ps. 104:7) to the place set aside for them ('l mqwm zh ysd_t lhm, Ps. 104:8), he prohibited their ever returning to cover the earth (cd ph t_bw' wl' tsyp, Job 38:11; w_sym l' y_cbr p_yw, Pv. 8:29; bl y_cbrwn, bl y_swbn, Ps. 104:9). Here, however, the poet uses the familiar vocabulary to assert that as Yhwh once set (f_swm) a path in the sea so that the redeemed (dare we suggest that g'wlym might be a play on glyk/hm?) could cross over (f_cbr), so once again they will return (f_swh) and arrive (f_bw') at their own place with joy, while sorrow flees (f_nws).

Motif d. Firstborn of Creation

Job 15:7	A	תרא'שון אדם תולד' ולפני גבצות דוללת
8		תבסוד אלוה תשטצ/ ותגרע אליך דכמת
Job 38:21	B	ידעת כי אז תולד/ וזכפר יטיך רבים
Pv. 8:22	C	ינות קנני ראשית דרכו/ קדם מפעליו עאז
23		מטולם נפכתי/ מראש מקדמי ארץ
24		באין תנצות דוללתי/ באין מעינות נכבדי מים
25		בזרם תרים תזבצו/ לפני גבצות דוללתי
Job 40:19	D	הוא ראשית דרכי אל

Job 15:7b and Pv. 8:25b are a formula.

Wisdom speaks in C. In A and B, Job's friends and Yhwh, respectively, sarcastically challenge what they consider Job's pretensions at arrogating the divine Wisdom to himself! (On B, compare the challenge put by Yhwh in 38:4.) In D the poet calls Behemoth the firstborn of Creation.

Note the key expressions:

A	B	C	D
v. 7 r'yšwn		v. 22 r'šyt drkw	r'šyt drky 'l
		23 mr's	
twld	twld		
hwllt		24, hwllty	
		25	
8 hkmh	ydc't		
	'z	22 m'z, qdm m'lm	
	mspr ymyk	23 mqdmy 'rṣ	
	rbym		

Compare:

עורי עורי' לכשי עז' זרוע יתות	Isa. 51:9	F
עורי כימי קדם / דרות צולעים		

Again, note the transformation. Deutero-Isaiah, using synonymous expressions (kymy qdm || drwt c'wlmym), addresses not Wisdom but the powerful arm of God, which subdued the monsters of chaos at Creation and Exodus. Of course, the equation, Divine Wisdom = Divine Power, underlies the entire speech of Yhwh in Job 38--41. Indeed, an allusion to the victorious and powerful arm (ymynk) occurs in Job 40:14.

4.0 In this study I have examined several formulas and themes (selected from a much larger number at hand) from the song-cycle of Job. Their pervasive presence in the Joban poetry leads me to conclude that the present literary forms of the book reflect an earlier oral genesis. Recognition of such an oral genesis and of a continuing oral transmission (persisting, perhaps, for a time even after the "story" had been put into written form) should help to account for the disparity in length between the Joban cycle as it appears in MT and in OG.

4.1 A look at Lord's chapter entitled "Songs and the Song"²¹ is again helpful.

Whereas the singer thinks of his song in terms of a flexible plan of themes, some of which are essential and some of which are not, we think of it as a given text which undergoes change from one singing to the next. We are more aware of change than the singer is, because we have a concept of the fixity of a performance or of its recording on wire or tape or plastic or in writing.²²

Lord further observes that it is illogical to speak of "originals" and "variants" of an original when it comes to oral tradition. Each new performance is an "original"; the singing performer, in fact, authors the epic in each rendition of it. That is not to say that performances vary wildly. The singer is guided by the thematic skeleton of the narrative he has in mind; furthermore, "when a singer deviates too greatly from the traditional version of a song in regard to an essential theme, he is brought back into line, not by the audience but by the songs and singers of the tradition itself."²³ Nevertheless, certain changes are common; these include 1) the elaboration or simplification of a theme or motif; 2) the ornamentation of a descriptive passage; 3) changes of order in a sequence; 4) addition of material from another singer; 5) substitution of one theme for another or of a multiform of one theme for another; 6) variation of the ending of a song; and 7) omission of material.

4.2 Here are two examples of longer and shorter variations of intra-Joban formulaic motifs preserved both in MT and OG:²⁴

i.

וימי קלו מני רץ / ברחו לא ראו זכות	Job 9:25	A
ימי קלו מני ארג / וכלו באפס תקוות	Job 7:6-7	B
זכרכי רוח חיי / לא תשוב מיני לראות טוב		

The first cola are clearly a formula; in A rg appears to be a corruption of 'rg' (note the pun on qwh, meaning "hope/thread" in the parallel colon in B). It may be, however, merely an aural variation (indeed, rg seems to have influenced the choice of brhw as paired word for qlw in A). The final cola also appear to be formulaic. Of prime interest here is the fact that B has two additional cola which are without parallel in A. In other words, the poet has created a longer and shorter form of an identical motif.

ii.

וינן יתות את איוב / מפצרת ואמר	Job 40:6-7	A
אמר כגבר חלצ'ך / אשאלך ותודיעני		
וינן יתות את איוב / מפצרת ואמר	Job 38:1-3	B
מי יזה מחדש'ך מצד / בעלין בלי דעת		
אמר נא כגבר חלצ'ך / ואשאלך ותודיעני		

Again we see a formulaic passage, here covering two complete lines, appearing in both examples. Yet B contains an additional full line not paralleled in A.

Here is a slightly different type of "expansion," a formulaic bi-colon extended into a tri-colon. Again, both passages are preserved both in MT and OG:

iii.

- בשעפים מחזינות לילה/בנפל תרדמה על אנשים: Job 4:13 A
 בודלום חזיון לילה/בנפל תרדמה על אנשים/ Job 33:15 B
 בתנומות עלי משכב:

4.3 Here are some examples of Joban formulas with longer or shorter variations that appear elsewhere in OT poetry:

i.

- למה לא מרחם אמות/מבסן יצאתי ואגזע Job 3:11 A
 אשר לא מותתני מרחם/ותוב לי אמי קברי Jer. 20: B
 ורחמיך זרת עולם/למה דוד מרחם יצאתי 17-18

The Joban version is shorter than the version in Jeremiah. (But see also Job 10:18-19!)

In the following example it is the Joban version which appears in longer form, and the extra-Joban parallel which appears shorter:

ii.

- חזקו ידי רפות/וברכים כשלים אמצו Isa. 35:3 A
 תבנה יסרת רבים/וידם רפות תחזקו: Job 4:3-4 B
 כושל יקיימון מליך/וברכים כרעות תאמץ

4.4 Here now from the Book of Job are some key examples of zero-variants between MT and OG (in each instance the OG zero is indicated by the asterisk) where neither the usual text-critical explanations (haplography, etc.) nor the arguments about the unusual difficulties in the Hebrew text will explain sufficiently the Greek zero. I suggest, instead, that the zero-variations here reflect variations in the oral performances that eventually were transmitted by the MT and OG, respectively.

i.

- תאמרו לאל פור ממנו/ומה יפצל שדי לפו 22:17-18 A
 ותוא מלא בתיבתם שוב/ועצת רשעים רחוקת מני
 ויאמרו לאל פור ממנו/ודעת דרכך לא חפצנו 21:14-16 B
 *מית שדי כי נעבדנו/ומה נוציל כי נפגע בו ✓
 הן לא כידם טובם/עצת רשעים רחוקת מני

זכר כי רוח ד' לא תשוב עיני לראות טוב 7:7-9 A

*לא תשורכי עין ראי/ עיניך בי ואינכי י

כלת צנן וילך/ כן יורד שאול לא יעלה

ולפת מרחם וצצאתני/ אגוע ופין לא תראני 10:18 B

כאשר לא תייתי אתי/ מבטן לקבר אובל 19

תלא מצע ימי/ יחדל ישית מצני/ ואבליגה מצע 20

בשרם אלך ולא אשוב/ אל אחך חדש וצלצות 21

The line missing in OG is formulaic within a motif (the formula has its counterpart in 10:18b). There is really no reason to assume that the Greek translator was horrified at the idea that God could not see people in Sheol or at the idea that life is utterly extinguished at the point of death; i.e., we need not talk about translator's bias here. It is simpler to assume that the oral tradition reflected in the Greek translation did not contain the line reflected in MT.

iii.

ואולם שאל נא בהמות ותרך/ ופוף תשעים ויגד לך 12:7 A

או*שיח לארץ ותרך/ *ויספרו לך דגי תים 8

*מי לא ידע בכל אלה/ כי יתות עשתות זאת י 9

[] בידו נפש כל חי/ ורוח כל בשר איש 10

*Read ויפוף; cf. Mic. 7:17; Dt. 32:24.

Again, none of the usual explanations seems to satisfy our curiosity as to why the Greek translation "omits" three cola here. Compare, however:

מלפניו מבתצות ארץ/ ופפוף תשעים יחכנצו 35:11 B

וכעלצת מציני כל חי/ *ומטף תשעים נפתרה 28:21 C

*אכדון ומות אפרו/ י באזכניו שמצנו שמצנה 22

The poet may pair beasts/birds or living creatures/birds, or, like the OG for Job 12:7-8a, 10, beasts/birds/creeping things//all living creatures/all mortal men. The inclusion of 12:8b in MT reflects another common sequence, viz., beasts/birds/creeping things/fish (see, e.g., Dt. 4:17-18; I Kings 5:13). V. 9 in MT contains two more formulaic cola (on 9b, see our Formula xxiv above; on 9a, compare 12:3b, which appears to be semantically equivalent and should be translated something like "Who does not know such things" [so Pope, Job, ad loc.]) At any rate, both the longer MT version and the shorter OG make perfectly good sense as they stand. There is no need to choose an "original" or "superior" text here. It is more satisfying to assume differing oral performances behind the variations. The same explanation suffices for the zero-variant in 28:21b-22a. The shorter version, which pairs mcyny kl hy with b'zynyw and contrasts nclmh with šmclw šmch, makes a fine bi-colon.

Notes

1. Actually, all extant Greek manuscripts of Job are approximately equal in length to MT. This is due to the activity of Origen, who, in his *Hexapla*, added the missing verses to OG from Theodotion's translation. He carefully marked these verses with the asterisk (*). Following Origen's revised text, Jerome similarly filled out the shorter Old Latin Version, restoring, as he said, "*beatum Iob, qui adhuc apud Latinos iacebat in stercore et vermibus scatebat errorum, integrum immaculatumque....*" (*Prologus scti Jeronimi in Iob*). For identification of those verses originally missing from the Greek, see now, *c.g.*, E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (translated by H. Knight from the original *Le Livre de Job*, first published in 1926), London, 1967, pp. cxcix-cciii. Compare the text of Job (including asterisks) printed in A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta*, Vol. II, Stuttgart, 1935.
 2. A thorough discussion of the main lines of the modern debate, amply foot-noted and carefully criticized, is contained in H. Orlinsky, "Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job: Chap. 1, An Analytic Survey of Previous Studies," *HUCA* 28 (1957) pp. 58-73. In his recent introductory remarks to the Book of Job in the *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (Vol. E-J, New York, 1962, p. 912) M. Pope repeats the usual stricture against the Greek translator: "It appears that the Greek translator did what the modern translator is tempted to do with some of the more difficult passages of the Hebrew, simply to give up the attempt to translate as futile." See now the remarks in a similar vein on p. xl in his commentary on Job (*Anchor Bible*, Vol. 15, New York, 1965).
 3. H. Orlinsky, "Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job: Chap. 2, The Character of the Septuagint Translation of the Book of Job; Chap. 3, On the Matter of Anthropomorphisms, Anthropopathisms, and Euphemisms," *HUCA* 29 (1958) pp. 229-271; 30 (1959) pp. 153-167 and 32 (1961) pp. 239-268.
 4. H. Orlinsky, "Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job: Chap. 4, The Present State of the Greek Text of Job," *HUCA* 33 (1962) pp. 119-151.
 5. *E.g.*, three types of text are present for the Pentateuch: some are allied with MT, others with Samaritan, still others with the text that underlies the LXX. One manuscript of Jeremiah contains the kind of short text reflected in the Greek. Three Samuel manuscripts from Cave IV, which have been carefully studied by F.M. Cross, Jr., are also related to the traditions reflected in Greek. See F.M. Cross, Jr., "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert," *HTR* 57 (1964) pp. 286-7. For a brief characterization of the Qumran manuscripts, see also F.W. Skehan in "Bible IV (Text and Versions), 2. Text of the Old Testament," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1967. See also the excellent popular description of several of the Qumran manuscripts in the article entitled "Text, OT" by E.J. Roberts in the *IDB*; note also the extensive literature there cited.
- Recent Harvard theses by J.D. Shenkel (*Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings*, 1964), J.G. Janzen (*Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, 1965), and R. Klein (*Studies in the Greek Texts of the Chronicler*, 1966), all investigate divergences between MT and LXX along lines of the theory of local texts and the schematization of the development of Hebrew textual families outlined by Cross in the article mentioned above (see esp. pp. 295-299) and in *IEJ* 16 (1966) pp. 81-95 (see esp. pp. 86-88 and 93-95).

6. For a summary of the debate prior to 1947 about the relative value of the LXX versus MT Old Testament texts, see F.M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran², New York, 1961, pp. 176-177 and n. 20.
7. The formulas and themes discussed in this paper represent only a limited sampling from a much larger number currently being incorporated into a thesis I am now completing for the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures at Harvard University.
8. A fuller discussion on the implications of oral performance for explaining some of the knotty problems of the Book of Job, as well as more detailed discussions of the zero-variants between MT and OG, will also be contained in the thesis cited in note 7.
9. The modern investigation into the characteristics of OT poetry was signalled by the publication of Robert Lowth's lectures, De sacra poesi hebraeorum, in 1753. Subsequent study has only refined and elaborated his basic analysis of the "parallelism of members" that characterizes archaic Hebrew verse. See now the introductory article entitled "Poetry, Hebrew" by N.K. Gottwald in IDB.
10. Excellent analyses of the traditional word pairs now may be found in R.G. Boling, "'Synonymous' Parallelism in the Psalms," JSS 5/3 (July, 1960) pp. 221-255; S. Gevirtz, Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization #32), Chicago, 1963; W. Whallon, "Formulaic Poetry in the Old Testament," Comparative Literature 15 (Winter, 1963) pp. 1-14. See now also W. Whallon, Formula, Character, and Context, Washington, D.C., 1969. (Here note esp. pp. 139-193 on OT poetry, of which pp. 185-190 deal specifically with the Book of Job.) Finally, in his Anchor Bible commentary, Psalms III (Garden City, 1970), M. Dahood has included an exhaustive list of 157 "Pairs of Parallel Words in the Psalter and in Ugaritic" on pp. 445-456.
11. Whallon, Formula, p. 160.
12. Among the pairs that occur only in Job but apparently not elsewhere in OT are:
 1. 'rb || m^cwnwt, 37:8; cf. (b)m^cwnwt || (bskh lmw) 'rb, 38:40
 2. m^yyn || 'y zh, 28:12, 20. Cp. Yhwh's query of the Satan in 1:7, m^yyn tb', but in 2:2, 'y mzh tb'.
 Job also contains an epithet for Deity evidently not attested elsewhere in OT, viz., 'l(wh) mm^cl. This occurs at 3:4; 31:2, 28. Note the paired epithet in 31:2, šdy mmrwm.
13. M. Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I: Homer and Homeric Style," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 41 (1930) p. 80.
14. A. Lord, The Singer of Tales, New York, 1965. Note especially Lord's careful resume of the Parry theory, richly augmented with Yugoslavian examples, in "Part 1, The Theory." Lord discusses "The Formula" on pp. 30-67.
15. Lord, p. 34.
16. R.C. Culley, Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms, Toronto, 1967.
17. Culley, p. 32.
18. Culley, p. 91.

19. Lord, pp. 68-69.

20. In my Harvard thesis I discuss in detail the following themes in addition to those presented here: 1) Job's Good Deeds; 2) Job's Complaint; 3) God's Attacks on Job; 4) Man is Mortal; 5) The Friends' Advice; 6) The Animals Teach Wisdom; 7) The Fate of the Wicked; 8) The Chastening of Yhwh; 9) God Confounds the Wise and Mighty; 10) God Rebukes the Powers of Nature; 11) The Doxological Catalogue of Participles; and 12) List of Precious Things. Most of these themes are paralleled elsewhere in biblical poetry; several of them incorporate minor motifs, also with biblical parallels.

21. Lord, pp. 99-123.

22. Lord, p. 99.

23. Lord, p. 118.

24. Attention has already been directed (see discussion under Theme ii) to a thematic section in the Ugaritic text of KRT which appears in longer and shorter variant forms. Here KRT C, lines 44-52 follow KRT C, lines 32-36 verbatim but with the addition of three cola midway in the section.

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30 June 1972

The first of these is the fact that the
the second is the fact that the
the third is the fact that the
the fourth is the fact that the
the fifth is the fact that the
the sixth is the fact that the
the seventh is the fact that the
the eighth is the fact that the
the ninth is the fact that the
the tenth is the fact that the

The first of these is the fact that the
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(The assignment calls for practicing form-critical procedures in the study of a passage beginning with Amos 4:1. The basic unit is taken to be 4:1-3, but for greater flexibility vv. 4-5 will be treated to the extent that they relate to the basic unit.)

Current treatments¹ are nearly unanimous in treating 4:1-3 as the unit, limited as it is with formulas which mark its beginning and end. They agree in general on its structure which includes basically an introductory address, an accusation, and an announcement of punishment.

They speak of it as a unity and as authentic to Amos, although terms like "development"² and "strengthened"³ hint at internal development in the passage. They agree that the passage is a "judgment speech against Israel and that its particular focus is on the women of Samaria's upper classes who are guilty of social injustice."⁴

As the material now stands, (i.e. in its finished stage at the end of its editorial and transmission process), one must agree with their interpretation. The critical point lies in the assumption that this text and form is original to Amos (i.e. untouched by editors or those who transmitted the text). The first task is one of literary analysis and traditional history (Redaktionsgeschichte).

Phrase by Phrase Analysis

The phrases (or stickoi), as listed and analyzed consist of three kinds. There are four formulas of prophetic speech, four phrases identifying who is addressed (two of them couplets), and three oracles giving the content:

¹James L. Mays, Amos - A Commentary (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), p. 71. Claus Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967), p. 174. H. W. Wolff, Dodekapropheten 2: Biblischer Kommentar (A. T. Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), p. 241.

²Westermann, op. cit., p. 174.

³Wolff, op. cit., p. 174.

⁴Mays, op. cit., p. 71, does take note of a differing interpretation in an early Targum. Milos Bic, Das Buch Amos (Berling: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1968), p. 83, understands the cows to be those who have taken part in cult prostitution. Andre Neher, Amos- contribution a l'etude du prophetisme, (Paris: J. Vrin, 1950), p. 82f holds a similar view. Both Bic and Neher interpret Amos in light of Hosea instead of in light of Isaiah Ch. 3 as is customary.

1. Formulas: (Reveal setting and context)	2. Who is addressed.	3. What is said. (oracular content)
a. שָׁמְעוּ הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה נִשְׁבַּע אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹה בְּקִדְשׁוֹ	a. פְּרוֹת הַבֶּשֶׂן	a. וְנִשָּׂא אֲתֶכֶם בְּצִנּוֹת
	b. אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶר שְׁמִרֹן	b. וְאַחֲרֵיהֶן בְּסִירוֹת דִּוְגָה c. וּפְרָצִים תִּצְאֶנָּה
b. כִּי הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים עָלֵיכֶם נֶאֱמַר-יְהוֹה	c. הַעֲשֻׂקוֹת דָּלִים הַרְצָצוֹת אֲבִיוֹנִים	d. אִשָּׁה נִגְדָּה
	d. הָאִמֶּלֶת לְאֲדֹנֵי יָהֶם הַבִּיאָה וְנִשְׁמָה	וְהִשְׁלַכְתֶּנָּה
c. נֶאֱמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹה		e. בָּאוּ בֵּית-אֵל וּפָשְׁעוּ

The Formulas

"Hear this word!" is a common opening for a speech in Hebrew. Wolff suggests that it opens the entire longer speech,⁵ while Fohrer sees it as a literary device to mark the second of three collections of prophecies.⁶ It normally marks a prophetic speech. When Yahweh is the speaker, this is noted by an additional clause as in 3:1.⁷ Lacking that, it apparently introduces an "Amos speech."⁸

"The Lord Yahweh has sworn by his holiness."⁹ This is a believable use by Amos. He consistently uses the formula to support a word of judgment, although this is contrary to its normal usage elsewhere. But one would expect it to introduce a speech in the first person introduced by ~~אני~~, which does not happen here.

⁵Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁶Georg Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, trans. by David Green, (New York: Abingdon Press, 1968), p. 435.

⁷The phrase appears frequently in all parts of Isaiah as "hear this," "hear me," "hear the word of Yahweh." In Jeremiah it appears often as "hear the word of Yahweh" or "hear the word which Yahweh is speaking." Hosea 5:1: "Hear this, you priests." Josel 1:2: "Hear this, you elders."

The concordance shows frequent use of "hear this" and "hear the word of Yahweh" followed by the designation of persons addressed.

The form "hear this word" seems to be unique to Amos: 3:1 adds "which Yahweh has spoken against you, children of Israel."

3: 13 "Hear and testify against the house of Jacob."

5: 1 adds "which I am lifting against you - a *qinah*, house of Israel."

8: 4 "Hear this, you who are trampling the need."

⁸But see below pp. 11 and 12.

⁹Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 110, treats the formula briefly. But there is more to be said said about it than that. The normal form for an oath includes *נשבע יהוה ב...*

Yahweh's oath is cited frequently in the Hexateuch to support his promise to give the land of Canaan to Abraham's descendants (Gen. 26:7; 50:24; Ex. 13:5, 11; Num. 14:16; Deut. 23 times; Jos.-Judges more than 5 times.) The Yahweh's election of David is cited in the same way (2 Sam. 3:9) as an oath.

But the use of a formula for Yahweh's oath is very limited in prophetic literature. Variations on the formula occur six times, three of these in Amos:

a. Isaiah 14:24; b. Isaiah 62:8; Jer. 51:14;

d. Amos 8:7; e. Amos 6:8; f. Amos 4:2.

The name of God is "Yahweh of Hosts" in a & c

"Yahweh" in b & d

"The Lord Yahweh" in e & f

The oath is supported by Yahweh's *nephesh* in c & e.
by his right hand of power in b.
by the Pride of Jacob in d.
by his own holiness in f.

is unsupported in a.

"For behold days are coming against you." This common prophetic formula may be introduced by **לִכְן** or **כִּי**, is regularly supported by **נֹאם יְהוָה**, and is followed by a Yahweh speech in the first person, usually a perfect with waw.¹⁰ It is used three

The content of the oath is introduced by **אִם** or, **אִם לֹא** in a, b, c, d. This content is stated in the first person in a, b, c, d, e. The oath supports foreign prophecies (i.e. with salvation for Israel) in a, b, c, but it supports prophecies of judgment on Israel in d, e, f, (i.e. in Amos).

This tabulation suggests that Amos records the earliest prophetic use of the formula. It was always related to a "Yahweh speech" with the possible exception of 4:2. Amos used the formula to support his judgment prophecies. Other prophets reverted to its traditional positive use in salvation oracles and are thus consistent with its use in patriarchal Canaan, and Davidic traditions.

An oath is appropriate in covenant ceremonies. Amos' use of the formula fits the setting of a Mosaic-type covenant with threats of judgment (curses) or in covenant judgment (cf. Deut. 32:40-41).

Other oath formulas ("as I live, oracle of Yahweh" etc.) are frequent in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but are very scarce in earlier prophecy (cf. Hos. 2:1; 4:15; Zeph. 2:9).

¹⁰It occurs 13 times in Jeremiah. Three of these are judgment prophecies, while ten (four of which are foreign prophecies) are salvation prophecies. But all the forms in Jeremiah differ in tone and usage from these in Amos. They are completely at home there, usually telling of changes to come, usually for the better. All of these are because of something Yahweh is doing. Amos 9:13 (Jer. 30:3ff) is of this type. Amos 8:11 is like the Jeremiah judgment type (Jer. 9:25; 7:32; 16:14; 19:6).

But the closest parallel to Amos 4:2 is in Isaiah 39: 5b-6 (II Kings 20:16):

Isaiah to Hezekiah

Amos to the cows of Bashan

שָׁמַע דְּבַר־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת

שָׁמְעוּ הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה

פְּרוֹת הַבָּשָׂן

הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים

כִּי הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים עֲלֵיכֶם

וְנָשָׂא צֶלֶל־אֲשֶׁר בְּבִיחָךְ

וְנָשָׂא אֲתָכֶם בְּצִנּוֹת

וְאֲשֶׁר אֶצְרוּ אֲבֹתֶיךָ

וְאַחֲרֵיתֶכֶן בְּסִירוֹת דּוֹגָה

עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה כְּכֹל

לֹא־יִוָּתֵר דְּבַר

אֲמַר יְהוָה

נֹאם יְהוָה

times in Amos.¹¹ It is related to "the day of Yahweh."¹² introduce Yahweh and his deeds.¹³

הַיְהוָה seems regularly to

"An expression of Yahweh"¹⁴ is used to mark the end of a Yahweh speech. It is fitting after the oath or the הַיְהוָה speech, but not after the proclamation formula which did not mention Yahweh. It was at home in original prophetic oracles but has also been used by editors to mark the end of separate oracles in series.

The Addresses

"Cows of Bashan" is the intriguing epithet thrown at Amos' hearers. The phrase is capable of multiple application. It cries out for definition.

"Who are in the mountain of Samaria" narrows the application considerably. But the limitation is almost too precise for Amos' normal preaching. The particle has been shown to be foreign to Amos' genuine speech.¹⁵ The somewhat stilted style of the clause raises the question whether it, like the relative clause in 1:1, is not secondary. If so, it is used to deliberately identify the accused as Samaritans. It turns this passage (vv. 1-3) into a "Samaria speech" between two "Bethel speeches." Since one cannot be sure that Amos was even in Samaria and only one authentic oracle (3:9) is clearly related to it, one may be allowed the suggestion that this is a sign of a later Samaria orientation given to passage.

"The ones oppressing the poor, crushing the needy." These participial phrases not only identify, they also accuse of social injustice. The theme of social justice is clearly original to Amos and remained important to those who used and shaped his book. צְרוּרִים occurs in 2:7; 5:11; and 8:6. צְרוּרִים is found in 2:6; 5:12; 8:4,6. The two terms are regularly paired. עָשָׂה occurs throughout prophetic literature but nowhere else in Amos. רָצָה appears in 3:9, and thus is not unknown to earlier

¹¹One is a judgment prophecy (8:11). 9:13 is parallel to Jer. 30:3 and is a salvation oracle. 4:2 is judgment, but the passage is too confused to speculate on its original intent.

¹²A study of the formula must take into consideration the use of similar formulas. They are all related in some way to "the day of Yahweh." The connection is direct in Amos, Isaiah, Zephaniah, Joel, and Obadiah, but indirect in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zechariah. Cf. J.D.W. Watts, *Vision and Prophecy in the Book of Amos* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1958), pp. 68ff.

¹³Cf. Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 173. In Amos הַיְהוָה always introduces Yahweh and his deeds. Seven times at the beginning of a Yahweh speech, it appears four times in visions and three times pointing to acts of God told in the third person. In genuine Amos oracles, it always introduces a judgment speech.

¹⁴Cf. F. Baumgärtel, "Die Formel n^etum jahwe", ZAW 73 (1961) 1-29 and "Zu den Gottesnamen in den Büchern Jeremia und Ezechiel," *Verbannung und Heimkehr*, Festschrift W. Rudolph (1961) pp. 1-29; R. Rendtorff, ZAW 66 (1954), pp. 27-37; Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 1974; and Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 135f.

¹⁵Victor Maag, *Text. Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos*, (Leiden: Brill, 1951), p. 104.

literature. However, it is found much more frequently in later literature.¹⁶ The entire phrase is more stereotyped than the colorful language Amos usually employs to support attacks on privileged injustice. It is therefore suspect of belonging to a later rendition which was incorporated to emphasize Amos' role as a prophet of social justice. In doing so, it turned an oracle that originally may have judged other sins to strike at injustice, making it a stronger support for struggle on behalf of the lower classes.

"The ones saying to their Lords,
'Bring! And let us drink.'"

This cryptic little couplet has every mark of originality. A grammatical problem appears in the shift of gender in the first two words which remains to be accounted for.

Summary: In the phrases of address, two are apparently literary accretions which allowed later generations to use the oracle of Amos against Samaritans and economic oppressors. There remains the original address:

"Cows of Bashan, saying to their lords,
'Come! Let us drink!'"

The Contents of Prophetic Speech

Three content statements appear to have no obvious inner relation to each other. The first two are very enigmatic and may have been reshaped to make them fit this context. However, to attempt a reconstruction of their original state will go beyond the requirements of this paper.

"And one shall lifet you with hooks,
and the last of you with fish-hooks."

The opening perfect waw fits the grammatical requirements of the "days are coming" formula, although it is not in the first person.¹⁷ The form could fit the "hear this word" formula, but it is probably more of a derived formulation. The meaning is cryptic although it appears to describe barbarities in the movement of captives.¹⁸

"And you shall out out through the breaches
every one straight before her
and you shall be cast forth into Hermon."

This translation owes not a little to the requirements of context. The Hebrew words are cumbersome and unnaturally long. It is doubtful that this was the original

¹⁶The two words עש and רצ are paired in Deut. 28:33; 1 Sam. 12:3; Hosea 5:11, etc.

¹⁷Cf. footnote 10 above.

¹⁸Cf. Eugenio Zolli, "Amos 4:2b," *Antonianum* (Rome) xxx (1955) pp. 188-189; S. J. Schwantes, "Note on Amos 4:2b," *ZAW* 79 (1967) 82-83.

meaning of this cryptic statement.¹⁹

"Come to Bethel, and transgress." Verses 4-5 have no basic problems in translation or interpretation. They are textually sound. The meter is good.²⁰ They form a speech of derision, a form of prophetic invective not unlike ancient taunting songs. There is nothing in the speech itself to identify it as spoken by Yahweh, except the final formula, "expression of Yahweh." It is possible that this is only intended to identify the final causal clause, or it may be an editorial addition to mark the break between oracles in the collection.

This speech against Israel, spoken at Bethel, which is probably a prophetic invective speech, is a torso lacking an address and introduction.

Summary: A stychos by stychos analysis yields five formulas, four phrases or couplets of address, and three statements of content. Normally one would expect a combination of one or two formulas (1) with an address, (2) and a content statement.) Amos 4:1-5 must therefore be a conflation of at least three original speeches with the addition of two interpretative phrases in the address.

The Identity and Genre of the Units

The basic unit (A) for this passage is naturally formed by the combination
1a + 2ad + 3c + 1e:²¹

פְּרוֹת הַבֶּשֶׂן	שָׁמְעוּ הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה
הַקִּיָּאָה וְנִשְׁמָחָה:	הָאֲמֹרֹת לְאֹדְנֵי יָהּ
הַגִּלְגָּל הָרָבוּ לַפֶּשַׁע	בָּאוּ בֵּית־אֵל וּפָשְׁעוּ
לְשִׁלְשֵׁת יָמִים מִעֲשֻׂרֵּי יָהּ	וְהִקִּיאוּ לַבָּקָר זִבְחֵיהֶם
וְקִרְאוּ נִדְבוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם	וְקִסֵּר מִתְמַחַץ עוֹדָה
בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	כִּי כֹן אֶתְבָּהֶם
	נֶאֱמַר אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה:

¹⁹There is no space for reconstruction here, but a hint at possibilities can be seen in the first and last words of the phrase. פָּרָן in terms of a breech has significant fertility connotations. The last word contains the form רָמֹן the name of a god (cf. 2 Kings 5:18). The two are combined elsewhere in a place name: רָמֹן פָּרָן (Num. 33:19). Cf. J. J. Glück, "The Berle PRS in the Bible and in the Qumrān Literature," *Revue de Qumran* 5 (1964-65), pp. 123-127.

²⁰Three couplets in 3-3, one in 2-2.

²¹The number letter symbols refer to units on p. 2.

It reads smoothly and has unity. The problem of gender takes on a different complexion. The first two lines each contain a masculine and a feminine form. But the remainder is uniformly masculine in the style and mood of the opening word.

The limits of the unit are clearly marked by an opening and closing formula.

The structure is clear: Introduction: 1a
Address: 2ad
Challenge: 3c (vv. 4-5b)
Reason: (v. 5cd)
Closing: 1e

The genre fits that of prophetic invective in the form of a taunting song which is strengthened at the end by having the reason fade into a Yahweh speech.

The intention or thrust is to castigate syncretistic worship by Israelites at Bethel. "Cows of Bashan" designates Israelites who have participated in Baal rites in Gilead. If the feminine forms are original, they are intentionally insulting. "Their lords" refers to heathen gods and their adherence to them. "Come. Let us drink!" is a reference to Baalistic rites.

The same people come to Bethel in making the rounds of festival. Amos derides them in a word-play on that quote. "Come" and "Bring" introduce the next two lines. In mock invitation Amos urges them to "come" to Bethel and Gilgal and "bring" the customary sacrifices. By coming directly from their heathen worship they profane both themselves and the sanctuaries, thus "transgressing" the exclusive holiness of Yahweh and his temples.

The reason for the entire way of life lives in Israel's "love" for this sort of getting the best of both worlds.

The unit is clean and clear. It fits the kind of thing Amos said and did and may be viewed as an authentic speech by Amos of Telhoah.

A second element (b) in the passage comprises 1b + 3b:

נִשְׁבַּע אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹה בְּקִדְשׁוֹ
וּפְרָצִים תִּצְאֶנָּה / אֲשֶׁה נִגְדָה /
וְהִשְׁלַכְתֶּנָּה הַהֲרֵמוֹנָה

If this existed independently (and likely it did), it is a fragment of an oracle cast as an oath of Yahweh. The formula is complete. The name of god is in a typically Amos formulation. But the following parts lack essentials of an oath's contents: אֲנִי nor the negative formulation that should follow.

There is also evidence that the text itself has suffered in transmission and adaptation. The words, especially in the last stychos are long and clumsy. In the middle of the line ה occurs three times consecutively. The first and last words of the line are unclear. The line cries out for emendation, but to attempt it here would go beyond the limits of this assignment.

A third element (c) includes the parts 1c + 3a + 1d:

בִּי הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים עָלֶיכֶם
וְנִשָּׂא אֶתְכֶם בְּצִנּוֹת וְאַחֲרֵיכֶן בְּסִירוֹת דִּוְגָה:
נֶאֱמַר יְהוָה:

This appears to be a fragment of a longer announcement of judgment as a Yahweh oracle. It belongs to a "day of Yahweh" setting and should follow a threat. It announces this thing to come as Yahweh's own act. Normally it should be in the first person, but there is at least one parallel in the third person.²² The lines remain cryptic in meaning.

The fourth and fifth elements (2b and c) show editorial development to make the passage apply to Samaritans and oppressors.

The Historical Growth of the Passage

In order to trace the way in which a composite poassage like this developed, one must note the period of time involved. The earlier limit is that of Amos' ministry, ca. 740 B.C. The later limit can hardly be drawn short of the final editing of the Minor Prophets (not earlier than ca. 400 B.C.).

Wolff has sketched a history of this process.²³ It includes Amos' own work in collecting his oracles, the work of the old "Amos school," a Bethel interpretation in the time of Josiah, a deuteronomic edition in the exile, and a post-exilic edition in "salvation" terms. This outline may serve as a basic outline of this work, but it needs to be supplemented at two points.

The Old Amos School

The backbone of the passage (A)²⁴ may be located in the earliest collection of "the words of Amos." During last decades of the eighth century, this collection documented the authenticity of Amos' ministry and provided explanations for the destruction of Samaria and the deportation of her people.

The passage maintained the same basic structure, form, and intention it had when Amos spoke it, some twenty or more years before. But now it fitted in a collection with other words spoken against Israel and Bethel. No longer a warning of judgment to come, it was repeated as a testimony to judgment already accomplished.

²²See above in note 10.

²³Wolff, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-133.

²⁴The capital letters refer to units on p. 7ff.

"The Cows of Bashan" were syncretistic worshippers in Israel who violated Yahweh's demands for exclusive obedience. Their very appearance at his sanctuary after participation in Baal's rites constituted transgression and rebellion.

The elements B and C may also derive from this earliest collection, but they are both too fragmentary to deal with separately.

The Bethel Interpretation of Josiah's Reign

Bethel was one of the major sanctuaries destroyed at Josiah's orders (II Kings 23: 15-18) and the account apparently refers to Amos' prediction in II Kings 9. This suggests that his prophecies were used to support the radical reforms of Josiah.

The introduction of B into the structure of A at this stage has the effect of adding an element announcing Yahweh's sworn intervention between the address and the challenge. The result is:

Introduction:	1a
Address:	2ad
Yahweh's Oath:	1b + 3b
Challenge:	3c
Reason:	v. 5cd
Formula:	1e

The outer limits of the passage were not changed but its emphasis and genre shifted. The oath became the center of the unit. It has become a judgment speech instead of a taunting invective. The identity of the "cows" remained the syncretists with the oath content adding hints of their theathendom. The meaning of the oath is obscure, however. By relating forms of heathen worship to the horrors of destruction in 721 B.C., and all of this as a kind of prediction of Josiah's belated action against Bethel, the king gained support for drastic action which must surely have incited much antagonism from a portion of his people.

Exilic editorial labors of deuteronomistic scribes left no visible signs in the passage.

Revision for Post-Exilic Liturgy

Prophetic books which may properly be placed in post-exilic times exhibit a strong relation to "the day of Yahweh," and are highly liturgical in character, often re-using older oracles to fit their purposes. It is not unlikely that most written prophecy was subject to such use.

The formula "For behold days are coming upon you" is related to "day of Yahweh" ritual. This was an appropriate time for the introduction of element C into the text. It changed the passage decisively.

The first result was the division of the text. By the introduction of the formula at the end of the expanded "Yahweh word," vv. 1-3 were effectively cut off from vv. 4-5. Perhaps at the same time the latter were joined more closely to the series that make up the rest of the chapter.

The structure was changed. It now read:

Introduction:	1a
Address:	2ad
Announcement of Yahweh's oath and act:	3a-b (vv. 2-3)
Closing formula:	1d

The address had to serve as accusation as well. The passage was made to definitely refer to the deportation. This probably still had the primary meaning of 721 B.C., but it would certainly have brought echoes of 587 with it.

The "Cows" still referred to syncretists, but were probably understood to include all representatives of that way of thinking and worship from 740 down to 587 B.C. and beyond. Within a post-exilic "day of Yahweh" setting, the passage documents Yahweh's oath to destroy such syncretistic worship in Israel. The oath was understood to have been fulfilled in the deportations of 721 and 587. This prepared the way for a new and decisive act of Yahweh to reconstitute his people and his kingdom on his land.

The genre was still that of judgment speech, but it had a completely different function in this post-exilic liturgy.

Fifth Century Editorial Adaptation

Two elements in the address remain to be accounted for. Their introduction into the passage was decisive in changing the understanding of the identity of "the cows" and the nature of their transgressions.

The first is "who are in the mountain of Samaria." The addition of this relative clause changes a "Bethel speech" into a "Samaria speech." In the present collection the passage stands between two clearly-marked "Bethel speeches." It is therefore important to note that this change occurred late in the history of the transmission of these oracles. No good reason for the difference can be found in Amos' own words.

In the fifth century rising tensions with the Samaritan community, which Judeans considered syncretistic and heretical, provided occasion to look for texts to use against them. The addition of this phrase made the text apply relevantly and clearly to Samaria. A completely different hermeneutical principal was applied. In each of the earlier stages the relevance of Amos' prophecy was drawn from his historical relation to the situation. At this stage a part of scripture was applied to a new situation much in the same way that the Bible had been applied to new situations ever since. The thing which remained constant was castigation as syncretists.

The second addition was "the oppressors of the poor and the crushers of the needy." This addition to the address changed the identity of "the cows" and the nature of their transgression. The emphasis was shifted from false worship to injustice and oppression. The shift colored the entire passage, and it has been so interpreted ever since.

A number of periods within the span of time covered by the development of the book of Amos witnessed movements to bring justice for the poor of the land. Two of the greatest were those in Josiah's time and in Nehemiah's rule.²⁵ The phrasing of this couplet appears more at home in the second. Amos was famous as a champion of the oppressed, which he was. The introduction of this couplet added one more passage of his book to the already substantial support his prophecy gave to such movements.

²⁵Cf. Morton Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament*, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 131ff.

The Final Edition

The last editor did not fail to note that the opening words of the passage could be paralleled with similar words in 3:1 and 5:1 to mark three collections of oracles beside the three "woes" and three visions to follow.

He took over the form of the passage in its fifth century adapted form, but let it remain in the related position to passages before and after it which were determined by its earlier history and meaning.

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After November 1st, to be addressed at Serampore College, Serampore, Houghley, West Bengal, India.

The letter containing the invitation to write this paper referred to Jer 14 as "a relatively complex example" of form criticism. This seems a fair assessment; indeed, it becomes increasingly evident that our individual and more or less free-wheeling efforts may soon have to be replaced by a cooperative effort in which several members each take up a segment of the task -- the ever-increasing complexity of the discipline of biblical interpretation seems to suggest such a procedure.

The present attempt is offered hopefully to serve as a catalyst for discussion. Because it is the work of one man, it represents a personal application of exegetical methods² deemed most appropriate

¹The following works on Jeremiah are only referred to by author in this paper: Bright, John, Jeremiah (AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965). Duhm, Bernard, Das Buch Jeremia erklärt (KHC; Tübingen: Mohr, 1901). Reventlow, Henning G., Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1963). Rudolph, Wilhelm, Jeremia (HAT; 2. Auflage; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1958). Volz, Paul, Der Prophet Jeremia Übersetzt und erklärt (KAT; Leipzig: Deichert, 1922). Weiser, Arthur, Das Buch Jeremia Kapitel 1-25, 14 (ATD; 5. Auflage; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966).

²K.-H. Bernhardt exaggerates his case for "die Exaktheit der exegetischen Arbeit" by his emphasis on "scientific exegesis" at the expense of the personal, artistic, even intuitive nature of exegesis. (Die gattungsgeschichtliche Forschung am Alten Testament als exegetische Methode (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1959, 17).

viz. structure analysis (or rhetorical criticism) and form criticism -- closely related, though distinct methods, which are in this paper treated as mutually supplementing.³

This study bypasses the usual concerns of historical criticism including oral pre-history, the history of the literary tradition, the history of genres (*Gattungsgeschichte*) etc. Instead, both structure analysis and form criticism are employed as ways in which a free encounter with a literary piece may be brought about.

A primary question confronting both structure and form criticism pertains to the delimiting of the pericope under study. A case might be made for taking the entire tradition-cycle chs. 14-17 instead of a segment of it; on the other hand, the selected part furnishes an adequate sample for fruitful study. In any event, the question of the delimiting of the pericope is no longer considered deserving the rigorous treatment it received a few decades ago.⁴ For it is now universally recognized that not only short pericopes, but narrative cycles, entire biblical books or even groups of them are fit subjects for form critical endeavor. See C. Rietzchel, Das Problem der Urrolle (1966).

The superscription 14:1 signals the beginning of a new "unit"; it is less clear where that unit ends. The Massoretic siglum  occurs after 14:21, 15:9, 10, 14, 16, 17 and 18. The present study is limited to 14:1 - 15:4.

³Form criticism is here used in the third sense as defined by M. J. Buss, viz. "the interrelation between linguistic form, ideational and emotional content, and the social-human context," which he calls "morphology." ("Appropriate and not-so-appropriate ways of relating historical and functional methods: a draft," SBL Seminar papers 1971) 445.

⁴M. Buss, The Prophetic Word of Hosea (BZAW 111; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1969) 28.

I. STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

OUTLINE

Superscription, 14:1

First Lament, 14:2-9

 Description of drought, 2-6

 Prophetic Intercession, 7-9

Divine Response, 14:10

 Messenger formula with address, 10a^α

 Motivation, 10a^β

 Rejection, 10b

Prophetic-divine dialog, 14:11-17a^α

 Private oracle, 11, 12

 Prophetic (lament-like) reaction, 13

 Divine response, 14-16

 Motivation, 14a^β, b

 Doom oracle, 15, 16

 Command to speak, 17a^α

Second Lament, 14:17a^β-22

 Prophetic Reaction, 17a^β, 18

 Prophetic Intercession, 19-22

Divine Response, 15:1-4

The strange superscription (which also occurs in 46:1, 47:1 and 49:34) need not detain us except for the puzzling habbašarot. The root meaning of BŠR is "to cut off, make inaccessible, enclose" (BDB) with specific reference to grape harvesting. The cognate Akkadian root signifies roughly "to bite off." (von Soden). The term may then refer metaphorically to the "cutting off" of the people of Judah, as suggested by the drought, to be interpreted not as a passing problem but indicative of Judah's impending exile.

The drought is described in vss. 3-6 by means of rich pictorial imagery. Cf. Joel 1. 'BL means "to dry up" (cf. Akkadian and Ugaritic), but also, metaphorically, "to mourn",⁵ it is balanced by 'ML (cf. Joel 1:10, Isa 24:10 et. al.). In four suggestive word pictures the tricola 2a is contrasted to the colon 2b expressing the upward motion of Jerusalem's šiwḥa: la'areš...Calata. Cf. Ps 144:14: 'en-pereš we'en yose't. This is followed in vss. 3-6 by four concise but expressive pictures of the devastating results of the drought: vss. 3 and 4 describe how it effects humans, 5 and 6 the misery of animals who might be expected to have less difficulty fending for themselves (ki gam, 5):

vs. 3 servants of the nobles	-lo'-maš'e'u mayim
vs. 4 farmers	-ki lo'-haya gešem ba'areš
vs. 5 hind in the field	-ki lo'-haya deše
vs. 6 wild ass on the bare heights	-ki-'en ^c ešew

A concatenous literary pattern may be observed here.⁶ The negative lo' is carried over from vs. 3 to 4 and 5; the phrase ki lo'-haya, vs. 4 is duplicated in 5; the preposition ki is repeated in vss. 4, 5 and 6. Materially, mayim and gešem are roughly parallel, as are deše and ^cešew, while gešem forms a natural transition to deše.

⁵E. Hammershaimb posits "to mourn" as a synonym of "to wither." (The Book of Amos [New York: Schocken, 1970] 20).

⁶Cf. S. M. Paul, "Amos 1:3-2:3: A Concatenous Literary Pattern," JBL 90 (1971) 397-403.

The expectation raised by the word *gebim* is dashed by another picture: *k^elehem reqam*.

Vss. 3b⁶ and 4b may be a case of double readings;⁷ from a rhetorical viewpoint the two lines serve to reinforce by repetition the common experience of finding no water: from the aristocrats' servants to the farmers in the countryside. Cf. 1 Kgs 18:5. The concatenous effect just referred to is heightened by such repetition.

In 6a, the conjunction of the fricatives *s* and *p* coupled with *r* at both ends onomatopoeically suggest the wind, which provides air to breathe but aggravates thirst. The same imagery of the wild ass "sniffing wind" occurs suggestively in 2:24 in the context of a description of Israel's persistent apostasy. The phrase *kalu Cenehem* occurs thrice in the Psalter in a lament context: 69:4; 119:82, 123. Even the animals join in man's complaints to God!

With the intercession at vs. 7 the focus is shifted from third person description to dialog between the people for whom the prophet is spokesman⁸ (first person plural) and YHWH is addressed either in the vocative or in the second person.

The rather brief confession, introduced by concessive *'im* (as in 15:1) is centered on the nouns *cawon* and *m^esubah* (plural, with suffixes) and the verb *ḥṭ'*. Cf. Isa 59:12. In vs. 9 YHWH's qualities as *miqwe yiśra'el* and "savior in distress" are juxtaposed to the description, introduced by *lamah*, of his shocking disinterest in his covenant people. Four word pictures (similes) in rapid succession, each introduced by the preposition *k*, paint YHWH's absence and helplessness; thus he is likened to a *ger*,⁹ *'oreah*, *'iś nidham*,¹⁰ and a

⁷J. G. Janzen, "Double Readings in the Text of Jeremiah," *HTR* 60 (1967) 437. *.wehokel^emu* in 3b⁶ is compensated by *'ikkarim*, 4b.

⁸G. Fohrer claims that whereas vss. 206 were spoken by the prophet, 7-9 should be ascribed to the people. (*Über den Kurzvers*, "ZAW 66 [1954] 218).

⁹*ger* is often used of Israel's stay in Egypt (Gen 15:13; Exod 22:20; 23:9 et al.).

¹⁰A hapax legomenon. If this should turn out to be a cognate form of Akkadian *da'amū(m)* II (to wander around, von Soden, 146), it would be a suitable parallel to *ger*.

useless gibbor. These motifs concern themselves with the fundamental question of YHWH's (saving) presence among his people.¹⁰

As this complaint is preceded by the statement of the positive qualities of YHWH, so it is followed by it; an a-b-a' scheme results:

YHWH - hope of Israel (8a)

YHWH - stranger, etc, 8b, (9a)

YHWH - in Israel's midst, etc. (9b)

By this framing effect the object of the lament, viz, YHWH's seeming absence, is emphasized.

As a form of inclusion, references to YHWH's name stand at the beginning and the end:

7a^B YHWH C ašeh lemaCan šemeka...

9b^B wešim^Veka Calenu niqra'...

The divine response is perfectly abgestimmt on the words of the lament. The messenger formula is kept at its briefest but koh, which usually looks forward, is misleading for with ken our thoughts are projected backward.¹¹ If YHWH seems absent as suggested by the drought, it is clearly due to Judah's having forsaken him; ken may possibly be rendered (as in modern Hebrew): yes, or indeed: ken 'ah^ebu lanu^{Ca}! (10a^a). If YHWH has seemed like a wanderer or a stranger it is because his people have moved away from him, 8, not vice versa. The choice of allegiance to one deity or another is represented metaphorically by man's walking movements, indicated by the

¹⁰ See B.A. Levine, "On the presence of God in Biblical Religion," in Religions in Antiquity. Essays in memory of E. R. Goodenough, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968) 71-87.

¹¹ E. König, Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1900) 111.

location of his feet; cf. Ps 121: 3; 122:2; Exod 3:5.

Further, YHWH says in effect: as you have said yourself, "our ^cawonim have testified against us" (7a^a). So be it! In perfect parallel form it is stated that YHWH will remember their ^cawonim and punish their ḥaṭṭa'ot, 10b^b: they are condemned by their own confession. YHWH accordingly affirms his right to reject their petition. His great displeasure is suggested not only by the utmost brevity of the response as compared to the lament, but also in that Judah twice is referred to in the third person and rather obliquely at that, as if with a slight of hand, without even mentioning their name: la^cam hazzeh, vs. 10 (cf. Mic 2:3).

Sandwiched between the two lament-response sequences is the report of a dialog between YHWH and his prophet, 11-17a^a. The private oracle 11 and 12 serves as motivation for the rejection of the lament. Its introduction wayyo'mer yhw 'elay is distinguishable from the messenger formula in 11: koh' amar yhw...

The futility of intercession is duly emphasized. With brilliant literary artistry the people's religious efforts (designed l^e-ṭobah) are juxtaposed to the announcement of the divine plan of ra^cah. The structure manifests parallelismus membrorum:¹² both "members" (12a) are introduced by concessive ki, a final contrasting statement by adversative ki. The two members are perfectly balanced: the prepositional clause 'el rinnatam is compensated by the double object (^cola uminḥah) in the second member. Materially, there is also excellent balance; the response to fasting: 'enennu ṣomea^c; the response to sacrifices is 'enennu roṣam; instead, a triad of plagues.¹³ "Es wird nicht bloss bei der Hungersnot bleiben, sondern Schwert und Pest, also die Boten des Kriegs, werden sich ihr zugesellen und das Land vernichten," comments Rudolph (93).

¹²A. Bruno, *Jeremia*. Eine rhythmische Untersuchung (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1954) 66,67.

¹³This triad occurs only here in Jer 14. The pair hereb/ra^cab is found in vvs. 13, 15 (bis), 16 (in reverse order), 18; 15:2 (together with mawet and ṣe^bi); 14:17 has ṣeber/ makkah.

The word 'ahah prefacing the prophet's reaction signals extreme distress and typically serves as an opening for a lament. Thus, by describing the prophet's mental torture, indirect support is given to the tradition of Jeremiah the intercessor. Cf. Abraham's intercession for Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 18).

The prohibition to intercede in behalf of the people is a significant motif, though not unique here. Volz and Weiser have averred that this prohibition only pertains to this particular time (cf. also Rudolph). Not only this pericope but also the broader context (to be discussed below) seem to militate against such an assumption. YHWH says in effect: I will not under any circumstances grant your petition ¹⁴toḇah, 11, having instead ordained ra^cah for Judah; hence, you must not intercede (if only to prevent the encouragement of false hope).

The prophetic retort (13), predicated on the need for communication between YHWH and his people, seems to say: But the people have heard (i.e., taken to heart) your word as mediated by hann^ebi'im! Thus, the crucial problem of false prophecy is once again introduced. In the prophetic-divine dialog two kinds of prophecy are confronted. Instead of toḇah, YHWH announces ḥereb, ra^cab and deber, 12 -- diametrically opposed to the word of "the prophets," 13, who promised šalom w^eemet (cf. 33:6): the blessings of an undisturbed covenant relationship.

The thrust of the dialog is contained in the divine answer (14,15) which denies the legitimation of the false prophets and emphatically characterizes their word as šeqer.¹⁵ The explication of

¹⁴Gideon says in Jud 6:22: 'Ahah, O Lord God, for now I have seen the angel of YHWH face to face! Jephthah uses this word when his daughter meets him upon his return from the battlefield (Judg 11:35). After his failure to take Ai, Joshua rent his clothes, fell to earth on his face before the ark, put dust on his head, and intoned his lament, prefaced by 'Ahah! (Josh 7:7f).

¹⁵"...the term ^yšeqer implies the operation of a destructive power, and is thus peculiarly applicable to the social, political, and religious situation in which the prophet worked." (T.W. Overholt, The Threat of Falsehood [SBT 2/16; Naperville: Allenson] 101).

their prophetic word serves as motivation for the doom oracle hurled toward the false prophets:

Motivation ¹⁶	Doom Oracle, 15 laken messenger formula
Falsehood the prophets prophesy	to the prophets who prophesied
in my name;	in my name;
while I did not send them,	while I did not send them
I did not command them	
I did not speak to them,	
(YET:)	(YET:) they said:
a lying vision,	"Sword and famine
worthless divination,	will not come to this land."
the deceit of their own hearts,	
they prophesied to you.	(TO THE CONTRARY:)
	By sword and famine
	these prophets will be consumed!

Thus, in a punishment seemingly befitting the crime, the falsehood of their prophecy will be visited upon the false prophets themselves first of all, but also upon the people of Jerusalem who will be mušlakim¹⁷

¹⁶Not necessarily a verbatim quote; see Reventlow 169-170.

¹⁷This penalty, in the form mušleket (femine singular participle, hophal) was also predicted for the "man of God" who had disobeyed YHWH's word (1 Kgs 13:24, 25, 28), for Jehoiachin (Jer 22:28) and Jehoiakim (36:30). See D. R. Hillers, Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964) 68-69.

in the streets on account of¹⁸ (again) hunger and sword.

The editorial verbal clause 17a² serves as a prophetic commission for the foregoing, which is presented as a private dialog ending in a doom oracle. The hearer (or reader) has of course been allowed to eavesdrop in the "dialog" between prophet and deity but the editor has added the commissioning phrase for good measure.¹⁹

The tone of the second lament (17-22) is much more anxious. Formally it might be taken as an expression of the prophet's emotions but from a literary perspective it visualizes the actualization of the doom oracle communicated to the prophet in vss. 15, 16. Once again the writer uses a shortcut: from the private divine oracle (omitting the communication to the addressees) to the prophetic reflection on this sorry fate. After the stylized *šeber gadol* and *mak-kah nah²elah* (17b) follows a description of representative scenes (*w^e-hinneh!*) of country and city: battle without, famine within (18). Climactically, a third scene portrays the fate of the most knowledgeable counselors in Israelite society: prophets and priests. Vs. 18b² may refer to exile if one reads *lo'* for *w^elo'*.²⁰ The alternative

¹⁸ *mip^ene*, whose etymological meaning is "from the face or presence of from before" (BDB) is perhaps an ironic nod to the false prophets!

¹⁹ This is contrary to the MT and most modern commentators and translators, with the notable exception of Volz, Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig, *Bücher der Kundung* (Köln & Olten: Gegner, 1948) 274. The commonly held alternative is confronted with the question as to why the prophet would be represented as having been commanded to communicate his emotions (in lament form) to the people, particularly because 17 and 18 serve as introduction to the actual lament, addressed to YHWH.

²⁰ Thus Buber: "...müssen reisen nach einem Land, dass sie nicht kennen." (275). Thus also (cautiously) J. Bright, 99, 101.

is to interpret SHR and $\text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{lo}'\text{yada}^{\text{C}}\text{u}$ together as meaning: prophets and priests move about mindlessly, they are no longer capable of dispensing counsel or comfort.²¹ The religious establishment is bankrupt; only minority-prophecy (doom!) will stand.

The lament itself is characterized by three successive questions, introduced by ha , 'im , and $\text{maddu}^{\text{C}}\text{a}$.²² Beyond the seeming aloofness of YHWH (cf. the imagery in the first lament, 8b, 9a), which might, after all, be temporary (hence, the need for intercession), it now becomes clear that something more fundamental is at stake. Just as YHWH during the days of Samuel rejected (M'S) Saul from being king (1 Sam 12:23, 26), so now he has rejected Israel (cf. Ps 74:1). Israel herself has rejected the covenant relationship by her negligent behavior, and now, confirming and accepting the tendency of their actions, YHWH himself follows suit. Thus "healing" (marpe'),²³ to counteract the effects of a makkah , 19a^{Y} , b^{B}), is excluded as a possibility (cf. 51:9). The verb $\text{G}^{\text{CL}}24$ points in the same direction.

²¹ Thus Duhm, Volz, Rudolph, Weiser, reading 'et for 'el ; Volz leaves the MT intact. The use of SHR in Gen. 34:10, 21 and 42:34 seems to support a nonexilic context. The textual problem seems to betray confusion whether or not the references is to exile.

²² Cf. W. L. Holladay, "The so-called 'Deuteronomic Gloss' in Jer. VIII 19b" *VT* 12 (1962) 496.

²³ According to Isa 6:10, this was the goal of the process of repentance via seeing, healing, understanding, and turning. Cf. Lev 3:22: "Return, faithless son, and I will heal your faithlessness."

²⁴ This root is used five times throughout the final chapter of the Holiness Code, Leviticus 26 (blessings and curses formula) both in reference to the people's feeling about YHWH's statutes (vss. 15, 43) and to YHWH's sentiment toward his people (vss. 11, 30, 44, as in Jer 14:19 -- suggesting a mutuality of relationships).

This lament is considerably less positive in attitude than the first as may e.g. be seen from the way in which YHWH is addressed:

vs. 9

miqwe yiśra'el

moši^c o b^ecet šara

vs. 19

qawwe l^{ev} šalom w^e'en tob²⁵

ul^ecet marpe' w^ehinne b^ecata.

Yet, the formulaic is generously represented as well: a confession of sins in 20 (in which raša^c, cawon, and ḥaṭa' appear) is followed (as in 7) by an appeal to YHWH's name, balanced by a reference to Jerusalem, YHWH's throne.

In vs. 21 the pitch of the lament is heightened by means of the verbal pair N'Ṣ and NBL.²⁶

The language of 21b is reminiscent of Lev 26: Remember, do not break thy covenant with us! In Lev 26:40-45 it is stated that the conditions for YHWH's continued memory (ZKR) of his covenant, 44, 45 (preventing his rejecting (M'S) and spurning (N'Ṣ) them) were (1) exile (38,39) and (2) confession of their cawonim, 40. It is specifically stated that the land must be vacated so that (1) it may enjoy its sabbaths, and (2) the people may make amends (RṢH) for their cawonim, 43. The language in the Jeremian lament is entirely in accord with the Holiness Code, but the precondition for forgiveness (cf. Jer 50:20; Isa 40:2), viz exile is represented in the present literary context as not yet fulfilled; the requests made in the lament pertain to the people in exile, Lev 26:44.

The lament deals with Judah's agonizing situation as YHWH's covenant people which is awakening to the realization that she has been rejected by her God. Though the tone of the lament is passionate

²⁵Cf. 6:14: šalom šalom (the message of the false prophets, but:) w^e'en šalom!

²⁶They occur in the Song of Moses, Deut 32:19, 20 and several times in the Psalter.

it should not be considered pure rhetoric. The root PRR, here used in the hiphil imperative (taper) is a technical term for breaking the covenant as in Gen 17:14 (for failure to circumcize).

Ironically, the question is asked how anyone among the gods (hab^ele, vapor, breath) could make rain, 22. The motif of YHWH as the object of Judah's hope occurs once more while the lament ends with the verbal clause ki-'atta Cašita 'et-kol-'elleh which relates to the Gewissheit der Erhöhung (Gunkel, Einleitung, 132, 133; Ps 52:11).

The response to the second lament, introduced by the same verbal clause as found in 14:11 and 14, is a further explication of the prohibition to intercede. The prophet must not intercede for intercession even if engaged in by such cardinal figures as Moses and Samuel would fall on deaf ears.

The imperative šall^ehem²⁷ evokes the exodus-tradition, where Moses and Aaron repeatedly intoned before Pharaoh: šallah 'et Cammi! (Exod 5:1; 7:16, 26; 8:16; 9.1, 13; 10.2). Use of the root YŠ' lends support to this suggestion.

This time four plagues are enumerated; in addition to the usual hereb and ra^cab: mawet and š^ebi (vs. 2). This is followed by yet another series of four mišpaḥot of which only hereb is carried over from previous listings of plagues; in addition, three kinds of animals are named as agents of destruction; see Ezek 14:21.²⁸

Concluding briefly, it is clear that the writer has drawn generously on traditional vocabulary found in various sources.

Thematically, he operates within the framework of the overall Jeremian

²⁷ Haplography.

²⁸ Reventlow calls this a "daughter formation" (181).

(Deuteronomic) philosophy of history. Viewed as literature, it may be considered "a well wrought urn,"²⁹ -- not only vss. 7-9 and 19-22 which have been called "one of the finest prayers of the Bible"³⁰ but the composition as a whole; it is a unified, integrated literary piece,^{30a} carrying a considerable religious thrust aimed at those who were painfully aware of the calamities suffered by their fathers.

II FORM CRITICISM

Perhaps one of the most crucial among the many topics of continued discussion in form criticism pertains to the role of Gliedgattungen,³¹ "genre elements". This subject is of prime importance in the prophetic literature where the entire spectrum of literary (genres)³² seems represented.³³ Quite remarkable, Gunkel appreciated

²⁹The title of a book by the literary critic Cleanth Brooks, published in 1947.

³⁰By S. H. Blank, Jeremiah Man and Prophet (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1961) 244.

^{30a}Thus essentially Bright, 102. Duhm adds that its unity is due to the "Thätigkeit der Bearbeiter" (127).

³¹See K. Koch, Was ist Formgeschichte? (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964) 26-30, 157-227.

³²See R. Knierim's definition of genre: "A...typical unit of expression either through activity or behavior, or through the spoken or written word," "Form Criticism: the present state of an exegetical discipline," SBL Seminar papers, 1970, 4.

³³J. Lindblom, a younger contemporary of Gunkel, enumerated sixteen "Ausdrucksmittel und Stilformen." (Die Literarische Gattung der prophetischen Literature [Uppsala; Lundequist, 1924] 1).

the "liturgies" (among which he included Jer 14) as combinations of Gattungen (such as lament and oracle) which had originated in the cult, then appropriated by the prophets as "besonders geeignetes Ausdrucksmittel ihrer Gedanken."³³ Beyond that, there was a mutual influencing between cult and prophetic tradition.

Meanwhile, the task of Gattungsgeschichte has become more complex than ever. For reasons adduced above, this paper will avoid historicist perspectives, and focus instead on "was da geschrieben steht."³⁴

Even in a relatively short piece as this, a fair number of genre elements³⁵ are found; predominant among them is the lament.³⁶

³³Gunkel, Einleitung, 415.

³⁴Cf. the comment by A. N. Wilder: "...this historicist habit of mind may still operate unconsciously to handicap a free encounter with a writing in its final form." (Christology and a Modern Pilgrimage. Norman Perrin Festschrift, H. D. Betz, ed. [Claremont: New Testament Colloquium, 1971] 143).

³⁵This term used by Knierim (Form Criticism, 4) as the English equivalent of Gliedgattungen (Koch, Formgeschichte, 26-30) suggests the considerable terminological refinement executed under the auspices of the Form Criticism Seminar, SBL. Yet, uncertainty about the precise nature and function of the genre elements remains; Bernhardt speaks of a "Gemisch von Gattungsmotiven." (Gattungsgeschichtliche Forschung, 29). What is the precise form critical place of the genre elements?

³⁶G. M. Tucker proposes to reserve this term for the dirge or funeral son and suggests the term "complaint" for Gunkel's lament (Form Criticism of the Old Testament [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971] 81).

This is first of all suggested by the description of the drought which triggered the initial lament, 14:2-9, followed by a divine response, 14:10 (introduced by *koh 'amar yhwh laCam hazzeh...*) The dialogic nature of the initial lament-response sequence is maintained in the remainder of the piece:

YHWH	14:11, 12	wayyo'mer yhwh 'elay...
Prophet	14:13	wa'omar: 'ahah 'adonay yhwh...
YHWH	14:14-17a	wayyo'mer yhwh 'elay...
Prophet	14:17a -22	(Lament)
YHWH	15:1-4	wayyo'mer yhwh 'elay...

The formulaic introductions to the divine words clearly differentiate between the response to the "public intercession" (14:10) and speech directed to the prophet (14:11, 14; 15:1). Both of the prophetic "replies" are in the nature of a lament, however; the exclamation 'ahah (13) was shown to be a typical introduction to a situation calling for a lament, while 14:17a -22 is generally recognized as possessing lament-features.³⁷ The divine response to it (15:1-4) suggests that the lament is once again of an intercessory nature; yet, the same introductory formula used in the previous dialog recurs (wayyo'mer yhwh 'elay), though materially the response shares its "prohibition to intercede" (15:1) with the dialog (14:11), thus demonstrating the intermeshing of various compositional components.

³⁷Cf. Reventlow, 170-179.

Whether or not one is inclined to designate the literary forms such as laments and doom oracles in such passages as these as (true) Gattungen or imitations depends on the view one takes of the life setting.³⁸ The extreme positions are either to designate the forms true Gattungen and then, in traditional form critical fashion (à la Gunkel) to assert a fixed Sitz im Leben for them (Reventlow) or, reacting against such a life situation, to settle for imitations.³⁹

That lament forms are indeed represented is evident from a consideration of Gunkel's three main elements of the lament:

1. moaning laments about a misfortune,
2. imploring petitions to YHWH, and
3. miscellaneous thoughts of comfort, often addressed to YHWH.⁴⁰

The first lament describes in superb imagery the catastrophic drought; this is followed by calls on YHWH for aid, interspersed by expressions of confidence, references to the covenant and to "the name." The confession, 14:7, assumes crucial importance in the sequel to the lament; YHWH indeed acts for his name's sake: his response acknowledges the correctness of the confession. In his freedom, he answers the lament by announcing progressive judgment: the drought is but the beginning of the additional punishment of exile!

³⁸Bernhardt, Gattungsgeschichtliche Forschung, 11.

³⁹O. Eissfeldt, Einleitung in das Alte Testament (3. Auflage; Tübingen: Mohr, 1964) 152. Eissfeldt reserves the possibility that Jeremiah e.g. may have functioned as a cultic prophet (479).

⁴⁰Gunkel, Einleitung, 125. Cf. W. Baumgartner, Die Klagegedichte des Jeremia (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1917) 77, 78. See Reventlow for a more thorough discussion of the formal characteristics.

The prophetic retort in 14:13 laments Judah's misfortune of having been misled by false prophets. It may therefore be designated a lament element, a "genre element," which functions in the literature as part of the dialog. The divine response likewise may be viewed as a typical response to a lament, composed of motivation (Scheltrede, 14) and doom oracle (15, 16); however, once again YHWH's speech also functions as a component of the ongoing dialog.

The brief editorially supplied commission in 14:17a^a is both formally and materially superfluous.⁴¹ The lament follows spontaneously.

The tendency has been to ascribe the emotional language of the lament to the sensitivity of Jeremiah.⁴² It seems more reasonable to recognize that this is formulaic language which serves the purpose of expressing the only appropriate sentiment at the announced turn of events, viz. profound sadness.

The relationship between the first lament-response sequence and the second (14:17a^b -15:4) is a matter of dispute. Weiser, while recognizing that they are related formally, categorically declares that no material connection exists: the first lament deals with a drought, the other with war.⁴³ On the other hand, Volz, (161)

⁴¹Thus Reventlow designates it "rein redaktionelle Überschrift." (171). To take this clause as referring to the lament which follows does not seem sensible.

⁴²Thus Volz, 165. Weiser, more cautiously, speaks of a "Klage des Propheten mit starken persönlichem Einschlag." (126). Cf. Reventlow, 174.

⁴³Thus also Duhm, 130. Cf. Mowinckel, Komposition, 23, whose comment that 14:2-10 is complete in itself and not in need of any continuation (thus, 11 and 12 are reptitious) does not seem to be inspired by a critical reading of the text.

Rudolph, (91) and Reventlow (172-174) have shown the continuity of the material.

The question whether the situation which the lament describes is to be taken historically or whether it represents, in the words of Rudolph, a "visionäre Vorausschau" is irrelevant if the entire piece is regarded as a literary composition whose relationship to history is coincidental, because so much of its "data" is formulaic and traditional, as in the case of the psalms; any attempt to pinpoint such literature historically must be executed with great caution. (Cf. Reventlow, 172).

The emphatically negative, reiterated, divine response is indeed striking. In the list of prophetic passages in Gunkel's Einleitung (137, 138) where a popular lament is followed by an oracle, the only other example where the tendency of the response oracle is doom instead of deliverance is Hos 6:1-3, 4-6. As Gunkel has observed, the purpose of popular laments was "das Unheil zu wenden...Jahves Herz zu treffen." (Einleitung, 128-129). Oracles following laments were thus expected to be Heilsorakel. The certainty of a positive response is suggested by the frequent inclusion of the "Gewissheit der Erhörung" motif.⁴⁴ Reventlow (132) has rightly pointed out that fundamental to the oracle is a kind of ambiguity (Doppelseitigkeit), e.e. its tendency might be favorable (ṭob) as well as unfavorable (ra^c). This broad principle is explicit in the lists of blessings and curses in the Holiness Code (Lev 26) and the Deuteronomic Code (Deut 28). In this case, the divine response is not ad hoc but characteristic of the emerging alienation between God and his people. Thus, contrary to Volz and Weiser, and with Rudolph, the prohibition to intercede is fundamental. Not only is it also mentioned in 7:16 and 11:14 but it is also in harmony with the philosophy of history represented in the book of Jeremiah, meaning in this case, specifically: conditions for divine favor were not fulfilled until Judah also had suffered for her sins.

⁴⁴Gunkel, Einleitung, 128, 129.

So far we have only discussed the genre elements and their mutual relationship: the area where structure analysis and form criticism are contiguous. The broader questions of overall genre, of life setting (*Sitz im Leben*) and intention or function (*Ziel*) must now be treated.

As von Waldow has suggested, "genre and intention belong together."⁴⁵ It must be recognized, however, that the genre of the literary piece as a whole is the only factor of genuine form critical significance; the genre elements function in the literature as building blocks or motifs. This is preferable to labeling them "imitations" which carries a somewhat pejorative connotation. Reventlow is correct in stating that they are not imitations for they display the formal characteristics of *Gattungen*. However, their setting and intention has changed with their having become part of a new literary context.

The genre, setting and intention are therefore very closely related. The genre should be designated a sermon, the setting the exilic Jewish community, and the intention, as appropriate to a sermon: to persuade the hearers that YHWH was right in meting out such severe punishments (theodicy), and indirectly, that the people are granted a new opportunity of repentance; thus, its orientation is past, present and future.

All of this is predicated on the assumption that what we have here is not an actual liturgy with its fixed life setting,⁴⁶

⁴⁵ H. E. von Waldow, "Some Thoughts on Old Testament Form Criticism," SBL Seminar papers 1971, 592.

⁴⁶ Thus, for Gunkel the *Sitz* of the communal lament was the fast (*šom*), "das grosse Klagefest." (*Einleitung*, 117).

but a literary composition which has utilized a selection of genre elements as suitable components for a new, unique, literary creation. Modesty is demanded in any attempt to make a meaningful statement about sociological life settings for the simple reason that virtually nothing is known about the exilic and post-exilic cult. One can only speculate that the Biblical literature as a whole served a cultic purpose (in a broad sense).

Thus, when Knierim asks about the referent of the setting⁴⁷ we have to answer in this case: the text. So we are sent back to the literature itself. Does it provide any further clues as to its function? Does the literary structure of Jer 14:1-15:4 within its wider context suggest anything about its intention? Biblical scholarship on the book of Jeremiah has usually pleaded agnosticism on this score and failure to discover any sort of rationale in the present form of the larger literary context has often led to fragmentization.⁴⁸

An overview of chs. 7-20 suggests that they contain several sermon-complexes which, assuming that they originated (in their present form) in the exile, are generally theodical in character. They may be listed as follows:

Chs. 7-9	Sermon on repentance
10	Sermon on idolatry
11, 12	Sermon on the broken covenant

⁴⁷ Form Criticism, 7.

⁴⁸ In this respect NT scholarship seems to have taken some notable strides through Redaktionsgeschichte; see N. Perrin, What is Redaction Criticism? (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969). It is of some interest that the English term has adopted no equivalent of Geschichte.

13	Sermon on the imminent exile
14, 15	Sermon: From drought toward exile
16, 17	Sermon: No immediate future
18-20	Sermon: The potter's prerogative.

Obviously, these sermons contain more than the above attempts at characterizing them suggests. But this seems no problem if they are understood as "lessons" for groups of Hebrew exiles. Further, a kind of general rationale is evident in the above sequence. The call to repentance of idolatry being rejected, YHWH's covenant with his people is broken, calling into action the stipulated punishments; drought is but the symbolic indication of worse things to come -- ultimately, death and exile.

These chapters demonstrate both similarity and continuity, as a comparison of chs. 7, 11, and 14, each of which contain a prohibition to intercede, suggests:

JER 7	JER 11	JER 14
Call to repent, 3-7	Broken covenant, 10	Laments
Idolatry, 18	Idolatry, 10	Idolatry, 10
Doom oracle, 14	Doom oracle, 11	Doom oracle, 15, 16
False prophets, 4, 8	Rebellion	False prophets, 13-15.

The prohibition to intercede is a powerful unifying motif, but there is also a dynamic relationship. The drought in ch. 14 seems intimately related to the broken covenant as it symbolizes the absence of YHWH (14:8b, 9a); for this reason the usual "religious machinery" of lament-favorable response is found inoperative; instead, for the third and last time, the prophet is admonished to cease interceding for the people who by their failure to live up to their covenant obligations have rendered intercession irrelevant, thus giving YHWH cause to conclude that, since the people have not heeded his word (as mediated through his legitimated prophets) the covenant is of no effect (11:10).

This does not mean that the relationship of YHWH to his people is permanently severed; cf Jer 18:5,6. The fact that the calamities threatened in Lev 26 and Deut 28 are now about to be visited upon the people indicates that YHWH has not abandoned them permanently. The "broken covenant" motif should therefore not be pressed.

The thrust in Jer 14 is clearly: the covenant "curses" are irrevocably activated; intercession would only demonstrate ignorance of the contemporary divine purposes. Thus, as the "false prophets" are accused of prophesying without legitimation, so Jeremiah is charged to communicate to the people their imminent fate, which is no longer in the nature of threat and therefore contingent (cf. 7:2-7), implying the opportunity of averting its threatening calamity. In all three sermons the situation is essentially the same: Judah's doom is surely forthcoming: thus, the oracles in this (literary!) context function as predictive doom oracles.⁴⁹

This does not mean, however, that the historian's attempts to pinpoint dates or chronological sequences receive any significant encouragement here. Jer 14 is not to be interpreted as a historical continuum (contra Weiser, 122). Droughts are hardly uncommon in Palestine and the language in 14:17 - 15:4 is formulaic and traditional from which it is extremely difficult if not impossible to determine one or more historical settings. This piece should therefore be regarded as a sermon with an exilic setting which needs to be read in its literary context.⁵⁰ Again, this implies a raising of the importance of R to whom we owe the present arrangement of the literary material.

⁴⁹Cf. T. M. Raitt, "Function, Setting, and Content in Jeremiah's Oracles of Judgment," SBL Seminar papers 1971, 210-214.

⁵⁰Cf. Raitt's statement: "The norm for understanding Jeremiah's judgment message...is the pattern of continuity between the content of separate oracles in one prophetic source." (*Ibid.*, 228, italics added).

Beyond some of the more sweeping parallel and related themes referred to above, a consideration of material contiguous to ch. 14 turns up a number of similarities which fact seems to underscore the contention that this literature needs to be read in its present contexts. Thus, the lament in 14:2 corresponds essentially to 12:4:

How long will the land mourn ('BL, as in 14:2)

and the grass (^Cešeb, as in 14:6) wither?

for the wickedness of those who dwell in it... (cf. Jer 3:3a; 5:21-25; 8:18-20).

In 12:7 the motif of YHWH having forsaken (^CZB) his people is introduced (cf. 14:8b); 12:11 speaks of devastation: šod^edim have come; 12:12 mentions hereb (yhwh!); the desolate land mourns (again 'BL) to YHWH, 12:11.

Ch. 16 also betrays verbal and material correspondence with ch. 14. Thus, in 16:10 the people are reported to have inquired about their ^Cawon ḥaṭṭa' which they had allegedly committed. This is followed by the familiar summary of the fathers having forsaken YHWH and followed after other gods, etc. The prohibition to intercede for them because of the finality of YHWH's decision harmonizes with 16:18 according to which YHWH will doubly recompense (šLM piel) their ^Cawon and ḥaṭṭa' (cf. 14:10 and Isa 40:2).

III

Consistent with a morphological approach, both structure analysis and form criticism in so far as it concentrates on the present form of the literature (in its literary context) have been employed in this paper. They remain to be integrated more completely.

This approach means that the focus of attention is directed to the particularity of the text rather than to the nature and history of genres. (Genre elements, rather than considering them genres,

might perhaps more appropriately be termed literary motifs and seem to belong in the middle ground between form criticism and structure analysis). Particularly after the SBL Seminar papers by Knierim and von Waldow and Form Criticism by Tucker no brief needs to be made for the need to pay sufficient attention to the distinctiveness of a particular text, even within the framework of form criticism; or should the roles be reversed and should the hypothesis be considered that a moderate form criticism is a necessary and productive aid to structure analysis? Again we seem to land in the quagmire of methodological questions. On the other hand, OT scholarship is beginning to illustrate, by loosening itself from older methodological orthodoxies, the diminishing relevance of "reconciling" methods and the growing importance of "interpenetration." "Literature," wrote Northrop Frye in 1965, "is not a field of conflicting arguments but of interpenetrating visions." (Letter to the English Institute). Judging from some of the work associated with the name of L. Alonso-Schökel and several others, OT scholarship stands only to gain by retaining an openness to some exciting visions.

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I.

In gospel-studies, it has become rather common to describe our records of Jesus as decisively different from other contemporary literature. The absence of outside references to Jesus, oftentimes awkward for historians of early Christianity, has been understood by many exegetes as something of an advantage: The epiphany of Jesus, as reflected in the testimonies of believers, it is argued, has created a unique genre: the gospel. So the recordings and their object would share in a uniqueness that could be stated in historical terms as a certain innocent, i.e. unlooked for, by-product of an exegesis which claims elsewhere to advocate non-objectifiability of faith, especially as far as Paul is concerned.

But this literary uniqueness of the records of Jesus does not exist at all. The gospel-seminar has already dealt in part with that problem. Although, as a form-critic, I am most often a Bultmannian, i.e. deductive, analytical, I always thought that one should occasionally follow also Dibelius' approach, i.e. be inductive synthetical.

Therefore, I have chosen today as my particular objective to study the accounts of revered men as they are created by insiders, also their creative milieus, goals and effects. As this range of questions already shows, I do not hold it to be true that our earliest records of Jesus are unique in their preoccupation with the perspectives of established reverence.²

1. This paper pursues further problems raised in "Bleibende Aufgaben, die Bultmann uns stellt", in "Weiter aktuell...", Evangelische Zeitstimmen 59/60 (1971) ed. W. Schmithals, pp. 66-76. I found quite a bit of criticism for my advocacy of more intensive use of historical criticism in New Testament studies. My call for a temporary refraining from studies limited to specific theological problems of the New Testament has been especially blamed. But I want to state again that the growing pious parochialism of New Testament studies, especially on my own home continent, Europe, is a detriment to true theology. The theological problems of the New Testament cannot live without a context, and that context is first of all the historical environment, the specific dialogical horizon of the early Christians. This context is more than a background. It cannot be treated like a quarry as New Testament interpretation has done it for too long. The context of the New Testament is more comparable with a biosphere which has to be recognized in any translating of New Testament matters. The more recent hermeneutical and linguistic debate about the New Testament has been self-defeating because of the almost complete absence of any true historical dimension.
2. In the essay mentioned, I have dealt with this problem already and have quoted several examples starting with Pythagoras.

I am going to start the present discussion with an observation Jacob Neusner made in a very recent article.³ Here, Neusner compares carefully the forms of early rabbinic traditions with forms extant in the Old Testament, the OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the Qumran-Literature and the Synoptic Gospels. I quote Neusner's summary of that section (p. 379): "While the rabbinic traditions of the Pharisees exhibit only two types in common with biblical, Qumranian, apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature, namely laws and moral sayings, and have no form in common at all, the Pharisaic traditions manifest both types and forms common with the Synoptic Gospels. They are indeed so close at some few points as to present a remarkable congruence."

The forms that, according to Neusner, are the closest are: conflict sayings, debates and biographical apophthegms. But there are also some other formal analogies, especially the use of Scripture is comparable in many ways. I must confess that I do not find as yet the relationship of the material quoted to the Pharisees established firmly enough. I am also a little more optimistic about analogies between rabbinic material and proverbial wisdom. But for the present purpose, which is slightly more general, I can overlook those differences because they do not really alter a major agreement with the basic thrust of Neusner's form-critical comparison in the article cited.

It seems to me that also the next major step in Neusner's argument is worth our attention. Having given Bultmann a rather good press in the preceding chapter, Neusner follows Bultmann's example in the "History of the Synoptic Tradition" very closely and entitles the concluding discussion about the Sitz(e) im Leben: "History of Forms." I have to limit myself to quoting from the conclusion (p. 390): "Both the reference to a limited number of types of materials pertaining to pre-70 Pharisaism and the imposition on them of a few clear-cut forms thus characterize Yavnean traditions. Since the Synoptic Gospels, which make reference to the same types (among others) of stories and sayings, make use of much the same well-defined forms and develop stories according to the same techniques of story-telling, come from approximately the same period -- assuming Mark at 60, the rest not much later -- we notice an interesting fact. The Christian and rabbinic traditions around the time of the destruction of Jerusalem exhibit much the same literary and formal tendencies. What the former did for Jesus, the latter did for Hillel. The formation of the intermediate units of the respective traditions was carried out in not dissimilar ways."

One may immediately correct the date for Mark and shoot for a time between 65 and 70 and argue for a post-destruction date with respect to the other gospels. But the analogies between the Jesus-tradition and the Hillel-tradition are extremely interesting. The relative contemporaneity of the development could be proven by a thorough form- and literary-critical analysis of the Pirke Aboth, the oldest tractate of the Mishna. Hillel and Jokhanan ben Zaccai (and his school) are standing out here as major landmarks, and one notices in the case of Jokhanan ben Zaccai definitely that this landmark indicated a major change reflecting itself in a thorough alignment and structuring of tradition. In the case of Hillel, one can assume also with some certainty that he stands for a major change in the process of tradition. The mere quantity of the Hillel-tradition in the Pirke

3. In History of Religion 11,4, 1972, pp. 354-390, "Types and Forms in Ancient Jewish Literature: Some Comparisons."

Aboth would already speak for that (emphasized by Neusner also for the rest of the rabbinic Hillel-tradition). The way this and other traditions obviously are worked over and rearranged speaks for the fact that the history of the tradition in question was an adjustment-process occurring in several major shifts, making the differentiation between primary, secondary, tertiary, etc., material (and phases) possible. I agree with Neusner that the chains of names are secondary. I would -- with regard to the Pirke Aboth at least -- say even more emphatically that the chain of names (with its famous claim of succession) was composed independently and became but later related to the originally anonymous, more or less proverbial sayings.

The chain has its definite ending in the enumeration of the disciples of Jokhanan ben Zaccai. The following names are not attached to the line of succession any more and show mostly no other regularity. The exception is the (inconsistent) chain of names of a dynasty of Hillelites. The particular history and function of all of these names outside the chain from Moses to Jokhanan's school is of a different kind and certainly later and cannot concern us here.

The Hillel-tradition is unproportionately large. It is also split and not really consistently integrated. We can conclude three different things from that: a) the Hillel-tradition originally had an independent history and was of some continuous growth; b) it served to massively support the claim of the school of Jokhanan ben Zaccai; c) it was then also used to support the claim of the Hillelite dynasty. Thus, we have not only to explain the later use of the Hillelite-tradition in b) and c) but also the reasons for an original collection (what Neusner called "the formation of the intermediate units").

In our context, we can skip the problems of point c) because they belong to another period than that of the formation of the gospels. But we have to dwell a little more on the traditio-historical function of Jokhanan's school before we address the Hillel-tradition as such. In each case, we will draw comparisons with the gospel-tradition and other comparable material.

The elaborate debate on the rabbinic succession has not rendered evidence for an early existence of this phenomenon. The most recent discussion in Neusner's "The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70" (vol. I) has in effect argued against the existence of the institution of succession prior to 70, although Neusner has not stated that clearly. Neusner may be correct in assuming that a fixed list existed very early with the names from Yozi ben Yoezer to Hillel and Shammai, although I am not too certain about that. But this list and precise succession as an institution are still two different things.

The discussion about rabbinic succession has not established evidence for a Jewish origin of the concept of succession either. The only antecedents as to precise and controlled succession are to be found in philosophical schools that seemed to have adopted and perfected structures of mystery-religions. Here we have the interest in succession as means of establishing and maintaining a legitimate body of the basic teaching of the founder and of its legitimate interpretation. There is a tendency towards establishing a canon of the basic writings and then also of their authoritative interpretations. The other safeguard, beside the expurgated collections of documents, is the institution of the controlled and continuous succession of legitimate expositors, the only real exceptions being the Cynics and the Neopythagoreans.

The Jewish wisdom-movement had already known the wisdom-school. But its major objective was the training and disciplining of pupils through wisdom for the role of wise men. The holy scriptures of Israel had become a major treasure of wisdom for these schools, especially of moral wisdom. But holy writ never pushed experience aside. It became but a prominent part of it. The teacher represented wisdom but he never replaced her. That means the teacher's role and even he himself were dissolved as it were by wisdom herself, as the pupil had grown into a wise man himself. Not even the prologue to Jesus ben Sira speaks of more than holy writings yet. The grandson of Jesus ben Sira does not understand them as a definitive collection excluding others, that is, he does not take them as canonical writings yet. The educational process within the wisdom-movement was so well-disciplined that no external mechanism or safeguards were considered necessary for the securing of continuity. Wisdom took care of the process herself.

The only comparison for the school of Jokhanan ben Zaccai is the well-established phenomenon of the Hellenistic philosophical school. Since Plato's founding of the Academy, the philosophical school had definite structure and was a clear social and legal entity. The heritage of the Pythagoreans was incorporated in as far as the philosophical schools retained also a strong religious flavor. It is understandable that the Romans granted to Jewish rabbis the founding of a school that carried the marks of the philosophical schools because that meant the use of a clear phenomenon the Romans knew from elsewhere and had learnt to control relatively effectively. Responsibility and reliability were easily recognizable with that phenomenon. The members of the school themselves were so much interested in the identifiability of content, form and personnel. The equation of the core of popular religion with teaching and style of a school was not new. The Jewish population had become accustomed to it since the activity of Jesus ben Sira and his colleagues, scribes who were not advocates of jurisprudence but teachers of a popular morality identified with the essence of holy scriptures, most of all the Pentateuch. As far as the Roman authorities were concerned, they knew of sufficient attempts to establish this equation: Pythagoreans, Platonists, Cynics, and Stoics. Thus, they could understand the claim of people like Jokhanan and could leave judgment about the value of that claim with the success it had among the Jewish people.

So the rabbis started to work on establishing a canon of fundamental writings, a canon in the exclusive sense of the term. At the same time, the concept of authoritative interpretation in the sense of a controlled succession of legitimate interpreters was developed. One could use for that concept the notion of tradition that had existed among the Pharisees before. Paul renders the first literary evidence for the Pharisaic use of that term. Describing in Gal. 1,14 his earlier career in Judaism, he calls himself a *ζηλωτῆς τῶν πατρικῶν παραδόσεων*. According to the biographical parallel in Phil. 3,4-6 (esp. v. 5), he was a Pharisee at that time. It should be noted that the term *πατρικαὶ παραδόσεις* is more general than the one used in the redactional composition of Mark in Mk. 7 (vv. 4 f.), *παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*.

At least in Mark's reading, the *πρεσβύτεροι* could be meant as a more specific group than the fathers Paul is referring to. In Paul's case, we have the usual reference to the forefathers common already to the Old Testament -- only the term *παράδοσις* adding a new touch. In Mark's case, we have an attempt to make this tradition of the elders

representative for the Jewish establishment and give it an authoritative place. In this pericope, Mark also brings the Pharisees and the institutions of the scribes very closely together. Thus, it could be that Mark wants us to understand the "elders" here in a more institutional sense (something like the established rabbis of former generations according to the historical construction of the Yavnean period?).

The terminology of Paul is supported by Josephus (later as to literary date but reporting about earlier incidents and phenomena, although not without colouring them from his own perspective). He speaks in Ant. XIII 297 (in describing the conflict between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees) of *πατέρες* making clear before that *πατέρες* here means forefathers in a general sense and no particular institution. Josephus had spoken of the Pharisees as giving *παρέδωκεν* to the people νόμιμα ... ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς. This (biological) succession of former generations is the source of tradition for the Pharisees.

Josephus, in this passage, clearly makes a distinction between those customs (νόμιμα) and what is written in the laws (νόμοι) of Moses. Compare also the use of νόμιμα in the previous paragraph (τά ... ἐκ αὐτῶν -- the Pharisees -- κατασθέντα νόμιμα τῷ δήμῳ).

In B. J. II 162 νόμιμα is used too. These customs are the object of the meticulous interpretation of the Pharisees (ὅτι μετ' ἐκροβείας δοκούντες ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα). In Josephus there is really no evidence for the common assumption that the Pharisees from the start tried to exegetically derive their regulations for an obedient life from the Pentateuch or even relate them to it, even employing exegetical skill of professional scribes for doing that. The Josephus quote that comes closest to supporting this assumption (Ant. XVII 41) clearly makes a distinction still between the scrupulous abiding by an inherited way of life (ἐκ' ἐξακριβώσεως μετὰ φρονούν τοῦ πατρίου) and the doing of the law of God (νόμον οὐκ χαίρει τὸ θεῖον προσκοινοῦμεν). The full quote says about the Pharisees (during the reign of Herod the Great) Καίτη γὰρ πόριον τι Ἰουδαίων ἀνθρώπων ἐκ' ἐξακριβώσεως μετὰ φρονούν τοῦ πατρίου καὶ νόμον οὐκ χαίρει τὸ θεῖον προσκοινοῦμεν.

In Ant. XVIII 12, (describing the period under Quirinius the procurator), Josephus hints at the kind of rationalization-process happening among the Pharisees, not only for explaining the rules for the particular life-style after the fact but even for creating those rules. Again no professionally trained exegetes are presupposed for doing that. The further description actually might suggest by way of inference that simply the older generations of the sect at large were these tone- and pace-setting forces: ὅτι τε τὰς Φαρισαῖοι τὴν δίκαιαν ἐξηγεῖσθαι οὐδὲν ἐς τὸ μαλακώτερον ἐνδίδοντες, ἀν τε ὁ λόγος κρίνας παρέδωκεν ὅσων ἐκόνται τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ περιμάχητον ἡγούμενοι τὴν φυλακὴν ὡς ὑπαγορεύειν ἠρέλησεν.

The original and continuous focus of Pharisaic concern was a certain range of pious customs and moral lore. By following that,

4. Or in Feldman's translation of this rather difficult text: "The Pharisees simplify their standard of living making no concession to luxury. They follow the guidance of that which their doctrine (λόγος) has selected and transmitted as good, attaching the chief importance to the observance of those commandments (the text simply has ὡς ὑπαγορεύειν ...) which it has seen fit to dictate them."

they hoped for the attainment of an especially pure life. The development of subtlety and craftiness in this style of life does not need any professional, learned people as the history of human morals has proven many times. Lay-people can be just as ingenious and hair-splitting as trained exegetes, if not more. I do think that the continuation of the Josephus-quote given already does not point to anything else.

Ant. XVIII 15 describes the reasons for the popularity of the Pharisees (e.g. doctrine of immortality and retribution) and continues
 καὶ οἱ αὐτὰ τοῖς τε δήμοις πιθανώτατοι τυγχάνουσιν καὶ ὅσα θεὰ εὐχὰν
 τε ἔχεται καὶ ἱερὰν ποιήσας ἐξηγήσει τῇ ἐκείνων τυγχάνουσιν πρᾶσσόμενα.

εὐχὰι (prayers or vows) and *ἱερὰ* here certainly are not matters of temple-cult, regulated by the priestly code, but expressions of popular piety, *ἐξηγήσει* meaning here the particular counsel and argument pertaining to the pious way of life. The strength of the Pharisees was that they were concerned with the day-to-day practice of the ordinary people. And they were exercising this *ὁδὸς δικαία*, as it is called in Ant. XIII 290, in an exemplary way.

Thus, the traditions of the fathers Paul and Josephus were talking about originally were a certain religious life-style grown as particular customs among lay-people, picked up, defended, developed and rationalized by the Pharisees for more than a hundred years.

Paul, despite having been a faithful Pharisee and discussing even as a Christian the law of Moses a lot, never shows any real acquaintance with the legally sophisticated casuistic subtlety we find in the mishnaic debates and arguments about law and legal ordinances. Those considerations, as well as the midrashic expositions, certainly betray technical skill not available to laymen. The simple conclusion from that observation is that those debates and arguments were not common among Pharisees before the thirties of the first century A.D.

Paul may, however, stand for a major change. I have argued elsewhere that Paul has been thoroughly influenced by the various branches of the Jewish wisdom-movement. The evidence in all of Paul's letters is abundant. The influence of the wisdom-movement on Paul is so thorough and the use of specific terms and patterns so precise that the assumption of a formal training in a wisdom school is inevitable. In Phil. 3, Paul uses the form of the Jewish testament, thereby not only showing his knowledge of it but also telling us that he is using the school-pattern for organizing his work too. There are other indications in Paul's letters and in the deutero-Pauline correspondence for the fact that Paul used the school-model inherited from the wisdom-movement. Paul certainly is a skilled exegete, too, although not with the particular casuistic expertise yet which the Tannaitic rabbis show.

All this means that Paul is our first literary evidence for an encounter between wisdom-schools and Pharisaism, scribal training and Pharisaic piety.

This brings us rather close to the assumed date for Hillel's career. What may have looked like a long detour in my paper thus far was actually a necessary line of argument that has helped to see the beginning of the first century as a decisive period in Judaism, signified among others by a positive encounter between the Pharisaic movement and the institution of the scribes. People professionally trained

5. Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem, Hamburg, 1965, pp. 62 ff., especially pp. 66 ff.

in the wisdom schools enter the Pharisaic movement, or Pharisees the wisdom schools, or both.

The growing number of Hillel-sayings and Hillel-stories serve well as an after-the-fact explanation of what happened and why. The merger of scribal skill and meticulous piety is explained as caused by an extraordinary person, great as a religious figure, as a man of his trade, and as a human being; truly a wise man and truly a godly one.

The usual conclusion actually associates itself uncritically with the major thrust of the formation of this material, saying that things must have happened this way, that there was no other way. Only a great person could have created this shift and left this impact, is a common argument known also very well from the Life-of-Jesus-discussion. But arguments like this lead away from a necessary recognition of the continuation of these formative forces into the years around seventy and afterwards. These practically heroizing and romanticizing arguments also make one deaf to essential questions about the causes for the change itself and the powers at work.⁶

There is no reason to doubt the historical existence of Hillel nor the possibility that he may have been an extraordinary person. But this does not change the fact that this person is dealt with in a not uncommon, if not typical fashion, typical for changes like this. The stories and sayings in effect explain the new and controversial amalgamation of two constituencies (the scribes and the Pharisees). Therefore, the controversial and apologetic tone is noticeable. But the Hillel-material (among others the moral sayings and stories) gives support also to the new breed that is growing, the very mixture of Pharisaic scribes. Thus, we find many very constructive and edifying elements in the Hillel-tradition. The superiority of Hillel is often described. But the way in which this is done puts Hillel not beyond a context of comparable figures but into it. This movement argues for its existence and right in a controversial way, i.e. as one among many others. If the particular version of that movement represented by the Shammaites had prevailed, we would possess a great number more of Shammai-stories showing him as the victor than we have. Neusner actually argues with some reasons for the predominance of the Shammaites in the period before 70 with the Hillelites coming to power only after 70.⁷ But that would not argue against the Hillel-tradition existing in part before 70. It would speak even more for a controversial tone and intent of that material. But in the general context of my present argument, the rise of Hillel- as well as Shammai-traditions signifies the same thrust: the interpretation of the positive encounter of Pharisees and scribes and their growing amalgamation.

Neusner raises one further problem that is important for the pursuit of our question: "What characterized Pharisees and Christians

6. One may also ask about later contradictory tendencies of presuming the decisive role of a Hillelite dynasty on the one side and of diminishing the importance of Hillel on the other side through a growing legendarizing also of other figures, contemporaries of Hillel or preceding him. As for my present purpose, the pursuit of these questions would lead me too far afield. I have to limit myself to the sudden interest in Hillel as it shows in the growth of traditions about him.

7. Rabbinic Traditions II pp. 1-5, III p. 266.

but no others (i.e. no other Palestinian Jews) is the view that post-biblical authorities were worthy of serious consideration as named, individual, historical authorities."⁸ This is all the more striking since -- as Neusner himself mentions -- the Qumran-sect left the teacher of righteousness nameless, despite the obvious reverence for the man who must have been of great importance for the sect. Actually the Qumran-sect is a good proof that apparent and decisive influence of one individual on a religious group does not necessarily lead to a personalizing and legendarizing of the importance and meaning of this figure in particular, with statements and stories ascribed to him and lifted out. The books of Gerd Jeremias and Hartmut Stegemann about the Teacher of Righteousness are very interesting.⁹ But they miss the point of the Qumran-documents concerning the Teacher of Righteousness. He is consciously depersonalized and integrated into the community. The best examples are the Qumran-psalms where the "I" of the Teacher of Righteousness and that of the ordinary believer merge.

This tendency towards anonymity and pseudonymity in the intertestamental period is by no means a sign of religious inferiority. Neusner is more correct when he says: "Spiritual gifts imposed on them a loss of individuality."¹¹ Often pseudonymity at least seems to be an expression of the claim of the author to rewrite scriptures.

The most conscious attempt to depersonalize history and to strip identity, we find in Wisdom of Solomon -- as an expression of the over-all-importance of wisdom who is incorporating herself over and over again through all generations.

Why this new interest in the authorship of certain sayings and in the historical identity of the actor in narratives, giving them a biographical ring? Neusner has no real answer for that. The existence of lists of names is not enough, especially not in the case of singling out Hillel (or Shammai).

It seems to me that the answer lies again outside of Palestine: in the philosophical schools and their impact on Judaism. I am going to show elsewhere that the techniques and arguments of legal debates, derivations and definitions as we find them in the Mishnah are borrowed from the Hellenistic Jewish synagogue which is heavily dependent on Hellenistic philosophy and legal practice.

The rise of interest in the personal identity of people like Hillel (or Shammai), surprising in intertestamental Judaism, coincided with a renewed interest in exemplary figures in Hellenistic philosophy since the first century B.C. My argument is that Hellenistic philosophy started having an impact on the development of the scribal institution before 70 A.D. The change Jokhanan ben Zaccai stood for which

8. Types and Forms, p. 383.

9. G. Jeremias, Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit, Göttingen, 1963; H. Stegemann, Die Entstehung der Qumran-Gemeinde, Bonn, 1971.

10. Even the huge book of Jesus ben Sira carries the name only in 50,29 and then in the prologue of the grandson.

11. Types and Forms, p. 384.

12. See my article, "Der vorpaulinische Hymnus Phil 2,6-11" in Zeit und Geschichte, Tübingen, 1964, pp. 263-293.

I described above was not completely unprepared. Since the first century B.C., there was again a strong interest in the classical figures of cynicism with Demetrius, Epictetus and Dion of Prusa as the foremost witnesses to that. Isaak Heinemann has long been emphasizing the influence of cynicism on Philo.¹³

A. Fischel has studied especially the dependence of Tannaitic literature on the cynic *chria*, i.e. the apophthegms, anecdotes of a gnomic nature, sources of maxims for a specific life-style to be learned and propagated.¹⁴

Also the Stoicism of that period was very interested in a particular life-style but it did not concentrate so much on creating and propagating exemplary presentations of particular persons and their biographic peculiarities. The same is true with Epicureans, although their reverence for the life and mission of Epicurus continued to be impressive and influential.

Socrates remained the hero of all philosophical schools and his life and teaching, and especially his trial and death, were recreated many a time in the Hellenistic world, coloured by whatever shade of belief happened to be responsible for the reproduction. This was all the more the case since Socrates was a major subject for rhetorical training. Formal school education worked with the other "biographic" material too -- and by no means in a simple copying way only, but very often calling on the empathy and imagination of the student. We should reckon with this element of education as a rather common and influential one in our period and for our problem.¹⁵ The "Socrates" men knew about was the Socrates of the great and little Socratics who happened to portray him. He was dissolved into the pictures that many types of reverence drew of him, entirely comparable to Jesus, although in Socrates' case a few critical remarks of "non-believers" survived too (e.g.¹⁶ Aristophanes). But even that anti-picture was of no neutral calibre.

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13. "Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung", Reprint Darmstadt, 1962.
 14. A. Fischel, "Studies in Cynicism and the Ancient Near East: The Transformation of a *Chria*", in J. Neusner, ed., *Religions in Antiquity. Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, Leiden, 1968, pp. 372-411; and A. Fischel, "Story and History: Observations on Greco-Roman Rhetoric and Pharisaism", in *American Oriental Society, Middle Western Branch, Semi-Centennial Volume. Asian Studies Research Institute, Oriental Series*, no. 3, Bloomington, 1969, pp. 59-88. Neusner gives a brief report on Fischel's theses in *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70*, vol. III, pp. 330 f.
 15. The interrelationship between education, rhetoric and catechesis in the respective milieus of our period is an important area of study not yet really opened.
 16. In recent works on Socrates like the article by Stenzel in Pauly Wissowa, RE, 2. Reihe, vol. III, 811-891, one notices a striking similarity to the life-of-Jesus-debate. In certain ways, the Socrates-research still seems to be in the phase of the Old Quest. Methodical skepticism has not yet touched it sufficiently.

Finally, the oldest of the great philosophers needs to be mentioned, Pythagoras. His life, better his legend, became revived in the first century B.D., reproduced not only in writing (the *vitae*) but also in real life. Isidore Levy, ¹⁷ has made a synopsis of the life (i.e. the legend) of Pythagoras and the life of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus (pp. 130 ff.). Levy states convincingly: "La Vie d'Apollonios de Tyane ... represente en grande partie un report de la biographie de Pythagore sur son 'descendant spirituel'. Ce n'est que par une contrefaçon methodique ... que peuvent s'expliquer les ressemblances frappantes des deux existences legendaires." (p. 130).

There was a tradition of belief about the philosopher from Samos that in the first century B.C. and A.D. became powerful enough again to shape other people's lives, with these new confessors obviously adding new strength to it. It was part of the great awakening that stirred the entire Mediterranean world between 50 B.C. and 50 A.D. in many sectors of life, not the least in philosophy and religion.

Around Apollonius grew a new tradition of faith, showing not only in witnesses of pupils of his but also in other documentations outside of the *vita* by Philostratus, among others also statues and inscriptions honoring that belated disciple of Pythagoras.

Individual historical identity and authenticity and historical accuracy are certainly not functioning as major causes in this texture spun by faith, they are only factors among others, often rather subordinate. In the case of Apollonius, we have a beautiful illustration for the inextricable entanglement a person can get into that is not only subject but also object of faith, even more so since the faith right from the start related to a faith-reality already several hundred years old. It is of minor importance for our question whether the Pythagorean sects had died out and the Pythagoras-tradition had merely a literary character, or whether the Pythagoreism continued to exist in small sectarian groups as scholars like Heinrich Dörrie assume.²⁰ At least the Neopythagoreans did no longer presuppose or create a strictly controlled organisation like Academy, Lyceum and Garden or also the Stoa.

The closeness to the problem of the Jewish-Christian-tradition seems to me already apparent enough. The shadows of all sorts of biblical figures, most of all that of Moses, are always above the heads

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17. In his Recherches sur les sources de la legende de Pythagore, Paris, 1926.
 18. Gerd Petzke, in his recent study on Apollonius of Tyana, Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament, Leiden, 1970, has not given sufficient attention to Apollonius' tradition. Petzke is always too quick to compare Apollonius and the New Testament without elaborating enough on the particular problems of the Apollonius-vita and on the wider context common to the Apollonius-tradition and the New Testament.
 19. Petzke lists carefully all the traditions about Apollonius outside of the *vita* of Philostratus. Die Traditionen..., pp. 19-45.
 20. H. Dörrie, "Der nachklassische Pythagoreismus", Pauly Wissowa, RE, XXIV, 1, coll. 268-277. I hope that further studies of the Apollonius-tradition will pursue this problem.

of the particular individuals we are talking about, Hillel and Jesus. The case of Apollonius shows, of course, also that the great figures of the past, Pythagoras in this case, are not only shaping the more recent personalities but are influenced just as well by the new objects of reverence. The stature and work of Pythagoras or Moses have definitely been changed by the epiphanies of people like Apollonius, Hillel and Jesus and those who admired them. It is amazing to observe that the period of the great awakening which the Jesus-tradition had been part of was as interested in the full weight of tradition as in the immediacy of the charismatic, with very interesting combinations of these allegedly contradictory intentions.

As regards the forms and genres of the biographic tradition about philosophers, we can list the following: (A scanning of Diogenes Laertius will give ample illustrations for most of the list; the life of Apollonius Tyana by Philostratus will add more).

- 1) individual sayings (δόξα, γνώμη) and their collections
- 2) individual anecdotes (χρεία, ἀπόφθεγμα) and their collections
- 3) longer dialogues
- 4) speeches
- 5) letters
- 6) testaments
- 7) forensic appearances, and speeches (especially the philosophical *παρολογία*)
- 8) lists of writings
- 9) lists of disciples
- 10) systematic descriptions of the respective doctrines; and as more composite genres:
- 11) mere composite collections
- 12) concrete biographical translations of lists of virtues and/or circumstances (περίστασεις) of the ideal philosopher as exemplified by the individual in question
- 13) the brief biography
- 14) the aretalogy
- 15) the long biography of the more character-oriented type
- 16) the long biography of the more aretalogical type.

If we want to understand the rich biographical material about ancient philosophers, we have to give up on our usual presupposition of order in space and time as being essential for biographies. Often, geographic and temporal arrangements are absent altogether. Where they exist (especially under #16), they are often superficially imposed and refer to an itinerary out of "ideal" or "philosophical" reasons (the itinerant philosopher as being the more knowledgeable and the more independent, in short: the more sovereign person). The analogy to the redactional frame of our gospels is obvious. The phenomena observed here are by no means unique or "kerygmatic".

Another argument for the "kerygmatic" structure of the gospels is often that they show no psychological interest and are also lacking references to any personal development of the main figure. But this is just a common trade-mark of the philosopher's *vita*, even of the character-oriented, the peripatetic type. The philosopher is not supposed to change. If, in the more aretalogical *vita*, the early youth is presented also, then the main point is that the excellence showed already at that early date.

In the Hillel-tradition, the biographic concern must not be confused with any interest in the "personality" of the man either. This is unfortunately overlooked in most modern studies that touch on Hillel. They read therefore more like novels than like historical research.

I hinted already at the fact that most parallels to the early "rabbinic" tradition other than New Testament parallels are in the (biographic) tradition of cynicism. Individual sayings, especially the succinct ones, and even more the apophthegms, most of all the chria, resemble cynic material very often. This seems not to be accidental. But the proverbial and moral sayings, as they are concentrated in the Pirke Aboth, seem to be different. And just here do we have our only elaborate collection of Hillel-material. The remainder of the Hillel-tradition elsewhere shares in the formal features just described, comparable in part to Cynic phenomena. The collection of Hillel-sayings in P. Aboth is the only extensive Hillel collection we possess, and it represents also the largest collection of sayings of first century rabbis at all.²¹ This observation seems not to fit the state of my argument developed thus far. This would be even more true if Neusner were correct about the dating²² of that material.

But I do not agree with Neusner that this Hillel-collection is late. On the contrary, it seems to be relatively old. First of all, the traktate is very old itself. It is not commented upon in the Talmud because it is foreign and that means to a certain extent old again. The fact that these sayings of Hillel are not quoted elsewhere therefore does not mean very much. The Pirke Aboth were considered a strange body anyhow. Another relative date for the Hillel-collection in the P. Aboth is the chain of succession to which the collection is in part directly related. The chain must have been composed in the Yavnean period. The formal principle applying to the proverbial and moral sayings which are secondarily attached to the chain in P. Aboth 1-18 (apparently from the same source), i.e. the form of triplets, is not followed in the sayings ascribed to Hillel. We saw further that the chain of succession leading to Jokhanan and his school is secondarily interrupted by an attempt to introduce something like a Hillelite dynasty. This interruption presupposes the Hillel-material. It is impossible to assume that the second part of the Hillel-sayings in 11, 5 ff. was added after the inclusion of the references to later Hillelites. The opposite is the more plausible: that the Hillel-collection was interrupted and the dynasty-argument elaborated, parenthetically as it were.

It is understandable why the compiler who combined the chain of succession with wisdom-sayings took the advantage of a large collection of Hillel-sayings. It helped to emphasize the authority of Hillel and therefore supported also the controversial claim of Jokhanan. The very fact that no directly legal material is used here to support the claim is another argument for a very early date of that collection and its inclusion.

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21. I do not include the other extensive collection, the long debate about the passover overriding the sabbath in the Jerusalem Talmud, Pesach 6:1 and parallels. I agree with Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions* I, pp. 246 ff. and 254 ff., that the present compositions are secondary and late.
 22. *The Rabbinic Tradition* I, pp. 224-226.

The collection cannot have grown within the Pirke Aboth. The redactional development of the collection is different from that of the P. Aboth and must have been completed before the incorporation into the chain of succession. The redactional development presupposes the ascription to a certain person, not the least because of the inclusion of the apophthegm in 11,7.

Formally and content-wise, this Hillel-collection is closer to the proverbial wisdom-tradition than the other material used for supplementing the chain of succession. The Hillel-sayings reflect nicely the development of proverbial wisdom as we see it initiated by the time of Jesus ben Sira: the development of proverbial wisdom to a moral instruction that is oriented on the law without yet being of a casuistic nature. To provide this particular kind of moral instruction was the task of scribes like Jesus ben Sira and seems to have been their occupation into the first century A.D. Even Paul the Pharisee still presupposes this kind of treatment of the law.

The Hillel-material also works with the notion of discipleship that we have to presume in the wisdom schools since Jesus ben Sira. But the wisdom-tradition cannot explain the interest in a particular name of a certain person. Here we need, as I argued, the assumption of another impact, the interest of Hellenistic philosophical schools in personally identifying their tradition. The specific teacher as the outstanding embodiment of wisdom authenticated it as theory and as practice. The collection does not yet presuppose a school as well-structured and controlled as some Hellenistic schools, though, another argument for the early date of the collection.

The understanding of discipleship implied in the Hillel-collection is something like a missing link between the conception of the wisdom-school in Ecclus. 51,13-30 and the rabbinic school after 70 A.D. where we have the model of the philosophical school fully adopted.

Although Neusner is justified in the assumption quoted that the gospel's ascription to Jesus and the rabbinic tradition's ascription to people like Hillel are comparable, this comparability does not apply to the origin. The origin of the identification of the Jesus-tradition with Jesus lies in the easter-experience that identified the content of certain visions with Jesus of Nazareth exalted into a heavenly existence. There is no great need to argue in detail for the tradition of Jesus-sayings after Easter as being understood as a living tradition, voiced and maintained by the living transcendental leader of the community. The high percentage of post-Easter productions in the sayings-tradition and the great number of adjustments of sayings to the post-Easter-situation point to that fact.²⁴

The wisdom-tradition with Ecclus. 24 being the foremost example had prepared the breaking down of the demarkation-lines between a heavenly speaker (wisdom or now Jesus) and an earthly representative

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23. The character of proverbial wisdom is completely broken down in the sayings ascribed to Rabbi Juda and Rabban Gamaliel in P. Aboth 11,1-4. The notion of study in 11,2-4 is also very much advanced over its understanding in the Hillel-sayings..
 24. Had I more time, I could argue at great length, for instance, for the peculiarly Matthean material outside the nativity stories and the passion-narrative as being a Palestinian source, the speaker of which is the risen Christ.

(the wise man or now the easter-witness) and the latter speaking as the former.²⁵

The experience of the Qumran-community had helped to pave the way. Although the teacher of righteousness stayed anonymous, he nevertheless was understood as a figure of eschatological significance and served therefore as hermeneutical criterion at large. It is important that the Qumran-texts tended to refer to him not so much as having said this or that individually but mostly as a comprehensive entity. His epiphany at large was the interpretative phenomenon. Although there was no belief in his resurrection or living presence, the teacher of righteousness was de facto not only related to, but identified with, the collective productivity of the sect.

Even closer to the easter-experience and its consequences were the disciples of John the Baptist.²⁶

The use of concepts like that of the eschatological prophet, Elijah, Wisdom, and Son of man, seems to have articulated the confidence in the transcendental function and power of Jesus after Easter. As Robinson and Koester have pointed out already, the sayings-tradition in part had by tradition (wisdom-movement) and design (heavenly dimension of the alleged author) a dehistoricizing and even depersonalizing tendency with a strongly gnosticizing potential.

I have pointed out in my article on Phil. 2,6-11 (already quoted) that the Hellenistic-Jewish Christians can be credited with an antidocetic polemic. I would like to further argue that the earliest portions of the narrative tradition of the gospels, the trial- and crucifixion-report²⁷ appear to continue the antidocetic interpretation of wisdom-tradition that we find in the pre-Pauline hymn Phil. 2,6-11. Trial and crucifixion speak originally about the testing and inherent vindication of Jesus -- in analogy and contrast to a text like Wisd. Sol. 2.²⁸

We have to assume for Stephen and his friends²⁹ a notion of freedom from the law and of sovereignty and liberty of God's creatures beginning with Jesus himself. We find these notions also in the controversy-stories of the gospel-tradition. I conclude from this that

25. James Robinson's observations concerning the λόγος σοφῶν can be carried much further still. J. Robinson, "Logoi Sophon", Trajectories through Early Christianity, Philadelphia, 1971, pp. 71-113.
26. On the fragmentary tradition of that group, cf. among others the study of H. Thyen, ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑΣ, Zeit und Geschichte, Tübingen, 1964, pp. 97-125.
27. Here the pericope-character has disappeared most, i.e. these portions have been worked over most heavily and longest, intermediate stages also being visible.
28. It is necessary to pursue the origin and development of the motif of vindication in the intertestamental and NT-tradition further. A good start is Sammy K. Williams' Jesus' Death as Saving Event, Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University.
29. Stephen is tried, according to Acts 6, for blasphemy against God and Moses, i.e. the law, and after his execution his friends are persecuted, not the Aramaic-speaking Christians.

the Hellenistic-Jewish Christians did not only use the Jewish wisdom-tradition but turned also to the Hellenistic philosophical tradition and adopted the form of the apophthegm. Jesus was now made to enter a rather international battlefield of controversy and competition.

The next step was made by those Christians (Hellenistic Jews also) who saw in Jesus a *θεῖος ἀνὴρ* and described his function as a miraculous one. These Christian propagandists slowly compiled material for Jesus-aretalogies.³⁰

In a paper for the New England section of SBL and also for the Markan task-force-meeting last year in Atlanta, I argued for a pre-Markan aretalogical collection in the gospel, stretching from baptism to ascension (9,2 ff. the original ascension-story, transposed by Mark) and working over the passion-narrative in the way of a *θεῖος ἀνὴρ* - Christology. Mark certainly edits this material with a very critical hand, also cutting and especially adding considerably. But the original collection is still easily recognizeable.

However, what model does Mark follow? The very fact that he uses collections established before him (besides the aretalogy a collection of controversy-stories in ch. 2 and 3, a collection of parables in ch. 4, the eschatological speech in ch. 13) speaks already against the assumption of "Mark" being *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμνηστῶν*. The taking over of an aretalogy, the incorporation of controversy-stories,³¹ the inclusion of speeches (ch. 4 and ch. 13), the strong emphasis on the disciple-motif,³² and the increase of redactional references to Jesus as itinerant teacher, all these features speak for closeness to the milieu of philosophical schools and their literary production. My thesis actually is that Mark consciously presents the record of Jesus in analogy to the philosopher-vita -- still close enough to the aretalogical *vita* to compete with it. I want to draw attention to the great number of motif-parallels that I. Levy has shown³³ between the Gospel of Mark in particular and the Pythagoras-legend.³³ Mark's emphasis on Galilee, Jesus' Sicily so to speak, could be part of that redactional emphasis.

Mark's playing down the miraculous element would be his major deviation. But the emphasis on the correspondence of teaching and life, not only with respect to the master but also the disciples, would be very understandable, without inordinate refuge to the extraordinary and within the hermeneutical model chosen. Ch. 7, another Markan composition, and a rather central one, indicates another effective aspect of the selected pattern. If the arguments made before in this paper about tendencies in the growth of the rabbinic tradition of the contemporary period are true, then the argument against the tradition of the

30. Cf. my *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief*, Neukirchen, 1964, passim and e.g. H. Koester "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels", *Trajectories through Early Christianity*, Philadelphia, 1971, pp. 158-204.

31. Cf. besides those in ch. 2 and 3 also those in ch. 7, ch. 11 and ch. 12.

32. Not in any ecclesiastical sense but more like a particular group if not sect.

33. I. Levy, *La Légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine*, Paris, 1927, pp. 300-339.

elders in Mk. 7 would be made on a common platform: the adoption of genres and structures of Hellenistic philosophical schools. But Mark would have chosen the one model, besides the cynics, where outside controls and safeguards were least emphasized, the Neopythagoreans. The exemplary life of Pythagoras, and later of his followers, became a blueprint, challenge, comfort and inspiration for the life of the believers.

"Let us turn and return over and over to Galilee" is the message of the Gospel of Mark, i.e. read and reread the vita Jesu, that is everything which is necessary.

Further study should show that an approach like the one I have taken will throw new light on the other gospels, too. I chose forms and genres of the biographic traditions about philosophers and about Hillel as significant illustrations of the subject debated. They are by no means the only ones. Another major chapter, for instance, would have to be the biographical tradition about Alexander the Great, another about the Caesar-tradition.

364a. Wisdom and Apocalyptic In The Message Of Jesus

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Table of Contents

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I. Introduction

A. The use of Apocalyptic and Wisdom Literary Forms and Language by Jesus.

Modern research into the historical message of Jesus may confidently be said to have established the fact that that message featured the use of apocalyptic forms and language and wisdom forms and language. Jesus proclaimed the Kingdom of God, and Kingdom of God is an apocalyptic symbol. In his teaching Jesus made extensive use of proverbial sayings and parables. Proverbial sayings and parables are characteristic of the wisdom movement in ancient Judaism, and indeed of the wisdom movement in general. This is generally recognized to be the case and this recognition has had the consequence that scholars have made an extensive study of both apocalyptic and wisdom in ancient Judaism and then have sought to understand the message of Jesus against the background of this historical milieu. One need mention only the epoch making works of Johannes Weiss and Joachim Jeremias. In his Die Predigt Jesu von Reich Gottes (1st ed. 1892) Weiss interpreted Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God in light of the use of that symbol in Jewish apocalyptic, and the modern era of the investigation of the message of Jesus began. In his Die Gleichnisse Jesu (1st ed. 1974) Jeremias interpreted the parables of Jesus in light of the use of that form in Jewish wisdom, specifically by the rabbis, and all subsequent work on the message of Jesus has concentrated heavily on the parables.

The starting point of this paper is then the acknowledged fact that in the message of Jesus we find, on the one hand, the proclamation of the Kingdom of God, an apocalyptic symbol, and, on the other hand, teaching which features proverbial sayings and parables which are essentially wisdom forms. But in the very phrasing of the sentence I have just used I intend to call attention to a problem I wish to investigate, a problem revealed by the tension between the words "message," "proclamation" and "teaching" in connection with Jesus.

B. The "Message," "Proclamation," "Teaching" of Jesus

1. The Message of Jesus

As I am using the word I intend "message" to indicate the total verbal activity of Jesus. Aspects of this activity might be described, and have been described, as kerygma and didache, Predigt and Lehre, proclamation and parenesis, or preaching, teaching, exhortation, instruction, and no doubt a dozen other words in various languages. But as I am using the word "message" is the inclusive term. Anything Jesus said is an aspect of his message. By the same token I am using "message" as a deliberately neutral word. I intend it to indicate the verbal activity of Jesus without saying anything about the nature or function of that activity, or of any aspect of it. It will be my contention that in fact the message of Jesus is essentially bipolar in nature: that it revolves around two very different poles, or to put it another way, that it moves in a spectrum from one distinct function to another very different function. These very different poles or functions are indicated by the antitheses kerygma/didache, Predigt/Lehre, preaching/teaching, proclamation/parenesis; "message" is the inclusive and deliberating neutral term.

2. The Proclamation of Jesus

It is my contention that one pole of the message of Jesus, one end of the spectrum of his verbal activity, is that of proclamation. In this context I understand "proclamation" to be the verbal announcement of something that determines the quality of human existence, of something that effects one at the level of existential reality. This is involved in the natural use of the word in English. Webster gives as examples, "they proclaimed her queen" and "her every act proclaimed her a snob;" both of these statements concern an existential reality of human existence in the world. I take it that kerygma has the same force in Greek, especially in the New Testament, and Predigt in German. But I suspect that Predigt in German, like sermon in English has also the meaning of teaching, exhorting, delivering a homily, of paraklesis rather than kerygma, unless one uses it in deliberate antithesis to Lehre as I did above.

In using the word proclamation it is intended to focus attention upon the kind of verbal activity which Mark designates as Jesus "preaching (këryssôn) the gospel of God" (Mark 1:14) or as (by implication) the church "preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ" (Mark 1:1). So far as Jesus is concerned there is no doubt that Mark is right in claiming that the form of the proclamation of Jesus was "the kingdom of God is at hand" (Mark 1:15). One of the sayings attributed to Jesus in the gospels with the strongest claims to authenticity is Luke 11:20. "If it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons then the Kingdom of God has come upon you." That Jesus proclaimed the Kingdom of God and that he implied the claim that this proclamation was of the greatest possible significance to his hearers at every conceivable level of their existence is an established result of our research. It is also an established result of our research that Kingdom of God as Jesus used it, is an apocalyptic symbol, a point to which we shall return below.

3. The Teaching of Jesus

The opposite pole, the opposite end of the spectrum from proclamation in the message of Jesus is teaching. By "teaching" I mean to indicate such things as instruction in prayer, or in appropriate ways of expressing a response to the proclamation of the Kingdom of God. I take it to be a further established result of our research that Jesus did teach his disciples to pray and that the Lukan version of the prayer is essentially authentic; that he did say something very like "He who puts his hand to the plough and looks back is not fit for the Kingdom of God," and so on. Not only has our research established the essential authenticity of these elements of the message of Jesus; it is also inconceivable that his proclamation could have been as effective as its historical consequences show that it must have been unless it had been accompanied by such elements of instruction.

Now it is ⁱⁿ this element of teaching that wisdom forms such as proverbial sayings and parables have their most natural function. Jewish sages and rabbis naturally turned to proverbial sayings and parables in their teaching. Proverbial sayings were regularly used in moral instruction; parables were equally regularly used to help in the

understanding of a text, to explicate such a concept as the Kingship of God, or the law of retribution, or to exemplify a commandment such as the law of love. It is wholly natural therefore to think of these wisdom forms in connection with the teaching of Jesus, as distinct from his proclamation. R. Bultmann discusses the proverbial sayings of Jesus under the rubric "Jesus as a Teacher of Wisdom" and Jeremias treats the Good Samaritan as an "example" of the law of love.² However Bultmann himself already recognized that there was something distinctive about the proverbial sayings of Jesus, and a major purpose of this paper is to raise the question of the total function of these wisdom forms -- proverbial sayings and parables -- in the message of Jesus. For the moment however I wish to call attention only to the fact that there is a strong element of teaching in the message of Jesus.

C. The Message of Jesus as Proclamation and Parenesis

If it is true, as I am claiming, that proclamation and teaching are the opposite poles, or the opposite ends of the spectrum of the message of Jesus, then it is obviously and equally true that there is a good deal of that message which does not fit smoothly into either one of those categories, especially not when those categories are defined in the sharply antithetical way in which I have defined them. At the same time the antithetical definition serves the useful purpose of indicating the sheer range of the message of Jesus. But if we are to do justice to the totality of the message of Jesus we clearly need to use terms which will not force aspects of that message to be accommodated artificially in one or other of two sharply defined antithetical categories. To use the imagery of the colour spectrum, we need to be able to do justice to the yellow-green-blue as well as to the red-orange and the indigo-violet. For this reason I propose to use the terms proclamation and parenesis to encompass the totality of the message of Jesus. I maintain the term proclamation because that is the major and fundamental aspect of the message of Jesus and I choose to use parenesis because that is a neutral term which can include exhortation, teaching, instruction and any kind of verbal encouragement or advice. To return to the imagery of the colour spectrum, if red-orange is proclamation and indigo-violet is teaching, then parenesis is yellow-green-blue-indigo-violet! In other words, I am trying to do justice to the complexity of the message of Jesus by choosing terms to describe it which will at one and the same time indicate both its major emphases and its functional range.

II. The Apocalyptic Symbol "Kingdom of God" and the Wisdom Forms Proverbial Sayings and Parables in the Message of Jesus.

We now come to the main body of this paper, a discussion of the functions of the apocalyptic symbol Kingdom of God and of the wisdom forms proverbial sayings and parables in the message of Jesus. But first it will be necessary to make some preliminary remarks as to the question of authenticity and as to the question of method in the pursuance of this investigation.

A. Preliminary Remarks

1. Authenticity

In any investigation of the message of Jesus a major question is that of the authenticity of sayings, parables, etc. attributed to Jesus in the gospels. This is a question which has been and indeed is being strenuously discussed, and I have myself contributed to that discussion, but it is not a question I wish to pursue in this paper. For the purpose of this paper I wish to claim only that there would be a consensus that the following elements of the message attributed to Jesus in the gospels are authentic.

(a) Sayings concerning the Kingdom of God

It would be generally agreed that Jesus proclaimed the Kingdom of God as "at hand" (Mark 1:15), that he interpreted his exorcisms as a sign that the Kingdom of God "has come upon you" (Luke 11:20), that he denied that the Kingdom came with signs to be observed but was rather *entos hymōn* (Luke 17:20-21), and that there is an authentic core to the enigmatic saying "From the days of John the Baptist until now the Kingdom of Heaven *biazetai* and *biastai harpazousin autēn*" (Matt. 11:12). Even if one argued about one or all of these four particular sayings that still would not change the fact of the consensus opinion among competent scholars that Jesus proclaimed the Kingdom of God as "at hand" and interpreted aspects of his ministry, and that of John the Baptist, as signs of the Kingdom's presence or imminence. The real problem here lies in the phrase I have deliberately used "the Kingdom's presence or imminence," for the problem as to whether the message of Jesus implies that the Kingdom was present or imminent, or both, to his hearers is one that proves increasingly intractable and simply will not go away. I will return to that problem below, in the meantime I may simply claim that there is a consensus opinion among competent scholars about the authenticity of Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God.

(b) Proverbial Sayings

In a discussion of the proverbial sayings attributed to Jesus I am now, as I was when I wrote my Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus (see p. 142) unashamedly dependent upon Bultmann (*Hist SynTrad*, p. 105) in claiming as authentic Mark 8:35, Luke 9:62; Mark 10:23 b, 25; Luke 9:60 a; Matt. 7:13-14; Mark 10:31; Mark 7:15; Mark 10:15; Luke 14: 11 (cf. 16:15); Matt. 5:39 b-41; Matt. 5:44-48. If not this particular list then one very like it would be accepted as authentic by most scholars working in this field.

(c) Parables

I accept as authentic most of the parables ascribed to Jesus in the gospels which can be reconstructed as parables as distinct from allegories, a distinction which will be discussed further below. In this matter again appeal can be made to a consensus of scholarly opinion. Despite possible difference in detail, some such list of authentic parables as is presupposed in this paper would be generally accepted.

2. Scholarly Method in the Investigation of the Message of Jesus

In general scholars have carried on what might well be called "milieu research" in connection with the message of Jesus. We have sought to reconstruct the historical and cultural circumstances of the ministry of Jesus and then we have attempted to understand the sayings and parables we accept as authentic by setting them in that particular milieu. To take the proclamation of the Kingdom of God as an example, we have investigated the meaning and use of this symbol in Judaism at the time of Jesus and then sought to understand the use of the symbol by Jesus against this background. When I was writing my dissertation in Germany I started with the list of references to Kingdom of God in the Jewish literature compiled by Paul Billerbeck and went on myself to search the literature published later, particularly the Qumran texts. I was asking the question "What did Kingdom of God mean in Judaism at the time of Jesus?" and in doing this I was following the historical method exemplified above all in *Leben-Jesu-Forschung* by my teacher, Joachim Jeremias. This method was also followed in connection with the parables of Jesus, and indeed Jeremias' own work on the parables is a *Musterbeispiel* of milieu research. He accepted the fact demonstrated by Jülicher that the parables of Jesus were in fact parables and not allegories, and he went on to study the function and use of parables in Judaism at the time of Jesus. His sources here were the earlier elements in the Jewish rabbinical literature and hence somewhat later than the time of Jesus. But there was, and for that matter there still is, no doubt but that the function and use of parables in something like the *Mekhilta* was also characteristic for contemporaries of Jesus. Then Jeremias took the path pointed out by C.H. Dodd and set the parables in the immediate context of the eschatology of Jesus, i.e., in the context of Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God, and the result made history in the world of *Leben-Jesu-Forschung*.

No one of us would want to do anything other than to continue this kind of research and to build on it as a foundation. Yet the fact is that in order to continue this research a new factor has to be introduced into our discussion, and indeed in the last few years a new factor has been introduced into the discussion. I am referring to the study of the nature and function of literary forms, to the study of the nature and function of various kinds of language. In addition to the question, "What did Kingdom of God mean in Judaism at the time of Jesus?" We now go on to ask, "What did it mean that Jesus proclaimed the Kingdom of God to his Jewish contemporaries?" or, "what happens when the apocalyptic symbol becomes the content of proclamation and no longer simply the object of an expectation?" In a way we move in the same general area as we used to cover in our discussions of whether the Kingdom was present or future in the message of Jesus but now we pay attention or perhaps better, now we should pay attention to the nature and function of proclamatory language as language, and to the nature and function of an apocalyptic symbol as a symbol.

Similarly in the case of the proverbial sayings and the parables. In the case of proverbial sayings scholars now discuss with Will Beardslee "how the proverb works,"³ and in the case of the parable we

concern ourselves deeply, as does Bob Funk, with "the parable as metaphor." In each instance we recognize the need to take seriously the literary form involved and the natural function of the language being used. In this respect we now take our milieu research a stage further than it has been taken before. It will be a major concern of this paper to give some attention to this newer aspect of our milieu research, especially as it is being conducted here in America.

B. The Apocalyptic Symbol "Kingdom of God"

1. "Kingdom of God" in Jewish Apocalyptic

It is not my intention here to rehearse once more the evidence for the use of Kingdom of God in Jewish apocalyptic. I take it that we can still gauge something of its force and meaning from the parallels that are used in connection with it.

Ps Sol 17:3

We hope in God our Saviour . . .
the kingdom of our God is forever over the
nations in judgment.

Sib Orac 3:46-47

The mightiest Kingdom of the immortal King
over us shall appear . . .
a holy prince shall come to wield the
sceptre over all the world. . .

Ass Mos 10:1-8

His Kingdom shall appear throughout all
his creation . . .
The Heavenly One will arise. . . to punish
the Gentiles . . .
Then thou, Israel shall be happy.

IQM 6:6

To the God of Israel shall be the Kingdom . . .
Among his people will he display might.

I compiled those examples in the late fifties and published them in my Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus in 1963. It seems to me now as it did then that there is no doubt but that "Kingdom of God" is a way of talking about the kingly activity of God, both in Jewish apocalyptic and in the teaching of Jesus. But two things have changed for me since 1963.

In the first place I would not now, as I did then, distinguish between Kingdom of God "in reference to God's decisive intervention in history and human experience" and "in reference to the final state of the redeemed to which God's intervention in history and human experience is designed to lend."⁴ True, one can find now, as I did then, references

to Kingdom of God in both of those contexts. But to insist on the separation of the two into such distinct and different categories is to take symbolic language literally, a wholly illegitimate procedure. But then in the late fifties I had met and talked with neither Amos Wilder nor Paul Ricoeur, and Philip Wheelwright had not yet penned his discussion of symbol in Metaphor and Reality.

Then, secondly, I would now recognize that not only is "Kingdom of God" a symbol but that also all the expressions used in parallelism with it are equally symbolic. To "hope in God our Saviour," to expect "a holy prince (who) shall come to wield the sceptre over the world," to speak of "the Heavenly One" or "the Most High" "arising" "to punish the Gentiles," to speak of the God of Israel "displaying might"---all of this is symbolic language. The question I want to raise is that of whether we should, indeed, whether we can take it literally. Does such language necessarily refer to a moment in world history when the Jews would begin a war against Rome which God would end? There is no doubt but that most Jews at the time of Jesus thought so, witness the messianic revolts, the Jewish War and the Bar Cochba rising. But is such a literal interpretation of symbolic language legitimate, or even possible?

Let me make myself quite clear on this point. I am not attempting to deny that many, or even most first century Jews, who used apocalyptic symbols interpreted them in literal and temporal terms. Indeed, recognizing this aspect of apocalyptic symbolism I once wrote that things were an object of realistic expectation in the New Testament, the appearance of which "would send us to consult either an occultist or a psychologist." Amos Wilder took me, quite properly to task for this: "But this misrepresents ancient mentality. It is anachronistic to assign such an objective character to their expressions."⁵ Since I now take Amos Wilder very seriously indeed that criticism sent me off on a study of the natural force and function of symbolic language of which this paper is in no small part a consequence. As I see it now an objective -- or literal, or temporal -- interpretation of a symbol like Kingdom of God is false, not only because it misrepresents ancient mentality but also because it fundamentally misunderstands the essential nature of such symbolic language. Nor does it matter that some, or even most people at any one time share that objective misunderstanding. In this instance the majority does not rule, and certainly the usage of any minority is not determinative for any given individual.

I would like to suggest that "Kingdom of God" is essentially what Philip Wheelwright calls a "symbol of ancestral vitality."⁶ As a symbol it is plurisignificant, capable of a whole set of meanings, and, moreover, it stands for a "set of meanings which cannot be given in perceptual experience itself." As a symbol of ancestral vitality it has deep roots in the shared experience of the Jewish people and the range of meanings it had had in the past was capable of constant enrichment as it took on new shades of meaning in new historical contexts. It was always understood to have reference to the activity of God -- although to say that is only to substitute one symbol for another -- but in different historical contexts it could have different shades of meaning. No doubt the synagogue congregation hearing the Kaddish prayers in the first century would have understood the "may he establish his Kingdom. . . ." in as many different ways as does a twentieth century

congregation the "Kingdom come" of the Lord's Prayer. But if this is the case than any particular objectification of the meaning of the symbol is necessarily false to its function as a symbol, no matter how widely shared that objectification may be among a group of people sharing a particular concrete historical set of circumstances.

2. The Use of "Kingdom of God" by Jesus

(a) The Choice of the Symbol

I have always been struck by the fact that the particular symbol "Kingdom of God" is so central to the message of Jesus while it is almost peripheral in Jewish apocalyptic. This does not make it any the less an apocalyptic symbol but it does indicate an element of deliberate choice of this particular symbol by Jesus. On this point we can only speculate but it does seem reasonable to suppose that the choice is in part due to the fact that it is a symbol of ancestral vitality. As ancestral it has deep roots in the consciousness of the Jewish people and hence is highly evocative. As a symbol it is necessarily capable of different meanings. In writing on this latter point earlier I recognized that "there could be no particular form or context necessarily implied by a proclamation such as 'the Kingdom of God is at hand'" but went on to assume that "it would be up to the proclaimer to make clear in what terms he conceived of the eschatological activity of God as King" and even to claim that this "is what Jesus did."⁸ Today I would make neither that assumption nor that claim. It seems to me now that the deliberate choice of such a symbol as Kingdom of God indicates rather a deliberate, if unconscious, intent to exploit its potency as a symbol. I hope to make clear what I mean by this as I proceed.

(b) The Proclamation of the Symbol

As I indicated earlier in this paper I am convinced that Mark is correct in claiming that Jesus came into Galilee proclaiming that "the Kingdom of God is at hand." However the particular formulation is certainly by the evangelist himself and we may not therefore derive from it anything beyond the general impression that Jesus "proclaimed the Kingdom of God." But we have reached the point of accepting that and of wanting to go on from there to determine something of the form and content of the proclamation. We want to raise the question, what does it mean to say that "Jesus proclaimed the Kingdom of God?"

The most immediately obvious answer to this question is that given to it by the first scholars to interpret the proclamation of Jesus in light of recognition of the fact that Kingdom of God is an apocalyptic symbol, Weiss and Schweitzer, and maintained today by Richard H. Hiers⁹ and others. This is that Jesus "looked for the future actualization of the decisive 'last' events: the coming or manifestation of the Son of Man, the judgment of living (and resurrected dead?), and the coming of the Kingdom of God or coming age."¹⁰ To take up this point will give me an opportunity to bring what I regard as the issue involved concretely into focus. At the same time I hope to advance the argument of this paper.

The first and most obvious fact is one to which I called attention earlier, namely that the question as to whether the Kingdom of God is

and varied.

In the case of Kingdom of God the myths in the context of which the symbol is given verbal expression are not so varied as is the case with Son of Man. But they are nonetheless varied. The symbol can be found in the context of the myth of the Exodus deliverance from Egypt (Exodus 15 -- in the form of God reigning), in the context of the myth of God's continual sustenance of his people (Psalm 145), in the various forms of the myth of God redeeming his people to be found in Jewish apocalyptic, and in various forms of the myth of the future eternal blessedness of the people also to be found in Jewish apocalyptic. So when Jesus used the symbol it could and no doubt did carry with it overtones of meaning from each of these earlier uses, and no doubt also from others now lost to us.

But if a symbol is given verbal expression in the context of a myth then the question is not whether Kingdom of God is present or future in the message of Jesus, nor whether we may more properly use "apocalyptic" or "eschatology" in connection with that message, but rather: what myth did Jesus use in giving verbal expression to the symbol Kingdom of God? The answer to this question in general terms is obviously "some form of the myth of God's redemption of his people," but since that myth can take many forms, and since "redemption" is actually a symbol with perhaps even deeper levels of potential meaning than "Kingdom of God" (in Wheelwright's terms it approaches the level of the "archetypal symbol"), to say that is not to answer the question but only to indicate something of its complexity. A more specific answer will have to be sought by considering the sayings concerning the Kingdom which have strong claims to authenticity, and by considering the petition in the Lord's Prayer. Before we can do that however I need to say something more about my understanding of the nature and function of symbol and myth.

C. The Nature and Function of Myth and Symbol

Having spent some considerable time recently wrestling with the thought of scholars of the calibre of Eliade, Ricoeur and Wheelwright on this subject I am only too conscious of the comparative banality of my own thinking on it. Moreover it is obviously ridiculously pretentious to discuss symbol and myth in one minor section of a paper. Yet I have no choice because the members of the seminar for which this paper is being prepared have the right to expect of me some statement of my understanding of terms and ideas which will become key elements in the argument of the paper as it proceeds.

We may begin with Philip Wheelwright's definition of symbol: "A symbol, in general, is a relatively stable and repeatable element of perceptual experience, standing for some larger meaning or set of meanings which cannot be given, or not fully given, in perceptual experience itself."¹² A symbol is like a metaphor in that an image is employed to represent something else, but a metaphor does not function symbolically until it acquires a stable and repeatable meaning or association. A symbol can have a one to one relationship with that which it represents, such as the mathematical symbol π , in which case it is a "steno-symbol," or it can have a set of meanings

is present or future, or both, in the message of Jesus simply will not go away. Responsible exegetes can be found to defend each of the possibilities. Moreover there is also no consensus as to how far and in what ways it is legitimate to use words like "apocalyptic" or "eschatology" in connection with the message of Jesus. In the days when I used to discuss the problem in those terms I came to the conclusion that the Kingdom was both present and future in the message of Jesus, and that the marked absence of most of the characteristic features of apocalyptic from that message justified our thinking in terms of eschatology rather than apocalyptic. But my question today is whether we should be thinking in those terms at all, and I regard that question as directed to the level of our historical understanding of the message of Jesus. If we are to do justice to the fact that the proclamation of Jesus centers around an apocalyptic symbol, then must we not abandon the temporal categories of present and future as simply inappropriate? Jesus did not announce an apocalyptic timetable, he confronted his hearers with the verbalization of a symbol of ancestral vitality.

To verbalize a symbol is to evoke new possibilities of meaning for the hearers and the very fact that symbols are capable of different meanings by their nature means that those possibilities are not limited to one thing or another, nor are they readily exhausted. Moreover a symbol of the level of the ancestral symbol "Kingdom of God" necessarily resists objectification. Paul Ricoeur has argued that primary symbols, which would be pretty much an equivalent term for Wheelwright's "Symbols of ancestral vitality" have to reach expression in the language of myth because the language of myth "has a way of revealing things that is not reducible to any translation from a language in ciphers to a clear language."¹¹

Let me explore for a moment the relationship between myth and symbol when we are dealing with symbols of the level of "Kingdom of God," or for that matter "Son of Man." The symbol is the central thing, plurisignificant, evocative of different meanings in different historical and cultural contexts. But when it is verbalized it is given a verbal context, and this verbal context is the myth. It is the verbal context of the myth which gives the symbol a particular meaning, although in the case of symbols of ancestral vitality the symbol always brings with it evocations of earlier and different meanings, and it still remains potentially capable of different meanings. This can readily be seen in the case of the ancestral symbol Son of Man. In Daniel 7 it functions in the context of the myth of the reward of the martyrs, in Enoch in the myth of the redeemer being prepared for his work in heaven, in IV Ezra in the myth of the redeemer carrying out his work in the world, and in Ezekiel in the myth of God addressing the prophet. In other places it can and does function in myths concerning primordial man, or concerning representative man, and so on. Now each of these is a different myth, and the particular evocation of Son of Man in each of them is different. But the symbol itself is both capable of different meanings, and it can also carry with it invocations of different uses when it is verbalized. It can carry with it evocations of so many different uses as are in cultural continuity. It is precisely because the New Testament is in cultural continuity with so many different myths using the symbol of Son of Man that the New Testament use of Son of Man can be so rich

that can neither be exhausted nor adequately expressed by any one referent, in which case it is a "tensive symbol." Wheelwright distinguishes five levels of tensive symbols. The first two are symbols functioning only in one context or only in the work of one man (Wheelwright is, of course, mainly concerned with literary symbols). But the third is the "symbol of ancestral vitality," a symbol which has vitality through a long history of use, a category to which I ascribed "Kingdom of God." The fourth is the "symbol of cultural range, a symbol which has significant life for members of a given community, for example the symbolism of the KJV of the bible for the Christian (and post-Christian), West. The last is the "archetypal symbol," a symbol which carries the same or similar meanings for most of humanity, such as sky father and earth mother, blood, fire, light, and so on.

In the case of the last three of these categories we approach what Ricoeur calls "primary symbols." For Ricoeur a symbol is a sign, something which points beyond itself to something else. Not all signs are symbols, however, for sometimes the sign is transparent of meaning and is exhausted by its "first or literal intentionality". It is clear that what Ricoeur has in mind here is very much what Wheelwright calls a "steno-symbol." In the symbol, however, the meaning is opaque and we have to erect a second intentionality upon the first, an intentionality which proceeds by analogy to ever deeper meanings. So "defilement" has a first, literal intentionality; it points beyond itself to "stain" or "unclean". But then we can, by analogy, go further to a "certain situation of man in the sacred which is precisely that of being defiled, impure."¹³ A symbol is then a primary intentionality which gives second, and subsequent meanings analogically.

The function of "tensive" or "primary" symbols is to evoke meaning. "The symbol," says Ricoeur over and over again, "gives rise to thought."¹⁴ The opaque and evocative nature of the symbol is such that it "opens up" a field of experience to the human mind. In this respect symbol and myth are closely related in that they bring to expression, and tease the human mind into exploring, a world of meaning above and beyond that of perceptual experience, a world of meaning however which is existentially real at the deepest possible level. In what I have come to regard as a remarkable insight Ricoeur suggests that myths are to be regarded "as a species of symbols, as symbols developed in the form of narrations and articulated in a time and space that cannot be co-ordinated with the time and space of history and geography according to the critical method."¹⁵ We may say that myth narrates and in narrating uses symbols, or, alternatively, that myth narrates and in narrating comes to function as symbol in its power he evokes meaning at the deepest possible level of existential reality.

In discussion I have found that Ricoeur, and also incidentally Eliade, tends to shy away from treating the Exodus as a myth because of the element of factual historicity in the escape of certain Semitic tribes from Egypt. Now we are no longer dealing with "a time and space that cannot be co-ordinated with the time and space of history and geography according to the critical method." But New Testament scholars have to start with the Exodus as myth, and go on to the Cross as myth, and recognize that the element of historical factuality

in no way affects or impedes the function of the narrative as myth. In its narration as myth the time of the Exodus, like that of the Cross, becomes the sacred time of the myth that can only be apprehended at the level of an existential awareness that we are being confronted by an ultimacy of experienced reality. The sheer existence of the Jewish people from the time of Saul to the Six Day War is eloquent testimony to the power of the Exodus as myth and it would be totally unaffected by the findings of critical historians of the Old Testament world with regard to the historical Exodus.

But if this is the case with the mythic function of past history, and I would claim that it is, is it not also the case with the mythic function of a projected future history? Just as the past history of the Exodus functions as myth, so also does the future history projected by the apocalyptic seers of ancient Judaism and early Christianity. What is at stake is not the date of the coming of the Kingdom of God or the Son of Man but the function at the level of experienced existential reality of the myth of the coming of the Kingdom of God or the Son of Man. The projected future history like the narrated past history functions as myth.

It is against the background of this kind of thinking that I wrote earlier in this paper of symbol and myth in connection with Kingdom of God and Son of Man. It is against the background of this kind of thinking also that I now go on to discuss the Kingdom sayings and prayer of Jesus.

(d) The Kingdom Sayings

Under the rubric I intend to consider Luke 11:20; Luke 17:20-21; Matt. 11:12. I have chosen these sayings because they have the highest claim to authenticity of all the Kingdom sayings and also because I have published detailed exegeses of them and may now therefore simply summarize the results of that exegetical discussion.

Luke 11:20 But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons then the Kingdom of God has come upon you. (epthasen)

(Exegesis: Perrin, Rediscovering 63-67 and the refs. there to Kingdom)

I remain convinced that this saying interprets the exorcisms and that in doing so it alludes to the plagues at the Exodus. Ever since Weiss, Predigt, the question has been whether the epthasen implies that the Kingdom is to be understood as present or as not yet present.¹⁶ Different exegetes have argued at length for both alternatives, and there have been a number of extremely ingenious suggestions for something in between! In the days when I accepted the temporal alternatives I argued for "present in the experience of the individual," claiming that "the experience of the individual. . . (had) become the focal point of the eschatological activity of God." Today I would want to phrase the matter differently.

If Jesus interpreted his exorcisms with reference to the Kingdom of God and with an allusion to the Exodus, as I claim he did in this

saying, then he is giving verbal expression to the symbol in the context of the myth of the Exodus, and in so doing necessarily giving expression to the myth of redemption in the form of the New Exodus. In other words, he interprets the exorcisms in such a way as to confront his hearers with the symbol of the Kingdom of God in the context of a form of the myth of eschatological redemption. But if this is the case then the question of present or future become inappropriate because the function of a symbol of such ancestral vitality as Kingdom of God when set in the context of a myth of eschatological redemption, and when used to interpret an object of present experience, can only be to affect the existential reality experienced by those confronted by it. Of course if Kingdom of God was not a symbol of ancestral vitality, and if the myth of eschatological redemption were not a living force among the people concerned, and if the hearers were not accustomed to the practice of using an allusion to recall a whole myth, then my interpretation of the matter is wrong. But in fact all of these conditions obtained among the Jews who were Jesus' hearers. I may claim, therefore, that the saying means what it says: In that the hearers of Jesus were being affected at the level of experienced existential reality the Kingdom of God had come upon them.

Luke 17:20-21 The Kingdom of God is not coming with signs to be observed; nor will they say, "Lo here it is!" or "There!" for behold, the Kingdom of God entos hymōn estin.

(Exegesis: Perrin, Rediscovering, 68-74 and the refs. there to Kingdom)

I recently had occasion to work through my exegesis of this saying again and I found that I would not now move as confidently as I then did into the Aramaic background of the saying to establish its authenticity and to arrive at its meaning. Its authenticity now has to be argued on grounds other than the possibility of retranslation into Aramaic, and the Aramaic possibilities never did help us very much with regard to the extraordinarily difficult entos hymōn. Fortunately the saying has ample claim to authenticity irrespective of the retranslation possibility: its attitude to sign-giving satisfies the criterion of dissimilarity; such an attitude has multiple attestation in the tradition; the heightening of the eschatology coheres with indubitably authentic aspects of the message of Jesus. But I am not here concerned to argue the authenticity of the saying since I am content to claim a consensus of competent scholarly opinion on that matter, as I indicated earlier in this paper. My concern here is the interpretation of the saying.

An interpretation of this saying must take very seriously the fact that it is a negative saying; its concern is not to proclaim, but to guard against the misunderstanding of a proclamation. What it affirms it affirms in deliberate and self conscious contrast to what it denies. When I first attempted an exegesis of this saying¹⁷ I thought that what was being denied was the apocalyptic view of history (i.e., one concerned with the totality of history) and what was being affirmed was the prophetic view of history (i.e., one concerned with specific events within history). Later I argued that Jesus was modifying the

prophetic view of history that he was affirming to the extent that the specific events in terms of which the Kingdom might be known were the events of "the experience of the individual."¹⁸ Today I want to look at the matter in terms of symbol and myth.

The apocalyptic practice of "sign seeking" was dependent upon a view of myth as allegory¹⁹ and upon the treatment of symbols as steno-symbols. Typically the apocalyptic seer told the story of the history of his people in symbols where each symbol bore a one to one relationship to that which it depicted. This thing was Antiochus Epiphanes, that thing was Judas Maceabeus, the other thing was the coming of Romans, and so on. The story is myth because it is a narrative account of the redemption of the people of God, climaxing in an account of God's redemption of his people which still uses symbols. But the symbols are steno-symbols and this makes the myth an allegory. In the case of an allegory, once the symbols have been correctly identified the allegory itself can be abandoned and the story retold in steno-language. Insofar as he can correctly identify the symbols -- and insofar as the seer got his facts straight! -- the historian can retell the story for these apocalyptic visions in the language of critical historiography, as the commentaries upon Daniel, Revelation and the other Jewish or Christian apocalypses testify.

The important point in my present context however is that if the symbols in these allegorical myths are steno-symbols down to the account of the actual redemption of the people of God, then so are the symbols in the account of that redemption. If, in Daniel 11-12, "the abomination that makes desolate" is a historical artifact -- and it is -- and if those who "make many understand" and the "little help" are historically identifiable individuals -- and they are -- then "Michael" is also someone who will be historically identifiable and the general resurrection is an account of the same historical order as the setting up of "the abomination that makes desolate." It is precisely the acceptance of this way of thinking that makes possible a seeking after "signs to be observed." What was sought was a steno-symbol which could be identified as an event in the apocalyptic drama, and which would identify the person concerned as one of the dramatis personae. But all this is dependent upon the treatment of the myth of redemption as allegory and its symbols as steno-symbols.

Jesus categorically rejected the seeking after "signs to be observed" and in so doing necessarily equally categorically rejected the treatment of the myth of redemption as allegory and its symbols as steno-symbols. In the message of Jesus the myth is true myth and the symbols are tensive symbols. This is the meaning I would now give to the enigmatic "the Kingdom of God *entos hymon estin*." It means that the apocalyptic symbol confronts the hearers of Jesus as a true tensive symbol with its evocation of a whole set of meanings, and that the myth of redemption is, in the message of Jesus, true myth with its power to mediate the experience of existential reality.

At this point I am very much aware of the fact that I am laying myself open to the charge of "modernising Jesus," and I would like to respond to such a charge. It seems to me important to claim that in attempting to reach an understanding of an individual from the past we are by no means restricted to categories of reflective thought

available to that individual in the past. A student of ancient Shamanism may well use categories available only to modern historians of religion, a student of Shakespeare categories available only to modern literary critics, and so on. But that by no means invalidates the historical validity of the historian of religions understanding of the Shaman, nor of the literary critics understanding of Shakespeare. So, I would claim, an understanding of Luke 17:20-21 in terms of a modern understanding of symbol and myth is not necessarily invalid, even at the level of historical criticism.

Matt. 11:12 From the days of John the Baptist until
now, the Kingdom of Heaven has suffered
violence, and men of violence plunder it.

(Exegesis, and defense of the translation given, Perrin,
Rediscovering, 74-77; Kingdom, 171-176.

Nowhere does the mythical language of Jesus show itself more clearly than it does here. The saying reflects the myth of the holy war and interprets the experience (no doubt the death) of John the Baptist, and of Jesus and his disciples in terms of it. It establishes beyond doubt the essential link between a myth of the coming of the Kingdom and the existential reality of the experience of John the Baptist, and of Jesus and his disciples. Perhaps one could go so far as to say that it establishes the essential link between the myth and the fate of the Baptist, and the potential fate of Jesus and his disciples. Moreover it establishes this link as existing in the thought of Jesus himself. On this note I may rest the case for the interpretation of these sayings which I have offered in this paper.

(e) Thy Kingdom come. . .

I am as convinced now as I ever was that the "Hallowed be thy name. Thy Kingdom come" of the Lord's Prayer is (i) dominical and (ii) a deliberate modification of the Kaddish "Magnified and sanctified be his great name in the world which he has created according to his will. May he establish his Kingdom in your lifetime and in your days and in the life-time of all the house of Israel even speedily and at a near time." My first teacher, T. W. Manson,²⁸ quoted a made up parallel to the Lord's Prayer from Jewish sources. It runs as follows.

'Our Father, who art in Heaven. Hallowed be Thine exalted Name in the world which Thou didst create according to Thy will. May Thy Kingdom and Thy lordship come speedily, and be acknowledged by all the world, that Thy Name may be praised in all eternity. May Thy will be done in Heaven, and also on earth give tranquillity of spirit to those that fear thee, yet in all things do what seemeth good to Thee. Let us enjoy the bread daily apportioned to us. Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned; forgive also all who have done us injury; even as we also forgive all. And lead us not into temptation, but keep us far from all evil. For thine is the greatness and the power and the dominion, the victory and the majesty, yea all in Heaven and on earth. Thine is the Kingdom, and

Thou art lord of all beings for ever. Amen.'

In comparison to this, claimed Manson, "The originality of the Lord's Prayer lies in the composition as a whole, in the choice of just these petitions and no others, in the arrangement of them, in its brevity and completeness.²¹ The point about brevity is well taken and can be reinforced by J. Jeremias' argument that the original address to God in the prayer is the simple "Father" and not the liturgical "Our Father, who art in heaven."²² The point about the prayers as a whole, and certainly about its Kingdom petition, is that it has become more direct, personal and intimate than its model. There has been a significant shift in the relationship envisaged between the petitioner and God from the Kaddish to the Lord's Prayer. If I may maintain for a moment the language of the prayer, then I would say that for the person who can pray "Father . . . Thy Kingdom come," the Kingdom has already come!

The point that I would draw from the Kingdom petition is then the same as the one that I have attempted to draw from the Kingdom sayings. The petition, like the sayings, testifies to the existential reality of the experience evoked by the symbol of the Kingdom and the myth of its coming.

C. The Proverbial Sayings

1. The Sayings as a Group

As I indicated under II. A. 1 (b) above I am accepting as authentic the following sayings, in dependence upon Bultmann.

Mark 3:27; 3:24-26; Mark 8:35; Luke 9:62; Mark 10:23 b, 25; Luke 9:60a; Matt. 7:13-14; Mark 10:31; Mark 7:15; Mark 10:15; Luke 14:11 (cf. 16:15); Matt. 5:39b-41; Matt. 5:44-48.

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Bultmann himself divided these into four categories.

- (a) Sayings arising from the exaltation of an eschatological mood: Mark 3:27, 3:24-26.
- (b) Sayings which are the product of an energetic summons to repentance: Mark 8:35; Luke 9:62; Mark 10:23b, 25; Luke 9:60a; Matt. 7:13-14.
- (c) Sayings concerning reversal: Mark 10:31; Matt. 22:14
- (d) Sayings which demand a new disposition of mind: Mark 7:15; 10:15; Luke 14:11; Matt. 5:39b-41;

His conclusion on the group as a whole is worth quoting in full. "All these sayings, which admittedly are in part no longer specific examples of logia, contain something characteristic, new, reaching out beyond popular wisdom and piety and yet are in no sense scribal or rabbinic nor yet Jewish apocalyptic. So here if anywhere we can find what is characteristic of the preaching of Jesus."

When I wrote Rediscovering I was enormously impressed by Bultmann's whole discussion of "Jesus as a Teacher of Wisdom"-- as indeed I still

am. . . and I simply took the bulk of these sayings and included them under the general rubric "Recognition and Response" dividing them into two groups: "The Challenge to Discipleship" (Luke 9:62; Mark 10:23b, 25; Luke 9:60a; Matt. 7:13-14; Mark 10:31; Luke 14:11 cf. 16:15) and "The New Attitude" (Mark 10:15; Matt. 5:39b-41; 5:44-48; Mark 7:15).²⁴ The exegesis I offered at that time was more homiletic than wissenschaftlich but I do not feel particularly badly about that since the Wissenschaftler in general have been quite remarkably slow to take up the subject of "Jesus as a Teacher of Wisdom." I would hazard a guess that that particular section of Bultmann's HistSynTrad has been the least discussed part of the whole work.

This situation has now been changed here in America by William A. Beardslee who has reopened the discussion of the proverbial sayings in the message of Jesus and taken it a very considerable step further in a chapter of his book Literary Criticism and the New Testament. (III The Proverb, pp. 30-41) and in a number of articles, of which the most important for our purpose is "Uses of the Proverb in the Synoptic Gospels, Interpretation 24 (1970) 61-76. His work warrants our special attention.

2. W. A. Beardslee on the Proverb in the Synoptic Gospels

Under II. A. 2 above I quoted Beardslee as a representative of what I regard as a new and most important development in our research: the concern for the function of literary forms and of language. He starts his discussion of the uses of the proverb in the synoptic gospels with what now has to be regarded as the absolutely essential point; a discussion of "how the proverb works." A proverb is "a statement about a particular kind of occurrence or situation, an orderly tract of experience which can be repeated."²⁵ But while the proverb may be a kind of generalization, it really is a prediscursive form of thought and represents a flash of insight: "What a collection of proverbs confronts one with is not a systematic general analysis of existence, but a cluster of insights."²⁶ But the proverb not only represents a flash of insight, it also compels insight. "The proverb's function is not simply declarative; its compressed form compels insight. There is an implied imperative in the declarative in the sense that there is an implied challenge to see it this way."²⁷

In the Jewish wisdom tradition the "secular" form, the proverb, came to be used in the context of a faith in God and so its imperatival effect was heightened. The moralistic side of the (Jewish) wisdom tradition had, as its natural point of contact with the proverb, the fact that the proverb is not just an empirical statement; it is a statement related to some kind of human happening. As such, it implies a summons to action, even though the secular proverbs base that action simply on the observed consequences of what men do. By tremendously heightening the "imperative" implication of the proverb and by bringing it into relation with God's will, the Jewish wisdom tradition came to use this form for affirmations that were not merely empirical, but were "affirmations of faith in God's just and orderly rule of the world."²⁸ So in Jewish wisdom the proverb has the double motif of "observing bits of life and of expressing faith in God's moral order."²⁹

But in the synoptic gospels and Q the context is often not that of

"faith in God's just and orderly rule of the world" but rather there is a strongly eschatological setting. The beatitudes are not just intimations of the future; they see the present in light of the future. They represent a viewpoint in which "the present is secretly transformed by the power of the future."³⁰ A further characteristic of some of these proverbs is that they represent an intensification of proverbial insight. In Q the saying "No servant can serve two masters," which could well express a typical proverbial flash of insight, serves "to declare the total claim of God."³¹ In the most characteristic Synoptic sayings . . . (general folk) wisdom is immensely concentrated and intensified."³²

This recognition of the intensification of the normal proverbial insight in some of the most characteristic proverbial sayings in the synoptic gospels and Q is very important indeed. Beardslee points to the antithesis of the reversal situation ("The first will be last" etc.) which is sharpened to paradox in Luke 17:33 cf. Mark 8:35 "Whoever loses his life will preserve it"³³ Further, while hyperbole is widespread in proverbial literature it reaches a "distinctive intensification" in "Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you." So distinctive is this intensification of the hyperbole that the Christian literature shows a marked tendency to shrink back from it. Didache 1:3 illustrates the tendency of wisdom to draw even such an hyperbolic saying back into the continuity of the project of life: Love your enemies and you will have no enemy."³⁴ "Common sense" reasserts itself in the textual expansion of the Sermon on the Mount. 'Whoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be liable to judgment;' 'your father who sees in secret will reward you openly.' In these cases we see how readers familiar with the 'tit for tat' or retributive theme of moral religious wisdom assume that this must be intended by the sayings of Q."³⁵ But much the most important thing about this intensification of the normal proverbial insight is the way it functions.: "The characteristic thrust of the synoptic proverbs, however, is not the cautious and balanced judgment so typical of much proverbial literature. Such middle-of-the-road style has as its presupposition the project of making a continuous whole out of one's existence. The intensification of the proverb in paradox and hyperbole functions precisely to call this project into question, to jolt the hearer out of this effort, and into a new judgment about his own existence."³⁶

Beardslee does not concern himself directly with the question of whether this intensification of proverbial insight and the setting of such intensified proverbial sayings in a strongly eschatological context is to be attributed to Jesus himself, although he "presumes" that it is.³⁷ Characteristically he does not address himself to the question of Jesus as a Teacher of Wisdom but to the use of the Wisdom Form, the Proverb, in the Gospels and Q. But there can be no doubt of the fact that his observations are applicable to Jesus as a Teacher of Wisdom. The most characteristic of the sayings which concern him are on Bultmann's list; and better examples of sayings that would meet the criterion of dissimilarity it would be hard to imagine. I will take the liberty, therefore, of applying Beardslee's insights to these sayings as sayings of Jesus.

The study of Bultmann on "Jesus as a Teacher of Wisdom" and Beardslee on "The Proverb in the Synoptic Gospels and Q," and my own work on the various sayings has convinced me that there are three things that have to be considered as carefully as possible with regard to the proverbial sayings of Jesus: their intensely eschatological context; their intensification of the normal proverbial insight; and their function in jolting the heaven out of the project of making a continuous whole out of his or her existence and into the passing of a judgment about, and indeed upon, that existence. In light of these considerations I now offer a brief analysis of the proverbial sayings of Jesus.

- (a) The most radical sayings: Luke 9:60a;
Matt. 5:39b-41.

Luke 9:60a Leave the dead to bury their own dead.

Matt. 5:39b- If anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any one would sue you and take your coat, let him have your cloak as well; and if anyone forces you to go one mile, go with him two miles.

These are the most radical of the proverbial sayings of Jesus. Indeed they are so radical that they shatter the form of proverbial saying altogether and become something quite different. Where proverbial sayings normally reflect upon life in the world and are concerned, as Beardslee puts it, "to make a continuous whole out of one's existence," these sayings shatter the whole idea of orderly existence in the world. To "leave the dead to bury their own dead" is to act so irresponsibly as to deny the very fabric which makes possible communal existence in the world; it is a fundamental denial of the kind of personal and communal sense of responsibility which makes possible the act of living in community in the world. The giving of the "cloak as well" and the going the "second mile" are commandments, which it is impossible to take literally as moral imperatives. In the first one the result would be "indecent exposure" and in the second a lifetime of impressed service.

The history of the interpretation of these sayings is a history of mellowing them down to the point where they become barely possible of fulfilment and hence extraordinarily radical challenges. In connection with the first we may quote the evangelist Luke, who adds "but as for you, go and proclaim the Kingdom of God" (Luke 9:60b), and so makes the saying a dramatic and radical challenge to Christian discipleship. In connection with the second we may quote T. W. Manson, who says of the second mile: "The first mile renders to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; the second mile, by meeting opposition with kindness, renders to God the things that are God's."³⁸ I was sufficiently impressed by these ancient and modern interpretations to write earlier that the challenge to leave the dead to bury their dead meant that "the challenge of the Kingdom is all-demanding,"³⁹ and that the cloak and second mile "are intended to be vivid examples of a radical demand"⁴⁰ But all of this interpretation, ancient or modern, is irrelevant to a historical understanding of the message of Jesus.

In the context of the message of Jesus these are not radical demands but themselves part of the proclamation of the Kingdom of God. They challenge the hearer, not to radical obedience, but to radical questioning. To use Beardslee's extraordinarily apposite phrase, they jolt the hearer out of the effort to make a continuous whole out of his or her existence and into a judgment about that existence.

(b) The Eschatological Reversal Sayings:

Mark 8:35; 19: 23b, 25; 10:31; Luke 14:11.

Mark 8:35 For whoever would save his life will lose it; and whoever loses his life for my sake and the gospel's will save it. (The original probably ran something like ". . . for the sake of the Kingdom of God").

Mark 10:23 b, 25 How hard it will be for those who have riches to enter the Kingdom of God. . . It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God.

Mark 10:31 But many that are first will be last and the last first.

Luke 14:11 Everyone who exalts himself will be humbled, and he who humbles himself will be exalted.

These sayings need not delay us. The theme of eschatological reversal is one of the best attested themes of the message of Jesus. It proclaims the Kingdom as eschatological reversal of the present and so invites, indeed demands judgment upon that present.

(c) The Conflict Sayings: Mark 3:27; 3:24-26.

Mark 3:27 No one can enter a strong man's house and plunder his goods, unless he first binds the strong man; then indeed he may plunder his house.

Mark 3:24-26 If a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house is divided against itself, that house will not be able to stand. And if Satan has risen up against himself and is divided, he cannot stand, but is coming to an end.

Here we have the same myth of the holy war that we find in the Kingdom saying, Matt. 11:12. The interpretation by Jesus of his and his disciples' experience in terms of the myth of the holy war clearly has multiple attestation in the tradition. This again is a form of proclamation.

(d) The Parenetical Sayings: Luke 9:62; Matt. 7:13-14; Mark 7:15; 10:15; Matt. 5:44-48.

- Luke 9:62 No one who puts his hand to the plough and looks back is fit for the Kingdom of God.
- Matt. 7:13-14 Enter by the narrow gate; for the gate is wide and the way is easy that leads to destruction, and those who enter it are many. For the gate is narrow and the way is hard, that leads to life, and those who find it are few.
- Mark 7:15 There is nothing outside a man which by going into him can defile him; but the things which come out of a man are what defile him.
- Mark 10:15 Whoever does not receive the Kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it.
- Matt 5:44-48 Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father . . . for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust. For if you love those who love you, what reward have you? Do not even the tax collectors do the same? And if you salute only your brethren, what more are you doing than others? Do not even the Gentiles do the same? You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect.

I claimed at the beginning of this paper that the message of Jesus contained both proclamation and parenthesis. This is certainly true of the proverbial sayings for we have found three forms of proclamation and now we have a group of parenetical sayings. These sayings exhort and instruct the reader as to the nature of the response to the challenge of the proclamation.

D. The Parables

It is clear that so far as the parables are concerned I can only support and illustrate the interpretation I would urge. Anything more would require an extensive monograph. Fortunately I can presuppose a great deal in this seminar since we are all familiar with the modern work on the parables. I am therefore presupposing detailed knowledge of the Jülicher - Dodd - Jeremias work, of Fuchs, Jüngel and the parable as Sprachereignis, and of the American work represented by such names as Wilder, Funk and Via. Presupposing this my starting point is J. Dominic Crossan's article, "Parable and Examples in the Teaching of Jesus," Newteststud 18 (1971/72) 285-307, an article which I regard as a major contribution to our discussion.

1. J.D. Crossan on Parable and Example in the Teaching of Jesus

- (a) The History of the Tradition: the
Distinction between the Redaction,
the Tradition and the Historical Jesus

The first striking thing about Crossan's work is that he has taken seriously the impact of *Redaktionsgeschichte* upon our attempts to reconstruct the history of the synoptic tradition: he accepts the necessity to work systematically through the two *Sitze*, final redaction and earlier church tradition, if we are to reach the third, the *Sitz-im-Leben-Jesu*. He takes as his test case the Good Samaritan, Luke 10:25-37. By means of a careful analysis, which I can only applaud and which I have checked with some care but which I cannot repeat here, he shows that the original unit is the parable proper, 10:30-36, terminating in a rhetorical question in the plural. This he then argues to be authentic on the basis of the criterion of dissimilarity.

One can applaud the methodological clarity which Crossan achieves, and the care with which he works, but at the same time one would have to admit that the conclusion he reaches is not all that startling. That Luke 10:30-36 has to be interpreted as a parable and independently of its present context in Luke or even of an earlier context in the tradition of the church, if we wish to reach the historical Jesus, this is neither new nor startling. But it becomes new and startling in the context of the realization that Crossan forces upon us, the realization namely that for all our fine talk we have not in fact been doing it. Specifically, Jeremias and Perrin have not been doing it! We stopped short of the parable proper, being beguiled into error by our milieu research on the use of parables among the Jewish rabbis. When we reached the Jewish rabbi we stopped, thinking we had reached the historical Jesus, but we had not. Before I go into that matter however I must take up the other major points in Crossan's paper.

- (b) From Image to Meaning

Crossan is concerned to arrive at the "meaning intended for the parables by Jesus." To do this we have to be able to "look in the same general direction" as Jesus and to have a "clear idea of the nature and function of the literary form he was using. We have to be able to move from the image employed to the meaning intended.

Here Crossan starts with the distinction between allegory and parable. On this point there has been something of a reaction recently against Jülicher's absolute dichotomy, especially in so far as this makes the seential distinction in terms of one dominant lesson in a parable as against many separate lessons in an allegory.⁴² The more fundamental and absolutely essential distinction is that allegory can be translated into another form of discourse wherein parable cannot. "Allegory is always logically subordinate and functionally secondary with regard to abstract proposition and statement . . . parable is that which is never so subordinate but which essentially says what cannot be said in any other better or clearer fashion. When allegory is seen as fundamentally reducible to abstract proposition, and parable as essentially irreducible to such a statement. The gulf between them is absolute."⁴³

Despite this gulf however they do have one thing in common. They both have "a literal point which stems from the surface level of the narrative; and a metaphorical point which lives on a much deeper level and appears in a mysterious dialectic with the literal point. But the difference would be that the literal point of the allegory can be discarded when the metaphorical point is grasped since it is now exhausted wherein no one grasping of the metaphorical point of a parable ever exhausts its meaning.⁴⁴ To this I would add that the metaphorical point of the allegory can be exhausted in "steno-language" wherein that of a parable cannot.

In going on from this point Crossan insists that the parables of Jesus are to be seen "as the metaphors of a poet rather than the examples of a teacher." "The parable does not belong to the realm of didactic tools and pedagogic tactics but comes from the world of poetic metaphors and symbolic expressions. Whatever may be its resemblance to rabbinic usage in either form or even in content it is essentially different from these because of its irreducible function as poetry: it is never subsidiary to a dogmatic proposition nor even to a biblical text. It is servant only to the revelation that pushes forward to vision in one through it."⁴⁵ We can come to grips with Crossan's concern by indicating something of his exegesis of the Good Samaritan.

(c) The Good Samaritan as Parable not Example

In the case of the Good Samaritan "the major protagonist of the story is performing a morally good action on the literal level" and this makes it fatally easy to miss the metaphorical level of the parable and to treat it as an exemplary story, as the tradition of the church did and as modern exegetes have done down to Jeremias, Perrin and Via.⁴⁶ But we must abandon the idea of an example because it derives "from the tradition and not from Jesus"⁴⁷ and attempt to leap from the literal point to the metaphorical. The internal dynamism of the story and the historical situation of Jesus' day agree that the literal point of the story challenges the hearer to put together two impossible and contradictory words for the same person: Samaritan (10:33) and neighbour (10:36). The whole thrust of the story demands that he say what cannot be said: Good + Samaritan. On the lips of the historical Jesus the literal point demands that the hearer respond to the story by stating the contradictory, the impossible, the unspeakable.⁴⁸ Once we recognize that we can grasp the metaphorical point, or be grasped by it." The literal point confronted the hearers with the necessity of saying the impossible and having their world turned upside down and radically questioned in its presuppositions. The metaphorical point is that just so does the Kingdom of God break into a person's consciousness and demand the overturn of prior values, closed options, set judgments, and established conclusions. But the full force of the parabolic challenge is that the just so of the metaphorical point is not ontologically distinct from the presence of the literal point. The hearer struggling with the dualism of the Good/Samaritan is actually experiencing in and through this the in-breaking of the kingdom upon him. Not only does it happen like this, it happens in this.⁴⁹

I find this a most important insight, carefully argued and clearly stated, and I shall certainly never again call the Good Samaritan an exemplary story! In support of the point made by means of a detailed analysis of the Good Samaritan, Crossan presents a briefer discussion of the other parables which have been classed as exemplary stories: The Rich Fool (Luke 12:16-21 "The literal climax snaps like a whip around the shoulders of the hearers and through and in its surprise the call of the kingdom is heard, in parable as parable"); The Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 15:19-31 "Jesus was . . . interested in the reversal of human situation in which the kingdom's disruptive advent could be metaphorically portrayed and linguistically made present"); The Pharisee and the Publican (Luke 18:10-14 "The metaphorical point is . . . the complete and radical reversal of accepted human judgment, even of religious judgment, whereby the kingdom forces its way into human awareness"); The Wedding Guest (Luke 14:7-11 "This example of situational reversal on the literal level points towards how the kingdom arrives and breaks in upon a man so that he experiences God's rule at the moment when his own world is turned upside down and radically reversed"); The Proper Guests (Luke 14:12-14 "as parable it provokes the hearers to face the metaphorical point of the kingdom's arrival as radical and absolute reversal of their closed human situation").⁵⁰ With the help of a group of graduate students in a seminar I checked Crossan's analysis of these parables and found it also convincing.

(d) The Challenge of Crossan's Work

(i) The form critical classification of the parables

It is obvious that in light of this work a form critical classification of the parables using the category "exemplary story" will have to be abandoned. More than that those exegetes who formally abandon it, such as Jeremias and following him Perrin, must also not allow it to determine their exegesis of a parable, as we both allowed it to determine our exegesis of the Good Samaritan!

(ii) The perils of rabbinizing Jesus

It is also obvious that we have been much too ready to accept the rabbinical use of parables (as exemplary stories, explications of a text or concept, weapons of controversy, etc.) as normative also for Jesus. Of course no one will claim that Jesus did not use a parable as a rabbi would have done but every instance will now have to be tested. We will have to be as ready to ascribe a rabbinical type use to the tradition of the church as we have been to ascribe the allegorizing.

(iii) The parables as a form of proclamation

Crossan's emphasis upon the parable as, in effect, proclamation is not of course new in our research. Ernst Fuchs and his pupil Eberhard Jüngel have been making this point for some time now. But I personally have always had problems with their work, not least because of their passion for enigmatic statements and turgid prose! For this reason I find Crossan's statement of the matter most helpful: he writes clearly, and he uses the tools and insights of historical and literary criticism in a carefully disciplined manner.

2. The Parables as Proclamation and Parenesis

It is clear that the next task should be an analysis of each of the parables of Jesus as careful as the one offered by Crossan of the Good Samaritan, and then to attempt to move in each case from the literal point to the metaphorical point as he does. In developing our understanding of the literal point we shall need to be guided by the insights developed in the work of Wilder, Funk and Via, and in the movement to the metaphorical point we could probably refine our method by observing such literary critical considerations as Wheelwright's distinction, within metaphor, between "epiphor" and "diaphor." But that work lies in the future. I have made some trial runs with the help of some of my students in a seminar but I have not yet brought that work to the point where I have anything to say about it in this seminar. But it seems to me on general considerations that the most likely result of such work will be to discover the same spectrum of proclamation and parenesis in the parables that we find in the proverbial sayings. The unjust Steward is an obvious further candidate for the category proclamation while the Tower Builder and the King going to War seem close to the saying about putting one's hand to the plough and looking back, and hence essentially parenesis.

III Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Message of Jesus: The Shattering of the Categories

If I may be allowed some concluding reflections on the consequences with regard to "milieu research," to be drawn from the work discussed in this paper then it seems to me fairly obvious that we have observed a shattering of the categories established by our milieu research. The proclamation of Jesus uses the apocalyptic symbol "Kingdom of God" but in a way that confronts the hearer with what can only be described as the effective realization of the proclamation. The normal features of apocalyptic -- especially the concern for signs with all that it implies -- are missing from the message of Jesus, and the temporal categories -- present, imminent, future -- appropriate to so much of apocalyptic prove inappropriate to the message of Jesus. The wisdom form of the proverbial saying, normally predominantly parenetical, is pushed beyond all normal limits until it comes to function as proclamation, and then again returned to its most normal function. Similarly the wisdom form of the parable is also pushed beyond its normal limits and becomes a vehicle for proclamation and is also returned again to its more normal function.

But observations of this nature are only possible on the basis of our milieu research. Our problem lies in the complexity of establishing both the ways in which Jesus is to be understood in the categories of his milieu, and how far and in what ways he shattered those categories. The danger is obvious: that we find it all too easy to go too far in one direction or the other.

Postscript

It will be obvious to all that this is very much the first draft of a paper, intended only to provide the basis for discussion in a seminar. I apologize to the members of the seminar for this, but my commitments this year made anything else impossible. However I do hope to take the work further and I would be grateful for any comments or criticism from colleagues and friends. I would like, further, to express my personal thanks to the student members of my New Testament Seminar in the Spring Quarter, 1972, who worked with me on the topic and gave me invaluable help: Timothy Hallett, Dennis Castaing, Joseph Comber, Robert Hausman, Leon Roose and Mary Ann Tolbert.

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Footnotes

- ¹R. Bultmann. History of the Synoptic Tradition B.1.
- ²J. Jeremias, Parables of Jesus, 205
- ³W. A. Beardslee, "Uses of the Proverb in the Synoptic Gospels," Interpretation 24 (1970) 61-76 (Hereinafter "Uses"), esp. 64.
- ⁴Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus (1963) (Hereinafter Kingdom), 168, 174.
- ⁵Christology and a Modern Pilgrimage: A Discussion with Norman Perrin (1971), 142
- ⁶Metaphor and Reality (1962) 105-108
- ⁷Ibid., 92
- ⁸Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus (1967) (Hereinafter Rediscovering, 57
- ⁹The Kingdom of God in the Synoptic Tradition (1970) (Hereinafter Kingdom)
- ¹⁰Hiers, Kingdom. 96.
- ¹¹Symbolism of Evil (1969), 163
- ¹²Metaphor and Reality, 92
- ¹³Symbolism of Evil, 15.
- ¹⁴Ibid., 347-357.
- ¹⁵Ibid., 18.
- ¹⁶See Hiers, Kingdom, 34.
- ¹⁷Perrin, Kingdom, 174-178.
- ¹⁸Perrin, Rediscovering, 73-74.
- ¹⁹On this see Ricoeur, Symbolism of Evil, 163-164.
- ²⁰Sayings of Jesus (1949), 167-168.
- ²¹Ibid., 168.
- ²²Jeremias, The Prayer of Jesus (1967), 11-65 and elsewhere.
- ²³HistSynTrad, 105.
- ²⁴Rediscovering, 142-145, 146-150.
- ²⁵Beardslee, "Uses," 65.
- ²⁶Ibid., 66.
- ²⁷Literary Criticism and the New Testament, 27.

- 28 Ibid., 32-33.
29 Ibid., 33.
30 Ibid., 38.
31 Ibid., 39.
32 "Uses," 66.
33 Ibid., 67.
34 Ibid., 69.
35 Lit Crit NT, 40.
36 "Uses," 71.
37 Ibid., 71.
38 Manson, Sayings, 160.
39 Perrin, Rediscovering, 144.
40 Ibid., 147-148.
41 Crossan. NewTestStud 18. 304.
42 Ibid., 304.
43 Ibid., 304-305.
44 Crossan has also been reading Ricoeur, Ibid. 305 n.1.
45 Ibid., 306.
46 See ibid., 293, 286-287.
47 Ibid., 295.
48 Ibid., 295.
49 Ibid., 295.
50 Ibid., 296-303.

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The purpose of this short paper is to provide an introduction to the discussion of the SBL Nag Hammadi Seminar. It is not, as the title might imply, a substantial retractatio of previously expressed views on the Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam.¹ Under the general rubric of "Christian and non-Christian Gnosticism," the Seminar has already dealt with two Nag Hammadi tractates in which the transition from non-Christian to christianized Gnostic expression may be traced by methods of literary criticism, since one of these works, The Sophia of Jesus Christ, is best understood as a literary reworking of the other, Eugnostos, the Blessed.² The present discussion of the Seminar focuses on two works which have some relationships, but clearly not literary ones: ApocAd and The Gospel of the Egyptians.³ But analogous to the previous discussion, this one will deal with an apparently non-Christian "apocalypse" and a "gospel" that reveals at least some explicit contact with Christian or Christian-Gnostic traditions. The following remarks will be confined to the ApocAd and will be more in the form of suggestions for discussion than established conclusions.

I

Since the first publication of the Gnostic apocalypses from Nag Hammadi Codex V⁴ and the first published comments on the significance of ApocAd,⁵ the principal question of interpretation has been the contention that this work may be an example of "pre-Christian Gnosticism." In view of the discussions of the Messina Colloquium of 1966 on the origins of Gnosticism and of subsequent literature too extensive to catalogue here,⁶ it might be preferable frankly to adopt the term "non-Christian Gnosticism," even though by "pre-Christian" most scholars do not mean "chronologically B.C." but "prior to any contact between Gnostic myth and Christian preaching." But the issues implied in either of these designations are proving to be more complicated, since continuing study of ApocAd leads toward seeing it as the result of one or more redactional processes. Is the work completely without contact with Christianity at every stage? Indeed, are all the stages Gnostic or can some properly be called Jewish?

In GEgypt Christian elements enter in, though perhaps still superficially, in the identification of Seth in his third parousia with Jesus (CG III, 63ff). Such an identification is not made explicitly in ApocAd, and I still see no reason to assume it is made even implicitly in the description of the Phoster in his third coming (CG V, 76f). We shall return to this assertion below. On the other hand, there may be a trace of an extremely superficial allusion to Jesus of Nazareth in the magic

name(s) "Jesseus Mazareus Jessedekeus" which occurs at the very end of the work. Given the extreme proliferation of magic names from many religious contexts, the occurrence of such a name here proves very little except that if it is a garbled form of the name of Jesus, the work can hardly antedate the spread of Christianity. To proceed with due caution, therefore, we should be content to refer to ApocAd as a non-Christian Gnostic tractate and not seek to date the present form of it too early.⁷

But what of earlier forms than the present one? No doubt everyone who has dealt with this work has assumed the existence of some prior stage of development, since the very syncretistic, apparently hymnic set of thirteen erroneous accounts and one true account of the origin of the Phoster (CG V, 77,27--83,4) appears as an interpolation in the otherwise fairly coherent apocalyptic narrative.⁸ The interpolated passage may of course be very ancient itself, but its presence reflects the redactional quality of our present apocalypse. Most recently, scholars have sought traces of growth and development within the apocalypse itself, even apart from the hymnic interpolation. Independently of one another, C. W. Hedrick⁹ and W. Beltz¹⁰ have discovered stages, the former more systematically and on literary grounds primarily. The significance of these investigations, for our present purposes, is that they give promise of discovering the process of transition from apocalyptic Jewish thought, perhaps "heterodox" if this category is meaningful here, to properly Gnostic thought--without passing through the Christian kerygma. The implications of such a development for the classic problem of the origins of Gnosticism are apparent.

II

In first discussing the question of non-Christian Gnosticism in the ApocAd, I ventured the argument that it would be most unlikely for a Gnostic writing to borrow the ideas and/or language of Christianity without some clear if not direct or specific acknowledgement.¹¹ The point was that Gnostic systems as we have known them both from patristic sources and from other Gnostic writings are essentially and overtly syncretistic; i.e. they deliberately wish to incorporate Christian or Jewish figures or even representatives of classical and other mythologies to show that the "best" of other traditions were in reality Gnostic. Böhlig has made use of a similar argument.¹² I am still inclined to think this is a valid argument. It is not ruled out by the situation of predictive prophecy in which apocalyptic writings are regularly set; e.g. it would not "falsify" Adam's apocalyptic experience if he were to mention that ultimately redemption would come through a Messiah called Jesus.¹³ On the contrary, such specificity would serve to authenticate the revelation, not make it suspect.

But the evident force of this argument is at first sight impaired by another of the Nag Hammadi tractates, The Concept of Our Great Power.¹⁴ This text contains a comparatively detailed account of the future coming of Jesus without any trace of Christian names. It even contains the

theme of the deception of the powers--but so do 1 Cor 2:8 and many Gnostic works. But here there can be little doubt that the New Testament is drawn upon: the one who is to come "will speak in parables," he is "betrayed (paradidonai)" by "one of those who followed him," he is "handed over (paradidonai)" to "the one who is over hell," his "word annulled the law (nomos) of the age (aiōn)," etc. In this instance the very effectiveness of the revelatory vision depends on its evoking the known New Testament circumstances. In the case of ApocAd, I do not find either explicit Christian allusions or veiled ones that are specifically Christian. As for the theme of the deception of the archons, it is by no means clear to interpreters of the New Testament that this is an originally Christian motif. In short, I suggest there is still some validity to the argument used of ApocAd.

III

The crucial betrayal of Christian influence in ApocAd in the minds of many is the fact of the suffering of the revealer-redeemer, the Phos-ter.¹⁵ Following the lead of Böhlig in his *editio princeps* of the work, I had made the suggestion that one might account for the figure of a suffering revealer-redeemer by seeing behind ApocAd a sort of Gnostic midrash on the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah.¹⁶ I cannot claim to be confident that this is in fact the source of the Gnostic apocalypticist's thought, but the point is that the early Christian preaching did not invent the notion of a suffering religious leader out of whole cloth. If the figure of the Suffering Servant--in the larger context of Deutero-Isaiah, which is on other grounds familiar to the Gnostic literature¹⁷--is not relevant here, one might consider the wisdom tradition about the suffering righteous one,¹⁸ or the Qumran tradition about the afflictions of the leader of the community. In particular, the Habakkuk Pesher offers a famous and interesting parallel to the assertion of ApocAd that the powers "will punish the flesh of the man upon whom the holy spirit has come" (77,16-18).¹⁹ One should be quite clear about how little and how much are being claimed by the evocation of parallels such as these. They are not meant to suggest that the author of ApocAd drew directly or consciously on any particular Jewish tradition known to us, whether sectarian or not. But on the other hand, they are meant to suggest that some of the materials of his speculation already existed in sectarian Judaism independently of Christian influence. In fact, the Qumran leader is a particularly striking analogy, for not only was he persecuted by opposing "powers," but he was a revealer figure and apparently was also one with whom his followers could somehow identify. Mani is of course another example of this whole picture, but his image was undoubtedly colored by the Jesus tradition. In any case, even for an earlier period, there is no need in every case to turn to Jesus for a model, especially when specific references to the Christian preaching are lacking.

IV

Whatever the background of ApocAd, it is still debated whether it represents an early stage of development of the Gnostic Genesis-myth, or a very late one. In contrast to the many scholars who regard it as early, H.-M. Schenke²⁰ and W. Beltz²¹ have argued that it is a very late example of the genre, perhaps to be dated in the mid-third century. I have not been able to appreciate the cogency of their arguments, which often seem to assume that elements of the Gnostic transposition of Genesis that are not clearly spelled out must be presupposed in a more developed fashion elsewhere. If it is conceivable that ApocAd, or at least some stage of its development, represents precisely the transition to Gnostic exegesis, then there is no reason to suppose this transition was effected instantly in a highly developed way.

Beltz notes that the Jewish traditions underlying ApocAd--of which he documents a great many in his commentary on the tractate--are none of them in a purely Jewish state, but they have been mediated to the author of ApocAd by an already Gnostic tradition. At best he finds Jewish forms surviving with an alien content. This is partly true, but as is exemplified in the paper of P. Perkins,²² the Jewish roots run deeper than Beltz acknowledges, and in particular at least some of them occur in a transitional state. What is essential to observe here is that such sources as the Josephus allusions to the Adam-Seth legends²³ or the Life of Adam and Eve, along with many other works, show that already in Jewish apocalyptic and/or sectarian circles there was developing an exegetical tradition which Gnostic, i.e. radically dualist, interpreters would find congenial. Beltz goes on to compare ApocAd to the Letter of Ptolemy to Flora and argues that its apparently primitive character is due to its purpose as an elementary Gnostic "Lehrschrift."²⁴ But ApocAd seems to me totally lacking in the sort of propagandistic tone of Ptolemy and corresponds in no way to the general literary form of that work.

In large part, what leads Beltz to such a conclusion is his comparison of ApocAd with GEGypt. He infers that the more specific allusions of the latter work must necessarily be presupposed if the former is to be intelligible. If we challenge this argument, we are left to explain what is implied by the apparent, though superficial, relationships between the two documents. Without wishing to anticipate the results of the Seminar discussion, I would suggest the comparison of the two documents shows ApocAd to be typologically prior to GEGypt in that it follows the Genesis story more closely, is less elaborate in accounting for the Gnostic hierarchy of beings, remains within the narrative framework for the most part, does not try to explain everything, etc. None of these arguments is a cogent principle in itself, of course, but cumulatively they support the impression of "primitiveness" which ApocAd evokes in the reader.²⁵

V

One area of consideration remains to be mentioned, however briefly, but it may in fact be one of the most important questions concerning our document. This is to stress the importance of investigating thoroughly the suggestion made by Böhlig in his original edition of ApocAd and repeated by others that the apocalypse emanates from some Syrian-Palestinian baptist sect.²⁶ This contention is supported, for instance, by the references to water and to baptism at the end of the document. It is important on several grounds. First, these allusions seem likely to point to a Sitz im Leben for the tractate, and such indications are in ApocAd as in many Gnostic tractates very rare. Secondly, the links often suggested between Mandeism and Gnosticism may lie in some common origin in sectarian Jewish baptist circles. Thirdly, such an origin of ApocAd may help explain the numerous parallels with Manichean literature indicated by Böhlig, Beltz and others. In this regard the question of Mani's own background in Elchasaite circles has newly come to the fore with the discovery of the Cologne Mani Codex.²⁷ It is conceivable, and perhaps even probable, that there is a relationship between the background of Mani's Jewish-Christian baptist sect and the Jewish baptist circles out of which the ApocAd originally came.

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- 1 CG V,5: 64,1--85,32, hereafter ApocAd, the abbreviation adopted by the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. The author's previous treatment of this tractate is "The Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," The Heythrop Journal 6 (1965) 27-35.
- 2 See the papers of P. Perkins and D. M. Parrott in The Society of Biblical Literature, One Hundred Seventh Annual Meeting, Seminar Papers (SBL, 1971), vol. I, 165-181 and vol. II, 397-416.
- 3 CG III,2: 40,12--69,20 and IV,2: 51,1--81,end, hereafter GEgypt.
- 4 A. Böhlig and P. Labib, Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo (Halle, 1963).
- 5 E.g. A. Böhlig, "Die Adamapokalypse aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi als Zeugnis jüdisch-iranischer Gnosis," Oriens Christianus 48 (1964) 44-49; the present author's article cited in n. 1 above; K. Rudolph's review in Theologische Literaturzeitung 90 (1965) 359-362. See also the discussion of J. M. Robinson in New Testament Studies 14 (1967-68) 366-369.
- 6 On this and other issues, see the Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1969 of D. M. Scholer (Leiden, 1971) and his annual supplements in Novum Testamentum.
- 7 The terminus ante quem would of course be the date of the Nag Hammadi library itself, perhaps as late as A.D. 400. M. Krause, in Die Gnosis, vol. II, ed. W. Foerster (Zurich, 1971) 20, suggests first or second century A.D. as the date of the Grundschrift of ApocAd.
- 8 Cf. e.g. R. Kasser, "Bibliothèque gnostique V. Apocalypse d'Adam," Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie 16 (1967) 316-333, who extends the interpolation a few lines further than I would think likely.
- 9 See his paper elsewhere in this collection of SBL Seminar Papers.
- 10 In his Habilitationsschrift, "Die Adam-Apokalypse aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi. Jüdische Bausteine in gnostischen Systemen" (Berlin, 1970).
- 11 "The Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," 32.
- 12 Mysterion und Wahrheit (Leiden, 1968) 154.
- 13 Cf. the Adam literature, obviously reworked by Christians, in E. Preuschen's collection, Die Apokryphen gnostischen Adamsschriften (Giessen, 1900).

- 14 CG VI,4: 36,1--48,15, available only in photographs in The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices, Codex VI (Leiden, 1972). This text was first brought to my attention by M. Krause, who is to publish the editio princeps with P. Labib, in Gnostische und hermetische Schriften in Codex II und VI (1972).
- 15 E.g. A. Orbe in his review of the Böhlig-Labib edition, in Gregorianum 46 (1965) 169-172. Cf. also J. Daniélou's review in Recherches de Science Religieuse 54 (1966) 291-293. L. Schottroff, "Animae naturaliter salvandae. Zum Problem der himmlischen Herkunft des Gnostikers," in Christentum und Gnosis, ed. W. Eltester, BZNW 37 (Berlin, 1969) 68-83, interprets the text in such a way that the suffering does not apply to the savior figure, but she does not derive the motif from Christian sources in any case.
- 16 "The Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," 32-34. See also Böhlig, Mysterion und Wahrheit, 154.
- 17 See G. MacRae, "The Ego-Proclamation in Gnostic Sources," in The Trial of Jesus, ed. E. Bammel (London, 1970) 122-134.
- 18 Wisdom of Solomon 1-5. The role of the Jewish wisdom tradition in the formation of Gnostic mythology and theology has often been stressed.
- 19 1QpHab, col. IX, line 1 (wnqmwt bgwyt bsrw).
- 20 In his review of the Böhlig-Labib edition, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 61 (1966) 31-32, also in Koptologische Studien in der DDR (Halle, 1965) 127-128.
- 21 In the above-mentioned Habilitationsschrift, e.g. pp. 204-205, 215.
- 22 Elsewhere in this collection of SBL Seminar Papers.
- 23 Ant. I.67-71.
- 24 E.g. pp. 48, 215.
- 25 In fairness to the arguments of Beltz, it must be recalled that he envisages an original heterodox Jewish apocalypse underlying ApocAd, into which unmistakably Gnostic ideas have been interpolated in a process of literary development; see e.g. p. 89.
- 26 Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen, 95.
- 27 A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex," Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 5 (1970) 97-216.

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There has been only one preliminary attempt to analyze the literary development of the Apocalypse of Adam (CG V, 5, 64:1-85:32). This was made in 1965 by Rodolphe Kasser.¹ Other papers on the Apocalypse have simply treated it as a literary unit and have not discussed the question of its literary history nor speculated on the possibility of multiple sources lying behind the present form of the tractate.

I

The suspicion that the Apocalypse of Adam is the result of a complicated literary development is initially suggested by the fact that one can identify what appear to be two "introductions" to the tractate.

Introduction A: 64:6 (QTAN)-65:23
66:12 (TOTΕ)-67:12 (ΤΕΝΩΝΕ)
Introduction B: 65:24-66:12 (ΝΝΑΖΡΑΙ)
67:12 (ΔΙΕΙΜΕ)-67:21 (ΕΒΟΛ)

One is instantly struck by the difference between these two sections. Introduction A recounts the primordial experiences of Adam and Eve. Note that Adam always speaks in the plural (viz. "we" or "I and Eve your mother"). The setting depicted in introduction A is a gnostified version of creation. The events describe the primordial origins of humanity. Adam and Eve are created by the "creator god." Their creation appears to be a devolution from original androgynous union into male and female aeons (64:20-23). As a result their original glory and knowledge of God, the Eternal, was lost to them (64:6-14; 24-28). Adam and Eve are then enslaved by the creator god (65:16-21) and their hearts are darkened (65:21-23). In this depressing and hopeless situation both Adam and Eve utter a deep sigh which is heard by the creator god. He asks why they are sighing. Had they not been "blessed" with creation and had not he, the creator, made them a living soul (66:12-23)? After this, Adam experiences desire for Eve. In this instant their devolution into two aeons is complete, the knowledge of the eternal God is lost to them and they are subject to the vicissitudes of mortality (67:2-12).

This cohesive narrative (introduction A) forms a self-contained literary unit that is broken up by another self-contained narrative of

¹Textes Gnostiques: Remarques à propos des Éditions récentes du Livre secret de Jean et des Apocalypses de Paul, Jacques et Adam," Le Musée, LXXVIII(1965), 91-98 and "Apocalypse d'Adam," Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, XVI(1967), 316-333.

quite a different order. In introduction B Adam is in a state of un-enlightenment when three "men" appear to him (65:24-32). These men call on Adam to arise from the "sleep of death" by listening to their words. When Adam hears these words he becomes aware that he had fallen under the authority of death (67:12-14). He then proposes to reveal to Seth what "those men" had revealed only to him (67:14-21). This second narrative (introduction B) is characterized by a change in setting and actors. From the primordial garden of Eden in introduction A the scene shifts to a "historical" situation in which Adam alone receives three men whose revelatory words bring about Adam's enlightenment.

The awkward way that the narratives are joined clearly exposes the literary seams (65:23/24; 66:12; 67:12). The first seam between 65:23 and 65:24 is distinguishable by an abrupt change of scene and a shift from the plural "we" or "I and Eve your mother" to the singular "I." Through the use of the simple motif of ignorance in 65:21-23 and 65:24-25 and the copula $\Delta\epsilon$ in 65:24 the editor links the two narratives together. At the second seam the editor has rather awkwardly divided the sentence that runs from 66:9-12 (ΝΝΑΖΡΑΙ'), picks up with 67:12 (ΔΙΕΙΜΕ), and continues through 67:14 (ΠΜΟΤ). The sentence which was divided by the editor should read as follows:

ΤΟΤΕ ΠΤΕΡΙΚΩΤΑ ΕΝΕΪΧΑΣΕ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΙΝΟΣ ΝΡΩΜΕ
ΕΤΑΜΑΥ ΝΗ ΕΤΕΝΕΥΔΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΝΑΖΡΑΙ' ΔΙΕΙΜΕ...
ΧΕ ΔΙΪΩΠΕ ΡΑ ΤΕΒΟΥΣΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΜΟΤ

The new sentence created by the editor in 66:9-14 when he brings the two narratives together is awkward. In the protasis it is Adam only who hears the words of the three men but in the apodosis suddenly Eve appears and it is "we" (i.e. Adam and Eve) who react to the revelation of the three men. At this juncture there is again a sudden leap in the setting. From the "historical" setting with Adam and the three men the scene abruptly returns to the primordial garden of Eden. One wonders what happened to the three men and from where the creator god suddenly materialized? At the third seam in 67:12 the editor has made an attempt to smooth out the lack of essential connection between the two narratives by inserting the copula ΡΑΡ and in 67:20 by using an adverb (ΝΜΟΡΠ) he recalls the revelation that took place in 65:24-66:12. On the other hand the transition from 65:23 to 66:12b (ΤΟΤΕ) is perfectly natural and makes a coherent sentence: As a result of their loss of knowledge of the eternal God and their resultant servitude to the creator god, Adam and Eve, "darkened in their heart," utter a deep sigh over their hopeless situation. Both introductions A and B appear to form independent narratives. When one reads each introduction as an independent unit, there is no abrupt change of setting or subject and one plot is maintained throughout each introduction.

To explain the revelation of the three men in introduction B as a vision of Adam which comes to him during sleep does not adequately explain the problems discussed above. Instead, it is evident that we are dealing with two originally independent narratives which have been harmonized by an ancient editor.

II

There appear also to be two conclusions to the tractate.

Conclusion A 85:19-22a (ΕΡΟΟΤ)

Conclusion B 85:22b-31

While these two conclusions are similar in form, in content they are quite different. Conclusion A is a simple statement that Adam made known his revelations to Seth and Seth taught his seed about them. By contrast conclusion B is theologically more sophisticated. Adam has not simply made an indefinite revelation or revelations but he communicates a secret knowledge which is specifically identified as a holy baptism of gnosis. This knowledge is transmitted only by a select group: "the ones born of the word and the imperishable illuminators (Φωτῆρ) who came from the holy seed." This specification of the content of revelation as a holy baptism of gnosis and insistence on a special group who transmit the revelation suggest a Sitz im Leben of rival "baptismal" sects. Our tractate has apparently been preserved through a sect which interprets the significance of water baptism spiritually as "receiving gnosis." Hence, conclusion B understands "baptism" as possessing that hidden knowledge which Adam had given to Seth. This knowledge is only preserved in the group that practices gnosis-baptism. It is not to be found in those groups which lack this higher spiritual understanding of baptism.

III

In the main body of the document there appear to be three phases to the narrative which can be initially identified by a change in subject matter: 67:22-76:7; 76:8-83:7 (ΤΗΡΟΥΤ); 83:7-85:18.² The first phase (67:22-76:7) concerns a race of "great men" who have come from the "great eternal knowledge" (71:10-14; 73:15-20) and their conflict with god, the Pantocrator. It describes his attempts to destroy them and their eventual preservation through divine intervention. The narrative takes the form of a midrash on the traditional account of the flood.

Phase two (76:8-83:7) tells of a conflict between the Illuminator (Φωτῆρ) and the archon of the powers. The Illuminator performs "signs" and "wonders" and thereby confuses the powers. They react by abusing him and in their bewilderment they ask about the source of this power that had so disturbed them (77:22-27). The response is given in a series of stories about the origin of the Illuminator (77:27-83:4 [ΤΗΡΟΥ]). Each story has a similar structure and is clearly set out in the manuscript.

²Alexander Böhlig and Pahor Labib, Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi (Halle-Wittenberg: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, 1963), 87. Böhlig divides the main body of the tractate into three sections roughly paralleling that which is followed here. In addition his two major sections to the tractate with slight differences correspond closely to my division between the introductory section and main body of the tractate. Compare the following:

Böhlig	Kasser	Present Division
I. 64:5-67:14	I. 64:1-77:27 83:8-85:32	I. Introductions. 64:6-67:21
II. 67:14-85:18 A. 67:22-73:24 B. 73:25-76:7 C. 76:8-77:27 Excursus: 77:27-83:4 D. 83:4-85:18	II. 77:27-83:8	II. Main Body of Tractate: 67:22-85:18 A. 67:22-76:7 B. 76:8-83:7 C. 83:7-85:18 III. Conclusions: 85:19-31

The third phase (83:7-85:18) is a little more difficult to describe since it contains several different motifs. It describes the recognition of the righteous character of the race of great men by an indefinite group of people (83:7-23) and a confession by these people of their own unrighteousness (83:23-84:3). It also describes a condemnation of those who have defiled the "water of life" (84:4-26). The end of the section describes the faithfulness of those men who know the eternal God (85:1-18).

On the basis of the two introductions and two conclusions we are justified in suspecting that these three phases may in reality originally have been separate and independent units which were harmonized by an ancient editor. It becomes more than a suspicion at the end of phase one and the beginning of phase two (76:7/8). The second phase (76:8) begins: "Once again for the third time the Illuminator of knowledge will pass by in great glory (ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΨΑΧΙΝΕ ΑΠΜΕΖ ΥΟΜΕΤ ΝCΟΗ 76:8-9). The problem is, this is the first time the Illuminator of knowledge is mentioned in the tractate. The problem is not evident in Böhlig's translation. He translates ΑΠΜΕΖ ΥΟΜΕΤ ΝCΟΗ as "thirdly"³ and understands the deliverance from the flood and the rescue from the fire as the first two epochs in the history of the great men. The third epoch is the appearance of the Illuminator who comes to assist in the redemption of the sons of Noah especially Ham and Japheth (76:11-13).

This explanation of the problem has the merit of support from the Gospel of the Egyptians (CG III, 2: 62:24-63:12; IV, 2: 74:9-27) which specifically speaks of the great Seth passing through three parousias: Flood, conflagration and judgment of the archons, powers and authorities.⁴ Thus, there is some reason to understand these events in Adam as successive stages in the redemption of the great men. At least one must regard these three events in Adam and in the Gospel of the Egyptians as connected in the gnostic mythology.

If, however, as I would argue, the phrase in 76:8 refers to an action which is now being repeated for the third time--i.e. to the third passing of the Illuminator--then one is able to see the difficulty with clarity since there is no mention in the Apocalypse of the first two "passings" of the Illuminator of knowledge. The first two occurrences of redemption recognized by Böhlig are not manifestations of the Illuminator of knowledge. The lack of connection between phase one and phase two becomes even more apparent when one realizes that prior to the descent of the Illuminator of knowledge there have already been

³Kasser (Revue, 325) translates ΑΠΜΕΖ ΥΟΜΕΤ ΝCΟΗ correctly as "for the third time" but incorrectly regards the appearance of the three men (65:26-66:12) and the descent of the clouds (71:8-15) as the first two appearances of the Illuminator.

⁴This reference in the Gospel of the Egyptians is quite significant. The citation is precisely the kind of interpretation of Adam to which a correct translation of ΑΠΜΕΖ ΥΟΜΕΤ ΝCΟΗ would lead one. Understanding this appearance of the Illuminator as his third time to "pass by" naturally inclines one to look for his two previous appearances. Thus, the redemption from the flood and the preservation through the fire could have been understood by an ancient exegete as appearance one and appearance two.

three events of deliverance in which the great men are preserved (69:19-25f.[?], 71:bottom-72:9,⁵ 75:17-76:6) and that the descent of the Illuminator does not signal a "redemption," at least not in the sense of the "flood" and the "fire." Rather, the Illuminator comes for the purpose of leaving in the "world" a witness for himself, since the great men had already been taken out of the world (75:17-76:6). It seems that one is justified in recognizing here a redactional seam and asking further questions on this basis.

There is also a noticeable lack of consistency in setting between phase two and phase three. Phase two seems to be a transworldly scene depicting the standard gnostic motif of divine beings (archons, powers, etc.) that hold mankind in slavery. The Illuminator performs signs and wonders (77:1-3). The powers are confused as to the source of his power (77:4-7) and how he is able successfully to evade them (77:23-27). The series of birth stories in phase two appears to answer the question of the perplexed powers: Whence did the power come or whence came the words of deception? The problem is, that after the "response" to the question of the powers (77:27-83:7), the scene and subject matter change. The transworldly scene with its angels, powers, god and descent of the Illuminator, so strongly prominent in phase two, vanishes when we enter phase three.

Phase three is set in the "historical" world and idealized. An indefinite group of people (all the peoples of the world?) acknowledge their own wickedness (83:8-84:3) and confess the righteousness of "those men" who have known God with a knowledge of the truth (83:11-23). One is compelled to ask: What happened to the powers, angels and the Illuminator? Whence came the "peoples" in 83:10 and who are they exactly? Because of the abrupt change of scene, the fact that the preceding story line is not followed and the radical transition in *dramatis personae*, there appears to be a break at 83:7 after ΤΗΡΟΥ.⁶

This third phase is rather complicated for it does not maintain a consistent story line. There is apparently again a shift in *dramatis personae* between 83:7-84:3 and 84:4-85:18. The first of these two divisions, 83:7-84:3, appears to be a confession made by the indefinite group of people (ΝΙΛΛΟC) in 83:10.⁷ In 84:4 a heavenly voice

⁵Cf. Luise Schottroff, "Animae naturaliter salvandae. Zum Problem der himmlischen Herkunft des Gnostikers," *Christentum und Gnosis*, edited by Walther Eltester, BZNW 37 (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1969), 71 footnote 17. At this point (bottom of page 71) the text is fragmentary but it appears that the great men are again protected from the threat of the creator god. It is to be admitted that this deliverance seems different in character from the flood and fire but this very difference in character may well account for the fact that the redactor failed to recognize it as an action of preservation and since he recognized only two events (the flood and fire), he was compelled by his theology to add a third--the judgment of the archons.

⁶Lines 83:7-8 can be understood with what follows. The people cried out (in fear?) because of the descent of the cloud of darkness.

⁷Böhlig (*Apokalypsen*, 94) has noted a rhythmic quality to 83:11-84:3. The confessional character of the material is to be readily admitted.

suddenly breaks into the narrative and addresses an indefinite "them" ($\chi\alpha\rho\sigma\sigma\gamma$). The problem is to whom does "them" refer? If it fits into the context that follows 84:4 (84:5-85:18), the ones addressed by the voice would appear to be the guardians of the holy baptism and the living water. If it goes with the context that precedes 84:4 (83:7-84:3), its antecedent is doubtless the indefinite "people" in 83:10.

But if this is so, why does the "voice" completely ignore the "people" and abruptly address Micheu, Michar and Mnesinous? And if $\chi\alpha\rho\sigma\sigma\gamma$ refers to the three guardians, as it appears to do, how does one explain their sudden appearance and the equally sudden disappearance of the "people?" One solution is simply to ignore the problem and identify the "people" with the three guardians. However, this is no solution and only succeeds in creating a greater confusion. I would suggest that there is a redactional break following 84:3 which accounts for the sudden change in the actors of the drama. The awkward sentence (84:5-8) immediately following the seam may be a redactional comment intended to clarify the identity of Micheu, Michar and Mnesinous because of their abrupt appearance in the tractate.

In the above discussion on the final two seams in the body of the tractate the contents of sections two and three have been discussed. There remains now only the necessity to make a closer examination of the details in section one. We begin with the first half of section one (67:22-73:24): The midrash on the flood narrative. There are three divisions in this section (67:22-69:11; 70:1 (?) - 71:4; 72:15-73:12) which give a paraphrase of the flood narrative from Genesis. Each traditional section is followed by a gnostic midrash which explains the heretofore unknown story of the great men in relationship to the flood. Each of these gnostic explanations (69:11-25(?); 71:4-72:15; 73:13-24) understands the flood as an attempt of the Pantocrator to destroy the holy seed.⁸ In the second half of section one (73:25-76:7) the men from the eternal knowledge, who had survived both the flood and the second threat of the creator god, along with four hundred thousand of the seed of Ham and Japheth who came under their protection, are again attacked by fire, sulphur, and asphalt (75:9-16) but the men from the eternal knowledge and their wards are again preserved (75:17-76:6).

In summary, we may say that there appear to be three redactional seams in the main body of the tractate: following 76:7; in 83:7 (after $\text{TH}\rho\sigma\gamma$) and following 84:3.⁹ These seams are initially

⁸The pattern is as follows:

NARRATION	INTERPRETATION
67:22-69:11	69:11-25(?)
70:1(?) - 71:4	71:4-72:15
72:15-73:12	73:13-24

⁹This does not include the stories about the origin of the Illuminator. This section is a difficult problem in itself. On the basis of form alone it appears to be separable from its context (cf. Kasser, *Revue*, 317). There also seems to be some evidence of literary development in certain of the stories. For example, on the basis of Kasser's "ideal" form the last two "kingdoms" show evidence of editorial activity. The narrative is understandable in its context as a response to the question of the powers but as a response it exceeds the limits of the question by "answering" far more than the question

identified by both linguistic and stylistic problems in the Coptic text. As one examines the literary units isolated by the redactional seams, it is discovered that the setting and the dramatis personae are also different.

IV

The method of reconstructing the original sources that lie behind our present version of the Apocalypse will of necessity be on the basis of matching corresponding motifs that can be identified within the various divisions of the tractate and requiring that the finished product have coherence and verisimilitude. It is to be admitted that to a large extent the method is subjective and operates by trial and error. The results will be tentative but perhaps this initial attempt will open the way for a more accurate solution to the problems in the Coptic text of Adam.

If on this basis introduction A (64:6-65:23; 66:12-67:12), phase one of the main body of the tractate (67:22-76:7) and section one of phase three of the main body of the tractate (83:7-84:3) along with the incipit (64:1-6) and conclusion A (85:19-22) are read as one continuous narrative, it will be discovered that there is a consistent plot and a connected theme which develops and concludes:¹⁰ The knowledge of the eternal God which Adam and Eve lost through desire is preserved through the race of great men who came from the great eternal knowledge. These great men are saved from the danger of the flood, protected from a threat of the creator god, rescued from the fire and are taken from the world to a heavenly dwelling place. As a result a great cloud of darkness will come upon those people who caused Sakia to persecute the great men. When the race of great men has gone, those people will acknowledge their wickedness, confess the righteousness and purity of the great race and accept their fate.

A similar connection is true of introduction B (65:24-66:12, 67:12-67:21) and phase two of the main body of the tractate (76:8-83:7).¹¹ These two units seem to match rather well as a single literary unit. Indeed 76:8-83:7, to a certain extent, seems to have been already anticipated in the statement made to Adam by the three men (66:3-8): "Hear about the aeon and the seed of that man to whom life has come who came from you and Eve." In 76:8-83:7 we are told about the deeds and origin of a certain "man" who is called Illuminator. He comes in order to leave "fruit bearing trees" for himself and to save their souls (i.e. the "trees") from the day of death. He is opposed by the aeons but succeeds in thwarting them and sharing his "glory" with those whom he chose. The generation of these men he has chosen for himself will shine over the whole aeon.

Finally, there needs to be some consideration given as to how these two major units were harmonized and as to how one should understand the relationship of the final section (84:4-85:18) to the whole. I begin by noting that throughout the Apocalypse there are three words

asks. One can only conclude that the setting is superficial.

¹⁰We shall refer to these five sections combined as source A.

¹¹We shall refer to these two sections combined as source B.

used for seed. One of them, **σποσ**, appears only twice in the Apocalypse (73:2, 6). Both times it occurs in what has been identified as the closing section of the traditional Genesis account of the flood. These sections are free for the most part of gnostic motifs and it is likely that in the tradition history of the A source they derive ultimately from a separate source. I regard the word **σποσ** as integral with its context.

With one exception (76:12) **σπερμα**, one of the other two words for seed used seven times in the document,¹² occurs only in the gnostic interpretative portion¹³ of the flood narrative. This suggests that it belongs only to the vocabulary of the unknown midrashic exegete. The one use of **σπερμα** outside the gnostic interpretative section occurs in source B immediately following the redactional seam in 76:7 where source B was joined with source A. The purpose of **σπερμα** here seems to be as a connecting device to smooth over the seam between the two sources.

For two reasons it has the character of an editorial device: In the first place 76:11-13 (**ΖΙΝΑ ΧΕ . . . ΙΑΦΕΘ**) is the only reference in source B to the flood or Noah and his sons. In the second place in this context there are two object clauses: 76:11-13 and 76:14-15 (**ΧΕ . . . ΟΥΤΑΖ**). While a double object clause in Coptic is certainly possible, here it is awkward. One would have expected the two clauses to have been joined by **ΑΥΩ ΧΕ** rather than simply **ΧΕ**. I take 76:11-13 to be a redactional device employed by the editor who brought the documents together.

The last word that is used, **σπορα**, occurs ten times in all parts of the tractate. It is found in the introductions (65:4, 8; 66:4). In the midrash on the flood narrative it occurs between the traditional material and its interpretation (69:12; 71:5). It occurs at the end of the section on the threat of the fire and just before the redactional seam (76:7). It is also found within the birth narrative (79:16/17), between the end of source B and the beginning of the last part of source A (83:4) and in both conclusions (85:22, 29).

I notice a very subtle difference in the use of these latter two words. **σπερμα** is always used in a natural sense (that is, with respect to human reproduction)¹⁴ and always with reference to Noah, Ham and Japheth. **σπορα**, with two possible exceptions (71:5; 79:16/17), is used with theological overtones in the sense of a special kind of seed, that is, of the seed of the great men. This phenomenon does not seem to be accidental. With few exceptions the references to **σπορα** have both a polemical and explanatory character that give them the appearance of editorial comments. Compare the following passages: As a part of a redactional comment: 65:3-9, 69:11-18, 71:4-8, 76:6-7, 83:4-7. As an integral part of a larger context: 66:4, 79:16/17, 85:22, 29.

I would argue that sources A and B were brought together by a gnostic redactor who added section 84:4-85:18, conclusion B (85:22b-31)

¹²72:24; 73:14, 25, 28; 74:11, 17; 76:12.

¹³69:11-25(?); 71:4-72:15; 73:13-24.

¹⁴73:28 may be an exception. The lacuna makes it difficult to be absolutely certain.

and the polemical passages containing *Спора*, cited above as redactional. The redactor is concerned to identify the race of great men, i.e. his own community, as the holy seed (85:29) which preserved a special (holy) knowledge (85:26). This eternal knowledge lost through the "fall" of Adam and Eve was regained by Adam through the special revelation of the three men (introduction B) and passed on to Seth and then to his descendants (85:20-22). He describes the divine source of the knowledge (65:3-9) and indicates that it has been passed on through those men descended from the *Спора* (69:11-15). These men have been threatened by the flood (69:11-15) because they dared to "stand up to" the creator god (71:4-8), and they will continue to struggle against those who have surrendered to the power of the evil god and have adopted his name "upon the water" (83:4-7).¹⁵

In his final statement (84:4-85:18) the redactor argues that his group has the true understanding of baptism. In fact, receiving the secret knowledge, called the words of imperishability and truth (85:10-18), which has been preserved and passed on is the holy baptism (85:22-29). This knowledge is only available through the redactor's community. It was not written in books but was passed through divine means to the holy seed (85:1-9) and preserved through their faithfulness (85:3-4). Since this proper understanding of baptism has only been preserved in the redactor's community, those who have been practicing simple water baptism without reference to its higher meaning have defiled baptism (84:5-23), and have even persecuted the ones who have the true knowledge (84:23-26).

This approach takes the many anomalies of the text seriously and attempts to make sense of them. In some cases it clears up ambiguities in the tractate. For example, it explains the contradictory use of the title "god of the aeons." Most students of Adam have, no doubt, already recognized and pondered this particular problem: How can the tractate apply this same title to both the demiurge (74:26-27) and the eternal God (85:4-5) with no sense of discontinuity? The solution is made possible by the source analysis. Apparently the rather unsophisticated redactor simply failed to adjust his *Vorlage* (source A 74:26-27) to his own theology (85:4-5) at this point.

If the source analysis will stand up under criticism, it may help to clarify the clouded issue of the provenance of the Apocalypse of Adam. To this point the discussion has consisted of arguing whether or not a given motif is or is not Christian and on the basis of such motifs the provenance of the tractate has been projected. The results of the discussion have not been satisfactory. The present status is at an impasse with the labels "Christian," "pre-Christian" and "non-Christian" simultaneously being used to describe the provenance of the Apocalypse. By redirecting the discussion to the redactor, the traditions that he used and his methodology, perhaps we can break through the impasse. The issue should not be the *Sitz im Leben* of isolated motifs, but, rather, the intentionality or the trajectory of the document itself. A different set of questions should be directed to the tractate: What is the intention of the redactor? What kinds of traditions did he use to achieve his purpose? Why does he use these particular traditions and how does he use them? What

¹⁵One should read 83:4-5 in the light of 74:15-16.

is the theological orientation of the redactor in contrast to the theology of his sources? In this way we may be able to learn how non-gnostic traditions were adapted to gnostic theology. Indeed, if I may anticipate the results of such an enterprise, Adam may well represent a point of transition where a shift from Jewish Apocalypticism to a developed Gnosticism can be clearly seen.

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368. Apocalyptic Schematization in the Apocalypse of Adam and

the Gospel of the Egyptians

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When we speak about "apocalyptic schematization" in a text, we may mean one of several things: (1) that the predictions within the apocalypse or revelation are organized according to a schematic pattern; (2) using apocalyptic in a more specialized sense to designate those late Jewish works generally denoted by the term, that the patterns employed in a given Gnostic work are dependent upon earlier Jewish forms, or (3) still using "apocalyptic" in a specialized sense, that the outline or literary schema of the work as a whole depends upon apocalyptic models. Our investigation deals with all three of these aspects. For those who are convinced that our schematic parallels indicate a dependence on apocalyptic traditions the first and the second categories are identical. Otherwise, one must at least admit that ApocAd and GEgypt share a common schematic view of the revelation of gnosis.

One further methodological qualification should be made. The fact that two works share the same schematic arrangements is not sufficient evidence that one is literarily dependent upon the other.¹ The dissemination of similar traditions and motifs in both apocalyptic and gnostic literature renders such an argument difficult to sustain. Literary dependence would have to be argued on the grounds of common use of large blocks of material almost verbatim as one sees with Eug and SJC, and even then it is not possible to rule out a common Vorlage.

The Apocalypse of Adam

A Gnostic work with no certainly Christian features,² ApocAd shows both apocalyptic schematization of individual traditions, notably in the periodization of the history of revelation of gnosis, and in the overall composition of the work. Further, the major patterns employed in the work are exemplified in apocryphas Jewish Adam literature. Our major point of comparison for this tradition is the first-century A.D.³ Adam book, the Life of Adam and Eve (VitAd).⁴ Such comparisons suggest that ApocAd stands in the tradition of Jewish Adam speculation. Perhaps it is even critical of that tradition: unlike the Jewish Adam books, ApocAd shows no concern to reinstate Adam. His former glory passes to a new race, "the seed of the great Aeons".

The over-all literary structure of ApocAd is that of a "testament".⁵ In his discussion of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Klaus Baltzer gives the following pattern as the introduction to such a work:

"A copy of the words [or: the testament] of (name of patriarch), which he recited to his sons before

his death in the . . . year of his life. He was healthy[or: sick], assembled his sons, kissed them and said to them, "Hearken, my children to (name of patriarch) your father, and hear his speech, I . . ."⁶

While explicit discussions of Adam's health, death, and his assembling of sons are missing in ApocAd (the result of its Gnostic emphasis on revelation and the seed of Seth?), the preamble to the work still clearly reflects such an introductory pattern.

Use of such a schema would, at first glance, imply that the reference to the seven-hundredth year in ApocAd indicates Adam's age, as Doresse thinks,⁷ rather than the time since the birth of Seth, as Böhlig suggests.⁸ However, Böhlig's proposal may be the correct one. Contrary to the Hebrew tradition--which Böhlig has followed--the Greek traditions, based on the Septuagint, claim that Seth was born when Adam was 230 years old and that Adam lived for another 700 years; for example, Pseudo-Philo: "And Adam lived after he begat Seth 700 years."⁹ Given the ubiquitous nature of this tradition, it is entirely probable that the reference to the seven-hundredth year in the introduction to ApocAd claims that the revelation is given to Seth by his father in the year of the latter's death.

This understanding of the literary form of the book explains the conjunction of a biographical section as introduction with the apocalypse proper. The combination of a biographical account of the life of the patriarch followed by his ethical and eschatological exhortation to his sons is a regular feature of testament literature.¹⁰ VitAd begins with a long "biography" of Adam and Eve before the beginning of the testament proper and also includes two "apocalypses", accounts of revelations Adam and Eve received from Michael at the time of the fall. Combinations of biography and visionary predictions in a testament occur in later Adam literature as well.¹¹ Thus, although ApocAd is clearly Gnostic in content, the literary construction of the work follows models that belong to the wider tradition of apocryphal Adam speculation.

It is no surprise, then, to find that smaller units of tradition and patterns within the whole seem to have similar Jewish roots. The most important of these is the schematization of Gnostic "history" which forms the skeleton of the apocalypse proper. Like many Gnostic works,¹² ApocAd anticipates three major crises in the history of the biblical catastrophes: flood, destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the end of the world. Each represents an attempt by the powers to destroy the Gnostics, with the last, of course, being the judgment of the powers themselves.

Angels on clouds rescue the Sethians from the flood and take them to the place of the spirit of life.¹³ This interpretation of the flood seems to be a tradition of Gnostic Genesis exegesis. ApocryphJn explicitly contradicts Moses' story about the ark: Noah was not saved by an ark, but he, along with the Gnostics, goes to a place where they are hidden by a cloud of light.¹⁴ In ApocAd, Noah is not included among the Gnostics. After the flood the creator

God establishes Noah as "king" over his sons. (Is this a Gnostic version of the covenant between Noah and God in Genesis Nine?)¹⁵ Thus all sons of Noah belong to "generations with a king". And, as in versions of the Genesis account the sons of Noah are said to have fathered all known kingdoms,¹⁶ so here the sons of Ham and Japeth form twelve kingdoms.¹⁷ The Gnostics, by contrast, are the "generation without a king". ApocAd provides for that generation in two ways:

- (1) the sons of Seth are returned to earth after the flood;
- (2) 400,000 of the sons of Ham and Japeth "defect" and join the Sethians.

Angelic forces are sent to rescue these Gnostics from a second attempt to destroy them, the biblical Sodom and Gomorrah incident. They are whisked off above the aeons where they become like angels.¹⁸ In addition to the specific reference to fire and brimstone, the account of the second attempt against the Gnostics contains other allusions to the biblical tradition. Genesis 18:20 reports that the outcry to Yahweh leads him to act against the cities of the plain. In ApocAd the appearance of the strange race of men causes complaint to Sakla against them (CG V 74, 12-26). Lot's angelic visitors blind the Sodomites (Gen. 19:11). Those who belong to the phoster are blinded (CG V 75, 12-16).

At the consummation of the age, the phoster comes in human form and goes unrecognized by the powers.¹⁹ We have no indication that the Sethians had been returned to earth yet another time after the second destruction. Perhaps that is taken for granted. But the import of the phoster's coming seems to be that it leads to further defections among the "sons of Noah and the sons of Ham and Japeth."²⁰ At the conclusion of ApocAd, we learn that the Gnostics have inherited angelic teaching which is unknown to the rest of mankind. This teaching had been inscribed on a rock on a high mountain.²¹

The combination of a threefold periodization of the judgment against mankind and the preservation of the teaching upon a rock occurs in VitAd and in a piece of "Sethian" tradition preserved in Josephus Antiquities I, 68-70. VitAd attributes this revelation to Eve; Josephus, to Adam. While it is common for the flood to be a type of the end of the world, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is rarely taken to be an event of equal magnitude. (In T. Naph. 3: 4-5, Lk. 17:29, and II Pt. 2: 4-9, the ethical condition of mankind at the time of the flood, the destruction of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and at the end of the world forms the basis for a comparison of the three periods.) The explicit periodization of cosmic destruction in flood--fire--end-time occurs, as far as I know, in VitAd, Josephus, ApocAd, GEGypt, and ParaShem. When Josephus actually tells the story of the destruction of the cities of the plain, he does not advert to this tradition but treats it as a local phenomenon.²² With the exception of ParaShem, all versions of the threefold destruction conclude with the preservation of the revelation on stone. The purpose of that maneuver is clear in the Jewish tradition: to preserve the revelation through the first two catastrophes.²³ The procedure serves another

purpose in the Gnostic tradition: to insure that true gnosis is not found in other religious traditions.

Other motifs link ApocAd and the Jewish Adam traditions. VitAd connects God's anger at Adam and Eve with the twofold judgment that is to come.²⁴ Men are "to be purified by water from their sins in the last days."²⁵ ApocAd contrasts the true baptism of the phoster, which also occurs "in the last days", with others.²⁶ In another Adam book, The Death of Adam, Eve sees a vision of three men who enthrone Adam after his death.²⁷ Adam receives his revelation from three men in ApocAd.²⁸ Adam and Eve's progressive realization that they come under the power of death is standard in the Adam literature.²⁹ In Josephus, as elsewhere in the Jewish tradition, the Sethians dwell in their own country.³⁰ Perhaps this tradition is behind ApocAd's interpretation of the topos of the Sethians. Detailed investigation might discover further parallels.³¹

While no one of these parallels is probative, their combination strongly suggests that ApocAd is deeply indebted to apocryphal Adam speculation and its apocalyptic schematization. The work as a whole follows a recognizable Jewish model. The skeleton of its understanding of the "history" of the Gnostics clearly belongs to that Jewish tradition. And smaller individual units find a place in the context of such tradition as well.

The Gospel of the Egyptians

GEgypt seems to presuppose more elaborated Gnostic speculation than ApocAd and displays less overt apocalyptic schematization. However, it apparently knows of a threefold periodization of Gnostic "history", and, like ApocAd, concludes with the preservation of that revelation, which is unknown to the rest of mankind, on a high mountain. Dorese thinks that these similarities and those in the baptismal section indicate that GEgypt knew ApocAd approximately as we have it. If not, then both works draw on an older Vorlage which contained historical prophecy and the threefold parousia but not the baptismal material.³² But VitAd shows that even baptismal material could have its place in the older traditions.

Do the parallels really justify the assumption of a common source? In GEgypt Sodom and Gomorrah are the names of Aeons in which Seth sows his seed. In the same passage, GEgypt mentions two other interpretations of Sodom and Gomorrah current in Gnostic circles.³³ Thus he seems to have been acquainted with a variety of exegetical traditions.³⁴ Further, his use of the threefold periodization is much less explicit than that in ApocAd. There are two passages in question. The first describes a series of punishments that are to befall the Sethians. The flood is explicitly called a "type" of the consummation of the age.³⁵ None of the other afflictions are so designated. A conflagration is mentioned, and the Gnostics are delivered by prophets and their own special guardians. Other afflictions follow as action against the Gnostics: famines, plagues, temptation, error due to false prophets.³⁶ It is not clear whether this passage represents a flood--fire--end-time scheme,³⁷ or the more

usual scheme of flood--end-time with plagues, war etc. as punishments for the intervening period.³⁸

In a later passage, Seth is associated with three parousias, which the author says he has already mentioned, flood--fire--end.³⁹ Yet in that earlier passage Seth was not associated with the first two events except in that he prays for an angelic guard to preserve the Sethians from these attacks against them until the consummation of the age.⁴⁰ Doriesse argues that the three parousias of the second passage are allusions to the schematized revelation in ApocAd.⁴¹ However, ApocAd will not clarify the difficulties in the second passage completely. The issue turns on how one is to interpret the phrase: *δύο γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον τὸ ἑπόμενον*. Does the parousia involved imply that Seth appears thrice as saviour and revealer of gnosis?⁴² Or does the parousia simply mean cosmic catastrophe, which Seth overcomes three times by delivering the Gnostics from the attacks against them?⁴³ The latter fits ApocAd and the first GEGypt passage better, but the former interpretation is equally probable. In many Gnostic texts the triple periodization takes the form of a threefold descent of the revealer. His epiphany in chaos creates the destruction.⁴⁴ Thus, the triple periodization is too widespread in the Nag-Hammadi material for it to indicate dependence of one work upon another given the general nature of the allusions in GEGypt. Had specific details been repeated, Doriesse would have had a stronger case. Like ApocAd, GEGypt concludes with the motif of a revelation hidden on a high mountain: Seth writes a book which he hides there until the end-time.

Both works, then, do show a distinct periodization of revelation. ApocAd uses that schema as the subject of a revelation of Adam to Seth just as it is used in VitAd and Josephus. In GEGypt, on the other hand, it is merely alluded to and is not central to the revelation. The construction of ApocAd, as well as particular motifs and allusions within the work, also shows a close connection with Jewish apocryphal traditions. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the exegesis reflected in ApocAd's use of the schematization represents an early form of the Gnostic reworking of Genesis traditions. GEGypt shows evidence of more speculative reworking of the tradition--as he tells us in referring to other opinions on Sodom and Gomorrah--where the patterns of the Jewish tradition are not as strongly felt. The threefold schema in that text may represent an intermediate stage between ApocAd and those works which give a threefold descent of the revealer which is no longer tied to the biblical catastrophes.

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1. See Jean Doresse, "Le Livre sacré du grand Esprit invisible ou l'Évangile des Égyptiens II: Commentaire," *JA* 256 (1968), 298-386, espec. 370-76. Throughout D. argues for a literary dependence of GEGypt on ApocAd and ApocryJn on the basis of common traditions and motifs many of which have parallels in other Gnostic literature.
2. See Alexander Böhlig, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi*, (Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität: Wittenberg, 1963), 86-91 and George W. MacRae, "The Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," *Heythrop Journal* 6 (1965), 31-35.
3. Since Adam's revelation of the future history of Israel does not include the destruction of the second temple (VitAd xix, 4-8), the work was probably written before A.D. 70.
4. It should be clear that I am not claiming that ApocAd knew VitAd, but that it knew similar Jewish traditions.
5. See Klaus Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary*, trans. David E. Green, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 143-63.
6. Baltzer, op. cit., 143. VitAd has such formulae woven into a rather lengthy account of the gathering of the sons in VitAd xxx, 1-xxxii, 1.
7. Doresse, "Commentaire", 373. Thus D. insists that ApocAd is not a testament.
8. So Böhlig, *Kopt.-gnost. Apok*, 87 n. 12. Since he use the Hebrew chronology, B. finds no significance in the date.
9. Pseudo-Philo, *LAB* I, 2; LXX Gen. 5:3; Josephus, *Ant.*I, 68, 83.
10. See Baltzer, op. cit., 144-55. ApocAd does not contain anything corresponding to the middle "ethical" section that he finds in Test. XII. But neither does VitAd.
11. See Michael Stone, "The Death of Adam--an Armenian Adam Book," *HTR* 59 (1966), 283-91. Here the account of Adam's death is preceded by narration of Adam's life after expulsion from paradise. Two dream visions are included in the work: Eve's of Adam's enthronement in heaven and Seth's of the meeting between Adam and Eve and the virgin mother and child.
12. ApocryJn (short version); ApocryJn (long ending: CG II 30, 11-31, 25); TriProt; ParaShem; NatArch; Adv. Haer. I, 30; GrPow;

GEgypt. My paper in the Nag Hammadi section of SBL, 1970, "Gnostic Periodization of Revelation and the Apocryphon of John", discussed these works. Here I shall only be concerned with the apocalyptic schema reflected in ApocAd and GEgypt.

13. CG V 67, 22-73, 24.
14. BG 73, 4-12.
15. CG V 71, 2-5.
16. E.g. Josephus, Ant. I, 122-133; Jub. ix; Ps. - Philo, LAB IV, 1-8.
17. CG V 73, 25-27. I have not found a parallel to the idea that the sons of Ham and Japeth number twelve or found twelve kingdoms. Does the author mean to have them responsible for the twelve tribes of Israel?
18. CG V 73, 27-76, 7.
19. CG V 76, 8-77, 27.
20. CG V 76, 8-24. Might the phrase "from the seed of Noah and the sons of Ham and Japeth" designate gentiles and Jews?
21. CG V 85, 3-18.
22. Ant. I, 202-205.
23. Josephus, Ant. I, 68-70; VitAd xlix lf. Hidden revelations and the engraving of revelations on high mountains or stele are commonplace. For apocalyptic usage see. D.S. Russell, Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, (Phila.: Westminster, 1964), 108f. For hermetic traditions: A.J. Festugière, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste I (Paris: 1944), 318f. In Jub. 8:3 Kainam discovers a rock engraved with the teaching of the watchers.
24. VitAd xlix, 3.
25. VitAd xxix.
26. CG V 84, 7:85, 24-31, the baptism of the phoster seems to be contrasted with a false one in CG V 84, 17f.
27. "Death of Adam", vv. 15-22.
28. CG V 65, 24-29. Stone, "Death of Adam", 290, takes the three men in that work to represent the Trinity. For ApocAd, Böhlig, Kopt. -gnost. Apok. 88, suggests the three angels who come to Abraham in Gen. 18. Given the other allusions to Gen. 19 in

- ApocAd this suggestion is very plausible. Perhaps ApocAd sheds light on a pre-trinitarian use of the motif later applied to the Trinity in "Death of Adam", which may not, then, be entirely dependent upon the exegesis of Isaiah 6 as Stone suggests.
29. Cp. ApocAd CG V 67, 12-14 with Adam's explanations of sickness and death to his sons in VitAd, e.g. xxi, 2-3.
 30. Ant. I, 69; CG V 72, 1-4; 73, 15-20.
 31. Perhaps apocalyptic traditions that the watchers or their sons reappear after the flood and lead to post-flood sin among the sons of Noah are the pattern on which the reappearance of the Sethians (CG V 71, 11-24) is built. On the watchers and sin after the flood, see Jub. 10. Kainam finds the pillar with their teaching after the flood Jub. 8:3. Jub 4 reports that the watchers were originally sent to teach men righteousness. Enoch obtains the angelic revelation here and in I En. 65, 1-12. The speculation that the mother of the phoster was driven into the wilderness (CG V 78, 18-26) might be related to the account of Eve's bearing Cain in the wilderness, VitAd xviii, 1-xxi, 3?
 32. Doresse, "Commentaire", 375.
 33. CG III 60, 9-18.
 34. Cp. ParaShem CG VII 25, 9-20, which also has a flood--fire--end-time scheme. Sodom is the place where Shem gives the revelation to the Gnostics after the flood. It is then burned. This passage supports the contention that Sodom and Gomorrah are sacred places in Gnostic tradition because they were destroyed by God. Doresse, "Commentaire", 380 n. 126a, finds that explanation less plausible than the suggestion that the association comes about because the region was known for thermal waters associated with the punishments of hell. He cites I En 57, 5-11; Josephus Ant xvii, vi, 5; Bell Jud i, xxxiii, 5. For an account of ancient (Josephus; Tacit.; Diod. Sic.; Strabo) and modern discussion of the location of the cities of the plain and their destruction see J.P. Harland, "The Location of the Cities of the Plain", BA 5(1942), 17-32; ibid., "The Destruction of the Cities of the Plain," BA 6 (1943), 41-52. Both reprinted in G.E. Wright & D.N. Freedman eds., The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), 41-75.
 35. CG III 61, 2-5.
 36. CG III 61, 6-25.
 37. So Doresse, "Commentaire", 347 n. 131.

38. Cp. Ps. - Philo LAB III, 9-10.
39. CG III 63, 4-9.
40. CG III 62, 12-24.
41. Doresse, "Commentaire," 373-74; 381 n. 131a.
42. So Schenke, "Das Ägypten-Evangelium," NTS 16 (1969/70) when he translates: "Er nahm auf sich die dreifache Ankunft (παρουσία)."
43. So Doresse, "Le Livre sacré. . . I", JA 254 (1966), 405 ll. 4-5: "Il surmonta les trois parousies (παρουσία)."
44. Cf ApocryJn, CG II 30, 11-31, 25; TriProt CG XIII 41, 1-34; 43, 4-44; 49, 8-31.

The first of these is the fact that the
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Jean Doresse's classification of the Nag Hammadi Library as a Sethian collection has gone largely unchallenged.¹ The main reason is that few, if any, have been able to make a fresh and independent judgment. The time for this still has not come since a good part of the Library is not yet in public hands. However, it is possible to analyze what is involved in classifying something as "Sethian" and to apply the results to some of the Nag Hammadi tractates which have the greatest claim to being called Sethian.

Doresse's procedure for identifying the owners of the Library is obscure apart from a few details. On the one hand he enthusiastically acclaims the Codices for "the homogeneity of the writings they contain, their undoubted unity: most of them belong to the same religious body; they complement one another."² On the other hand he admits to the great diversity of the writings both in content and in form, and the fact that they include "some works from alien groups, Valentinian or Hermetist."³ More recent study of the Library has revealed that this diversity is far greater than Doresse intimated. It is now clear that we are not dealing with a homogeneous core of writings with some exceptions, but with a total lack of unity in content.⁴

Doresse has made some attempts to account for the diversity of ideas and myths in works which he otherwise thinks are homogeneous. He believes this is due to "the greatest weakness of Gnosticism, its want of coherence in its mythology."⁵ Regardless of whether this value judgment is to the point, we are still left with the question of where Doresse locates the unity within the diversity. He does not present a common theme or mythologumenon. All he leaves us with are four items taken from different tractates which, he believes, show that the owners of the Library were Sethians. These items are:

¹Jean Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics: An Introduction to the Gnostic Coptic Manuscripts Discovered at Chenoboskion (London 1960) Chapter VI. The acceptance of Doresse's position is reflected, for example, in G. Kretschmar's article on the Sethian in RGG³ V, p.1715.

²Doresse, p.249.

³Doresse, p.249.

⁴I have described this in some detail in "The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresiologists," VC 25 (1971) 209f.; 220f. The only unity I have been able to find is in the ascetic morality of the tractates which is particularly pronounced in the ones which are least Gnostic.

⁵Doresse, p.252.

1. The presence of Barbelo among the higher powers.
2. The presence of the name Seth in the title of many tractates.
3. The presence of the title "Supreme Allogenes."
4. The presence of the Paraphrase of Shem among the tractates.⁶

1) Why the use of the name Barbelo would indicate Sethian authorship or ownership is far from clear. Neither Hippolytus (Ref. V, 19-22) nor Epiphanius (Pan. 39) mention her name in their accounts of the Sethians. It appears that Doresse has assumed that the unspecified Gnostics described by Irenaeus in Adv. haer. I, 29 are Sethians. There is little or no basis for such an assumption. The name Barbelo or Barbelon does appear in the following Nag Hammadi tractates: The Apocryphon of John (II, 1; III, 1; IV, 1), The Gospel of the Egyptians (III, 2; IV, 2), The Apocalypse of Paul (V, 2), The Three Steles of Seth (VII, 5), Zostrianos (VIII, 1), and the Discourse on the Three Appearances (XIII, 1). It has to be shown first that these tractates are Sethian before the presence of Barbelo in a tractate can become evidence for Sethian authorship.

2) The name Seth appears only in two Nag Hammadi titles, not in many as Doresse claims. One of these is The Second Treatise of the Great Seth (VII, 2). The name Seth does not appear in the tractate itself, nor does the content have any affinities to the chapters on the Sethians by Hippolytus and Epiphanius. Instead we are dealing here with an anti-orthodox, Christian-Gnostic treatise which includes a passion narrative attributed by Irenaeus to Basilides (Adv. haer. I, 24.4), and two sections on the celestial wedding which remind one of Valentinian teaching. It shares significant mythological elements with the Apocryphon of John. One would never think of associating the work with the Sethians were it not for the reference to Seth in the title. Yet all the title indicates is that the book before its translation into Coptic⁷ came second in a collection of writings attributed to Seth. According to Epiphanius, not only the Sethian sect possessed such a collection (Pan. 39, 5.1) but also the Gnostics (Pan. 26, 8.1) and the Archontics (Pan. 40, 7.2). Thus the Second Treatise of the Great Seth is of no help in showing that the Library is Sethian.

The other title which makes reference to Seth is the Three Steles of Seth (VII, 5). Again there is no support from Hippolytus or Epiphanius to show that the tractate is Sethian. It involves a revelation by Dositheos of a praise offering, written by Seth on three steles in honor of his divine Father, the male virgin Barbelo, and the living Spirit. Details and terminology are related to the Apocryphon of John and tractates associated with it.⁸ At least this tractate gives Seth an impor-

⁶Doresse, p.251.

⁷The title retains the Greek case endings.

⁸Wisse, "The Nag Hammadi Library..." 209 n. 22.

tant place but additional arguments are needed to show that it originated among the Sethians.

Perhaps Doresse also included the Gospel of the Egyptians among books ascribed to Seth. His name does not appear in the title⁹ but he is mentioned in the conclusion as the mythological author of the book (III 68, 1ff. 10f.). Seth also plays an important role in the teaching of the tractate. We must return to this tractate in a later section.

3) The third proof of Sethian ownership listed by Doresse is the appearance of the title "Allogenes" (XI, 3).¹⁰ The basis for this claim is a reference in Epiphanius' account of the Sethians. Pan. 39, 5.1 reads: ἄλλως δὲ βιβλους ἑτέρας Ἀλλογενεῖς οὕτω καλοῦσιν. However, this seems to refer to a genre of books rather than to a being as in XI, 3. The Nag Hammadi tractate is a report by Allogenes to his son Messos about a revelation to him concerning the ineffable God. The plural Ἀλλογενεῖς in Epiphanius does not fit this at all. In any case, a good deal more evidence than the title is needed to show that the tractate is a genuine Sethian work.

4) Doresse probably considered the Paraphrase of Shem (VII, 1) his prime piece of evidence, though there is no reference to Seth either in the title or the content. He based this at least partly on the mistaken belief that the first two tractates of Codex VII are parts of the same work.¹¹ This would mean that the title "The Second Treatise of the Great Seth" could refer to the work as a whole. However, further analysis after Doresse's survey has shown that the two tractates are not related at all.¹² On the other hand, Doresse correctly noted a relationship between the Paraphrase of Shem (ParaShem) and Hippolytus' description of the Sethian cosmogony. Strangely enough, Hippolytus refers those who want to know the entire doctrine of the Sethians to the Paraphrase of Seth rather than the Paraphrase of Shem. We must return to this issue in the next section. It suffices here to point out that it is not a little puzzling why the owners of the Library, if they were Sethians, would know their most important treatise by the name of Shem instead of Seth.

⁹The primary title is "The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit."

¹⁰Doresse incorrectly lists the title as "Supreme Allogenes" by conflating it with the title of XI, 4 Hypsiphron. It should be borne in mind that Doresse was given time for only a hasty survey of the Library as a whole.

¹¹Doresse, pp. 146-150.

¹²Among other dissimilarities the differences in Coptic usage leave no doubt that the works were translated independently from the Greek.

Our conclusion has been that Doresse's four Sethian characteristics prove little or nothing as to the authorship or ownership of the Library. Some other procedure needs to be followed to connect the collection of books with the Sethians. The most obvious place to turn are the two independent descriptions of Sethian teaching by Hippolytus and Epiphanius.¹³

The name of the sect in Hippolytus' account is consistently spelled "Sithians."¹⁴ If this strange spelling is not due to a corruption of the text--not impossible with only one imperfect manuscript extant containing book V--this could mean that Hippolytus did not connect the sect's name with Seth. This finds some support in the fact that, apart from the title "The Paraphrase of Seth," Seth is mentioned only once together with Cain and Abel among a number of other groups of threes (Ref. V, 20.2).

Hippolytus claims to be reporting on oral rather than written material. Not only does he state this,¹⁵ but it can also be seen from the introductory formulae and the nature of the material. The report consists mainly of illustrations and commentary. The Christian and Old Testament references are limited to these commentary sections. The sources of this oral material are "their endless commentaries" (Ref. V, 21, 1). These appear to be other than the Paraphrase of Seth. All he seems to know about this book is that it is supposed to contain the complete teachings of the sect.

All this complicates the issue of the relationship between Hippolytus' account and ParaShem. It is no longer surprising that the overlap in content is small. There is little beyond the description of the three primeval Powers, Light, Darkness, and the Spirit in between. Verbal agreement is minimal. Practically none of the illustrations and commentary can be found in ParaShem. Conversely, by far the major part of the content of ParaShem finds no reflection in Hippolytus' account. One cannot escape the conclusion that Hippolytus had never seen the tractate.

It is still entirely possible that the Paraphrase of Seth and ParaShem refer to the same tractate. The difference in name remains a mystery. To assume that the name was consistently changed from Seth to Shem in the manuscript tradition of ParaShem is rather difficult. It is easier to believe that Hippolytus unconsciously changed from Shem to Seth under the influence of the name of the sect. Unfortunately, even

¹³The accounts by Tertullian, Theodoret, and Augustine are secondary.

¹⁴The only exception, in Ref. V, 20.1, is most likely an oversight in Wendland's critical apparatus.

¹⁵See especially Ref. V, 20.1.

if we can assume that the Paraphrase of Seth and ParaShem are the same treatise, this helps us little in locating the essential characteristics of Sethian teaching. Reconstructions of Sethian doctrines on the basis of Hippolytus and ParaShem, if that were possible, would look quite different apart from the three primeval Powers they have in common. ParaShem does not look like a compendium of Sethian doctrine. It contains a long and obscure cycle of cosmogonic and soteriological speculations.¹⁶ It is a mystical vision which encompasses the whole span of time including the future. No regula fidei or basic features can be distilled from it. Systematizing would certainly distort it and misunderstand its function. Hippolytus' account is not much more penetrable. Again little more is clear than that the Sethians believed that everything started from three principles. If Hippolytus' account or ParaShem are made the standard for Sethian teaching, then nothing else reported by the heresiologists or found in the Nag Hammadi Library can be called Sethian. This assumes that a sect can be defined and characterized by a unique set of doctrines. It is this assumption made by heresiologists and modern scholars alike that should no longer be taken for granted.¹⁷

Initially, at least, the report of Epiphanius looks more promising. That is for a good part due to the fact that the author is not quoting Gnostic sources, as Hippolytus does, but is presenting characteristic features of the sect. Obviously this can also be a liability. Epiphanius' sources are often suspect.¹⁸ He claims that he has personally met adherents of the sect but admits that he is not sure whether it was in Egypt or not (Pan. 39, 1.2). Whether this uncertainty also involves the identity of the sect and the content of their teaching is left for the reader to decide. His other information comes from "writings." Most likely he has the reports of earlier heresiologists in mind. For example, the preceding chapter on the Cainites (Pan. 38) is a free expansion of Irenaeus' Adv. haer. I, 31.1-3. His knowledge of the books the sect used appears to be limited to the titles (39, 5.1).

The main feature Epiphanius mentions is that the sectarians claim to belong to the race of Seth. They also glorify Seth and identify him with Christ (39, 1.4). As expected, the race of Seth is contrasted with the evil races of Abel and Cain. A very obscure and inconsistent myth is alluded to involving the angels who created the world, the Mother of all, and the quarrel between Cain and Abel (39, 2). At least the intent of the myth is clear. It explains the evil origin of the world and its non-Gnostic inhabitants, and the heavenly origin of the members of the

¹⁶See my article "The Redeemer Figure of the Paraphrase of Shem," Essays on the Coptic Gnostic Library (Leiden 1970) 130-140. (An off-print from Novum Testamentum XII, 2.)

¹⁷This is the topic of my article "The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresiologists."

¹⁸See R.A. Lipsius, Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius (Vienna 1865).

sect. Christian beliefs are smoothly worked in by making Christ a reincarnation of Seth (39, 3.5).

Here we have in a nutshell what could indeed have functioned as the credo of a sect called the Sethians. However, two questions remain. We must see whether this teaching is not so general that it can fit a number of known groups, or not so specific that it excludes all Gnostic myths which show important similarities.

From the outset it should be noted that this credo excludes Hippolytus' account of the Sethians as well as the ParaShem. Neither of them has anything to do with Seth. The same thing must be said of Adv. haer. I, 30 which Theodoret,¹⁹ not Irenaeus, attributes to the Sethians.²⁰ The designation "race of the great Seth," and variants such as "holy seed of Seth," are found primarily in the Gospel of the Egyptians (GEgypt) and the Apocalypse of Adam (ApocAd).²¹ However, these two tractates do not conform to the myth concerning the three races in Epiphanius' account of the Sethians.

In ApocAd. Cain and Abel play no role at all. Only Seth is mentioned as the son of Adam and Eve (V 66, 6ff.). He appears to have been named after the heavenly Seth (V 65, 6ff.). Adam reveals to him the divine Gnosis, in response to a revelation, after the Gnosis had departed from Eve and himself. Seth in turn transmits this hidden Gnosis to his seed (V 85, 21f.).

G.Egypt differs even more from Pan. 39. Here Seth is a heavenly being and the son of the incorruptible man Adamas. He appears in response to a request by Adamas that a son may come out of himself, "in order that he may become father of the immovable, incorruptible race" (III 51, 6-9). The birth of his seed also occurs in the heavenly world and it occurs before the creation of man (III 55, 16-56, 22). Similar to Epiphanius' account Seth puts on the body of "Jesus the living one" (III 64, 1f.).

¹⁹Haereticarum fabularum compendium I, 14. He in turn identifies the Sethians with the Ophites.

²⁰It is worth noting that Adv. haer. I, 30.1 shares the three original Powers with Hippolytus' account of the Sethians and ParaShem. However, what follows is entirely different. Similar to Pan. 39 is the role of Prunicus--in Epiphanius it is the mother--in the birth of Seth, and the mentioning of his wife Norea (Adv. haer. 30,9). However, Seth plays no special role in Irenaeus' account.

²¹There is one clear reference in Zostrianos (VIII, 130, 16f.). The Discourse on the Three Appearances (XIII, 1) would also qualify if Dorese is correct in identifying the speaker with Seth (The Secret Books..., p.330).

It is evident that different myths became associated with the appellation "race of Seth." It is not possible to specify one as the most original or genuine. More important, it is not possible to set up one of these myths as a criterion for what is Sethian and what is not. It is interesting that the Valentinians came closest to Epiphanius' form of the myth. According to Irenaeus they claim that the three kinds of men, material, animal, and spiritual, correspond to Cain, Abel and Seth (Adv. haer. I, 7.5).

There is no doubt that "race" or "seed of Seth" is an important self-designation that at least some Gnostics used.²² The names found in the heresiological literature were, with few exceptions, coined by their opponents.²³ Whether this name was used by one group in particular appears very doubtful, although Hippolytus and Epiphanius did think so. Even if we allow a sect variations in its basic myths, the tractates and reports in question are too diverse to allow us to believe that they originated in one group.

In summary, we have arrived at two conclusions:

1) It is futile to look for typical Sethian doctrines or, for that matter, characteristic teachings of most other sects listed by the Church Fathers. The Gnostics did not have an equivalent for the orthodox regula fidei. Gnostic tractates and myths did not function as the credos of sectarian "churches." It follows from this that in many cases Gnostic tractates cannot be classified in terms of a sect described by the heresiologists. They are highly individual compositions which could find sympathetic readers among a wide variety of Gnostics. The heresiologists appear to have made the mistake of seeing a different sect behind every variant myth.²⁴

2) There were Sethians, i.e. Gnostics who identified themselves as members of the race of Seth. They used this designation to indicate their heavenly origin and their basic dissimilarity from the rest of mankind. However, the mythological ways in which this was expressed varied greatly and may have differed from individual to individual within one community. Here clearly it was the idea that counted and not the form in which it was expressed.

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²²Other names they used for themselves are Gnostics (Ref. V, 9.22) and Christians (Justin Martyr, Apology I, 29).

²³See Clement of Alexandria, Strom VII, 108, 1-2.

²⁴More detailed arguments and examples can be found in "Nag Hammadi and the Heresiologists."

