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EDITED BY

JACOB NEUSNER

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CHRISTIANITY, JUDAISM
AND
OTHER GRECO-ROMAN CULTS

PART TWO

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1975

CHRISTIANITY, JUDAISM AND OTHER GRECO-ROMAN CULTS

STUDIES FOR MORTON SMITH AT SIXTY

EDITED BY

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PART TWO

EARLY CHRISTIANITY

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THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES AS SECTARIAN MOVEMENT

ROBIN SCROGGS
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Morton Smith has consistently brought fresh insights and perspectives to the study of early Christianity and Judaism. One result has been a healthy antidote against the poison of over-theologizing which has been characteristic of so much New Testament scholarship during the neo-orthodox era. In retrospect I think it is easy to see how we were imprisoned within narrow walls and how neglected were the paths which scholars in the previous generation had begun to break.[1] It is now past time, following the lead of Morton Smith, to return to some of these paths and to continue the explorations begun and then mostly broken off. In no way will pursuing such interests militate against legitimate theologizing. They will, rather, enrich the theological enterprise, yet make it more responsible to the reality of human existence.

In this paper I want to explore the data we have about Jesus and the earliest church from the standpoint of a well-defined sociological model, the religious sect.[2] It is surprising that, as far as I know, this

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[1] I refer to such scholars as Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (2 vols.; Glencoe, 1931), C. J. Cadoux, *The Early Church and the World* (Edinburgh, 1925), A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (London, 1911), F. C. Grant, *The Economic Background of the Gospels* (London, 1926), and especially the many writings of Shirley Jackson Case, for example *The Social Origins of Christianity* (Chicago, 1923) and *The Social Triumph of the Ancient Church* (New York, 1933). In a still valuable methodological essay in *Social Origins*, Case laid out the basic perspective, to which we could well return. "In short, New Testament study as socially conceived begins with emphasis upon the actual experience of the people who composed the Christian societies in New Testament times" (p. 32). "The newer method of study therefore depicts the history of ancient Christianity in terms of an evolving social experience in the realms of religious interests on the part of the actual people who constituted the membership of the new movement" (p. 36). Of course there were reductionist socialistic portraits of early Christianity, such as that of Karl Kautsky, *Foundations of Christianity* (London, 1925). Max Weber was already aware that Jesus was a magician. (*The Sociology of Religion* [Boston, 1963], p. 270).

[2] Foundations and popularizing of the typology of the religious sect were begun by Max Weber (e.g., *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* [Glencoe,

model has never been applied in any detail to the emergence of Christianity. Even Troeltch steered clear of such an attempt and, indeed, would have rejected a serious identification of the Jesus movement with pure sectarianism, however much he saw certain sectarian tendencies there.[3] And while post-Troeltsch sociologists have refined and solidified the typology and done numerous case studies of specific sects, they have, for whatever reasons, not dealt with the beginnings of Christianity. It is my conviction that the community called into existence by Jesus fulfills the essential characteristics of the religious sect, as defined by recent sociological analyses.[4] Should this prove so, then the sect model provides us

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1949], pp. 93f.) and E. Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*. The typology, supported by numerous case studies, has been sharpened and refined by recent sociologists. Cf., e.g., H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York, 1929), E. T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (New York, 1937), R. A. Nisbet, *The Quest for Community* (New York, 1953), J. M. Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power* (Durham, 1946), B. R. Wilson (ed.), *Patterns of Sectarianism* (London, 1967), and the especially detailed and helpful volume by Werner Stark, *The Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 2: *Sectarian Religion* (London, 1967).

[3] Troeltsch, I, 39-69. The closest he comes to an identification is I, 331-37, 341.

[4] Since I am not a sociologist I state at the beginning my amateur status with regard to intra-sociological discussion about the typology. There are critiques of the sectarian model, such as Peter Berger, ("The Sociological Study of Sectarianism," *Social Research*, 21 [1954], 467-485, and "Sectarianism and Religious Sociation," *The American Journal of Sociology* LXIV [1958-59], 41-44) and Calvin Redekop ("The Sect Cycle in Perspective," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XXXVI [1962], 155-61). I am impressed, however, by the consistency with which the data of recent sect investigations support the basic pattern. It is also interesting that the basic characteristics may emerge in an analysis of groups even when the analyst is not using the model of sect, cf. the study of nineteenth century American communes by Rosabeth Kanter (*Commitment and Community* [Cambridge, 1972]). We should keep in mind that for Weber the type is an *ideal*-type; that is, it is an intellectual construct which has heuristic value. No concrete historical phenomenon is ever going to fit the model perfectly. That is, the model is not a natural law but may function to bring "success in revealing concrete cultural phenomena in their interdependence, their causal conditions and their *significance*" (*Methodology*, p. 92). He then adds, "The construction of abstract ideal-types recommends itself not as an end but as a means" (*ibid.*).

One final comment can be made at this point. Weber and Troeltsch both set out the sectarian model as over against that of the 'church', the one giving definition to the other. Berger, however, points to a critique of van der Leeuw, that the sect really stands over against the total community (what I call in this paper, 'the world') rather than some specific religious group which might be called a 'church'. "The correlate of the sect is therefore not the church but the community" (van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence*

with a new perspective from which to view our material, one which will help gestalt the fragmentary data, and which will illumine the cares and concerns of the people who were attracted to Jesus and who formed the nucleus of the Christian communities. It will help us understand the quality of the experience in these communities. In this paper I will first describe sectarian characteristics, then attempt to show how the communities exhibit these traits. Obviously I can only give a general statement of the argument. Detailed substantiation would require a much longer paper than is possible here.

Sectarian Characteristics

1. *The sect begins as protest.* Sect emergence is closely related to reaction against economic and societal repression within a particular class or classes of society.[5] The sects are usually populated either by folk who have been denied a share in the wealth of the society or by those to whom status is denied by the establishment. Frequently, of course, denial of wealth and status happen to the same groups of people. Werner Stark summarizes the matter very clearly.

> The chief reason for men getting together in order to form sectarian groupings has been their unhappiness in, and revolt against, a social system within which their position—the position of their class—was in Veblen's terminology, humilific, for instance because their livelihood was insecure or their wages low, or their status (Max Weber's 'estimation of honour') was unsatisfactory.[6]

While most sociologists seem to emphasize economic humiliation as primary, it is crucial to see that that is not the only cause of disvaluation and deprivation. Stark, for example, points to the presence of well-off merchants in some radical Russian sects, such as the Skoptsy. Although wealthy, in the feudal Russian society of the time they were outcasts and "a despised and depressed class." [7] The issue, then, is not primarily economic, but human degradation itself, wherever establishment society humiliates and dehumanizes people.[8]

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and Manifestation [London, 1938], p. 261, as cited in Berger, *Social Research*, 21, 471). It is this dialectic I pursue here.

[5] Stark, pp. 5-29; Niebuhr, pp. 19-32; Yinger, pp. 37f.; Clark, pp. 16, 218; Wilson, p. 31.

[6] Stark, p. 6.

[7] Stark, p. 14.

[8] Cf. Stark, pp. 37-46; Wilson, p. 31.

By coming together the people express their desire to be rid of that humiliating situation in the world and to form a new world where they can find acceptance and value. But it is especially important to keep in mind that the protest is not always conscious to the minds of the sectarians, and in ancient times this must have been particularly true. Writing of American sects, Clark says: "The sects themselves do not recognize the economic factor in their history.... In the sectarian mind the causes of divergence are theological." [9] The members may very well 'feel' the societal rejection but they may not be able to speak it and certainly not to analyze the reasons for and result of their joining the community.

Of particular interest for us is the influence of the sect leader in the question of sect emergence. Weber put great emphasis upon the charismatic prophet as the dominant cause of emergence.[10] More recent writers seem to place the weight more on spontaneous movement within the alienated class, and Stark specifically argues against the individualism of Weber.[11] Stark does, however, make an important exception. "It can happen that the depressed stratum is so abject and wretched that it has not even the strength to protest and rebel. If so, we have before us a somewhat special case, and the leaders are apt to come from outside, for instance, from a stratum that is just a little less abject and wretched than the common run." [12] This will have important bearing when we turn to Jesus and his audience.

2. *The sect rejects the view of reality taken for granted by the establishment.* Given the protest involved in the sect, it is inevitable that it will express in various ways its rejection of that society that has humiliated it.[13] The outside society may mean primarily the political establishment, or the control of wealth and land by the upper class, or the religious establishment, or even the intellectual establishment. Usually the establishment forces are seen as allied with each other. The hostility expressed takes the form of as much separation from the world as possible, more often a qualitative than geographical separation, and the laying down of strictures against it. As Stark rightly sees, the sect is counter-culture, not a sub-

[9] Clark, p. 18.
[10] Weber, *Sociology*, pp. 46-79.
[11] Stark, pp. 46f.
[12] Stark, p. 46.
[13] E.g., Stark, pp. 101, 110f., 128ff., 145ff.; Niebuhr, pp. 18f.; Clark, pp. 21, 220-224; Wilson, pp. 9-41.

culture.[14] It is, of course, forced to use the language and some of the artifacts and customs of the establishment, but it intends to create a reality, in so far as is possible, totally different from that of establishment society.

This rejection is obviously reinforced by any persecution the sect may have to suffer. And the more hostility and separation the sect displays, the more likely some form of persecution will develop. The sect, however peaceful, calls into question the correctness of the establishment position, and all the power and authority the establishment possesses may not keep it from feeling threatened.

3. *The sect is egalitarian.* The implication of the above remarks is that there is very much a positive dimension to life within the sectarian community. Indeed, while the negative factors in society at large explain why people enter the sect, it cannot explain why they remain. Here we need to consider the quality of life the member finds within, a quality which helps him regain a self-acceptance, a new sense of his humanity, an experience of joy and love.

One key expression of this new quality of life is the egalitarianism which is usually found within sects.[15] Members are completely equal to each other, no matter how much status distinction the 'world' might assign. All the societal barriers fall, economic, class, birth, age, and sex. Peasant is equal to landowner, slave to master, woman to man, youth to age.

Consistent with this is the usual absence of a hierarchical structure of organization.[16] People become leaders by virtue of their ability, not because of personal status or official office. Or as it is usually put, the authority stems from the Spirit.

4. *The sect offers love and acceptance within the community.* While the world continues to humiliate the outcasts, within the society, where each is equal to the other, mutual love and acceptance are joyfully experienced. This existence is seen as that life intended and demanded by God, as salvation, as the realization of one's true worth. This quality of life is antithetical to harsh outside reality; thus the positive quality of life within makes the outside world

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[14] Stark, pp. 128ff. This is true, even if the sect is aggressively missionary in character; the conversion is out of the world into the sect, with the sharp boundary still being maintained.

[15] Stark, pp. 115ff.; Wilson, p. 10; Niebuhr, p. 18; Clark, p. 21.

[16] Stark, pp. 119-25; Wilson, p. 10.

seem even darker and more demonic than ever. In the community the member knows not only that God loves him but that other people can and do as well. The sect, in fact, is the true family of the participant.[17]

As a result of this liberating love, it is no surprise that pent-up, repressed emotions flow out. Within the sect emotional intensity may run high, and such expressions are usually highly valued.[18] The classic case of emotional intensity, at least in western sects, is ecstatic speech, glossolalia. Stark is perhaps too extreme, but nevertheless provocative, when he comments: "This speaking with tongues, or glossolalia, a frequent accompaniment of the ecstatic condition, shows again what the esscence of all these phenomena is: like dadaism, it is a rejection of the world and its rationality." [19] It may well reflect a rejection of that establishment logic and rationality so often used as instruments of repression; but glossolalia must also be allowed its positive side. The speaker knows himself to be caught up into the divine, true reality and experiences in this an encounter with God or Spirit, a transcendent reality that cannot be expressed in the words of the world. The intense emotional expression is a release *for* as well as a release *from*. One's life is somehow put back together in an integrity that had been ripped apart by the rack of the world's hostility.

5. *The sect is a voluntary association.* Members are not born; they are converted and they must make a committed decision.[20] Thus the ritual which symbolizes this decision, the initiation, is lifted up as of great moment.[21] It 'throws' the convert out of the world and enables him to enter that community in which authentic reality can be experienced and lived.

6. *The sect commands a total commitment from its members.* This is the necessary corollary of all the above.[22] The sect *is* different from the world and must be kept so. Otherwise the world invades the sect and it loses its essential characteristics.[23] Thus each member

[17] Stark, p. 127; Kanter, pp. 9-18, 43-49, 86-103. Cf. also the same author, "Family Organization and Sex Roles in American Communes," in *Communes: Creating and Managing the Collective Life* (New York, 1973), pp. 287-307.

[18] Stark, pp. 133, 163; Clark, pp. 220f.; Niebuhr, pp. 18, 36.

[19] Stark, p. 136.

[20] Stark, pp. 120f.; Wilson, pp. 7f.; Clark, p. 21; Niebuhr, pp. 17f.; Yinger, p. 19.

[21] Stark, pp. 165f.

[22] Stark, p. 165; Wilson, pp. 10, 42f.; Clark, p. 220; Yinger, p. 19.

[23] Wilson well comments: "If the sect is to persist as an organization it

must live out the vision of the sect completely. Wilson writes: "Not only does the sect discipline or expel the member who entertains heretical opinions, or commits a moral misdemeanour, but it regards such defection as betrayal of the cause, unless confession of fault and appeal for forgiveness is forthcoming." [24]

7. *Some sects are adventist.* A final frequent characteristic of the sect can be listed here, although it is not always present. Adventist sects are those which look forward to the final breaking in of God's kingdom. Often this point is believed to be near at hand. Such attitudes are so common that Clark can write: "Adventism is the typical cult of the disinherited and suffering poor." [25]

The earliest church as sectarian

I believe it possible to show that the earliest church directly stemming from the mission of Jesus exhibits all of these central sect-type characteristics. Obviously the problems involved in

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must not only separate its members from the world, but must also maintain the dissimilarity of its own values from those of the secular society. Its members must not normally be allowed to accept the values of the status system of the external world" (p. 41).

[24] Wilson, p. 24; Cf. also p. 42. The total movement is similarly described from a different perspective, that of the sociology of knowledge, by P. Berger and T. Luckmann in *The Social Construction of Reality* (New York, 1966). They distinguish between *primary* socialization, that basis of reality received in infancy and which usually remains throughout one's life, and *secondary* socialization, all later and more fragmentary appropriation from school, job, army, etc. (pp. 119-135). Sometimes, however, primary socialization is threatened by marginal (i.e. stress) situations. There may then happen a nearly total transformation, which the authors call 'alternation' (cf. pp. 144-147). This calls for a process of resocialization resembling primary socialization. In order to maintain this new stance it is necessary to have a "plausibility structure", that is, a community around the convert to support and strengthen the new reality. "No radical transformation of subjective reality . . . is possible without such identification, which inevitably replicates childhood experiences of emotional dependency on significant others" (p. 144). "This means an intense concentration of all significant interaction within the group that embodies the plausibility structure" (p. 144). Since the new reality replaces the old, segregation from the people of the old world is required. The new conceptual world must repudiate all alternatives. Finally, the old reality must be *reinterpreted* in terms of the new. A provocative attempt to move in somewhat the same direction is to be found in Batson, Beker, and Clark, *Commitment without Ideology* (Philadelphia, 1973). They speak of a radical "perceptual shift" which changes one's basic understanding of reality, creates discontinuity with the past, and enables a new restructuring to take place, cf. especially chaps. 2 and 3.

[25] Clark, p. 25. Cf. also Niebuhr, p. 31; Wilson, pp. 27f.

documenting such a claim are immense and cannot be more than pointed to in a sketch such as this.

1. Sociological data for New Testament times is sparse. Neither Jewish nor Christian writings are *directly* interested in offering such data. Information even about the Roman legal processes and taxes in Palestine is inadequate.

2. The book of Acts, which purports to tell the history of the church, is of little use for our purpose.[26] Paul's letters mostly reflect his own distinctive ideas and communities and thus will not be appealed to here, although there is in them some information about Hellenistic Christian churches.

3. We are thus left with the gospel traditions as our main source. Here data is plentiful, but evaluation of the data is extremely difficult. Form and redaction criticism are basic to the task, but a great deal of 'reading between the lines' is still necessary. It would be comforting to have a consensus about which traditions are authentically Jesus, which come from the agrarian setting of Palestinian Jewish Christianity, and which reflect the urbanization of the church, already an accomplished fact prior to Paul. Such comfort is not to be had. Here I can only lay down my methodological judgments. a) This paper is interested in the historical Jesus only in so far as he was the initiator of the community. Thus most of the discussion and data will center around the community called into existence by Jesus. But since the *earliest* church and the hearers of Jesus' message are essentially the same group of folk (at least sociologically speaking), traditions which probably originated in the *earliest* church can legitimately be used to describe the reaction by the hearers to Jesus himself as well as to the societal setting of the pre-resurrection community. Concomitantly, authentic Jesus traditions passed down by the church can legitimately be used to describe attitudes in the church. b) Although the judgment must be held with some caution, most of the synoptic traditions *seem* to reflect an agrarian rather than an urban setting. Thus I develop my argument in terms of peasant rather than proletariat, realizing that this puts a severe restriction on the topic.

4. The church was never a monolithic reality. Whether one takes a cross-section (synchronic) or follows a developmental line (diachronic), there were differences and even sharp clashes within the

[26] It is late, tendentious, and offers few traditions that can be sociologically evaluated. Cf. E. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1961).

emerging communities. Certainly later traditions reflect in some cases a movement away from sect-type reality.

Despite these difficulties, I believe the worth of the project justifies an attempt to overcome them, to sort out the various strata of material, and to put them together within a sociological perspective.

1. *The earliest community emerged out of protest.* It is generally agreed that the economic picture of first century Jewish Palestine was one of extremes.[27] There were few wealthy and many poor. The society was largely agrarian and towns or cities of any size, few. There was, as a result, scarcely a middle class at all. Some trading, a small fishing industry, scattered artisans, and a few government officials composed the middle class. Even the largest city, Jerusalem, was reasonably small and apparently filled with many people without stable means of livelihood.[28] Thus most of the people eked out their existence from the land, either in some form of agriculture or in shepherding. The average freeman had little more and sometimes less prosperity than the slave. Either he worked as a day laborer or a tenant farmer for the large landowners, or he owned a small plot of land.[29] Much is made of the exorbitant taxation which burdened even the small peasant farmer, especially because of the double taxation (to Rome and to Israel).[30] The peasant thus seems to have been in a marginal situation at best. The great majority were alienated from the modest wealth Judaism possessed. E. E. Urbach has recently argued, contrary to the views of many, that there were both Gentile and Jewish slaves owned by Jews before 70 C.E.[31] While it seems impossible to determine the

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[27] Cf. the old study of F. C. Grant, recently reissued, *Economic Background*, and H. Hoehner, *Herod Antipas* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 65-79. But the best recent study to my knowledge is the careful analysis of H. Kreissig, "Die Landwirtschaftliche Situation in Palästina vor dem Judäischen Krieg," *Acta Antiqua*, XVII (1969), 223-54.

[28] Cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia, 1969). He is inconsistent in his judgment of the size of the city in the first century c.e. Usually he estimates 25,000 (e.g., p. 84), but on p. 83 he offers the much higher figure of close to 55,000. Even if the latter is correct, Jerusalem was a city of modest size.

[29] Cf. Kreissig, *Acta Antiqua*, XVII.

[30] Grant estimates 30-40%, p. 105.

[31] "The Laws Regarding Slavery as a Source for Social History of the Period of the Second Temple, the Mishnah and Talmud," *Papers of the Institute of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1964), Vol. I, pp. 1-50.

size of this class, Urbach seems to suggest they were not a minimal group. This group would in general participate in the alienation of the free peasants.[32]

At least as important is a second alienation; the peasant was an outcast of the establishment culture of his day. Indeed, for some he was an untouchable. Such splits are present in all societies, and by looking at our own, it would seem to be inevitably true that the peasant would have been rejected by the wealthy landowners and the establishment religious leadership at Jerusalem, the chief priests, scribes, and elders of the synoptic tradition. The hostility to these groups expressed in the Synoptics may reflect such rejection. For the rejection is not all on one side. The outcast resents his situation and, however repressed, cannot help but build up hostility toward the establishment.

What we do have evidence for is the squared off hostility between the Pharisees and the peasants, the latter being the bulk, at least, of the class called in rabbinic literature the *am ha-aretz*.[33] The Pharisees, with their fellowships and strict laws of table and ritual purity, had made the peasants into virtually an untouchable class.[34] And since the Pharisees claimed to represent God's will, they in effect, whatever their expressed intent, read the peasant out of the kingdom of God.[35] It is not difficult to imagine the peasant's reaction to the Pharisaic stand—pure hostility.[36] But this hostility would have ultimately been directed against God and the peasant himself. Who would tell him that the Pharisees were 'wrong'? To

[32] So also Kreissig, *Acta Antiqua*, XVII, 237-39.

[33] I use this term with caution, for it may be a more inclusive category than that of 'peasant'. Morton Smith uses it to denote "the average Palestinian Jew," which, of course, included the peasants. Cf. his "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century," in *Israel: Its Role in Civilization*, ed. Moshe Davis (New York, 1956), p. 73. Furthermore, as is well known, the precise delimitation of 'Pharisee' is not completely clear either. For a recent statement of the problems here cf. J. Bowker, *Jesus and the Pharisees* (Cambridge, 1973).

[34] Cf. the discussion in J. Neusner, *Fellowship in Judaism* (London, 1963), p. 22.

[35] This is, in fact, the charge in Matt. 23:13; they have shut the kingdom of heaven against men.

[36] From materials from the second century c.e., the mutuality of the hostility between the two groups is clear. The rabbis consider the *am-haretz* as subhuman and acknowledge the deep-rooted hatred of the peasants in return (Pes. 49b). There is no reason to suppose that the same feelings were not present a century earlier.

feel that he was violating God's decrees was an inevitable result of the Pharisaic exclusivism and the peasant could only have felt locked out of religion, resentful toward God and more than ever convinced of his own worthlessness.

Because of the recent work of Morton Smith and Jacob Neusner we are in a better position to assess the situation between Pharisee and peasant in the first century c.e. than ever before. In his path-breaking work on the pre-war Pharisees, Neusner has shown that the authentic traditions show the Pharisees interested in precisely the same issues that are debated in the Gospels. These concerns center around table fellowship and ritual purity, just those matters which would have set the peasant off as an outcast.[37] Smith has shown that Josephus' claim in *Antiquities* that the pre-war Pharisees were in control of the minds of the masses is tendentious. Josephus is here attempting to convince the Romans that the Pharisees should be allowed to govern the Jewish community.[38] Smith doubts the Pharisees had control over any group except themselves, and the conclusions of Neusner substantiate that doubt. Thus Josephus can no longer be used to suggest the *am ha-aretz* supported the Pharisaic platform. Almost surely the reverse is true; the peasant would have resented the Pharisee and been scorned in return.[39]

Into this scene Jesus steps and his mission is directed toward the healing of the society of his times. On the one hand Jesus did address the alienated and hostile peasant class, although F. C. Grant's claim that "the gospel is, in fact, the greatest agrarian protest in all history" can only be taken as unnecessary hyperbole.[40]

[37] Cf. *The Rabbinic Traditions About the Pharisees Before* 70, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1971), especially the convenient summary in III, 301-19, and by the same author, *From Politics to Piety* (Englewood Cliffs, 1973), pp. 67-80.

[38] Smith, pp. 75-77, followed by Neusner, *Politics*, pp. 64f.

[39] The only problem is whether the Pharisees were visible and menacing enough to cause such hostility among the peasants. Josephus admits they numbered only about 6000, and Neusner describes *them* in sectarian terms. If they were a small group, without political power and influence, how could the peasant have found them a threat? The lack of political power is not important, because the issue is not what the Pharisees could or could not make the peasants *do* but how they made them *feel* about their relationship in society and with God. That the Pharisees were visible enough to cause this feeling seems to me proven from the intense hostility expressed in the *pre-seventy* materials in the Synoptics. These materials attack the Pharisees for their exclusivism, not their hostility to Christianity *per se*. Thus the attack is not from the perspective of 'Christian' so much as it is from 'outcast'.

[40] *An Introduction to New Testament Thought* (New York, 1950), p. 303. For a different view, cf. G. Buchanan, "Jesus and the Upper Class," *NovT*,

But on the other hand Jesus also addressed the establishment, if in tones of warning and challenge. As Jeremias has so beautifully shown, Jesus' message is a description of God's loving care for the poor, dispossessed, the "riff-raff, shunned by all respectable people";[41] yet the parables are a challenge to the establishment to change its attitude toward him and his defense of the poor. The elder brother, the grumbling workers in the vineyard, the self-righteous Pharisee all represent the establishment who in effect say as Hillel was reputed to have said, "No *am ha-aretz* fears sin."[42] Yet Jesus tries to keep the door open. The elder brother in the parable of the prodigal son is 'left' standing in the field. Whether he remains there or comes to the feast is still open.

Jesus' mission is also to the tax, or toll, collectors. While these were not economically dispossessed, they were as much an outcast group as were the peasants, in a way similar to the merchants who were drawn to Russian sectarianism.[43] Indeed, it is not improbable that an early bad-mouthing of the Christian communities was to say they were bands of "toll collectors and sinners." It is even possible that Jesus or the church was not afraid to relate his mission to prostitutes.[44]

That Jesus and some of his co-leaders were not of the peasant class does not call into question the peasant make-up of his following. It is, rather, an example of Stark's claim that sect leaders have to come from a slightly higher class when the protest-group is

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VII (1964/65), 195-209. That Jesus spent time in the villages, or may even have lived for a while at Capernaum does not call into question the essentially peasant make-up of his audiences. The villages were populated by peasants who worked in the fields in the daytime. As H. N. Richardson writes in the *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1962), I, 60, "During the day the villages would be empty, as nearly every able-bodied person went out into the fields." Kreissig implies that even in Jerusalem some people worked in the fields outside the city, *Acta Antiqua*, XVII, 233.

[41] J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (New York, 1955), p. 120.

[42] *Abot* 2.6. Neusner disputes the authenticity of the saying, *Traditions*, I, 226.

[43] Cf. the recent investigation by John Donahue, "Tax Collectors and Sinners," *CBQ*, 33 (1971), 39-61. He argues strongly that *telōnai* were not publicans, that is, tax collectors, but the collectors of indirect taxes and should be called toll collectors. They were most likely the agents who did the actual collecting and, although not themselves wealthy, still must have belonged to the middle class.

[44] The woman in the story in Luke 7:36-50 *may* be seen as a prostitute. Matt. 21:32 suggests that the Baptist circle included prostitutes, and the same is likely true of the Christian communities.

too abject to produce its own leadership. Jesus was a *tektōn*, probably a carpenter, but at least an artisan of some sort. Peter, Andrew, James, and John were fishermen, and the severely stylized miniature of the calling of these disciples nevertheless includes the information that the family of James and John were wealthy enough to own a boat and have hired servants. Levi was a toll collector.

Thus Jesus led a protest movement, an "agrarian protest" if you like. Yet two features characterize the distinctiveness of the protest. First, his ultimate aim was to move beyond protest. He did attract to himself the "riff-raff" and despised groups. In his teaching he doubtless collected and expressed their resentment far better than they could have or would have. But at the deepest level the protest is not needed because the establishment is wrong. God is here and does love and accept the outcast. Jesus' word and act are theological through and through, even when they are directed to a distraught society.[45] He speaks to the economic and societal distress only indirectly through his attack upon the establishment leaders. In no way does he think the solution depends upon their change of heart. The matter of repentance on the part of the establishment is left open, but that repentance, if it comes, is for its own good. The younger brother is already enjoying reconciliation with his father. The feast has already begun.

Secondly, and most strikingly, Jesus does not seem to have tried to create cadres of people to withdraw from the world. He has followers, some close, some much more distant, but all indications are that he attempted to found no closed organization which would further rigidify the boundaries between the establishment and the outcasts. He addresses, in the final analysis, all Israel and wishes to heal the deep breaches in his society. Although his words to the establishment are sharp, one can imagine he was as passionate in his hope for its repentance as he was for that of his peasant following.[46]

[45] I do not believe it permissible to drive a wedge between the *theological* and the *societal*. If theology speaks out of and to man's experience, indeed, to his total humanity, then the two belong inseparably together.

[46] There is even a hint in the traditions that Jesus had positive contact with some Pharisees. The warning the Pharisees give Jesus about Herod (Luke 13:31) is striking and may be historical. In Luke 7:36-50 the scene of the banquet is set at a Pharisee's house, although interpretation of that story is difficult. Throughout the gospels Jesus and the Pharisees are in dialogue, and not all of those pericopae need be attributed to ideal scenes or church settings.

2. *The early church rejected the reality claimed by the establishment.* The earliest church shared in the same reaction against and rejection of outside society that characterizes the typical sect. The pattern is, however, complex and not every part of the sequence is evidenced—though it can be assumed. The community lives and proclaims a reality different from that outside. The proclamation is, in part, rejected by that outside world, which may either ridicule or make more serious negations. This in turn feeds the community's already existing hostility toward the outside.

A. *The general community.* How did the well-known story of Jesus' rejection by his *patria* (Mark 6:1-6) function for the early communities? It cannot have been simply a bit of biographical reporting. The story rather symbolizes the rejection the early believers themselves experienced in their own *patria.* Just as happened with their leader, so the believers have to anticipate rejection by their home villages, including their friends and relatives.[47] Such use of Jesus as model and symbol of rejection is made explicit in Matthew 10:25. Elsewhere the tradition reports that Jesus was slandered with the title, 'Beelzebul' (Mark 3:22). This should prepare the followers for similar slanders. "It is enough for the disciple to be like his teacher, and the servant like his master. If they called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more will they malign those of his household."[48]

B. *The family.* Even clearer is the reality of family split-ups. Considering the strong family ties esteemed in Judaism, this posture must be considered radically extreme. Of course part of the situation is due to family quarrels about the Jesus community with the inevitable result that part of a family would reject the claims of the new community and part accept.[49] Behind this situation, however, is the deeper issue about one's prime loyalty. For the community has taken the place of the family as the locus of primary allegiance. "If any one comes to me and does not hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, even his own life, he cannot be my disciple (Luke 14:26).[50] In Mark 3:31

[47] Luke 4:16-30 is a revision and expansion of the Markan story. Included here is a bit of pre-Lukan tradition, vss. 25-27 (so R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* [Göttingen, 1957], p. 31), which may reflect similar views.

[48] Cf. also Luke 13:26-28, 13:34f.; Matt. 12:41f., 17:24-27; Mark 9:19.

[49] Matt. 10:34f., par Luke 12:49-53; Mark 13:12.

[50] The stronger language in this version of 'Q' is indication of its primary

Jesus' family comes to seek him. He (apparently) refuses to go to them, pointing instead to those gathered about him: "Here are my mother and my brothers" (Mark 3:34). In what is clearly a church formulation, Jesus, in response to Peter's claim to have given up everything, says, "Truly, I say to you, there is no one who has left house or brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or lands, for my sake and for the gospel, who will not receive a hundredfold now in this time, houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children and lands, with persecutions, and in the age to come eternal life" (Mark 10:28-30). The members of the community in some significant fashion have separated themselves from that part of the world which is the hardest to leave, the nuclear family itself.[51]

C. *Hostility because of the failure of the missionary enterprise.* It is not hard to imagine the courage needed to missionize for the 'Way'. Knowing already what to expect from the world outside, and being mostly unlearned and private persons, the missionaries would have needed great resoluteness of will to become public persons with a suspected message from a group founded by an executed criminal. The tradition shows that such missionaries frequently had difficult times without much success. 'Jesus' foretells this experience. "They will deliver you up to councils; and you will be beaten in synagogues; and you will stand before governors and kings for my sake, to bear testimony before them" (Mark 13:9). In another logion specific Galilean cities are mentioned—Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum—which have apparently rejected the Christian mission. Judgment is leveled upon them: "But I tell you that it shall be more tolerable on the day of judgment for the land of Sodom [or Tyre and Sidon] than for you" (Matthew 11:22, 24).[52]

Even more pointed is the hostility directed against the various sides of the Jewish establishment.

D. *Against the Pharisees.* That expressions of bitterness against

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status over against the Matthean, where hate has been replaced by 'to love more than' (Matt. 10:37), yet Matthew's interpretation must be accurate.

[51] And yet divorce is strongly repudiated, Mark 10:2-9; Matt. 5:31f. It is interesting that of the materials relevant to family division only Luke 14:26 mentions a spouse, and it is just this saying that most clearly is speaking of valuation, not of physical separation. Does the prohibition of divorce have its *Sitz-im-Leben* in the communities precisely in the split-ups within families? If so, then the answer is clear: No matter how much dissension between spouses over the gospel, it is not grounds for divorce.

[52] Cf. also Matt. 10:15; Luke 14:16-24.

the Pharisees are far earlier than the post-seventy era is demonstrable from their presence in 'Q'.[53] In the infamous 'woes' against the Pharisees, the intense bitterness of the community of outcasts is vividly expressed (Luke 11:37-52). Here the Pharisees are accused of two sorts of things. On the one hand the burden of Pharisaic rules about purity and tithing are inveighed against. This charge seems further split into two sub-charges. The Pharisees want to put their rules upon everybody as a condition of entering the kingdom of God (cf. here the Matthean version in 23:13); and their own execution of these rules is viewed as self-centered and prideful action. On the other hand, the Pharisees are accused of moral turpitude (extortion and wickedness, neglect of justice and the love of God). Just what this blame consists of is difficult to imagine by any objective criterion. The accusations sound very much like blind and emotion packed charges by outsiders against a situation they know very little about—displaced hostility—as, for example, university people are often accused of communism. The true source of the hostility is certainly the pain of being seen as sinners before God, as unworthy to enter the kingdom.[54]

E. *Against the official establishment.* In chapters 11 and 12 the author of Mark has collected several traditions that reflect the church's hostility against the leaders of the official establishment. Here, it is significant to note, the Pharisees have disappeared and the chief priests, scribes, and elders, figures in political power, are the antagonists. Central are the temple incident and the cursing of the fig tree. I think it clear that *Mark* takes the temple incident not as a 'cleansing' but as a doom oracle ("You have made it a den of robbers"), and the fig tree story as a curse against Israel. It is, further, my conviction that he has correctly understood the original intent of both stories, although both have undergone alteration during oral transmission which has blunted this intent. The parable of the vineyard and its tenants that immediately

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[53] Since Matthew is frequently seen to be in bitter dispute with the post-seventy Pharisees, I will appeal to Luke's rendering of 'Q' as being less influenced by redactional concerns.

[54] Cf. the parallel in Matt. 23. Further, Mark 2:1-3:6, 7:1-13, 8:11f., 10:2-9, 12:13-17. Mark is very careful in his handling of the Pharisees; they appear only when a question of law is the issue (if my argument is allowed that in the redactional context the Pharisaic request for a sign in 8:11f. is a challenge to Jesus to validate his just completed feeling of the *Gentile* multitude (8:1-10)). Also Matt. 15:12-14; 5:20; Luke 14:1-6, 18:9-14.

follows in Mark (12:1-9) is put there by the author to clarify his understanding of the previous narratives. The symbolism is crystal clear. The leaders of Israel have continually rejected God's servants, and now his son they have killed and "cast him out of the vineyard." As a result God "will come and destroy the tenants, and give the vineyard to others." [55]

F. *Against the wealthy.* The earliest traditions show unmitigating hostility against the wealthy. These materials are well known and need not be detailed here. Suffice it to point to the Lukan version of the beatitudes and woes, usually seen as more primitive than Matthew's, where the poor (not the poor in spirit) are blessed and the rich condemned (6:20-26). The mitigation in Mark added to the saying about the camel and the eye of the needle does not belong to the saying itself, but in its present form is Markan redaction (Mark 10:23-27). And the black and white extreme is carried out with due harshness in the story about the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31).[56]

G. *Against the intellectuals.* It frequently happens that the sect is suspicious of the intellectual, because his ratiocination is believed to be used as a weapon of repression (as it frequently is). For the Christian communities, the Pharisees and the scribes would perhaps be the most visible groups whose stance could be accused as a repressing intellectualism. And, indeed, traces of such suspicion are found. A 'Q' saying has Jesus rejoice: "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and understanding and revealed them to babes.... All things have been delivered to me by my Father; and no one knows who the Son is except the Father, or who the Father is except the Son and any one to whom the Son chooses to reveal him" (Luke 10:21f.). The "babes," not the intellectuals, have the truth.[57]

The traditions discussed here are just the barest sampling. It is amply clear that the community of Jesus knows itself to be excluded and rejected by the world. The individual members doubtless 'felt' this before they were converted; perhaps it is the community (or Jesus) which has brought to consciousness the awareness and freed the convert to express his feeling of rejection and his hostility to those who, he feels, have excluded him. The community stands

[55] Cf. also Matt. 21:28-31; Mark 12:38-40.
[56] Cf. further Mark 10:17-22, 12:41-44; Luke 12:13-21, 33, 19:1-10.
[57] Cf. also Mark 4:11f.

over against the establishment world, with its wealth, pride, ingrouped relationships, intellectualism, and repression of the outcast.

3. *The early church was egalitarian.* Protest and hostility against repressive agents can explain sect emergence, but they cannot explain sect continuation. Without strong positive elements within the community the church would not have survived. In fact, the positive dimensions are far more important than the negative. To continue to keep separate from the world means that a quality of life within the community is experienced such as to give fulfillment for its members. What, then, was communal life like in the early Christian groups?

Of central importance was the strong egalitarian policy within the *earliest* church. Elsewhere I have suggested that Galatians 3:28, I Corinthians 12:13, and Colossians 3:11 are fragments of a primitive baptismal formula, which is probably most complete in Galatians 3:28.[58] "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." When a person enters the community, the roles, valuations, and burdens the outside world has laid upon him fall away, and baptism marks his entrance into a community where everyone stands equal before God. In the outside world, a person has to remain a slave or a woman; inside, the slave is equal to his master, the woman, to man.[59]

The synoptic traditions say the same thing in other words. Distinctions based on status are put down. "Whoever would be great among you must be your servant, and whoever would be first among you must be slave of all" (Mark 10:43f.).[60]

The crucial test is in church organization. Outside of the church at Jerusalem there does not seem to have been any hierarchical structures in the beginning; deacons, elders, and bishops appear only later. Synoptic data supports this judgment. In Matthew 23:8-11 the church is prohibited the honorific terms, rabbi, father, master. In the section of church discipline in Matthew 18, the

[58] "Paul and the Eschatological Woman," *JAAR*, XL (1972), 291f.

[59] Cf. the story about Mary and Martha in Luke 10:38-42. Here Mary's participation in the intellectual life of the community is given preference over the 'woman's' role of Martha.

[60] Cf. also Mark 3:31-35, 9:33-37, 10:42-45; Luke 22:24-27.

procedure recommended to correct a wrong doer within the community advances from the individual to the community as a whole; no church officers are mentioned. A tradition in Luke 6:40 runs in the same direction. "A disciple is not above his teacher, but every one when he is fully taught will be like his teacher." [61]

4. *Within the community the believer experienced joy, love, and a fulfilled existence.* The source of this fulfillment is clearly the strong sense that God does indeed care for the outcast believer. The tradition is varied in its expression here. It may retell the parables of Jesus about the workers in the vineyard or the prodigal son (Matt. 20:1-16; Luke 15:11-32). Significant in the latter, as in several other stories, is the strong sense of joy and rejoicing at being sure once again of God's love.[62] The tradition may repeat those sayings of Jesus in which the presence of the kingdom is stated or implied.[63] The joy and peace can be expressed in logia such as the following: "Are not two sparrows sold for a penny? And not one of them will fall to the ground without your Father's will. But even the hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not, therefore; you are of more value than many sparrows" (Matt. 10:29f.). "Fear not, little Flock. It is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom" (Luke 12:32). The logia in the sermon on the mount (Matt. 6:25-34) promising the elimination of anxiety suggest the same reality: a community of believers who so strongly feel the presence of God's care that they know themselves loved, accepted, and recreated by God himself.[64] It is thus not surprising to find evidence of glossolalia—the ecstatic release of repressed emotions—within the earliest church. Although no Synoptic materials mention the practice, its presence in the early church is secured by three references in Acts and several in Paul.[65]

This acceptance spills over into communal relations. The believer is to love his neighbor as himself. He is to be free to give up pos-

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[61] Käsemann argues that in the early communities there were only two categories, the *prophetic* charismatic and the *righteous* member, using as evidence Matt. 10:41 and 13:17 ("Sätze heiligen Rechtes im Neuen Testament," *NTS* 1 [1954-55], 258).

[62] E.g., Luke 15:3-10; Matt. 13:44f.

[63] Mark 3:26f.; Luke 10:18, 23f., 11:20, 17:21; Matt. 11:2-6, 11f.

[64] Also Matt. 7:7-11, 11:28-30; Mark 10:13-16, 19f., 29f.

[65] Acts 2:1-4; 10:46, 19:7. I Cor. 12-14 (where Paul says he himself speaks in tongues, 14:18), perhaps I Thess. 5:19, and very likely Rom. 8:26 (so Käsemann, *Perspectives on Paul* [Philadelphia, 1971] p. 131).

sessions for the poor. While so-called 'primitive communism' is documented only for the Jerusalem church, logia embedded in the tradition may suggest it was more widespread. "Sell your possessions, and give alms" (Luke 12:33). As already suggested, the community functions like an extended family where all are brothers and sisters. And where love fails, reconciliation and constant forgiveness are called for.[66]

Thus the believer realizes a quality of existence within the community he has not found outside, apparently not even within his own family. The tradition, of course, ascribes the source of this reality to God or Jesus, but there can be little doubt that God is trusted as he is because love and acceptance are actual realities within the community itself.

The remaining three characteristics of the sect can, since they are so obvious in the case of earliest Christianity, be dealt with briefly.

5. *The early church was a voluntary association.* This of necessity was the case in the early years of the church. In the face of ridicule, harassment, and persecution it required a strenuous act of will to join. Whether or not there was infant baptism at an early stage does not affect the dominant voluntaristic structure of the community.

6. *The early church demanded a total commitment from its members.* Again the logia from the gospels are striking and well-known. To be a disciple one must take up his cross, sell his possessions, cut off hand, pluck out eye, not look back. The ethical injunctions are equally strenuous: not to be provoked to anger, not to look lustfully, to refuse to give oaths, to go the second mile, to turn the other cheek. Total commitment to a totally different life style from that of 'the world' is possible and necessary.[67]

7. *The early church was apocalyptic.* As suggested above, one frequent, if not necessary, characteristic of the sect is its apocalyptic or adventist perspective. Few people will doubt that earliest Christianity was so oriented. The imminent expectation of the eschaton is consistently there. In the post-Pauline church the

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[66] Matt. 5:21-24, 6:12, 18:21f.

[67] E.g., Matt. 5:17-20, 27-30, 33-37, 48, 6:24, 7:13f., 21-33, 10:37-39, 19:10-12; Mark 8:34-38,10:11f.; Luke 6:27-36, 9:59, 62, 14:33.

intensity of this feeling will become muted, or even essentially discarded. But the church prior and contemporaneous to Paul very much believed in the nearness of God's final judgment.

Conclusion

Thus, in my judgment, the earliest church meets all the essential characteristics of the religious sect. But if the conclusion is justified, what profit lies therein? What new insights does this enable us to have about the emergence of early Christianity?

We now have a basically different gestalt from which to view the data. The use I have made of Synoptic pericopae in this paper illustrates how the gestalt changes the way the material is viewed. The church becomes from this perspective not a theological seminary but a group of people who have experienced the hurt of the world and the healing of communal acceptance. The perspective should enable the interpreter to be more sensitive to the actual life situations within and without the community. For example, through this perspective the protest nature of the community becomes clearer. It helps us to see that the church in its own way dealt with the problems individuals faced in repressive social circumstances.[68]

In conclusion I would like to give one specific example of how the view of the church as a sectarian movement sheds new insight on the data. When we ask the question, "how did the earliest church understand the death of Jesus?," the answers we usually get and give are theological—a foreordained plan, an atonement for sin, a defeat of the invisible powers. But what do the Gospels say about such views? That it was foreordained by God can be substantiated at places (e.g., Mark 8:31, 14:21) but is no more dominant than satisfying. The Synoptics are virtually silent about the atoning significance of the death, and completely so where it ought to be most marked, namely in the account of the execution itself. Schreiber's attempt to see the death in Mark as the triumph over the powers is completely forced.[69]

The usual theological answers thus are not adequate. Based on the evidence of the Synoptics, one would almost be forced to say

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[68] It seems to me this approach gets closer to an appreciation of the real societal involment of Jesus and the communities than all the arguments about connections with the Zealotic movement.

[69] J. Schreiber, *Theologie des Vertrauens* (Hamburg, 1967), pp. 33-40, 64-78.

there was *no* interpretation given at all. And yet this cannot be; the execution of Jesus by the Roman government could not be ignored for any number of reasons. What, then, could it have meant to the early believers to have to confess that their hero was a duly executed criminal? Pious Christianity has so romanticized the event, or so escaped into the resurrection, that it can no longer see the starkness of the fact. But from that brute reality the early believers had no such escape.

Recent work on the redaction history of Mark, combined with awareness that the church was sectarian, open the door toward a new understanding based on the lived realities of the people, rather than in some theological slogan. John Donahue has argued that the so-called 'night trial' in Mark, i.e., that before religious authorities on religious charges, is a Markan creation.[70] The story of the passion in any pre-Markan form knew of no such trial. Independently, Anitra Kolenkow in her work on the 'day trial' before Pilate reached the conclusion that the earliest form of this story had no apologetic elements at all.[71] Jesus stands trial on political charges and nothing in the earliest account attempted to blunt the nature of the trial. When both of these findings are put together, an early passion account emerges in which the political nature of the charges, the trial, and execution are very clear. This means that early Christians did not flinch from admitting that their hero was a duly executed Roman prisoner, executed on charges of sedition against the government. And there is no evidence that at this early stage they were the slightest bit embarrassed about such a situation.

How can we understand such lack of embarrassment? Traditional Christianity, full of support for law and order, is incapable of such understanding; it has lost all feeling for the sectarian protest of the earliest church. From the standpoint of sectarian reality, however, the death of Jesus offers a powerful symbolism for the outcast and alienated members of the early communities. From this perspective a two-fold meaning of the death can be seen. 1. It gathers together into one symbolism the hostile and protesting feelings of the sect against the world. *Of course* the Jews and the Romans collaborated

[70] *Are you the Christ? The Trial Narrative in the Gospel of Mark* ("SBL Dissertation Series," No. 10: Missoula, 1973), pp. 53-102.

[71] Cf. W. Kelber, A. Kolenkow, R. Scroggs, "Reflections on the Question: Was There a Pre-Markan Passion Narrative?" *The Society of Biblical Literature One Hundred Seventh Annual Meeting*: Seminar Papers (1971), II, 550-56.

together to kill Jesus. For the sectarian there is nothing strange about that. It was, rather, to be expected. The death symbolizes the demonic quality of the world. Further, it serves to make more explicable the suffering of the believers caused by ridicule and persecution. "If they called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more will they malign those of his household."

2. The same reality must also have been a symbol of liberation as well. Before, the establishment provided the norms for the outcasts, however much those norms excluded them from participation in the society. But now that those norms have led to the execution of Jesus, God's son, it reveals those norms for what they truly are, the ways of man, or Satan, not the ways of God. They no longer can be passed off as divinely ordained and thus have lost the demonic control over the believer they once had had. The death thus symbolizes the liberation of the community from the mores and claims of the world, from polite society as well as from political authority, from the sacred as well as secular establishment.

The death of Jesus was a strong and effective positive symbol for the church, precisely because he was executed by the legitimate authorities. And this is why the church was not embarrassed by it. Who knows, it may even have bragged about it. And this is why as long as the church maintained its strongly sectarian form it did not need to introduce apologetic elements into the tradition. Nor did it need to search for theological reasons other than the very basic and profound one it had from the beginning. For the symbol of the death as protest and liberation is, just because it stems out of the living experiences of the folk, theological at its heart, if one is prepared to deal with a theology that takes as its first duty the attempt to explain to man what his predicament and his promise are.

POWER THROUGH TEMPLE AND TORAH IN GRECO-ROMAN PALESTINE

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One of the most difficult tasks for the historian of religion is to appreciate the meaning and importance of the phenomena he studies for the communities in which they occur. The task is difficult enough when the community is still a living one, when impressions and conclusions may be checked against the available testimony of those who still live in the world being examined. But when the student is separated from his subject by millennia, then much of his efforts must concentrate on bridging that nearly unbridgable chasm. He must be constantly aware that his reality is not that of those whom he examines and that his data necessarily must be filtered through both realities.

In any society there is a dominant view of reality, a picture of the way things are and how things work that allows the members of the society to function and communicate with at least a modicum of efficiency. That reality is assumed; members of the society are socialized into it. It is not reflected upon, but rather it is made up of the everyday information which allows man to live his everyday life. The reality of contemporary Western civilization is more or less that of "pop science," those elements of what science has told us about the world and its operation that have become internalized in our ordinary language systems. For many there is an admixture of a homogenized, lowest-common-denominator selection of beliefs from the "Judeo-Christian" tradition which informs our moral thought and, in fact, contributes to our picture of the universe with the contradictions to our scientific images hardly being noted. This is the way, to borrow the terminology of Berger and Luckman, that we "socially construct our reality." [1] Palestinian Judaism in

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[1] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City: Doubleday-Anchor, 1967). We are, of course, born into a "socially constructed reality," a reality with which we interact, appropriating what is necessary, yet a reality which we may revise according to our experience. The point is that,

the Greco-Roman period had its own picture of the workings of the universe, its own cosmology, which I would describe as basically apocalyptic.

In the Hellenistic period the various Jewish groups, including the earliest Christians, understood the Torah and Prophets to be the revealed expressions of the supreme power, God, who not only created all that existed, but also was ultimately responsible for all that happened: history unfolded according to God's will, and the Jews, as God's chosen people, played a special part in that history. The goal of history was the salvation of the Jews, or at least of those Jews who were deserving. In less tense moments the possibility of salvation of non-Jews who were worthy was admitted. To the end of achieving His goal, God could intervene in the relations of men and women in a decisive way as, in the past recorded in the Scriptures, he had before. An expectation of such an intervention in the not-too-distant future based on belief in a revelation of its imminence creates the apocalyptic consciousness. Clearly all Jews, perhaps most Jews, were not apocalypticists in the sense that they lived under the tension of expecting such an immediate intervention, but apocalypticism, I believe, was within the range of normal views about what could happen. It was an integral part of the social-psychic repertory.

This sort of reality-construct has been studied in its manifestations in various societies by anthropologists under the rubric of "millenarism." An examination of the data and theories generated in these studies is extremely relevant to the study of Judaism in the Greco-Roman period, particularly in relation to groups such as the Essenes, the Zealots, the Sicarii, the Christians, etc. They also illuminate the nature of essentially non-apocalyptic groups such as the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

First, then, I want to set the framework through discussion of an anthropological view of millenarism. Second, I shall focus on the attitudes of the Essenes and Pharisees toward Scriptures and cult and particularly the warrants or authority claimed by them in their respective interpretive activities. Finally, I shall speculate on the same phenomena in relation to the Sadducees, Jesus and Paul.

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for most of us, the reality to which we are socialized sets the limits of our *possible* experiences.

I

Anthropologists have seldom hesitated to join Historians of Religion in the peculiar task of providing definitions of religion.[2] Such definitions serve heuristic purposes, at least, if not taken too seriously. In dealing with millenarism in Judaism and Christianity, one is forced to a cross-cultural and comparative perspective which de-emphasizes some questions and gives concentrated attention to others. Apocalypticism was a social phenomenon, but in the field of Biblical studies, it has been customarily treated as a literary one. Covert theological interests in uniqueness among Jewish and Christian scholars have led to a disproportionate focus on questions of "origins" and "influences," with the result that more effort has been spent in locating parallels in imagery and language in Persian texts and the Exilic Prophets than in looking at the social, political, economic, and religious matrices which yielded such an abundance of millenarian activities and movements in Greco-Roman Palestine. The "origins" are within the immediate situation, not in the literary antecedents.[3] For those who participate in millenarian activities the whole social order is at stake. That the symbols which express their interests may be drawn from the traditions and history of their society is to be noted and appropriately evaluated, but is not to be mistaken for the whole phenomenon.

Let me begin, then, with a definition of religion and religious activity which takes them to refer to:

> The redemptive process indicated by the activities, moral rules, and assumptions about power which, pertinent to the moral and taken on faith, not only enable a people to perceive the truth of things, but guarantee that they are indeed perceiving the truth of things.[4]

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[2] For a useful methodological approach to the problem of defining 'religion,' see Melford E. Spiro, "Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation," in Michael Banton, ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (A. S. A. Monographs 3) (New York: Tavistock, 1969), 85-126.

[3] There is, of course, no denying the importance of the study of the history and development of the symbolic forms which give order to the universe inhabited by a society. However, the most exhaustive analysis of such histories of development will not tell us fully why a particular group appropriates a particular selection of the society's repertoire of symbols at a particular moment.

[4] The definition is taken from Kenelm Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth* (New York: Schocken, 1969), 6f. I am also indebted to his discussion of theories of millenarism for much of the theoretical analysis which follows. His study is based on his own empirical fieldwork and that of other anthropologists, concentrating on data from Oceania, but not neglecting Africa

A society conceives of itself as having been constituted by a power or powers which transcend it. In its religious behavior, verbal and non-verbal, it brings order into its comprehension of that power. Generating a series of rules for maintaining an appropriate relationship to the power, it allows its members to plug into the beneficial effects and to avoid the dangerous ones. Through the socialization process man in society feels himself to be under obligation. By virtue of his very existence, he experiences a sense of obligedness to the society, to the family, and in some societies, even to himself. All of it is bound up in obligation to the constituting power. Inculcation of the sense of indebtedness may be described in terms of social contract or sacred covenant; the experience of it is the same.

Society also prescribes the ways by which the debt may be discharged, the ways by which man can fulfil the demands of his situation, by which he can realize himself. Those ways are the way to salvation, to redemption. Redemption is the total discharge of obligation:

> But this, the payment of the debt in full, can only be realized when a human being becomes in himself completely unobliged, without any obligation whatsoever—a freemover in heaven, enjoying nirvana or joined with the ancestors. For since existence in community, a moral order, necessarily entails existence within a network of obligations, redemption itself can only be realized at or after that appropriate death which brings to an end an appropriate mode of discharging one's obligations.[5]

I should add that the death referred to is not necessarily the ordinary physical death.

The ways which society provides for the discharge of the indebtedness are the redemptive media. In contemporary American life they would include the educational system, participation in the political process, contracting a marriage, bearing children, church membership, psychotherapy—indeed all sorts of things that conventionally ought to make one "a good person," "a good citizen," "a good Christian," "a good Jew," etc. For the Jew in Greco-Roman Palestine the redemptive media included at least participation in the sacrificial system, fulfilment of *mitzvot*, indeed

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and India. The usefulness of the definition lies in its being non-reductive, on the one hand, and its placing religion in the appropriate central place in society, on the other.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

participation in those ways of release from obligation which were considered by the society to have been revealed by its supreme constituting power, God. These were the ways provided to keep the community and the individual in appropriate relationship to God, the ways to fulfil the obligations of the covenant, the breaking of which could and did have dire consequences for the life of the community as a whole and for the lives of its individual members.

But what happens when the structure of society is such that a part of the society feels itself so systematically excluded from participation in the redemptive media that it cannot "make it" within the present situation, that it cannot attain salvation? At this point we may expect to find strategies to unblock access to power.[6] The nature of the strategies will depend on the type of society and the forms of perceived deprivations. Political revolution, crusades, witchcraft and millenarism are some of the possibilities.[7] If millenarian activities and movements appear, they will develop according to a specifiable pattern.[8]

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[6] The meaning of "power" in this analysis, since it is comparative, is culture-relative. For each society one must determine what its members consider to be the creative-ordering power or powers in their universe and also those powers which may disturb order. As power is mediated within a particular society it becomes particularized and definable. Each society may measure the access to power or possession of power in relation to an individual or a class or a social role. Power may be measured by possessions, by personal talents and qualities, etc. Thus a king has a certain amount of power relative to all others, a father relative to his family, a rich man relative to a poor man, etc. Similarly, a witch or a sorcerer is defined by his possession of power which may be malevolent. Rituals also have power with respect to an individual cultic participant or with respect to the welfare of the whole society. In discussing the drive to achieve access to power which motivates the millenarian movement, Burridge notes: "Yet this impulse to join the mainstream of power, to find a new integrity, does not necessarily imply being at the centre of the interactions of social life. For though the sectarian elect necessarily stand aside from the hub of established social life, they believe themselves to be more at one with that source of all power which the members of the wider society are taken to acknowledge. What matters is that power, once recognized, should be ordered and rendered intelligible and that integrity should derive from this ordering" (*ibid.*, 107).

[7] Mary Douglas, in a recent and most suggestive volume, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), believes that the appearance of witchcraft rather than millenarism can be explained by an analysis of social structure. Various group phenomena will appear in social structures which differ according to their emphasis on boundaries within the society and the boundary between a particular society and the rest of the world: "Where social grid and group are already weak, a further weakening of the delicate relationships can turn the passive, benign cosmology into revolutionary millennialism" (p. 150). As for witchcraft: "By and

II

The first stage of a millenarian movement is that of more or less random activities resulting from the perceptions of a number of individuals that things are not as they should be. There is an awareness that somehow they are being prevented from attaining the goals dictated by the society. They conclude, then, that there is something flawed in the system: the political structure is corrupt, the goals are wrong. the redemptive media are false or imperfectly managed, or some combination of these factors. The conflict is such

large witchcraft beliefs are likely to flourish in small enclosed groups, where movement in and out is restricted, when interaction is unavoidably close, and where roles are undefined or so defined that they are impossible to perform" (p. 108).

This sort of analysis, according to Douglas, is helpful in at least two ways. First, it provides a theory of social phenomena such as witchcraft and millenarism which has real explanatory force since it can account for absence of the phenomena as well as their presence. That is to say, it can account for negative instances. In and of itself, deprivation theory cannot account for negative instances. Second, explanation by reference to social structure and group boundaries makes deprivation theory an unnecessary hypothesis. I do find her group-grid categories helpful, but I do not see how they logically rule out deprivation theory. They seem rather to be a useful supplement. But the argument requires separate, special treatment, and need not be dealt with here.

[8] For our purposes we can accept Norman Cohn's definition of millenarism: ". . . I propose to regard as "millenarian" any religious movement inspired by the phantasy of a salvation which is to be (a) collective, in the sense that it is to be enjoyed by the faithful as a group; (b) terrestrial, in the sense that it is to be realised on this earth and not in some otherworldly heaven; (c) imminent, in the sense that it is to come both soon and suddenly; (d) total, in the sense that it is utterly to transform life on earth, so that the new dispensation will be no mere improvement on the present but perfection itself; (e) accomplished by agencies which are consciously regarded as supernatural. See Norman Cohn, "Medieval Millenarism: Its Bearing on the Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements," in Sylvia L. Thrupp, ed., *Millennial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements* (New York: Schocken, 1970), p. 31. Definitions of this sort are, of course, a matter of convention. We may agree upon a minimal set of features which make it reasonable to tag a movement "millenarian". This particular definition allows us to consider under the one rubric movements from widely disparate settings including contemporary Southern California, Greco-Roman Palestine and the archaic cultures of Oceania and Sub-saharan Africa. Isolating a phenomenon which invites comparative consideration tends further to elicit theories to explain their development which are also cross-cultural. See George Shepperson, "The Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements," in *ibid.*, pp. 44-52. What I hope to add in this study is some data from two millennia ago and thus to see whether they conform to patterns discerned elsewhere in other times and whether the studies of more contemporary movements might illumine the past.

that either they must conclude that they are at fault, that they are worthless or unworthy, or that something or someone else is at fault. In Marxian terms it is a matter of class consciousness, but here "class" means far more than an economic category: [9]

> 'Feeling themselves oppressed' by current assumptions about power, participants in millenarian activities set themselves the task of reformulating their assumptions so as to create, or account for and explain, a new or changing material and moral environment within which a more satisfactory form of redemption is obtained.[10]

The development of a movement from the stage of unorganized activity, activity which may be no more than the verbalization of senses of dissatisfaction and frustration, requires a catalytic agent, a figure about whom a movement may coalesce. The world "prophet" will do best to describe such a figure.[11] The millenarian prophet

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[9] The issue is more satisfactorily dealt with in terms of prestige and self-valuation. As Burridge (*op. cit.*) puts it: ". . . an adequate or more satisfactory way of gaining prestige, of defining the criteria by which the content of manhood is to be measured, stands at the very heart of a millenarian or messianic movement (p. 11)." What is important is the recognition of the importance of the social-psychological processes at work. Burridge treads a very fine line, sometimes barely discernible, between a nearly Marxian analysis concentrating on self-valuation in terms of money and productivity and a social-psychological analysis in terms of prestige and integrity. But in doing so he never loses the perspective of the participants in the movements. It is the feelings that they have about their situation which move them as individuals and as groups.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 10. Social psychologists have studied similar phenomena in very different contexts. What Burridge describes may be fruitfully analyzed in the light of cognitive dissonance theories. See Marvin E. Shaw and Philip R. Costanzo, *Theories of Social Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), ch. 8: "Cognitive Consistency Theories." The general theory is that if a person holds two bits of cognition (information, beliefs, opinions, etc.) that are somehow inconsistent and he is aware of the inconsistency, then he will experience a sense of "cognitive dissonance" and will attempt to reduce the sense of dissonance. Thus, in our schema, a member of a society knows what is required to succeed in his society, to achieve redemption. He also knows that he can't "make it." To reduce dissonance, he can decide that he is to blame, that he is the victim of sorcery or witchcraft, that the social structure is to blame, etc. What he must do is to change his valuation of himself or his context or both: he has sinned and is responsible, thus leaving society as true and good and the redemptive media intact; or the sin lies in the outside world and he is good and has truth, perhaps by access to someone to whom truth has been revealed. Then it is the rules and the redemptive media which must change. Of such stuff secular and/or religious revolutionary movements are made.

[11] "Messiah" or "hero" would also serve. My emphasis is on the special functions of the millenarian prophet which need not be congruent with,

is he who is able to articulate believably the dilemma of those to whom he speaks and to provide, through whatever sort of revelation he claims, the solution or promise of solution. What he promises is the possibility, indeed the certainty, that redemption is attainable. What he provides is the assurance of the new situation, the realization of a "new man," one with a new integrity which supersedes all other definitions of humanity. The prophet himself is the proof of all he claims. The articulation takes place in the familiar terms of tradition, and the newness need not involve novelty, but rather a selective appropriation of a powerful tradition already a part of the consciousness of the audience. The prophet provides not only the image of the new man in the new world where things are as they ought to be, but also the rules for preparing for the newness.

The third stage need not concern us. Suffice it to say that the movement may become itself a part of the establishment, slowly giving up its millenarian tension of expectation, as did Christianity. Or it may relegate itself to the wilderness to isolate itself from all impure contacts with those who have not found the true way to redemption, as did the Essenes. If the movement's activities become sufficiently threatening to the establishment, it may be crushed. Alternatively, it may merely fizzle out under the weight of a series of unfulfilled prophecies of dramatic changes in the world order.[12] If the social situation persists, recurrences are to be expected.

III

As I have indicated, the redemptive media in the Jewish communities in Palestine before the destruction of the Temple included the sacrificial cultus, the whole system of *mitzvot*, plus private and communal worship. Basically, everything that counted as a medium of redemption can be subsumed under the category of *mitzvot*, the

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say, the Biblical prophets. The degrees of congruence or incongruence could well be studied.

[12] On the effects of unfulfilled prophecies on adhesion in millenarian movements, see Leon Festinger, Henry W. Riecken and Stanly Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1956). Festinger, the primary theorist of cognitive dissonance (see above, n. 10), and his associates concentrated on the effects of dissonance on the dissolution of the group, rather than on its formation.

revealed rules for discharging obligation, the revealed prescriptions for salvation. Indeed, the worldview of the Jew, his conception of the nature of that being, man, who was to be redeemed, his conception of the world in which he lived, his understanding of the purpose and purposefulness of existence—all depended on his understanding of Torah. But a fixed, written scripture requires interpretation, and in that world the authority to interpret Torah meant power: it meant control of the redemptive media. It is not surprising, then, that the Pharisees, the Essenes, the Sadducees and the Christians saw their relationships to other groups precisely in terms of their respective understandings of revelation. Their reality, their social consciousness, found expression in the terminology of the revealed sacred reality of Scripture. But the terms of Torah serve as symbols in their sacrality. The meanings and functions of these symbols must be examined for each community which used them, for the realities which they expressed were the realities of living men in living groups who experienced their present situations in the light of the realities of tradition.

The Essene movement was millenarian. The community at Khirbet Qumran was constituted by a group which had separated itself from the community and institutions of other Jews to go into the desert and await those events which would vindicate their views of reality, of God, of redemption, as well as the validity of their present and proposed alternative institutions. The anticipated events they pictured as an inevitable cataclysm, an ultimate cosmic war between the forces of evil and the forces of good. There was no doubt, of course, on which side they stood. Originally a group of dissident priests who found themselves cut off from control of the Temple cult, they found their leader in one whom they called *moreh haṣedeq* ("Teacher of Righteousness", "Righteous Teacher", or "Right Teacher").[13] The sense of deprivation experienced by priests cut off from their crucial redemptive medium, the cult, requires little elaboration. We may also speculate about the

[13] The precise translation of the title is of no significance to this study, although it has excited a great deal of scholarly interest. See Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (*Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments* 2) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), ch. 8. Accepting Jeremias' arguments that the title is to be translated "Teacher of Righteousness" and noting with him the frequent parallelism of *ṣdq* (loosely, "righteousness") with *'mt* ("truth"), one is struck by the aptness of the title for a millenarian prophet.

attendant deprivations of political and economic power resulting from loss of institutional control of the Temple and its sacrificial system.

Their rejection of the Temple they interpreted or projected as God's rejection of Israel. They were the long-promised remnant and the Teacher, their God-given prophet:

> For when they were unfaithful and forsook Him, He hid His face from Israel and His sanctuary and delivered them up to the sword. But remembering the Covenant of the forefathers, He left a remnant to Israel and did not deliver it up to be destroyed. . . . And they perceived their iniquity and recognized that they were guilty men, yet for twenty years they were like blind men groping for the way. And God observed their deeds, that they sought Him with a whole heart, and He raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of his Heart. And he made known to the latter generations that which God had done to the latter generation, the congregation of traitors, to those who departed from the way (CD I).
>
> The steps of the man are confirmed by the Lord and He delights in all his ways; though [he stumble, he shall not fall, for the Lord shall support his hand] (Ps. 37.23-24). Interpreted, this concerns the Priest, the Teacher of [Righteousness. . . whom] He established to build for Himself the congregation of . . . (4QPs 37).[14]

In the excerpt from the Damascus Document, the historical introduction, we find a virtual textbook description of development from the first stage of millenarian consciousness to the second stage, that of a movement which has coalesced around a prophet. For "twenty years" (surely a figure of convention) the "remnant" existed in some unspecified form, but they were truly founded only with the coming of the Teacher.[15] The *pesher* on Ps. 37 establishes the Teacher as the founder of the community.[16] He was the one

[14] I am citing from Geza Vermes's translation of the Scrolls, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1962), which I use throughout. In his translation of 4 QPs 37 he capitalizes "Man", a sort of typographical isogesis that is potentially confusing. Also, the phrase, "He established to build for Himself," is but one possible translation for the ambiguous *hkynw lbnwt lw ʿdt. hkynw* could have as its subject either God or the Teacher; *lw*, similarly, could refer to either. So, God built for Himself the community, God built the community for the Teacher, or the Teacher built it for God. For the self-understanding of the community, the end result is about the same.

[15] Presumably the Essenes were at first among the Hasideans. See Frank Moore Cross Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961²), pp. 132, 133f.

[16] See Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

able to carry the authority of revelation, a revelation which expressed the experience of deprivation felt by his followers and which promised the radical resolution of the end-time.

The nature of the revelation is significant, for its authority is claimed in the most traditional terms, yet at the same time in the most revolutionary terms. Since, within the shared reality of the Essenes and other Jews, all power, all authority, derived from God's words mediated through Torah, it was appropriate that power claims be made through claims to the authoritative interpretation of Torah. And it was precisely interpretation of the written revelation which formed the content of the revelation claimed by or for the Teacher:

> [Behold the nations and see, marvel and be astonished; for I accomplish a deed in your days but you will not believe it when] told (Hab. 1.5). [Interpreted, this concerns] those who were unfaithful together with the Liar, in that they [did] not [listen to the word received by] the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God. And it concerns the unfaithful of the New [Covenant] in that they have not believed in the Covenant of God [and have profaned] His holy Name. And likewise, this saying is to be interpreted [as concerning those who] will be unfaithful at the end of days. They, the men of violence and the breakers of the Covenant, will not believe when they hear all that [is to happen to] the final generation from the Priest [in whose heart] God set [understanding] that he might interpret all the words of His servants the prophets, through whom He foretold all that would happen to His people and [His land] (1QpHab II, 1-10).

> . . . and God told Habbakuk to write down that which would happen to the final generation, but He did not make known to him when time would come to an end. And as for that which He said, "That he who reads may read it speedily (Hab. 2.2)," interpreted this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets (1QpHab VII, 1-5).

In the first passage we are introduced to the unfaithful, those who do not listen to and believe in the message of the teacher, the revelation received directly from God. By implication, we are told that the faithful are the ones who listen and believe. The Teacher's authority is not based on his position in the line of priests, although he is a priest, indeed "the priest." Nor is his authority based on his position in a chain of tradition, the apparent basis for Pharisaic authority claims. Finally, nowhere is it suggested that the Teacher

has Davidic ancestry, another possible way to claim power. Rather, his authority claim is inherently anti-institutional, although quite traditional: he is a prophet, one who has received a revelation. That revelation was to be heeded as a necessary condition for salvation, since it was direct and since it contained the final word on all previous revelation. In the second passage we find the astonishing claim that God revealed to the Teacher the hitherto secret meaning of His prior revelations, meanings unknown to the earlier prophets. Here we do not find the more commonplace gambit of having a first century prophecy attributed to a figure who lived centuries before.

The uses of the Teacher's claim to a more direct access to the power acknowledged by the society at large are integral to the point of the millenarian movement. What such movements challenge are the society's standards of judgment of human worth and thereby the institutions which carry the symbol system of the society and regulate the relationships of its membership to each other and to the ultimate constituting power. The millenarian prophet gives new standards and perhaps prescribes alternative institutions. So for Qumran the new standards were revealed and, *ipso facto*, all other standards were invalidated, for no one else had access to the revelation of truth. Anyone not in the community was a "son of darkness." The sense of group boundary in such communities is strong, for membership in good standing is the guarantee, the only guarantee, of redemption. For Qumran the meaning projected on to the symbolic provided by the scriptural tradition reflected their experiences as a besieged community, at war with all other men.[17]

Thus the Essenes rejected every other community but their own. Their rejection of the Judean society at large was based on what was revealed to them about Torah, the same Torah which legitimized

[17] The garrison mentality comes through strongly in the Manual of Discipline (1QS), which is virtually the Essene constitution: "These are the precepts in which the Master (*mskyl*) shall walk in his commerce with all the living, according to the rule proper to every season and according to the worth of every man. . . . He shall conceal the teaching of the Law from men of falsehood, but shall impart true knowledge and righteous judgement to those who have chosen the Way. . . . These are the rules of conduct for the Master in those times with respect to his loving and hating. Everlasting hatred in a spirit of secrecy for the man of perdition. He shall leave to them wealth and earnings like a slave to his lord and like a poor man to his master. . . (1QS IX)".

and gave value to that other society. Qumran became a counter-culture, a counter-society with counter-institutions. Theoretically the threat posed to Judean society was fundamental, but the actual threat in terms of real political and economic consequences depended solely on the ability of the dissident community to achieve power within the society at large. Its separatist character and inclinations suggest that the likelihood of the sect becoming sufficiently threatening to attract significant notice was minimal. The fact that the Qumran community persisted from the mid-second century B.C.E. until its destruction ca. 70 C.E. demonstrates that the dangerous enemies identified in the sectarian scrolls did not themselves evaluate the Essenes to be quite so important or dangerous.[18]

What is to be noted is that, despite the peripheral importance of the sect in its time, its power claims hit at the heart of the general social notions about power. This point may be illustrated by looking at the Pharisaic conceptions of Torah and its interpretation.

IV

Getting a picture of pre-70 Pharisaic Judaism that is remotely satisfying is probably impossible given the present state of the evidence. Our sources are limited to the rabbinic materials, none of which achieved their final literary state before 200 C.E., Josephus's contemporary, but tendentious, comments and descriptions, and the polemicized notices in the New Testament. Jacob Neusner has recently completed a thorough collection and painstaking analysis of the materials available. His conclusion from the study of the rabbinic traditions seems reasonable and discouraging:

> So, in all, we have from the rabbis a very sketchy account of the life of Pharisaism during less than the last century of its existence before 70, with at most random and episodic materials pertaining to the period before Hillel. We have this account, so far as it is early, primarily through the medium of forms and mnemonic patterns used at Yavneh and later on at Usha. What we know is what

[18] The total number of Essenes living in the community and elsewhere could not have been terribly significant. On the other hand, they were of sufficient importance for Josephus to count them as one of the "four philosophies" constituting the Jewish population of pre-70 C.E. Palestine. All we may conclude from that, however, is that they were clearly identifiable and of interest to Josephus.

> the rabbis of Yavneh and Usha regarded as the important and desirable account of the Pharisaic traditions: almost entirely the internal record of the life of the party and its laws, the party being no more than the two factions that predominated after 70, the laws being mainly rules of how and what people might eat with one another.[19]

Neusner draws as much of an historical picture as he can from his sources, and his basic inferences are worth citing fully:

> The rabbis' Pharisees are mostly figures of the late Herodian and Roman periods. They were a non-political group, whose chief religious concerns were for the proper preservation of ritual purity in connection with eating secular (not Temple) food, and for the observance of the dietary laws of the day, especially those pertaining to the proper nurture and harvest of agricultural crops. Their secondary religious concern was with the proper governance of the party itself. By contrast Josephus's Pharisaic records pertain mostly to the years from the rise of the Hasmoneans to their fall. They were a political party which tried to get control of the government of Jewish Palestine, not a little sect drawn apart from the common society by observance of laws of table-fellowship. Josephus's Pharisees are important in the reigns of John Hyrcanus and Alexander Janneus, but drop from the picture after Alexandra Salome. By contrast, the Synoptics' Pharisees appropriately are much like those of the rabbis; they belong to the Roman period and their legal agenda is virtually identical: tithing, purity laws, Sabbath-observance, vows, and the like.[20]

For the moment this seems to be the best we can do. The periodization of the history of the Pharisees is extremely important in that it focuses the use of sources in such a way that what had been perceived as inconsistency in reports must now be viewed differently. The evidence from Josephus does not necessarily contradict the rabbinic materials. And even the New Testament has its place complementing the rabbinic evidence for the Roman period. Josephus stands virtually alone reporting on late Hasmonean Judaism and must be used with the customary caution always appropriate for such a self-interested historian, but at least there is no need to confuse the evaluation of his materials and sources with other reports from other times. Further, Neusner correctly and pointedly calls into question previous attempts to build up a

[19] Jacob Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), III, p. 319.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 304f.

picture of the early Pharisees from an uncritical use of Jewish sources.[21]

The kind of comparisons relevant to our questions do come from the period about which Josephus informs us, for the materials directly related to the Teacher involve the origins of the sect in the Hasmonean period. At that time the Pharisees were actively in quest for political control and had not yet pulled into themselves as a self-isolating purity cult.[22] Ironically, an important tradition concerning a Pharisaic power play in the Hasmonean period is preserved by the rabbis as well as by Josephus. In it we get a hint of the social significance of the interpretation of Torah.

> As for Hyrcanus, the envy of the Jews was aroused against him by own successes and those of his sons; particularly hostile to him were the Pharisees, who are one of the Jewish schools, as we have related above. And so great is their influence with the masses that even when they speak against a king or high priest, they immediately gain credence. Hyrcanus too was a disciple of theirs, and was greatly loved by them. And once he invited them to a feast and entertained them hospitably, and when he saw that they were having a very good time, he began by saying that thay knew he wished to be righteous and in everything he did tried to please God and them—for the Pharisees profess such beliefs; at the same time he begged them, if they observed him doing anything wrong or straying from the right path, to lead him back to it and correct him. But they testified to his being altogether virtuous, and he was delighted with their praise. However, one of the guests, named Eleazar, who had an evil nature and took pleasure in dissension, said, "Since you have asked to be told the truth, if you wish to be righteous, give up the highpriesthood and be content with governing the people." And when Hyrcanus asked him for what reason he should give up the highpriesthood, he replied, "Because we have heard from our elders that your mother was a captive in the reign

[21] The importance of Neusner's methodological advances, particularly his use of tradition criticism and form criticism on otherwise impenetrable rabbinic sources, cannot be overestimated. Scholarship that fails to build on his methodological rigor can no longer be taken seriously.

[22] Neusner's periodization might be too sharply drawn. The rabbis who preserved the pre-70 traditions, as Neusner points out, were not themselves involved in overt political struggles, chastened as they were by two disasterous wars against the Romans. Their power was asserted in different ways. It does not follow from their selection of traditions that they wished to preserve that the Pharisees of the late Herodian and pre-70 Roman periods were similarly disinclined to active political participation. Neusner's reconstruction may be correct, but much depends on arguments from silence. What is interesting is that these Pharisees became what the Essenes seem always to have been, a purity cult.

> of Antiochus Epiphanes." But the story was false, and Hyrcanus was furious with the man, while all the Pharisees were very indignant.
>
> Then a certain Jonathan, one of Hyrcanus's close friends, belonging to the school of Sadducees who hold opinions opposed to those of the Pharisees, said that it had been with the general approval of all the Pharisees that Eleazar had made his slanderous statement; and this, he added, would be clear to Hyrcanus if he inquired of them what punishment Eleazar deserved for what he had said. And so Hyrcanus asked the Pharisees what penalty they thought he deserved—for, he said, he would be convinced that the slanderous statement had not been made with their approval if they fixed a penalty commensurate with the crime—, and they replied that Eleazar deserved stripes and chains, for they did not think it right to sentence a man to death for calumny, and anyway the Pharisees are naturally lenient in the matter of punishments. At this Hyrcanus became very angry and began to believe that the fellow had slandered him with their approval. And Jonathan in particular inflamed his anger, and so worked upon him that he brought him to join the Sadducean party and desert the Pharisees, and to abrogate the regulations which they had established for the people, and punish those who observed them. Out of this, of course, grew the hatred of the masses for him and his sons, but of this we will speak hereafter. For the present I wish merely to explain that the Pharisees had passed on to the people certain regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Laws of Moses, for which reason they are rejected by the Sadducean groups, who hold that only those regulations should be considered valid which were written down, and that those which had been handed down by former generations need not be observed. And concerning these matters the two parties came to have controversies... (Josephus, Ant. 13: 288-98).[23]

For comparison, the rabbinic version of the story which appears in a *baraita*:[24]

> It is taught: The story is told that Yannai [Jannaeus] the king went to Kohalit in the wilderness and conquered there sixty towns. When he returned, he rejoiced greatly, and invited all the sages of Israel. He said to them, "Our forefathers would eat salt fish when they were engaged in the building of the Holy House. Let us also eat salt fish as a memorial to our forefathers." So they brought up

[23] Trans. by Ralph Marcus, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard, 1961), vol. VII.

[24] The passage is found in the Babylonian Talmud, Qid. 66a. The translation is from Jacob Neusner's *From Politics to Piety: The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 59f. The exegetical brackets are his.

> salt fish on golden tables, and they ate. There was there a certain scoffer, evilhearted and empty-headed, and Eleazar b. Poirah was his name. Eleazar b. Poirah said to Yannai the King, "O King Yannai, the hearts of the Pharisees are set against you." "What shall I do?" "Test them by the plate that is between your eyes." [25] He tested them by the plate that was between his eyes. There was a certain sage, and Judah b. Gedidiah was his name. Judah b. Gedidiah said to Yannai the King, "O King Yannai, Let suffice for you the crown of sovereignty [kingship]. Leave the crown of the [high] priesthood for the seed of Aaron." For people said that his [Yannai's] mother had been taken captive in Modin. The charge was investigated and not found [sustained]. The sages of Israel departed in anger. Eleazar b. Poirah then said to Yannai the king, "O King Yannai, That is the law [not here specified as the punishment inflicted on Judah] even for the ordinary folk in Israel. But you are King and high priest—should that be your law too?" "What should I do?" "If you take my advice, you will trample them down." "But what will become of the Torah?" "Lo, it is rolled up and lying in the corner. Whoever wants to learn, let him come and learn." The evil blossomed through Eleazar b. Poirah. All the sages of Israel [= the Pharisees] were killed.

The details in the story differ, but Josephus and the rabbis have a good, solid shared tradition, for which the *terminus ante quem* is Josephus.[26]

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[25] Neusner (*ibid.*, p. 55) explains the test as follows: "The reference is to the high priest's medallion ("plate between your eyes"). Janneus is both king and high priest, but the Pharisees claimed that Jannaeus's mother had been taken captive and raped, and therefore could not be the mother of a high priest, who had to be born of a virgin. Hence the king was not fit to be high priest. If the Pharisees were "tested" as to the matter, they would have to make a public admission of their disloyalty to the king-priest. Since the government of Jewish Palestine was based in the Temple of Jerusalem, the head of government ("king") also had to be head of the Temple ("high priest"). If Alexander Jannaeus could not be the latter, he could not head the state. So the "test" amounted to an examination of the loyalty of the Pharisees to the throne." What Neusner is telling us, of course, is the presupposition of the tradition. I am not totally convinced that the king had to be high priest in order to rule. Taking away the high priesthood would have set up a potential power conflict, resulting in a rivalry rather than the total abdication of the king. In fact, in the history of the Hasmonean dynasty, conflicting claims to power within the dynasty were the rule rather than the exception.

[26] The major variants involve names. That the rabbis told the story about Janneus rather than about Hycanus is hardly surprising considering the high regard in which the early rabbis held the latter. Only later, sometime between the mid-second century and mid-fourth century, did the rabbis include the tradition that Hyrcanus had, at the end of his life, become a Sadducee. See Neusner, *Rabbinic Traditions*, I, pp. 160-76.

Far more striking than the variants in the story are the parallels. Two of them, one integral to the story line and one somewhat extraneous, are crucial. Both versions agree that the issue which occasioned the split between the Hasmoneans and the Pharisees was the Hasmonean assumption of both royal and priestly power, precisely the issue which pushed the Essenes into the wilderness. While the tradition shared by Josephus and the rabbis raises the question of the legitimacy of Janneus's or Hycranus's conception, the Essene concern seems to have been different. The Essenes concentrated on the legitimacy of the Hasmonean branch of priests being eligible for the high priesthood since they were not of the Zadokite line. The tradition preserved by Josephus and the rabbis deals with the allegation that the king's mother had been raped while held captive. The Essenes believed that they should control the high priesthood; the Pharisees undoubtedly worried about the purity of the cult which might be in the hands of an illegitimate priest. For both groups, however, what was at stake was power and access to power. For the Pharisees the powers of royalty and priesthood in the same hands were too dangerous.

The story makes clear the way that the Pharisees attempted to exercise power, for both versions connect their accounts with the Oral Law. Josephus explicitly maintains that the Sadducees rejected Pharisaic claims to authority based on "regulations handed down by former generations ... not recorded in the Laws of Moses ..." The rabbinic parallel is less direct, but to the same point: "But what will become of the Torah?" "Lo, it is rolled up and lying in the corner. Whoever wants to learn, let him come and learn."

Little enough is known of the Sadducees, since the only evidence preserved about them derives from rather unsympathetic sources: the rabbis, Josephus, and the New Testament. But we may see them through Josephus as a rival political force to the Pharisees, jockeying for influence in the Hasmonean court. In their struggle for power we can understand without difficulty their rejection of Oral Law. No matter what their own scriptural support for their rejection of the virtual canonicity of non-revealed interpretation, their political motivation is sufficiently clear. Thus, we must not assume that the attitude preserved or imaginatively reconstructed in Qid. 66a, to leave the Torah open to those who wished to come and learn, derived from some sort of proto-Lutheran impulse

toward the democratization of access to revelation, but rather it served as a defense against the Pharisaic view of social reality that threatened to subsume under its aegis every detail of human life. What the Pharisees could seek was the total control of the redemptive media of the society, for their's was the virtual omnipotence of definition—theoretically. So, although the Pharisees did not claim the same sort of warrants for interpretive power, they did aim at the same goal as the Essenes: control of redemptive media based on a monopoly of exegetical authority.

Pharisaic emphasis on the power of Torah interpretation threatened a significant re-ordering of the internal prestige system of the Palestinian Jew. At a time when the Temple priesthood and the Hasmonean dynasty held the political power of the society, that power was distributed according to the criteria of birth and wealth. Achievement expectations in the society would tend to be tightly programmed, with social mobility restricted. Indeed, given the probability that wealth would be inherited or associated with the Temple and political leadership, virtually all hung on birth. The Pharisees, by establishing a superordinate prestige system, challenged authority based on wealth and birth. Their power claims had to do with membership in a group which involved special skills in interpretation and particular kinds of piety. Thus was introduced a highly competitive system which provided the possibility of social mobility and necessarily posed a threat to the established powers.[27] Beyond that, keying in on the controlling force of interpretation seriously relativized the significance of cultic ritual as a redemptive medium, further endangering the social position of the priesthood. According to Josephus, as we have seen, the Pharisees did become sufficiently threatening during the Hasmonean period to elicit hostile reactions from the Hasmonean leadership. What is not at all clear is how they achieved sufficient importance to be a threat—what their real base of power was. Josephus suggests that it was public support capitalizing on popular hostility to the Hasmonean rule.

The Essenes, on the other hand, having withdrawn from the society in good sectarian fashion, also promulgated a change of

[27] A fascinating treatment of the development of the internal power structure of the Pharisees/Rabbis may be found in E. E. Urbach, *Class-status and Leadership in the World of the Palestinian Sages* (Jerusalem, n.d.). His use of sources, however, could benefit from source- and tradition-criticism.

rules, a change in the understanding of power and its distribution. But their rules were for their own community, for only the insiders counted. Indeed, matters pertaining to the community were not to be revealed, for the rules of the community revealed the only effective redemptive media. They were a guarantee of redemption which constituted a treasure to be guarded from the enemy, the impure.[28] Interestingly enough, their internal status lines more closely approximated those of the establishment than did those of the Pharisees. Membership in the community was important, indeed crucial, for salvation. But further, the priestly character of the community gave those born to the priesthood a special position. In the Community Rule, the ritual positions of priest first, then elders, then all others are affirmed. Wealth, however, is of no significance. Also in the Community Rule we are told of the divisions of male members into tens, each ten requiring the presence of a priest. Finally,

> The sons of Aaron alone shall command in matters of justice and property, and every rule concerning the men of the Community shall be determined according to their word. (1QS IX)

Beyond this, we know little about the criteria for stratification within the Essene community. What we do have is a series of social rules, the breaking of which exclude the offender from the cultic activity of the Community for a period of time—or forever. If, during the period of exclusion, the end-time were actually to arrive, the sinner would be lost. There are also ritual offenses which bring exclusion. Both the Community Rule and the Damascus Rule agree that there was a periodic examination of the worth of each member, the results of which could alter the status of the member within the community. The practical importance of relative status within the community of the saved is not particularly clear. Groups, even millenarian movements, stratify after a period of time in order to regularize the inter-relationships of their members.[29] The ordering of relationships was a necessity for long-

[28] See above, n. 17.

[29] It may be that we shall find that the Essene community structure outlined in 1QS is anomalous in the phenomenology of such groups. It is a community bound by rules, highly differentiated in its internal power structure, leaving little impression of a period where the community was undifferentiated and freeing itself from the old order in preparation for the new (see Burridge, pp. 165ff. and below, pp. 31ff.). On the other hand, our

term survival and the Essene community survived for a respectable span of years.

What deserves special attention is the function of purity status in the sect, for that seems to have been the most obvious and clearly identifiable medium for access to redemptive power. The rules of the community seem particularly concerned with purity rules. In the Rule Annex (1QSa) certain categories of physical flaws exclude individuals from group membership. In Judean society at large such defects would have excluded priests from ritual duties, but in Qumran we see far more stringent applications. It was, after all, a priestly community. Even more, it was a community which lived in preparation for the Biblical Holy War and thus lay under the Biblical edicts to refrain from pollution of the camp where God or God's angels might walk. Purity regulations also served the desired purpose of isolating the community; economic contacts and social contacts were effectively ruled out. It is interesting to note that in the Roman period the Pharisees also became separatists within the society, surrounding themselves with ever more stringent purity rules also drawn from the priestly regulations.[30] It would be useful to pursue the parallel, but such a study goes far beyond our immediate concerns.

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evidence tells us something about the conditions and circumstances of the community's origins, already somewhat mythologized, and then something about the group as an established, functioning community. In Weberian terms, charisma is already well routinized.

However, Cross considers the Rule to be a description of the life of the community in its first period, and bases his conclusion on paleographic considerations (*op. cit.*, p. 121). What this suggests is that detailed rules and stratification were always part of the sect's history. Priests, after all, were always the most important members, and the values they were rejecting were not the priestly values, but rather what they considered to be the violation of priestly values. Essenism represents revolt against current assumptions about power, but not against *all* such assumptions. The revolution expected was to be universal, but their interests and sense of deprivation were far from universal. Their rejection of the present situation, insofar as they symbolized it in terms of good and evil, light and darkness, was total. Nevertheless, they appropriated a good deal of what they ostensibly eschewed. The movement which began with Jesus's activity, focussing on a far less privileged audience, was far more thoroughgoing in its revolutionary sensibilities. But perhaps the situation is not really anomalous. What such movements are about is the appropriate measurement of integrity of a group in relation to the society at large. For a priestly community, such a measurement would naturally be in terms of purity as well as in the normal ethical terms.

[30] Neusner, *From Politics to Piety* (*op. cit.*), 81ff.

V

Since we have so little specific information about Jesus, comparison of his attitudes toward Scripture and Temple to those of the Essenes and the Pharisees may not be terribly helpful. Yet there are a few things to be noted. Jesus' attitudes toward purity rules, the rules which were the province of the priesthood, seems to have been negative. Further, there are strong indications of hostility toward the Temple cult. It also appears that his strongest appeal was to the rejects of the society, the "tax-collectors," the "publicans," and the "sinners," those who certainly felt themselves to have been deprived of access to power, to redemption. For these, it seems, he functioned as a millenarian prophet.

Burridge, in his analysis of the pattern of millenarian movements, includes in his description of the second stage, the stage of coalescence around the prophet, the potential for periods of "enactments of an initial non-human or pre-human state: a condition without rules..." [31] Yet an outcome of any millenarian movement is the promulgation of new rules: "No rules and new rules meet in the prophet who initiates the one whilst advocating the other."[32] We cannot, then, automatically classify Jesus as an antinomian, or a rejector of form over against essence, ritual over against ethics. Jesus participated in a social process of change and transition:

> ... in all transition rites there is a phase when those passing from one status to another, from one set of determinitive rules to another, are impliedly and temporarily subject to no rules at all. The transient is separated off, placed apart until he can be inducted into a new set of rules. And this suspension of the human condition, a situation of 'no rules', appears as a necessary stage in the progression from 'old rules' to 'new rules' .... Nevertheless, a millenarian movement is a special kind of transition process. It is holistic, all embracing.... Ordinary transitions occur within a more or less precisely formulated social order in which the three states are well known and defined. But when the social order itself is to be changed, the new rules can only be experimental, approximately formulated.[33]

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[31] Burridge, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[33] *Ibid.*, 166ff. The functions of an undifferentiated order in the transition process, whether it be an individual initiation rite or a group transition, is discussed more completely by Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969).

In this context Jesus' rejection of purity rules, summed up in the logion, "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 (Mk. 7.15)," becomes more comprehensible.[34] Although it is true that Jesus lived in a period when the Pharisees were very much concerned with the application of the Levitical purity rules to their own non-priestly lives, it is not necessary to see Jesus's logion as a revolt against the "Pharisees, Scribes, and Hypocrites." True, the early church that collected the traditions which constitute the Gospels saw him that way, but that in itself is sufficient reason to attribute the conflict stories with the Pharisees to the interests of the early church. Jesus' attitudes toward purity rules may be more appropriately understood as part of that stage in the millenarian consciousness when old rules are rejected.[35]

For Jesus' attitude toward scriptural interpretation the evidence is sparse, which is in itself an interesting lack. Seldom in preserved tradition which may reasonably be judged authentic does Jesus cite or even allude to the Biblical text. But in Luke 11.20 we seem to have a logion which satisfies criteria for authenticity and at least alludes to a text from the Torah: "But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the Kingdom of God has come to you." [36] If this is indeed an allusion to Ex. 8.15, then we have Jesus engaging in a *pesher* type of interpretation. What we cannot tell, however, is the authority by which he interprets. He was not a priest, he did not stand in any interpretive tradition; he did not use scripture to give the authority of previous revelation to his pronouncements—no more than did the prophets of the Bible. His authority was that of the prophet of God. He spoke in parables; he performed healings and exorcisms. He was the 'new man' of the

[34] See Norman Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teachings of Jesus* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 149f. For my present purposes, I am accepting his test of authenticity, the criterion of dissimilarity.

[35] As noted above, we have no hard evidence of the Essenes going through such a stage. What we have are the "new rules." Although there may have been such a stage of which no trace remains, it may also be the case that the priestly character of the sect ruled out such a stage from the beginning. By insisting upon the omnipresence of a stage of "no rules" Burridge may have gone beyond the empirical evidence, overly emphasized by his Hegelian framework: "The formula, old rules—no rules—new rules, fits our view of the thought and action of a millenarian movement. It also corresponds with the hegelian thesis—antithesis—synthesis (p. 166)."

[36] See Perrin's discussion of this passage, *op. cit.*, 63-68.

millennium, mediating power to his followers. We may reasonably speculate that he served as millenarian prophet to the beginnings of a millenarian movement while he lived, but far more so after his death, a phenomenon consistent with the pattern of millenarian movements observed elsewhere.[37]

As for Jesus' attitude toward the Temple, we can say virtually nothing. There is nothing in his sayings that suggest that he considered the sacrificial cult to be a redemptive medium. The mentions of the Temple in the Gospels, however, are all to be assigned to early church tradition: none of them stand the tests for authenticity. Yet if there is even a kernel of historical reminiscence in the story of his foray into the Temple, we may conclude that there was some hostility. But this is all speculative and constitutes an argument from silence.

VI

Placing Paul into our equation raises some interesting questions. How did Paul function in the ever-growing Christian millenarian movement? In dealing with his functions, we can relate them to the traditional Jewish-Palestinian redemptive media, particularly the *mitzvah*-system and the Temple cult. We should also inquire into Paul's use of Torah, for him the previous revelation.

So far, within the framework of our schema, we have dealt with the Teacher of the Essenes and Jesus as millenarian prophets. Both claimed their authority outside of the normal channels of power in the Jewish community, the priesthood, economic class, and scribal or rabbinic powers. Both claimed access to a higher truth, a higher power, i.e., revelation, at a time when it seems to have been believed that such direct experience of God was unavailable to man. Both, apparently, drew to themselves followings responsive to the messages of hope for the deprived. Paul, on the other hand, was a self-designated apostle of Jesus and, at first glance, was possessed of a derivative authority as an official of the Christian movement. However, he functioned as a millenarian prophet in his own right.

Actually, it is hardly a simple task to assess Paul's function within primitive Christianity. Were we to accept the evidence of Acts, we could build up rather an elaborate picture of Paul entering

[37] See Burridge's descriptions of the Tuka movement and the Tangu case, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-53, 64-69.

communities, overwhelming his hostile hearers with words and miracle and furthering the spread of the true church, already established *in nuce*, whose future depended on an articulation of a revealed pattern. But, given the probability that virtually no detail of Acts' picture of Paul's career is trustworthy unless explicitly confirmed by Paul's own letters, we must use the letters as our only reliable source. Even the letters are to be read carefully, with due regard for Paul's not inconsiderable ego. Following the procedure of treatment of the Teacher and Jesus, we should see whether Paul in his interaction with those to whom he preached served the functions of a prophet of the type described by Burridge.

First, the millenarian prophet claims revelation. The authority claimed by Paul came not from immediate contact with the Jesus whom he preached, but from a revelation of the risen Christ:

> For I certify to you, brothers, the gospel which I preach, that it is not according to man. For I neither received it from man, nor was I taught it, but [it came] through a revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal. 1.11f.).

Here we find not only that the Pauline authority is not derivative from the pre-crucifixion and pre-resurrection Jesus, but also that there is no human chain of tradition in which Paul deigns to place himself, i.e., he was not "taught." This is emphasized further on in the same passage:

> ... I did not take counsel with flesh and blood, nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me... (Gal. 1.16f.).

The other apostles and even Jerusalem, the center of the Church at that time, was not in Paul's line of power; Paul's access to power was direct.

Second, the prophet's message is of a changed situation, of new or renewed channels to power, or new or renewed redemptive media. The essential feature of Paul's message was an offer of redemption to those who would join those bound in faith to the memory of the crucified and resurrected Christ and to the expectation of his return. There are at least two significant attacks on the redemptive media of the establishment which seem to be foremost in Paul's mind and they relate to membership or affiliation with the saved and to the *mitzvah* system.

As with the Essenes, membership was the only guarantee of salvation: those not in were out. But, for Paul, the group from

which members could come was unbounded; not only Jews or converts to Judaism were eligible. That constituted a significant difference from the requirements of other Jewish millenarists contemporary with Paul, e.g., the Essenes and Jesus. Obviously, his position on the eligibility of Gentiles brought him into sharp conflict with non-Christians, Jews, but there were also serious objections from other Christians particularly those associated with the Jerusalem Church. Paul devoted much of his letter writing to issues surrounding the Gentile question. Thus Paul finds himself the apostle to the Gentiles, and from the perspective of our schema the Gentiles constitute the deprived group. That is to say that according to the Jewish view of how salvation was effected, there was one thing about which Jews seemed to agree and that was that, in order to be saved, one had to be either born or converted into Judaism.[38]

Intimately connected with Paul's openness to the salvation of the Gentiles was Paul's attitude toward the *mitzvah* system and Torah in general. Clearly, the Torah as a medium of redemption through obedience to its *mitzvot* is ruled out:

> For sin shall not rule over you since you are not subject to law, but to grace (Rom. 6.14).
>
> Or do you not know, brothers—for I speak to those who know the law—that law is binding on man while he lives? ... So, my brothers, you too were put to death with respect to the law through the body of Christ, so that you might belong to another. ... But now we are discharged from the law, since we died with respect to that which bound us, so that we might serve in newness of spirit and not in the oldness of the law (Rom. 7.1, 4, 6).
>
> For Christ is the end of the law for the purpose of justification for everyone who believes (Rom. 10.4).

The evidence could be multiplied, but the point is clear. Paul argues for a new situation where the old law, the *mitzvot* are no longer necessary for redemption. The *mitzvot* are no longer operative as a redemptive medium. The details and subtleties of the argumentation are not relevant to our study, but what is relevant is the fact that Paul can still argue from Torah to prove his point.

[38] Exclusion from Judaism was surely not the only deprivation that propelled gentiles into the Christian movement. Determination of motivations of converts is a difficult matter requiring a detailed study of various communities with precisely such questions in mind.

The Bible of the Jews is still authoritative, is still considered revelation insofar as it preserves God's promises to Jews and Gentiles which, of course, are to be interpreted through Paul's revelatory experience. So too did the Teacher of the Essenes interpret the Biblical revelation refracted through his experience of immediate revelation. What replaces the *mitzvah* system is faith, an attitude toward an historical claim about Jesus and what is to be inferred from the truth of the claim.[39]

What Paul preaches, then, is revolutionary indeed. The *mitzvah* system no longer provides an adequate measure of a man; no longer can one's identity be bound up with obedience to Torah. The *mitzvot* are relegated to a period which has just passed, and it is Paul's periodization which is used to justify his attitude toward *mitzvot*. The period of differentiation by law is over:

> Before faith came, we were under the custody of the law, closed off from the faith which was to be revealed. So that the law was our guardian up to Christ, so that we might be justified by faith. But now that faith has come, we are no longer under a guardian.... There cannot be Jew or Greek, there cannot be slave or free, there cannot be male or female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. And if you belong to Christ, then you are a seed of Abraham, heirs according to promise (Gal. 3.23-25, 28-29).

One could hardly ask for a better example of the transition stage from old rules to new rules, the period of non-differentiation.[40] Indeed, in letters such as those collected as First Corinthians we see Paul trying to deal with the consequences of a community consciousness of no rules at all. Paul finds himself forced to legislate in an interim fashion, coming down on the good of the community as the standard for acceptable behavior.

As for the Temple, Paul also rejects that as a medium of redemption, despite the attempt made in Acts to bring Paul within the fold of the Jerusalem Christian community headed by James. Paul's attitude toward the cult may be discerned from his allegorization on Hagar and Sarah in Gal. 4:

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[39] I must reserve comment on the function of faith, a mental state, as a redemptive medium for Paul and those who followed him. Besides the severity of exegetical problems, the discussion would bring us into social-psychological issues and thus be more extensive than necessary for our present purposes. See above, notes 11 and 12.

[40] See above, pp. 31ff. and n. 35.

> Tell me, you who want to be subject to the law, do you not attend to the law? For it has been written that Abraham had two sons, one by the maidservant and one by the free woman. But the one by the maidservant was born according to the flesh and the one by the free woman through the promise. These are allegorized: for these are two covenants, one from Mt. Sinai giving birth into slavery, i.e., Hagar. Now Hagar is Mt. Sinai in Arabia and corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she serves as a slave with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free; she is our mother (vv. 21-26).

The freedom of the Christian has no relation to the slavery presented by the Jerusalem Temple.

With such reasoning Paul cuts the cord, removing totally the biological factor from the Jewish concept of redemption. At the same time the Temple cult is replaced with other symbols, other redemptive media. Baptism, for instance, becomes a primary redemptive medium, but what is really redeeming about baptism is the acceptance of the truth about things: that Jesus was crucified and resurrected and that resurrection is to be expected for all the faithful. Further, the symbol of baptism contains the conviction that the time of the authority of the old law is over and that a radically new situation obtains.[41] With the death of Torah, with Jesus's death as the ultimate sacrifice ending the requirement of sacrifice, the community itself becomes the Temple.[42]

So we see Paul, the millenarian prophet, pronouncing a new situation, drawing on the old covenant for his authority and his categories, announcing new redemptive media, providing in himself a synthesis of old and new. For Paul, himself a new man and a founder of the church could claim once to have been a Pharisee and a persecuter of the nascent Christian movement.[43] In short, he fulfils nearly every criterion for a millenarian prophet.[44] His message is one of freedom, freedom from all obligation in the new time which has only conditionally begun. Freedom is already a condition of existence, although now, for the time being, it is also a conditioned

[41] Rom. 6:3ff.

[42] I Cor. 3:10-17.

[43] I Cor. 1:15; Gal. 1.

[44] Burridge, pp. 153-163. A most important feature of the prophet appears to be the fact that somehow he embodies the crucial aspects of the millenarian movement in himself. He not only announces the new situation, but he is a part of it. The movement that he announces is often (if not always) rooted in tradition although ringing dramatic changes. He himself synthesizes old and new: he is a "new man", but he is recognizable to his adherents.

freedom. But it is the millennium in Burridge's sense that Paul announces.

VII

In summary, we see that by examining certain features of Judaism in the Greco-Roman period through the lenses of an anthropological viewer, interesting inter-relationships of phenomena appear. We have a way of getting at some of the important power issues of the day, such as control over Torah interpretation in relation to control over cult, issues of dynastically based power in struggle with an aristocracy of Torah-knowledge, etc. We also have an interesting way to look at major figures such as the Teacher of the Essenes, Jesus and Paul in a way that indicates structural similarities of their functions in relation to their respective communities. This type of viewpoint speaks directly to questions of direct influence (e.g., was Jesus an Essene?), for there are other possibilities than selfconscious replication in that figures such as Jesus, Paul and the Teacher can stand as instances of a type, the millenarian prophet. We see a period filled with millenarian ideologies and activities and we may then see Essenism and Christianity, at least, as examples of the general phenomenon. There is no need to smooth over differences and uniquenesses in this approach, but we learn from comparison as well as from differentiation. As for other groups such as the Pharisees and the Sadducees, we see them living in the same universe as the others, but adjusting to their own problems with access to power *via* redemptive media in different, essentially non-millenarian ways.

RÉFLEXIONS SUR LE JUDÉO-CHRISTIANISME

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Il y a encore quelques décennies, le judéo-christianisme faisait dans l'histoire des premiers siècles chrétiens figure de parent pauvre, à l'image même de ces Ebionites qui en furent les représentants. La plupart des Histoires de l'Eglise ancienne écrites aux environs de 1900 lui accordaient parcimonieusement un maigre chapitre et se bornaient à constater qu'il s'agit là d'un phénomène sans beaucoup d'ampleur et en tous cas sans répercussions durables dans la vie de la chrétienté antique.[1] Depuis lors il a de plus en plus attiré l'attention du monde savant. Le livre de F. J. A. Hort, paru en 1894 et intitulé *Judaistic Christianity* est le premier d'une série de monographies qui se poursuit, pour ne retenir que les titres principaux, avec les livres de G. Hoennicke, *Das Judenchristentum* (1908), H. J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (1949) et *Das Judenchristentum* (1964). G. Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen* (1958) et J. Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme* (1958). L'Université de Strasbourg a organisé en 1964 un colloque dont les Actes ont été publiés l'année suivante en un volume intitulé *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme* (1965). Enfin, tout récemment, les *Recherches de Science Religieuse* ont consacré deux numéros entiers (Janvier-Mars et Avril-Juin 1972), sous la forme d'un hommage au Cardinal Daniélou, au judéo-christianisme.[2] Il n'est guère à l'heure actuelle, dans le domaine du christianisme antique, de chercheur qui ne pense avoir son mot à dire sur la question. Ainsi ce judéo-christianisme, qui naguère n'était nulle part, est en passe de se retrouver maintenant partout.

Le résultat le plus clair de ces nombreuses publications a été de faire ressortir l'extrême complexité d'un phénomène qui était apparu au départ comme très simple. On s'est aperçu chemin faisant,

[1] Ainsi par exemple L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, I[6], pp. 137-138 et 568.

[2] Réunis en un volume distinct sous le titre *Judéo-Christianisme*, Paris, 1972.

et surtout depuis la publication du livre de Daniélou, qu'il était fort difficile de le cerner et, partant, d'en donner une définition parfaitement adéquate et satisfaisante. En fait, plusieurs définitions différentes, sinon contradictoires, en ont été proposées au cours des années récentes. Je voudrais, dans les pages qui suivent, formuler quelques réflexions critiques sur la question.

Avant les plus récentes des publications que je viens de mentionner, les historiens inclinaient assez généralement à définir le judéo-christianisme soit par l'appartenance ethnique, soit par l'observance rituelle, voire par l'une et l'autre à la fois. C'est ainsi que le *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* caractérise les judéo-chrétiens comme "les chrétiens d'origine juive qui associent les observances de la religion mosaïque aux croyances et aux pratiques chrétiennes".[3] J'ai dit ailleurs, et je ne puis que répéter ici, que pareille définition me paraît irrecevable parce que trop étroite.[4] Nous avons en effet de bonnes raisons d'admettre que l'observance juive ne se limitait pas, dans l'Eglise ancienne, aux seuls Israélites convertis. Il a existé une mission judéo-chrétienne, visant à amener les fidèles venus de la Gentilité à se plier eux aussi aux prescriptions rituelles. Nous ignorons naturellement quelle a pu être l'ampleur de ses succès. Le témoignage des Epîtres pauliniennes, Galates en particulier, invite à ne pas la minimiser. Mais n'aurait-elle fait qu'un nombre modeste de recrues que cela suffirait à faire écarter et la définition du judéo-christianisme par la naissance et l'observance à la fois, et, à plus forte raison, celle qui ne retiendrait que le critère de la naissance. Car s'il y a effectivement dans les rangs des judaïsants des fidèles étrangers au peuple élu, à l'inverse certains Juifs convertis ont, à l'exemple de Saint Paul, rompu les liens avec la religion ancestrale.

Nous sommes gênés, en l'occurence, par une lacune du vocabulaire français, qui ne dispose que d'un seul terme, judéo-chrétien, judéo-christianisme, pour désigner à la fois les chrétiens de naissance israélite — et si on l'entend ainsi Paul lui-même peut être étiqueté judéo-chrétien — et aussi, quelle que soit leur origine, les judaïsants. L'allemand est, à cet égard, mieux loti, puisqu'il possède deux termes là où nous n'en avons qu'un: *Judenchristentum* et *Judaismus*. Le premier désigne assez communément, dans l'usage

[3] *Dict Théol. Cathol.*, article "Judéo-Chrétien", VIII, 2, 1681.
[4] *Verus Israel*, 2ème éd., Paris, 1964, p. 277.

savant, les chrétiens d'origine juive, et l'on peut alors parler, avec Walter Bauer, d'un *Judenchristentum ohne gesetzliche Bindung*,[5] d'un judéo-christianisme sans obligations légale, ce qui en français peut apparaître contradictoire. Le second de ces termes au contraire s'applique au christianisme judaïsant, même lorsqu'il se manifeste dans certains secteurs de l'Eglise des Gentils.[6]

L'usage anglais hésite entre *Judaistic-Judaic* et *Jewish Christianity*, sans que l'on saisisse très bien s'il s'agit de termes synonymes et interchangeables, ou s'il existe de l'un à l'autre des nuances de sens. Je ne suis pas sûr, à ce propos, que *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, titre retenu pour l'édition anglaise du livre de Daniélou, soit la meilleurs traduction possible de *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme* Car il me semble, à tort ou à raison, que *Jewish Christianity* devrait désigner un christianisme pratiqué par des Juifs et offrirait ainsi un équivalent du *Judenchristentum* allemand. Il donnerait, en rétroversion française littérale, christianisme juif, mais cette étiquette, appliquée à l'analyse de Daniélou, représenterait un contre-sens total. Ces ambiguïtés de vocabulaire ont contribué pour une bonne part à compliquer le problème; ou, si l'on préfère, elles en reflètent la complexité.

Nous pourrions, il est vrai, en ce qui concerne l'usage français, retenir le terme de judaïsants pour désigner les chrétiens de la Gentilité qui réintroduisent l'observance et réserver celui de judéo-chrétiens pour les fidèles d'origine juive restés attachés à la Loi rituelle. Mais cette spécification supposerait entre les chercheurs une convention qui n'existe pas encore. Et il manquerait toujours à côté du participe "judaïsants" un substantif correspondant à *Judaismus*. Les ressources de notre langue étant ce qu'elles sont, force est d'utiliser au mieux le terme de judéo-chrétiens pour désigner, en priorité, tous ceux qui, dans l'Eglise ancienne prétendent être et sont en fait à la fois Juifs et chrétiens: chrétiens parce qu'ils reconnaissent en Jésus le Messie, Juifs parce qu'ils restent attachés à tout ou partie du patrimoine spirituel israélite, et spécialement à tout ou partie de la Loi rituelle. Même si ce critère de l'observance est jugé insuffisant et doit être complété par

[5] *Rechtglaübigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, 2ème éd. revue par G. Strecker, Tübingen, 1964, p. 91.

[6] Sur la relation entre *Judenchristentum* et *Judaismus*, cf. p. ex. G. Hoennicke, *op. cit.* et plus récemment L. Goppelt, *Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert*, Gütersloh, 1954, *passim*.

d'autres, il me paraît fondamental et essentiel. Je conçois mal qu'on puisse parler de judéo-christianisme là où le facteur observance est totalement absent. A l'inverse on est en droit de parler de judéo-christianisme partout où il est présent. Aussi bien le judaïsme se définit d'abord par une pratique. Il est orthopraxie plus qu'orthodoxie. Et par surcroît c'est bien autour de l'observance rituelle que se sont développées dans l'Eglise primitive les premières controverses et que s'est opérée la division entre les deux courants se réclamant respectivement de Paul et de Jacques.

Mais une fois ce point admis, on se trouve aussitôt affronté à un autre problème: comment délimiter l'observance à partir de laquelle on pourra définir le judéo-christianisme? Ou, pour parler plus familièrement, quelle est la dose d'observance requise pour qu'un fidèle de l'Eglise ancienne puisse être qualifié de judéo-chrétien? J'ai proposé naguère un critère que je crois toujours valable et qui est fourni par le Décret Apostolique consigné au chapitre 15 des *Actes des Apôtres*.[7] Je n'ai pas le loisir de revenir ici sur les discussions que ce document a suscitées. On peut tenir pour acquis que les prescriptions qu'il codifie sont toutes de caractère exclusivement rituel: interdiction de la consommation du sang, des idolothytes et des viandes étouffées, ainsi que de la *porneia*, par quoi il faut entendre non pas le dévergondage, mais la violation d'un certain nombre de tabous règlementant la vie conjugale et sexuelle (inceste au sens large où l'entend Lévitique 18, mariages mixtes, non-observance des règles de pureté lévitique appliquées aux relations sexuelles).[8] Ces prescriptions représentent aux yeux des auteurs du Décret le minimum indispensable (ἐπάναγκες) qu'on peut exiger même des Gentils, mais aussi le maximum au-delà duquel on n'a pas le droit de les entraîner: "Nous ne vous imposerons pas d'autre fardeau" dit la lettre apostolique qui accompagne l'envoi du Décret. Nous savons que celui-ci a continué d'être appliqué assez longtemps dans de nombreux secteurs de l'Eglise ancienne.[9] Il fixe donc la position officielle de l'Eglise sur la question

[7] *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme*, pp. 7-8.

[8] Cf. M. Simon, "The Apostolic Decree and its Setting in the Ancient Church", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1970, pp. 437-460.

[9] Contrairement à ce qu'affirme G. Quispel, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1968, p. 93, selon lequel le Décret n'est resté en vigueur, comme code rituel, que dans les milieux judéo-chrétiens des Pseudo-Clémentines. C'est négliger de nombreux textes qui en attestent l'observance tenace à l'intérieur de la Grande Eglise.

de l'observance juive. Nous sommes fondés par conséquent à voir là la ligne de démarcation entre le chrétien de type normal et le judéo-chrétien. Sera judéo-chrétien celui qui ira au delà de ce minimum indispensable et se pliera à d'autres prescriptions de la Loi rituelle juive.

Ainsi défini par rapport à l'observance mosaïque, le judéo-christianisme remonte incontestablement jusqu'aux origines premières de l'Eglise. On peut même dire qu'avant le début de la mission paulinienne il représente la forme unique de christianisme. Car il semble assuré que les Douze et la communauté jérusalémite groupée autour d'eux ne se sont pas contentés pour leur part du minimum codifié dans le Décret Apostolique, mais sont au contraire restés fidèles à une plus stricte observance. Le problème est de savoir si c'est celle que pratiquait le judaïsme officiel, la Synagogue pharisienne, ou s'il faut en chercher les racines — et j'y reviendrai — du côté des sectes juives marginales. Même Etienne et les Hellénistes peuvent encore être étiquetés judéo-chrétiens non seulement parce qu'ils sont, dans leur majorité, Israélites de naissance, — un seul parmi les Sept, Nicolas, est présenté comme prosélyte d'Antioche — mais aussi parce que les critiques qu'ils formulent à l'endroit des institutions rituelles juives visent exclusivement, selon toute apparence, le Temple et son culte. Etienne le rejette de la façon la plus catégorique; mais il le fait au nom même de la Loi authentique de Moïse, par rapport à laquelle le Temple représente à ses yeux une véritable apostasie.[10] Rien n'autorise à penser qu'il ait tenu pour caduques d'autres aspects de la législation rituelle.

Ce n'est en fait qu'à partir de Saint Paul que judéo-christianisme et christianisme cessent d'être coextensifs. Encore la conception paulinienne de l'Evangile a-t-elle eu quelque peine à s'imposer à l'ensemble de la chrétienté naissante. Il n'est pas sûr que les Douze, dans la mesure où ils ont participé à la mission, se soient toujours cantonnés dans les limites du Décret Apostolique. Les attaques de l'Epître aux Galates contre les chrétiens de la Gentilité qui acceptent de judaïser incitent à penser le contraire. On est en droit par conséquent d'admettre qu'il existe une certaine continuité et un lien de filiation directe entre le judéo-christianisme des siècles ultérieurs et celui de la communauté apostolique. L'exégète danois J. Munck a été, à ma connaissance, à peu près seul à nier cette

[10] Cf. M. Simon, *St Stephen and the Hellenists in the Primitive Church*, London, 1958.

continuité. Comme par surcroît il nie la réalité d'un prosélytisme juif, il met les tendances judaïsantes qui se manifestent dans l'Eglise ancienne au compte soit d'une attirance spontanée qui rapproche les fidèles de la Synagogue, soit d'une réflexion sur l'Ancien Testament, resté pour l'Eglise Ecriture canonique.[11]

Ce sont là, à mon sens, des vues paradoxales, qui n'ont probablement convaincu personne. Les facteurs que Munck retient, à l'exclusion de tout autre, pour expliquer le judéo-christianisme, ou plus exactement les tendances judaïsantes, de l'époque post-apostolique, ont probablement joué, mais à titre secondaire. Leur effet s'ajoute à celui de la mission judéo-chrétienne dont certains parmi les Jérusalémites paraissent avoir été les initiateurs et qui leur a sans doute survécu, comme leur a survécu un certain temps cette mission proprement juive qui, ayant commencé par recruter des prosélytes parmi les païens, a essayé aussi de gagner des chrétiens et, faute de réussir le plus souvent à les agréger à la Synagogue, a pu du moins contribuer dans une certaine mesure à développer des mouvements judaïsants au sein de l'Eglise.

Le critère de l'observance rituelle permet donc de délimiter à l'intérieur de l'Eglise ancienne le judéo-christianisme. Il est même, à mon sens, le seul qui le permette de façon précise. On a proposé parfois de le compléter par un recours à des particularités doctrinales qui caractériseraient en propre le rameau judéo-chrétien. Les judéo-chrétiens se distingueraient plus spécialement par une christologie de type adoptianiste ou subordinationiste qui refuserait à Jésus la qualité de Dieu et ne verrait rien de plus en lui qu'un prophète ou qu'un Messie purement humain. Mais un tel critère apparaît fort difficile à manier. Car si ce sont bien là, semble-t-il, les vues professées par certains judéo-chrétiens il en est d'autres qui paraissent avoir enseigné une christologie très apparentée, voire même identique, à celle de la Grande Eglise. Saint Jérôme en particulier souligne cette convergence et affirme même qu'elle vaut pour tous les judéo-chrétiens.[12] C'est là sans doute une simplification excessive. Car Origène et aussi Eusèbe déclarent que les judéo-chrétiens étaient divisés sur la question de la naissance virginale: les uns l'admettaient, les autres au contraire affirmaient

[11] Munck a développé ces vues dans divers travaux et en dernier lieu dans "Primitive Jewish Christianity and later Jewish Christianity: Continuation or Rupture?", *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme*, pp 77-91.

[12] *Ep. ad Aug.* 89, 13.

que Jésus n'était qu'un mortel, qui devait sa naissance à l'union de Marie et d'un homme.[13].

Il ne semble pas, en fait qu'il y ait eu une christologie judéo-chrétienne, unique et spécifique.[14] Le critère doctrinal paraît donc difficile à manier lorsqu'il s'agit de définir le judéo-christianisme. A plus forte raison ne saurait-on retenir les vues de Schoeps, pour qui le judéo-christianisme se réduit tout entier à cette forme très particulière représentée par les écrits pseudo-clémentins. Ce type de judéo-christianisme, directement dérivé, selon toute apparence, d'un rameau marginal, ésotérique et sectaire du judaïsme pré-chrétien, n'est bien au contraire qu'un entre plusieurs, et il apparaît pratiquement impossible de trouver entre eux tous une base commune suffisamment nette et suffisamment large pour qu'on puisse définir le phénomène en termes de doctrine. Ni la conception très limitative que Schoeps propose du judéo-christianisme, ni son idée que cette branche du christianisme illustrée par les Pseudo-Clémentines procède en droite ligne de la communauté apostolique, qui aurait déjà professé les vues très particulières, aussi aberrantes par rapport aux normes rabbiniques que par rapport à l'orthodoxie chrétienne ultérieure, développées dans ces écrits, n'ont apparemment rallié beaucoup de suffrages. La réalité complexe du judéo-christianisme ne se laisse pas réduire à des cadres aussi rigides.

Mention doit être faite ici de la tentative, contestable dans ses méthodes et dans ses conclusions, faite il y a une vingtaine d'années par Gregory Dix pour renouveler et assouplir la notion de judéo-christianisme.[15] La thèse sur laquelle est construit son livre — publié d'ailleurs a titre posthume — est celle d'un conflit, qui dominerait, nous dit-on, toute l'histoire de la Méditerranée orientale aux approches de l'ère chrétienne, entre deux cultures, étiquetées respectivement hellénistique et syriaque. Le second de ces termes est emprunté à Toynbee. Il désigne le complexe de civilisation du Proche Orient en tant qu'il se distingue de l'hellénisme, et dont le judaïsme représente une composante particulièrement importante. Ce qui constitue une culture au sens où Dix l'entend, c'est essentiel-

[13] *Contre Celse*, 5, 61 et 65; *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 17, 3.

[14] La place qu'ils faisaient à l'observance incite à penser que la sotériologie des judéo-chrétiens offrait elle aussi quelques particularités par rapport à celle de Paul et en général de la Grande Eglise puisqu'elle devait faire une place à la Loi, à côté du Christ, comme instrument du salut: cf. Hippolyte, *Philosoph.* 7, 34.

[15] *Jew and Greek*, Londres, 1953.

lement un ensemble d'idées, qui sont toujours de contenu plus ou moins théologique. Au cœur de la culture syriaque il y a la notion du Dieu vivant, par quoi elle s'oppose à la conception essentiellement cosmocentrique qui caractérise l'hellénisme.

Je n'insisterai pas sur le caractère très schématique et systématique, sinon absolument artificiel, de l'opposition ainsi affirmée entre deux types de culture qu'on nous déclare totalement incompatibles. Elle fait bon marché de cet immense brassage d'idées en même temps que de peuples consécutif aux conquêtes d'Alexandre et dont la résultante essentielle a été précisément la naissance d'une culture où, bien que nous l'appelions hellénistique, les éléments orientaux, "syriaques", sont au moins aussi importants que les éléments grecs. Ce qui intéresse notre propos, c'est l'application que Dix fait de ce schéma à l'histoire des origines chrétiennes.

L'Evangile, nous dit-il, exprime la quintessence du génie syriaque, et il continue de le faire même à partir du moment où il recourt pour s'exprimer à des catégories conceptuelles empruntées à l'hellénisme. Dans une telle perspective, il est bien évident qu'on ne saurait déceler au départ, alors que tous les fidèles se recrutent encore dans les rangs d'Israël, de différences et à plus forte raison d'oppositions au sein de l'Eglise naissante. Elle est intégralement et exclusivement "syriaque" c'est-à-dire judéo-chrétienne à la fois par l'appartenance ethnique et par les cadres de sa pensée. On est fondé alors à voir dans "l'ecclésiasticisme" judaïsant de l'époque sub-apostolique non pas une déviation par rapport aux conceptions pauliniennes, mais leur fruit très authentique: l'Eglise sub-apostolique présente ce caractère "non pas parce qu'elle a oublié l'Evangile paulinien, mais parce qu'elle a été fondée entre autres par St. Paul et St. Silas, les apôtres judéo-chrétiens venus de Jérusalem".[16] De la même façon on peut affirmer que la justification par la foi en Jésus Messie, loin d'être une invention paulinienne, représente bien au contraire "la seule doctrine originale et fondamentale de l'Eglise judéo-chrétienne elle-même".[17] De la même façon encore Dix en vient à affirmer que les Nazaréens, secte judéo-chrétienne "restèrent fidèles (en matière d'observance) à la position de St. Pierre, St. Paul et St. Jacques",[18] comme s'il n'y avait qu'une seule et même position commune à ces trois hommes.

[16] *Op. cit.* p. 84.
[17] *Op. cit.* p. 45.
[18] *Op. cit.* p. 65.

En fait il est trop clair que tout l'effort de Dix, visiblement inspiré par des préoccupations apologétiques, tend à démontrer non seulement la continuité sans faille entre l'époque apostolique et l'époque sub-apostolique, mais aussi la parfaite harmonie et l'identité complète de vues entre les principaux chefs de file de la première génération. Il le fait au moyen de cette notion d'un judéo-christianisme à la fois ethnique et conceptuel dont ils auraient été, les uns et les autres, les représentants très authentiques.

Si contestables que soient ces vues, elles me paraissent avoir préparé la voie — et c'est à ce titre que j'ai cru devoir les signaler brièvement — à celles qu'a développées, quelques années plus tard, le R. P. Daniélou. Car en définitive, lorsqu'il caractérise à son tour le judéo-christianisme par des catégories de pensée, il reprend, en la transposant et en l'assouplissant, cette idée d'un christianisme quintessence du génie "syriaque" développée par Dix.

Rappelons en quelques mots la position de Daniélou. Pour lui le terme de judéo-christianisme est susceptible de trois acceptions principales. Il peut désigner tout d'abord des Juifs ralliés au Christ et qui voient en lui un prophète ou un Messie, mais ne reconnaissent pas sa divinité. Ainsi entendu, il recouvre une bigarrure de groupements divers qui vont des simples observants juifs aux conventicules syncrétistes où Daniélou, reprenant sur ce point la thèse développée par R. M. Grant, incline à chercher les origines du dualisme gnostique. Les Ebionites de type pseudo-clémentin y sont eux aussi englobés.

Le terme s'applique également à la première communauté jérusalémite groupée autour de Jacques et caractérisée par son attachement à des formes de vie juives. Ce milieu, affirme Daniélou, est, à la différence du précédent, "parfaitement orthodoxe", ce qui d'ailleurs resterait à démontrer. Quels sont, à l'époque, les critères de l'orthodoxie ? Et est-il bien sûr que le messianisme de cette seconde variété de judéo-chrétiens ait, comme on nous le dit, impliqué la divinité du Christ, entendue du moins dans le sens où l'entendra par la suite la Grande Eglise ? Il n'est pas certain que les oppositions entre cette nuance de judéo-christianisme et la précédente aient été, sur le plan doctrinal, aussi tranchées que le pense Daniélou.

Quoi qu'il en soit de ce point précis, notons que l'une et l'autre n'ont, pour l'histoire du christianisme, qu'un intérêt très secondaire. La première se situe d'emblée en marge du courant majeur d'où naîtra le catholicisme. La seconde disparaît progressivement de la

scène après 70 et n'a survécu quelque temps, figée sur des positions archaïques, que dans la secte sans rayonnement des Nazaréens.

Mais il existe encore, aux yeux de Daniélou, et c'est ici son apport original, une troisième acception du terme judéo-chrétien: "On peut appeler judéo-christianisme une forme de pensée chrétienne qui n'implique pas de lien avec la communauté juive, mais qui s'exprime dans des cadres empruntés au judaïsme".[19] Ces cadres de pensée définis comme juifs sont naturellement présents dans les deux variétés précédentes de judéo-christianisme. Mais ils se retrouvent également bien au-delà de leurs limites. Ils caractérisent non seulement des Juifs qui, comme Paul, ont rompu avec l'observance, mais aussi des recrues venues du paganisme et qui, en matière de rites, ne judaïsent pas. En fait, le judéo-christianisme défini de cette manière a été un long moment coextensif à l'Eglise: "Il y a une première théologie chrétienne d'expression juive, sémitique", et l'on peut ainsi parler, dans l'histoire de l'Eglise ancienne, d'une "période judéo-chrétienne", qui va" des origines du christianisme au milieu du second siècle environ".[20]

Daniélou estime en outre que les divers courants qui, au début de notre ère, constituaient le judaïsme ont tous à quelque degré imprimé leur marque au christianisme naissant. Mais c'est en définitive surtout de l'apocalyptique que sont venues les influences déterminantes: "On peut dire que toute la littérature judéo-chrétienne est apocalyptique, si l'apocalyptique constitue sa méthode théologique".[21] Et l'auteur précise: "Cette apocalyptique était une gnose. Elle était constituée par des enseignements sur les réalités cachées du monde céleste et sur les arcanes dernières de l'avenir".[22]

On notera que Daniélou exclut d'emblée, dans son effort de définition du judéo-christianisme à partir de catégories de pensée juives, ou plus largement sémitiques, la spéculation philonienne, "qui relève d'un judaïsme exprimé dans les cadres de la philosophie grecque".[23] C'est là une démarche tout à fait normale, car on ne saurait caractériser le judéo-christianisme, dans sa spécificité proprement sémitique et par contraste avec une théologie chré-

[19] *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*, p. 10.
[20] *Op. cit.* pp. 20-21.
[21] *Op. cit.* p. 34.
[22] *Op. cit.* p. 35.
[23] *Op. cit.* p. 20.

tienne modélée par la pensée grecque, à partir de ce qu'il y a de plus hellénisé dans le judaïsme de l'époque. Il est en revanche très contestable d'éliminer également "le judaïsme rabbinique, légaliste, d'après la chute de Jérusalem" [24] en l'opposant, de façon très inattendue au pharisaïsme, dont il représente cependant l'héritier incontesté et que Daniélou reconnaît fort justement comme l'une des composantes majeures de ce *Spätjudentum* à partir duquel il entend éclairer le judéo-christianisme.

C'est une gageure que de vouloir réduire celui-ci, c'est-à-dire, si nous suivons Daniélou, le christianisme tout entier à la première étape de son développement, depuis les origines jusqu'au milieu de IIème siècle, presque entièrement à la seule apocalyptique. Un simple coup d'œil jeté sur les textes de cette époque montre qu'il comporte bien d'autres aspects encore. Plus généralement, l'idée d'une période judéo-chrétienne dans l'histoire de l'Eglise ancienne résiste mal à l'examen. Elle procède d'un schématisme très contestable, que met bien en lumière l'articulation donnée par Daniélou à son *Histoire des Doctrines chrétiennes avant Nicée*: car tel est le titre général du grand ouvrage dont la *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme* constitue le premier volume. Le second s'intitule *Message Evangélique et Culture Hellénistique aux IIème et IIIème siècles*. Un troisième volume est annoncé, qui traitera de la théologie latine pendant la même période. Cette tripartition signifie que trois cultures ont contribué à modeler l'Eglise et la pensée chrétiennes: la juive, la grecque et la latine, et que chacune a produit sa théologie particulière. Robert A. Kraft, entre autres, a souligné avec pertinence ce qu'il y a d'un peu artificiel et arbitraire dans une telle perspective.[25] On conçoit très bien qu'il y ait — et il y a en fait — entre la théologie d'expression grecque et la théologie d'expression latine des différences sensibles, reflétant celles des langues et des mentalités. Mais comme la théologie dite judéo-chrétienne s'exprime elle aussi, dans l'état présent de notre documentation, essentiellement en grec et non pas dans un idiome sémitique, on ne voit pas bien — c'est encore Kraft qui le souligne — sur quels critères

[24] *Op. cit.* p. 19.

[25] "In search of 'Jewish Christianity' and its 'Theology'. Problems of Definition and Methodology", *Judéo-Christianisme*, en particulier pp. 83 ss. On doit noter cependant que Daniélou parle, à l'occasion, de judéo-christianisme latin: ainsi dans "Le traité *de Centesima, Sexagesima et Tricesima* et le judéo-christianisme latin avant Tertullien", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1971, pp. 171-180.

vraiment sûrs, donnés dans les textes eux-mêmes, on pourra la distinguer d'une théologie hellénistique.

La définition qui nous est ainsi proposée du judéo-christianisme appelle encore bien d'autres réserves. Si l'on entend définir le phénomène à partir de catégories de pensée, il faudra étiqueter judéo-chrétien, bien au-delà de la limite chronologique retenue par Daniélou, tout le courant majeur de la pensée chrétienne, simplement parce qu'il professe, dans la ligne du judaïsme, un Dieu personnel et transcendant, la Providence divine, l'inspiration de la Bible juive. Sans aller jusque là on est en droit de penser que l'apocalyptique est une pierre de touche difficile à manier. Il reste en effet à démontrer que cette orientation de pensée procède toujours et exclusivement, lorsqu'elle apparaît dans le christianisme naissant, du judaïsme. Il n'est nullement exclu que dans certains cas au moins l'origine doive en être cherchée en dehors des cadres de la pensée juive. L'auteur le reconnaît lui-même quand il constate par exemple que la doctrine des sept cieux — par opposition à celle des trois — "ne se rencontre pas dans le judaïsme du temps. Nous la trouvons seulement dans les textes judéo-chrétiens. Elle est due certainement à des influences orientales, irano-babyloniennes. Elle apparaît donc comme un trait caractéristique du judéo-christianisme syriaque".[26] Si les mots ont un sens, le judéo-christianisme, de quelque façon qu'on le définisse, est une forme de christianisme où les composantes juives sont particulièrement nettes. De quel droit alors qualifier de judéo-chrétienne une croyance qui est sans parallèle ni racine dans le judaïsme?

Il me semble également paradoxal qu'on puisse affirmer que "la lutte contre les tendances judaïsantes caractérise les judéo-chrétiens",[27] en invoquant à l'appui de cette assertion l'exemple de l'Epître de Barnabé. Il est bien vrai en effet que cet écrit combat un ritualisme judaïsant. Mais est-il légitime de le caracteriser comme judéo-chrétien, alors que ses affinités les plus précises sont du côté de cet allégorisme alexandrin que Daniélou refuse précisément de faire entrer en ligne de compte pour son analyse du judéo-christianisme? De même, présenter les prophètes de l'Eglise primitive comme une institution spécifiquement judéo-chrétienne,[28] c'est oublier qu'avant d'apparaître dans la *Didachè*, qui d'ailleurs s'en

[26] *Théologie*, p. 132.
[27] *Op. cit.* p. 50.
[28] *Op. cit.* p. 30.

méfie, ils sont présents dans les épîtres de Paul comme une des fonctions majeures des communautés pauliniennes. Faut-il donc cataloguer Paul lui aussi comme judéo-chrétien? Daniélou, nous l'avons vu, le fait explicitement. Mais d'autre part — et c'est là une des contradictions de sa thèse — il n'impute pas au judéo-christianisme les écrits du Nouveau Testament. Il n'en fait pas état dans le premier chapitre de son livre qui, sous le titre "l'héritage littéraire du judéo-christianisme", passe en revue les sources dont nous disposons pour reconstituer cette forme particulière de théologie chrétienne: les apocryphes du Nouveau Testament y figurent à côté de ceux de l'Ancien, mais non pas les écrits canoniques. Nouveau Testament et pensée judéo-chrétienne sont parfois opposés très explicitement. Ainsi à propos de la descente aux Enfers: il semble, écrit Daniélou, "que cette doctrine soit étrangère au Nouveau Testament... Elle est proprement judéo-chrétienne".[29]

Parfois aussi il distingue, apparemment en les opposant, "la tradition primitive", d'où sont issus par exemple les recueils de *Testimonia*, et le milieu judéo-chrétien, qui les a enrichis.[30] Mais que peut bien être cette tradition primitive, sinon celle qui repose sur la prédication apostolique? Où trouvera-t-on le judéo-christianisme authentique, sinon dans le collège des Douze et dans la première communauté jérusalémite? Si "la tradition primitive" n'est pas typiquement judéo-chrétienne, comment expliquer cette soudaine intrusion dans l'Eglise naissante, à la seconde ou à la troisième génération, c'est-à-dire à un moment où déjà le recrutement juif est en train de se tarir, de ce que Daniélou appelle judéo-christianisme et qui est sans racines véritables dans les premiers écrits chrétiens?

On pourrait allonger la liste des objections. Elles peuvent, me semble-t-il, se résumer en un ou deux points. Le judéo-christianisme tel que le conçoit Daniélou, c'est-à-dire en tant que théologie structurée et cohérente, représente une abstraction.[31] Si haut que

[29] *Op. cit.* p. 257. Dès les premières lignes du chapitre I de son livre, Daniélou annonce comme objet de son étude "la période intermédiaire" qui se situe "entre le Nouveau Testament et les débuts de la théologie hellénistique telle qu'elle apparaît chez les Apologistes".

[30] *Op. cit.* p. 281.

[31] Cf. à ce propos, entre autres, les remarques de R. A. Kraft, dans l'article déjà cité, et de L. W. Barnard, dans un compte-rendu des *Etudes*

nous remontions dans le développement de la pensée chrétienne antique, nous n'y découvrirons pas de période exclusivement judéo-chrétienne. Les apports juifs et les apports non-juifs apparaissent côte à côte dans les textes sur lesquels s'appuie Daniélou, et parfois à l'intérieur d'un même texte. En d'autres termes, les éléments dits judéo-chrétiens existent effectivement. Mais d'une part ils ne sauraient se réduire à la seule apocalyptique—Daniélou lui-même d'ailleurs ne limite pas son analyse à ce cadre étroit—; et d'autre part ils sont charriés pêle-mêle avec des éléments d'autre nature et d'autre origine et ne constituent pas une doctrine unique et uniforme, ni même un type de doctrine vraiment tranché qui soient communs à toutes les sources envisagées.

Est-ce à dire qu'il faille porter sur la tentative de Daniélou un jugement négatif ? En aucune façon. Une fois formulées objections et critiques, il reste que son livre constitue un apport original et positif. Le grief majeur est qu'il a systématisé à l'excès une réalité moins structurée qu'il ne l'admet. Son très grand mérite est de nous avoir rendus attentifs à cette réalité, assez généralement méconnue jusque là, et par le fait même à l'extrême complexité intellectuelle du christianisme naissant. Quant à l'étiquette judéo-chrétienne qu'il retient pour la caractériser, elle se justifie lorsqu'il s'agit d'éléments présents dans l'un ou l'autre courant de la pensée juive à l'époque et qui par ailleurs ne se retrouvent pas dans les formes dites hellénistiques de la théologie chrétienne c'est-à-dire, selon la perspective choisie par Daniélou, dans les écrits postérieurs au milieu du IIème siècle. C'est ce double critère qui, semble-t-il, permet de délimiter quelque peu les contours d'une notion qui autrement resterait trop vague et d'un maniement difficile. Encore serait-il peut-être préférable, puisque le judaïsme comportait lui aussi tout un secteur imprégné d'hellénisme et que Daniélou laisse en dehors, de son enquête de parler de christianisme sémitique plutôt que de judéo-christianisme. [32]

C'est néanmoins cette dernière appellation qui s'est imposée dans l'usage commun. Acceptons-la donc, avec les réserves nécessaires. Et arrêtons-nous un instant à un ouvrage récent, celui

d'Exégèse judéo-chrétienne de J. Daniélou, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1968, pp. 224-226.

[32] Nous savons aujourd'hui qu'il ne faut pas exagérer l'opposition entre Palestine et Diaspora. La Palestine elle-même était plus pénétré d'influences grecques qu'on ne l'a souvent admis: cf. sur ce point, en particulier, l'ouvrage récent de M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, Tübingen, 2ème éd. 1973.

de R. L. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity* (1970). Il se place délibérément dans le sillage de Daniélou. Le judéo-christianisme tel que l'auteur l'entend, et dont il se propose de restituer la pensée christologique, est, nous dit-il, défini par deux caractéristiques: idéologiquement ses cadres conceptuels et sa terminologie sont enracinés dans la pensée sémitique en général et dans le judaïsme en particulier; géographiquement il est centré sur Jérusalem, ou tout au moins il considère l'Eglise jérusalémite comme son Eglise-mère et s'efforce d'en continuer le ministère.[33] L'auteur précise ensuite — qu'il entend par judéo-christianisme primitif (*early*) celui du premier siècle chrétien, c'est-à-dire de la centaine d'années qui va de la Résurrection à la seconde guerre juive, et plus précisément celui de l'époque apostolique. On notera que le *terminus ante quem* coïncide à peu près avec celui que Daniélou assigne à la période dite judéo-chrétienne. Mais à la différence de Daniélou, Longenecker prend délibérément appui sur les écrits du Nouveau Testament, en plus des écrits non canoniques, juifs ou judéo-chrétiens, y compris les documents de Qumran du côté juif et ceux de Nag Hamadi, qui lui paraissent pouvoir en bonne partie être attribués au judéo-christianisme. Pour ce qui est du Nouveau Testament il considère comme judéo-chrétiens les Evangiles de Matthieu et de Jean, l'Epître aux Hébreux, celle de Jacques, la Première de Pierre, les Epîtres johanniques et l'Apocalypse. Il entend, lorsqu'il les définit ainsi, que ces écrits reflètent un arrière-plan (*background*) judéo-chrétien et qu'ils sont adressés à des judéo-chrétiens ou à des Juifs *potentially interested* de Syrie-Palestine ou de la Diaspora.[34]

Il me paraît difficile d'accepter ce point de vue sans retouches. Que tous les écrits ainsi classés sous la rubrique judéo-chrétienne portent à quelque degré la marque du judaïsme, officiel ou marginal, est incontestable. Encore conviendrait-il de distinguer plus rigoureusement que ne le fait l'auteur entre de simples particularités linguistiques - aramaïsmes ou sémitismes-, une connaissance exacte des institutions religieuses du judaïsme et du milieu géographique palestinien et la marque plus précise d'une mentalité et de conceptions proprement juives, qui seule autorise à employer l'étiquette judéo-chrétienne. Il est douteux par ailleurs qu'aucun des écrits en question soit absolument exempt d'influences hellénistiques,

[33] *Op. cit.* pp. 3-4.
[34] *Op. cit.* p. 18.

même si celles-ci les ont atteints à travers un judaïsme lui-même hellénisé. Les affinités esséniennes de l'Epître aux Hébreux ont à coup sûr modifié l'éclairage sous lequel il convient de lire ce texte; elles n'ont pas supprimé les affinités philoniennes. Ces constatations incitent une fois de plus à la prudence dans le maniement du concept de judéo-chrétien.

Il reste que les écrits du Nouveau Testament étant dans leur ensemble les plus anciens des textes chrétiens actuellement connus, c'est effectivement à travers eux que l'on peut espérer saisir quelque chose de la pensée judéo-chrétienne au sens le plus précis et le moins contestable du terme, c'est-à-dire celle de la communauté jérusalémite et du groupe apostolique. Longenecker est convaincu que ce judéo-christianisme représente une entité facilement saisissable, qui se distingue du judaïsme d'une part, du fait de sa foi en Jésus, et d'autre part du christianisme paulinien par un certain nombre de traits. Sur le premier point les choses sont en effet assez claires. Pour ce qui est de Paul elles le sont beaucoup moins, en particulier faute de documents reflétant avec une suffisante précision et de façon indiscutable la pensée théologique des judéo-chrétiens. Une christologie angélomorphique, celle qui voit en Jésus le Prophète mosaïque des temps ultimes, ou le Serviteur, ou le Juste, ou le Fils de l'Homme, peuvent bien être considérées comme judéo-chrétiennes. Mais lorsque nos textes ont recours aux titres de Messie-Christos ou de Seigneur, la spécificité apparaît beaucoup moins nette: nous sommes alors sur le terrain de ce qu'on peut appeler christianisme primitif commun plutôt que sur celui du strict judéo-christianisme. Longenecker a tendance à considérer que ce sont là termes synonymes. Il est significatif que, citant Cullmann, il écrive "Early Jewish Christian theology was almost exclusively christology" [35] alors que Cullmann disait simplement, sans faire mention de judéo-christianisme: "La théologie chrétienne primitive est presque exclusivement une christologie".[36]

On voit bien la ligne de clivage entre les judéo-chrétiens et Paul en ce qui concerne la Loi. On peut admettre aussi, avec Longenecker que la pensée judéo-chrétienne se formule en termes fonctionnels plutôt qu'ontologiques. Mais l'on devra bien constater, en refermant le livre, qu'il est malaisé ici de dresser des barrières rigides. La conclusion de l'auteur, qui voit dans la christologie

[35] *Op. cit.* p. 25.

[36] O. Cullmann, *Christologie du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1958, p. 10.

de Paul le prolongement direct de ce qu'il appelle "the main convictions of that earlier mainstream faith" trahit peut-être une tendance harmonisante. On peut cependant y lire aussi cet aveu tacite qu'il est bien difficile de restituer dans son originalité et sa spécificité, à travers les seuls vocables christologiques utilisés dans le Nouveau Testament, la christologie des premiers judéo-chrétiens; difficile aussi de cerner l'entité judéo-chrétienne, même au stade initial de l'histoire de l'Eglise, si on la conçoit en termes de doctrine. A défaut de certitude on devra se contenter ici de vraisemblances.[37]

Longenecker pense pouvoir déceler chez ses judéo-chrétiens, ceux de la première heure, un "basically nonconformist Jewish background" qui contraste avec" the more official Jewish training and procedure reflected in Paul's writings". [38] Il évoque ainsi, sans l'aborder de front, et en le considérant apparemment comme résolu, l'un des problèmes majeurs de l'histoire des origines chrétiennes: dans quel secteur du judaïsme faut-il chercher les racines de l'Eglise naissante, et plus précisément du judéo-christianisme?

Schoeps a proposé à ce problème une solution simple et séduisante, que je mentionnais plus haut: le judéo-christianisme des Pseudo-Clémentines découle en droite ligne de celui des Douze et nous renseigne de façon exacte sur leurs positions; ce qui signifie que la première communauté chrétienne se situe d'emblée en marge du judaïsme officiel et des normes synagogales. La majorité des critiques s'est refusée à accepter ces conclusions. Je considère pour ma part que le groupement qui s'exprime dans les Pseudo-Clémentines procède d'un noyau juif préchrétien et dissident, sans connexion assurée avec la communauté apostolique et qui a été ultérieurement christianisé, peut-être en Transjordanie et au contact de judéo-chrétiens partis de Jérusalem aux approches de la première guerre juive. Plus précisément, les Ebionites du type pseudo-clémentin me paraissent représenter la forme christianisée du groupe nasaréen - distinct des Nazaréens - dont parle Epiphane.[39]

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[37] Il paraît difficile de discerner clairement, comme l'ont essayé certains chercheurs, une théologie judéo-chrétienne hellénistique, distincte à la fois de celle du judéo-christianisme palestinien et de celle du christianisme hellénistique de la Gentilité: cf. sur ce point les remarques de I. Howard Marshall, "Palestinian and Hellenistic Christianity: Some Critical Comments", *New Testament Studies*, April 1973, pp. 271-287.

[38] *Op. cit.* p. 6.

[39] *Haer.* I, 18.

Il existe entre les deux sectes une identité de croyance frappante, la seule différence résidant dans la foi chrétienne professée par les Ebionites et qui semble bien avoir été plaquée sur l'enseignement des Nasaréens.[40]

Il me paraît artificiel d'opposer trop rigoureusement, comme facteurs d'explication en matière d'origines chrétiennes, le judaïsme non-conformiste des judéo-chrétiens et le judaïsme officiel de Paul. Car d'une part, à moins de récuser à la fois le témoignage des Actes et celui de Paul, force est de reconnaître que les premiers disciples se pliaient aux cadres et aux pratiques du judaïsme officiel et que certains au moins d'entre eux essayaient de les imposer aux recrues venues de la gentilité. Et d'autre part, si l'emprise des schémas de pensée rabbinique sur l'Apôtre est indéniable,[41] la découverte des manuscrits de la Mer Morte a fait apparaître entre sa pensée et celle des cénobites de Qumran des affinités précises sur nombre de points.[42]

Ces constatations soulignent la complexité et la fluidité du christianisme naissant ainsi que du judaïsme de l'époque; elles invitent à ne pas élever à l'intérieur de l'un et de l'autre de barrières trop rigides. C'est à partir du judaïsme dans son ensemble, c'est-à-dire des tendances diverses qui l'animaient, ou plutôt qui le composaient, qu'il faut essayer de comprendre le christianisme naissant dans son ensemble, qu'il s'agisse de sa forme paulinienne ou de son rameau judéo-chrétien. Ce dernier en particulier semble avoir emprunté certains traits aussi bien au judaïsme officiel qu'à des milieux plus marginaux, voire franchement sectaires, sans qu'on puisse le rattacher de façon précise et exclusive à l'un ou aux autres.

La parfaite orthodoxie du judéo-christianisme initial, celui de Jacques et des Jérusalémites, n'est peut-être pas établie aussi sûrement que le pense Daniélou. Il faut, pour l'affirmer, admettre que la doctrine qui définira par la suite l'orthodoxie est déjà au moins

[40] M. Simon, *Les sectes juives au temps de Jésus*, Paris, 1960, pp. 89-92 et "La migration à Pella: légende ou réalité?", *Judéo-Christianisme*, pp. 47-49.

[41] Cf. p. ex. W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, Londres, 2ème éd., 1955, et H. J. Schoeps, *Paulus*, Tübingen, 1959.

[42] Cf. en particulier J. Murphy-O'Connor (éd.) *Paul and Qumran*, London, 1968; W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit", dans Kr. Stendahl (éd.), *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, New York, 1957; B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, Cambridge, 1965.

en germe dans l'enseignement des premiers disciples et ne fait que l'expliciter davantage. Mais nos sources relatives à la période apostolique sont trop maigres et trop peu précises pour qu'on puisse atteindre à une certitude. Les Nazaréens des siècles suivants sont bien sans doute, comme Daniélou l'admet, les descendants en droite ligne de la communauté jérusalémite. Mais peut-on tenir pour assuré que leur messianisme, élément d'une "théologie archaïque" . . . implique la divinité du Christ", [43] au sens du moins où l'entendra Nicée? Même si, comme je le notais plus haut, la christologie judéo-chétienne initiale s'exprime dans un vocabulaire qui recoupe en partie celui de Paul et des docteurs orthodoxes ultérieurs, cela ne suppose pas nécessairement que les mots aient tout à fait le même sens de part et d'autre. Le "Kyrios" des communautés hellénistiques n'est peut-être pas l'équivalent exact du "Maran" araméen, dont l'usage dans la communauté primitive paraît indiscutable, pour ce qui est de son contenu doctrinal. [44]

Une chose du moins paraît assurée. Si tous les judéo-chrétiens ont fini par se retrouver dans les ténèbres extérieures, ravalés par la Grande Eglise au rang d'hérétiques, il en est qui sont hérétiques par nature ou par vocation, et dès le début, parce qu'ils prolongent un groupe sectaire qui est d'emblée en marge de l'Eglise comme de la Synagogue: c'est le cas des Ebionites des Pseudo-Clémentines. D'autres au contraire le sont devenus en quelque sorte par accident, du fait de l'évolution doctrinale du christianisme. Il semble qu'il y ait eu entre ces deux rameaux des divergences assez importantes en matière de christologie. Mais ils ont en commun deux traits: un même attachement à l'observance juive et, en rapport avec lui, une même répudiation de Paul et de ses lettres. Cela a suffi pour que St. Jérôme leur refuse la qualité de chrétiens: "Christianos esse se simulant". [45]

Reste, à côté du judéo-christianisme sectaire, le courant de pensée qu'à la suite de Daniélou on catalogue comme judéo-chrétien à l'intérieur de l'Eglise. L'existence d'une période judéo-chrétienne aux origines du christianisme semble n'être qu'une vue de l'esprit. On peut être sceptique également touchant une théologie judéo-chrétienne spécifique, articulée en un tout original et cohérent. En

[43] *Théologie*, p. 18.
[44] La question est discutée dans Longenecker, *op. cit.* pp. 120ss.
[45] *Ep. ad Aug.* 89, 13.

revanche des éléments de doctrine et surtout des schémas de pensée qu'on peut avec raison qualifier de judéo-chrétiens sont discernables à travers les premiers siècles: c'est l'apport essentiel de Daniélou de l'avoir démontré.

On doit noter cependant que la production scientifique récente hésite encore parfois sur l'acception précise qu'il convient de donner au terme judéo-chrétien. Un ouvrage de B. Bagatti, visiblement redigé dans la ligne des idées de Daniélou, se présente cependant sous le titre caractéristique de *L'Eglise de la Circoncision*, [46] ce qui signifie qu'il entend le judéo-christianisme au sens ethnique, comme le précise d'ailleurs une note liminaire de la traduction française: il y est fait mention du peuple juif, "dont les judéo-chrétiens font partie". De fait, le livre consiste essentiellement en une rapide histoire du judéo-christianisme ainsi défini, à partir de l'Eglise mère de Jérusalem et à travers ses formes ecclésiastiques aussi bien que sectaires. On est surpris dès lors de voir cataloguer comme judéo-chrétien le mouvement judaïsant dénoncé à Antioche par St. Jean Chrysostome et qui, de toute évidence, affecte des chrétiens de la Gentilité et a pour point de départ la propagande faite auprès d'eux par des Juifs non-chrétiens. [47]

L'auteur fait grand cas des trouvailles archéologiques récentes faites à Jérusalem et sur le sol palestinien.[48] Cette implantation géographique lui paraît une raison suffisante pour attribuer ces vestiges en bloc aux judéo-chrétiens. Le critère exige d'être manié avec précaution, en particulier en ce qui concerne les symboles figurés. Il faudrait, pour qu'on puisse les considérer comme indubitablement judéo-chrétiens, même au sens large qu'a proposé Daniélou, ou bien qu'ils ne se retrouvent pas dans d'autres secteurs de la chrétienté antique - catacombes romaines par exemple - ou tout au moins que l'antériorité des exemplaires palestiniens par rapport à tous les autres soit établie avec une parfaite certitude. Or la chronologie reste ici très approximative. [49] Il ne suffit pas non plus pour établir l'origine précisément et exclusivement judéo-

[46] Publié à Jérusalem en 1965. Le propos de l'auteur est rendu parfaitement clair par l'image qui orne la couverture du livre: la mosaïque célèbre de Ste Sabine à Rome représentant, en pendant à *Ecclesia ex Gentibus*, *Ecclesia ex Circumcisione*.

[47] *Op. cit.* pp. 22 et 75-76; cf. M. Simon, *Verus Israel*, pp. 415ss.

[48] Cf. en particulier B. Bagatti et J. T. Milik, *Gli Scavi del "Dominus flevit"*, I, Jérusalem, 1958.

[49] Cf. Bagatti-Milik, *op. cit.* pp. 43-44.

chrétienne de ces symboles de leur trouver des racines dans l'Ancien Testament, qui était lu par l'Eglise tout entière et où même les fidèles venus de la Gentilité pouvaient puiser des éléments de leur symbolique. Beaucoup de ces thèmes peuvent d'ailleurs s'expliquer aussi bien, ou conjointement, par des antécédents païens: ainsi pour la palme ou la couronne. Une étude minutieuse de chaque symbole, analysé dans son contexte le plus large et non seulement dans le cadre palestinien, est nécessaire pour qu'on puisse en préciser les racines.

Daniélou a entrepris cette tâche dans une série d'articles ultérieurement réunis en volume. [50] Il incline généralement vers une origine judéo-chrétienne de ces symboles. On sera disposé à le suivre au moins pour certains d'entre eux, qui effectivement s'éclairent le mieux à partir des textes où il a reconnu par ailleurs l'héritage littéraire du judéo-christianisme *lato sensu*. Tel me paraît être le cas, entre autres, de l'étoile messianique et de la croix.[51] Mais le problème des influences gnostiques possibles se pose aussi à propos de certains de ces cryptogrammes. Celui des relations entre judéo-christianisme et gnosticisme reste parmi les plus épineux qu'ait à aborder l'historien des premiers siècles chrétiens. Je ne puis ici que le signaler en passant.[52]

Les discussions soulevées et les recherches suscitées par la *Théologie* de Daniélou, qui apparaît bien, à cet égard, comme un travail de pionnier, ont eu pour résultat essentiel d'une part, comme je le soulignais plus haut, de nous rendre sensibles à l'extrême difficulté de définir le judéo-christianisme, d'autre part d'attirer l'attention sur un rameau important, jusqu'alors assez méconnu, de l'Eglise ancienne. Si en effet l'idée d'une période judéo-chrétienne n'a pas, me semble-t-il, réussi à s'imposer, en revanche un nombre croissant de chercheurs reconnaît l'importance d'un secteur géographique qu'on peut, faute de mieux, appeler judéo-chrétien, parce qu'il porte l'empreinte profonde du judaïsme synagogal ou marginal. Peut-être, pour le distinguer du judéo-christianisme au sens premier et classique du terme, pourrait-on

[50] *Les symboles chrétiens primitifs*, Paris, 1961; cf. également E. Testa *Il Simbolismo dei Giudeo-Cristiani*, Jérusalem, 1962.

[51] J. Daniélou, *Symboles*, pp. 109ss. et 143ss.

[52] Cf. J. Daniélou, "Judéo-christianisme et gnose", *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme*, pp. 139-164; essai récent de mise au point de R. McL. Wilson, "Jewish Christianity and Gnosticism", *Judéo-Christianisme*, pp. 261-272.

parler de christianisme judaïque ou encore, en le définissant à partir de son implantation dans l'espace, de christianisme syro-palestinien. [53]

Nous sommes en présence, ici encore, d'une réalité complexe, aux aspects divers. Il s'agit tout d'abord d'un judéo-christianisme au sens le plus précis, c'est-à-dire de communautés de type nazaréen restées attachées aux principales observances rituelles de la Loi, en particulier aux prescriptions alimentaires et à la circoncision. Nous connaissons ce milieu de façon indirecte, à travers la *Didascalie*, qui polémique avec ces judéo-chrétiens et leur reproche de se plier encore aux commandements de la *deuterosis*, c'est-à-dire de la Loi cérémonielle imposée par Dieu au peuple pécheur, en punition pour l'épisode du veau d'or, et qui s'oppose aux préceptes moraux du Décalogue. [54] L'appellation de "Hébreux croyants" utilisée à ce propos par la *Didascalie* montre qu'il s'agit d'un groupe de recrutement israélite; celle de "chers frères" qui leur est appliquée témoigne d'une estime assez inattendue envers ces hérétiques. Il n'est d'ailleurs pas absolument exclu que ces deux qualifications désignent des membres de la communauté orthodoxe dont est issue la *Didascalie* plutôt que le groupe où la *deuterosis* est en vigueur et qui pourrait alors être simplement juif tout aussi bien que judéo-chrétien. Il est difficile d'en décider avec certitude.

Mais par ailleurs la *Didascalie* elle-même est très préoccupée de se conformer à des schèmes juifs, adaptés et transposés, en matière de calendrier par exemple. Ceci suppose ou bien que les convertis venus du judaïsme sont, dans la communauté dont elle reflète les vues, suffisamment nombreux pour lui imposer partiellement leur propres critères, ou bien que cette communauté est implantée, peut-être comme élément minoritaire, dans un milieu profondément marqué par une forte présence juive ou judéo-chrétienne, ou les deux. On pourrait parler, pour caractériser la *Didascalie*, de judéo-christianisme mitigé.

Le phénomène s'étend d'ailleurs au-delà des limites géographiques et chronologiques dans lesquelles se situe la *Didascalie*. Il

[53] La première appellation est retenue p. ex. par G. Quispel, "The Discussion of Judaic Christianity", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1968, pp. 81-92; la seconde a été proposée, sous la forme "transpalestinienne" par *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme*, pp. 181ss.

[54] Cf. à ce propos, parmi la bibliographie récente, l'appendice que G. Strecker a donné, sous le titre "zum Problem des Judenchristentums", à la 2ème édition de W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei*, pp. 245-260.

affecte une large fraction de la chrétienté orientale antique qui, au sein même de la Grande Eglise, se distingue du christianisme gréco-latin par des traits à la fois négatifs (méconnaissance des concepts fondamentaux du paulinisme par exemple) et positifs (attachement à certains critères disciplinaires ou liturgiques et à certains cadres de pensée juifs et rabbiniques). Ce christianisme judaïque est à cheval sur les frontières de l'Empire. Il est essentiellement d'expression araméenne ou syriaque, mais comporte aussi certains prolongements dans le domaine grec, en particulier en direction d'Antioche. Edesse semble en avoir constitué le point d' appui principal. [55]

Son existence paraît s'expliquer par une mission venue de très bonne heure de Palestine même et, sur place, par un recrutement initial en grande partie juif. La tradition, légendaire dans le détail, relative à Addaï semble bien se rapporter à un personnage historique, Juif palestinien de la première génération chrétienne. Le caractère "judaïque" de l'Evangile de Thomas, écrit, probablement à Edesse vers le milieu du IIème siècle, est aujourd'hui universellement reconnu. [56] Les autres écrits du cycle de Thomas, au même titre que le *Diatessaron* de Tatien, éclairent eux aussi cette forme particulière de christianisme, dont la tendance vigoureusement ascétique et encratite paraît découler en ligne directe de groupements sectaires juifs du type essénien. [57]

Les tenants de ce christianisme sémitique ont continué longtemps à se désigner eux-mêmes comme Nazaréens, tandis que l'appellation de chrétiens était réservée au secteur grec. Bien que

[55] Sur ce point, J. Daniélou et H. Marrou, *Nouvelle Histoire de l'Eglise*, I, Paris, 1963, pp. 77-81, où Daniélou paraît vouloir infléchir dans un sens géographique son idée d'une période judéo-chrétienne; G. Quispel, "The Discussion. . ."; L. W. Barnard, "The Origins and Emergence of the Church of Edessa during the First Two Centuries A. D.", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1968, pp. 161-175; H. J. W. Drijvers, "Edessa und das jüdische Christentum", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1970, pp. 4-33.

[56] Cf. les travaux cités à la note précédente.

[57] Les Odes de Salomon s'inscrivent dans la même ligne: A. F. J. Klijn, "The Influence of Jewish Theology on the Odes of Solomon and the Acts of Thomas", *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme*, pp. 167-179. L'auteur, tout en soulignant l'importance du facteur juif dans la genèse du christianisme syrien, n'est pas convaincu qu'il soit le fait d'une mission jérusalémite. Sur les tendances ascétiques de cette Eglise, A. Vööbus, *Celibacy in the Early Syrian Church*, Stockholm, 1951, et *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, I, Louvain, 1958; dans le même sens, G. Quispel, "L'Evangile selon Thomas et les origines de l'ascèse chrétienne", *Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme* pp. 35-52.

ses particularités se soient peu à peu estompées du fait d'influences helléniques, elles sont encore clairement perceptibles au début du IVème siècle chez Aphraate. Une telle persistance est remarquable. Elle a été certainement servie par le contexte linguistique et culturel, et différencie le judéo-christianisme syrien de celui qu'on entrevoit aux origines de l'Eglise égyptienne et qui a été assez vite recouvert par des apports grecs. Judéo-chrétien au sens le plus précis à son stade initial, c'est-à-dire fondé par des Juifs chrétiens, resté sémitique d'esprit et le plus souvent de langue, ce christianisme "judaïque" des pays syriens représente en définitive la forme la plus importante, numériquement et historiquement, de l'ample et diverse famille judéo-chrétienne.

ASIA MINOR AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY

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I. *The Area*

The present article is dedicated to a great scholar whose command of ancient history is much more profound than mine could ever be. The excuse for writing this essay is, first of all, my long friendship with Professor Morton Smith; and second, my interest as an amateur in the history of early Christianity in Asia Minor. This is a field that still repays the study of specialists, and I can only hope that someone will carry these researches further.

The first matter to be considered is whether Asia Minor should be thought of as a whole. The studies of Rudolf Knopf [1] and Walter Bauer [2] have been most fruitful for church-historical research. Arnold Ehrhardt and Helmut Koester have made important criticisms and revisions of Bauer's work.[3] The principal concentration has been on the western part of the great land mass of Asia Minor, which, as cultural and archaeological studies show, consists of more than one culture area. Thus the Aegean coast, at the beginning of the Christian era, is linked with Crete, Cyprus, the Aegean islands and mainland Greece in a single area of cultural individuality. The Anatolian highland is another distinctive place. Cilicia, on the other hand is an area of "varying affiliation" that is sometimes linked to the Anatolian highland and sometimes affiliated elsewhere, for example in Graeco-Roman times.[4]

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[1] In J. Weiss, *Earliest Christianity* (E.T., New York, 1959), II, 774-817. Knopf's method of proceeding by areas is followed by Bauer and by L. Goppelt, *Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh, 1954).

[2] W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (2nd ed., Tübingen, 1964), pp. 67-98. There is now an English translation by R. A. Kraft and G. Krodel, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971).

[3] A. Ehrhardt, *The Framework of the N.T. Stories* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 151-99; J. M. Robinson and H. Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 114-57.

[4] R. W. Ehrich, in S. S. Weinberg (ed.), *The Aegean and the Near East* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1956), pp. 1-21. By contrast with Cilicia, which

In an earlier article I attempted to describe the situation as I saw it in 1957.[5] More recently I have tried to pose some questions about it.[6] For example, could some parts of Asia Minor be considered "developing countries" in the first and second centuries A.D.? The question of a "developing" or "underdeveloped" region is of course formulated from the point of view of nineteenth and twentieth century industry and technology. In ancient times the difference between various regions in manufacturing techniques would not have been as great as today. The question, therefore, is this: in each place how much of Graeco-Roman architecture and civic institutions, Greek language and education, had penetrated? There is also a psychological question: did the people in certain regions feel their homelands to be provincial, removed from the centers of fashionable and prestigious culture? The first question is easier to answer than the second.

Hellenistic culture and Roman government had tremendous penetrative power. Everyone recognizes this. The question is the local response of the population. It would seem that, in the period of history which we are considering—the late first century and the first three quarters of the second—the Aegean Greek culture exerted much influence on other regions, while the Anatolian highland was more in isolation, though some influence from it remained in the western coastal areas. The south coast of the Black Sea belonged generally with the highland areas, but there were ancient Greek cities here and there that never lost contact with Hellenism. Where Greek culture penetrated the highland, it was strongest in the cities. "In Hellenistic and Roman times," Ehrich remarks, "Cilicia was provincial rather than barbaric, and definitely formed a part of the north Mediterranean imperial nuclei." [7]

always shifts back and forth, Palestine has been, since the Late Bronze Age, a region of "composite cultures." On Phrygia, see note 156 below.

[5] S. E. Johnson, "Early Christianity in Asia Minor," *JBL*, LXXVII (1958), 1-19.

[6] S. E. Johnson, "Unsolved Questions about Early Christianity in Anatolia," in D. E. Aune (ed.), *Studies in N.T. and Early Christian Literature*, Wikgren Festschrift (Leiden, 1972), pp. 181-93. In the present essay I deal further with several of these questions.

[7] Ehrich, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Here I should remark that Galatia proper (i.e. "north" Galatia) was generally outside the Hellenistic culture area except for such manifestations of empire as the Augusteum in Ankara. Phrygia was comparatively untouched, so were Lycaonia and bordering region except for such Roman colonies as Pisidian Antioch. Of course in every large city Graeco-Roman culture was influential. It is significant that when Apollonius

Although there are many local variations in Asia Minor, and although its various regions were in more or less constant contact with other parts of the empire, it is a convenient unit for the study of early Christianity with some distinctive characteristics. Therefore the approach of Knopf and Bauer—and that of Ramsay and his followers—will be continued here, in the belief that this will justify itself.

II. *Archaeology Since 1957*

In my 1958 article, mentioned above, I attempted a brief survey of developments in archaeology, history of art, geography and topography in Asia Minor from 1918 on, with some observations on literary sources and secondary works. The years since that time have been a fertile period for archaeology and surface exploration, marked by excavations on a large scale, supported for the most part by European governments and by private foundations and universities in America, with the continuing collaboration of Turkish and foreign scientists. With some exceptions, the results have not been as spectacular as in the years before 1914, but they have nevertheless been brilliant, and techniques have improved constantly. The policy of the Turkish government in requiring restoration as well as full publication, and the establishment of many local museums, has insured that others than specialists may enjoy the finds and possibly learn something from them.

The field is so vast that here I can mention only the finds from the Roman period, with occasional references to the Hellenistic and Byzantine eras. Thus I shall say nothing about such important sites as Boğazköi and Gordion.

Topographical studies have been made and inscriptions collected,

of Tyana went to be educated it was in Cilicia. Armenia must have been almost completely oriental. The great figures of literary and intellectual life who came from the Aegean littoral and from Cilicia spent much of their time in Rome, or on the mainland of Greece, or in Sicily, or elsewhere in the empire. The great factory of statuary in Aphrodisias of Caria exported its statues. However rich Asia Minor was from the time of Augustus on, however brilliant its artistic and intellectual achievements, it was essentially a group of provinces. Its religious and intellectual leaders looked to Rome, and perhaps in lesser degree to Athens and Olympia, for the rewards, whether in money or prestige, that might come to them. On the other hand, there was reciprocal influence, for a province inevitably affects the prevailing culture, as Juvenal and others were not slow to recognize. We may thus expect from Asia Minor partly an affirmation of the dominant culture and a criticism of it.

for example in Cilicia Tracheia, in the regions of Colophon and Teos, Lycia, Pisidia, and Pessinus in Galatia,[8] and in 1958 James Mellaart completed a survey of two hundred archaeological sites, nearly all of them mounds, in the Konya plain. Approximately half of them exhibit occupation in the Roman period. This in itself indicates the vast amount of work still possible in Turkey.[9]

Michael Ballance has twice revised the identification of ancient Derbe; it is probably to be located at Devri Şehri, though Kerti Hüyük cannot altogether be ruled out.[10] There has been further study of Roman roads in Anatolia, for example in Lycaonia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Commagene and north Galatia.[11]

There now exist excellent guide books to regions and specific sites. Freya Stark is always worth reading because of the richness of her historical and literary knowledge.[12] Three books by G. E. Bean are outstanding for their accuracy in topographical detail and archaeological reliability.[13]

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[8] S. Onurkan, *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia* (Ankara, 1968); G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, "Sites New and Old in Rough Cilicia," *Anatolian Studies*, XII (1952), 185-217; Machteld J. Mellink, *AJA*, LXV (1961) on Colophon and Teos (work of Jeanne and Louis Robert); cf. L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*[2] (Paris, 1962); on Phrygia, Cilicia and Isauria, P. Verzone, *Palladio*, n.s., VII, 2-3 (1957), 54-68; IX, 1-2 (1959), 1-18; on Lycia, Mellink, *AJA*, LXXIII (1969), 216; G. E. Bean, "Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia," *Anat. St.*, IX (1959), 67-117; X (1960), 43-82. Dr. Mellink's reports, published annually in *AJA*, are invaluable to anyone who wishes to keep informed about archaeological progress. A somewhat wider field is covered systematically in *Fasti Archaeologici*, published since 1948. Up-to-date reports are also to be found in *Türk Arkeologisi Dergisi*.

[9] J. Mellaart, *Anat. St.*, IX (1959), 31-33.

[10] M. Ballance, "The Site of Derbe: a New Inscription," *Anat. St.*, VII (1957), 147-51; "Derbe and Faustinopolis," *Ibid.*, XIV (1964), 139-45. But see Bastiaan van Elderen in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin (eds.), *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (Grand Rapids, 1970), 151-61, where arguments are given for Kerti Hüyük, and there is discussion of the two sites, within two and a half miles of one another. They are nearer the centers of Lycaonia than Gudelissin, proposed by Ramsay, and not necessarily within the Roman province of Galatia.

[11] M. H. Ballance, "Roman Roads in Lycaonia," *Anat. St.*, VIII (1958), 223-34; S. Frederick Starr, "Mapping Ancient Roads in Anatolia," *Archaeology*, XVI (1963), 162-69. Dr. David H. French has new information requiring revisions of future maps of central Anatolia; see Mellink, *AJA*, LXXVII (1973), 187f.

[12] For example, *Ionia: a Quest* (New York, 1954); *The Lycian Shore* (New York, 1956); *Alexander's Path* (New York, 1958); *Rome on the Euphrates* (London, 1966).

[13] G. E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey* (London, 1966); *Turkey's Southern Shore* (London, 1968); *Turkey beyond the Maeander* (London, 1971). Other guides

Out of the many excavations, whose literature is so vast, I can mention only those that are of obvious interest for the history of the period under study.

At Pergamum, E. Boehringer began new excavations in 1957. Investigations in and near the Asklepieion, where the great Galen practiced medicine, continued until 1968. It appears that, although the religious beliefs and practices were much the same in Pergamum and Epidaurus, the miraculous healings so frequently recorded in the latter place are quite infrequent here. Asklepios was perhaps more a patron of the medical centre than a wonder-working god.[14] There have also been extensive excavations on the Terrace of Trajan, the Terrace of Demeter and her altar, the Temple of Trajan, and elsewhere.[15]

Discoveries at Ephesus have been spectacular. The work of the Austrian expedition has been concentrated mainly on the side of the Panayır Dağ to the south and east of the theatre, the principal exception being the excavation west of the Artemis Temple. Here the altar was discovered in 1965, completely cleared in 1968, and found to be larger than that of Zeus at Pergamum. The Thermae of Scholastikia have also been uncovered. On the hill the most conspicuous monuments are the Temple of Trajan and opposite it a six-story apartment house in which were pictures of Clio and

and monographs: W. Alzinger, *Die Stadt des siebenten Weltwunders* (Vienna, 1962) (Ephesus); J. Keil and F. Eichler, *Führer durch Ephesos* (Vienna, 1964); A. M. Mansel, *Side Kilavuzu* (Ankara, 1967); *Die Ruinen von Side* (Berlin, 1963); P. Demargne and H. Metzger, *Guide de Xanthos* (Ankara, 1966); Afif Erzin, *Ilkcağda Ankara* (Ankara, 1940); G. M. A. Hanfmann, *A Short Guide to the Excavations at Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962). See also Clive Foss, *Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

[14] Christian Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VIII, 3. *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* (Berlin, 1969); review by Carl Roebuck, *AJA*, LXXV (1971), 108-10. For summaries, see reports by Miss Mellink, *AJA*, LXIV-LXXVII (1960-73).

[15] E. Boehringer, *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet und im vorderen Orient* (Berlin, 1959); *Altertümer von Pergamon*, XI, 1. *Der südliche Temenosbezirk im hellenistischer und frührömischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1968). On theatres, see Daria de Bernardi Ferrero, *Teatri classici in Asia Minore. 3. città dalla Troade alla Pamfilia* (Rome, n.d.; review by Oscar Broneer, *AJA*, LXXVI (1972), 453: "Although most of the 36 theaters described in the three volumes that have appeared so far were built during the Roman occupation of the Asia Minor cities, only one, the phenomenally well-preserved theater at Aspendos, is constructed on western Roman models." It is significant that votive offerings at Pergamum decline in the Roman period, and that there is an increase in utility and kitchen ware; cf. Mellink, *AJA*, LXVII (1973), 187f.

Socrates from the first century A.D. Work has also been done in the upper agora or *Staatsmarkt* and the street of the Kouretes, where a painting, ivory statuettes and relief fragments were found in 1968, all of significance for the history of art. In 1972 the expedition began restoring the façade of the Library of Celsus, which is dated to the second century A.D.[16]

Beneath the Roman agora of Smyrna (Izmir), which was long ago uncovered, Italian archaeologists have conducted excavations.[17]

The temple of Claros was one of Apollo's most famous oracles. Professor and Mrs. Louis Robert began work there in 1950, discovered the temple and its oracular chambers, and finished clearing it in 1958; their last campaign was in 1961. Built early in the Hellenistic period, Claros was one of the last sanctuaries to survive into Christian times.[18] Inscriptions referring to Apollo Clareios have also been found at Hierapolis.[19]

Apollo had another oracle at the huge temple at Didyma. Doro Levi and P. E. Pacorella have worked since 1967 on the agora, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, and other parts of the site.[20] At Halicarnassus (Bodrum), K. Jeppesen has excavated in the Mausoleum area. Professor Iris Love began new excavations at Cnidus in 1967, including a Doric portico, a round Doric temple, the temple of Apollo Karneios, the theatre, and the bouleuterion.[21]

Inland in Lydia, the Harvard-Cornell expedition, under Prof.

[16] Mellink's reports in *AJA* from 1950 on; for the apartment house see especially Hermann Vetters, *ILN*, May 16 and 23, 1964, pp. 706-08 822-25. The Church of St. John the Theologian, on the Selçuk hill, has also been restored; cf. H. Plommer, "St. John's Church, Ephesus," *Anat. St.*, XII (1962), 119-29. See also Vetters, *Anz. Wien*, CVII (1970), 105-23; Irene A. Arnold, "Festivals of Ephesus," *AJA*, LXXVI (1972), 17-22.

[17] R. A. Staccioli, "Gli edifici sotteranei dell' agora di Smirna, e, ancora, sui criptoportici forensi," *Latomeus*, XVI (1957), 275-92; cf. also *Fasti Archaeologici*, XII (1959), Nos. 3224, 3352, 3066; M. P. Nilsson, "New Evidence for the Dionysiac Mysteries," *Eranos*, LIII (1955), 28-40.

[18] For a brief summary, see Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, pp. 190-95. Since 1938 the Roberts have published annually the "Bulletin épigraphique" in the *Revue des études grecques*, which is indispensable not merely for Asia Minor but for all study of Graeco-Roman history.

[19] G. Pugliese, *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene*, n.s. XXIII-XXIV (1961-62), 633-47.

[20] The 1972 campaign uncovered a number of Hellenistic-Roman buildings on both sides of one of the streets in part of the settlement mentioned by Strabo; cf. Mellink, *AJA*, LXXVII (1973), 184f.

[21] I. C. Love, *AJA*, LXXIV (1970), 49-55; LXXVI (1972), 61-76. Apparently Cnidus supported a school of sculptors; see Mellink, *AJA*, LXXVII (1973), 183f.

George M. A. Hanfmann and the late Prof. A. Henry Detweiler, resumed excavation of Sardis in 1958. This vast project, which in 1972 was still continuing, has included the clearing of ruins partially standing, restorations, epigraphic and architectural surveys, excavations in various parts of the ancient city, and exploration of the surrounding territory.[22] Evidence of methods for extracting gold was found in the "Lydian trench" excavation. At Bin Tepe during excavation into the supposed mound of Gyges an inscription was discovered that can be read as *Gugu*. Among the excavations and restorations are a nymphaeum, the so-called Marble Court, the gymnasium with an inscription honoring Lucius Verus, and the "house of bronzes." Clearing has been done on the acropolis and at the Artemis temple, including the altar there. The numerous finds of statuary include a head of Zeus Lydios and reliefs of Kybebe and Artemis. In the second century A.D. there was evidently a revival of interest in local deities.[23]

The second century synagogue, the largest hitherto known from antiquity, was perhaps the most spectacular discovery. It has several peculiarities: an eagle table, a very large apse, two little aediculae on the east wall, and an inscription referring to a *sophodidaskalos*. This tends to support the claim that the Judaism of Sardis had a distinctive character. Certainly the synagogue bears witness to the wealth and importance of the Jewish community, and it may be that this was a building originally designed for

[22] Besides summaries by Mellink, see *BASOR*, 154 (1959), 5-35; 157 (1960), 8-43; 158 (1960), 1-11; 162 (1961), 8-49; 166 (1962), 1-57; 170 (1963), 1-65, 147f.; 177 (1965), 2-37; 182 (1966), 2-54; 191 (1968), 2-41; 199 (1970), 7-65; 203 (1971), 5-22; *Archaeology*, XII (1959), 53-61, 283f.; XIV (1961), 3-11; XIX (1966), 40-97, 273-76; XX (1967), 66-68; XXII (1969), 264-69; XXIII (1970), 251-53; *ILN*, May 30, 1959, 924-27; Apr. 1, 1961, 536-38; Mar. 20, 1965, 26f.; Mar. 27, 22f.; Apr. 13, 1968, 30f.; *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, IX, 1 (1959), 14-19; *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, VIII (1958), 126-30; *Anatolia*, IV (1959), 55-65; L. Robert, *Nouvelles Inscriptions de Sardes*, I (Paris, 1964); G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Sardis und Lydien*, Akad. der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Mainz, Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse VI, 499-536; J. A. Sanders (ed.), *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century, Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* (New York, 1970), pp. 307-26; G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Letters from Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972); other items in Hanfmann bibliography in D. G. Mitten, J. G. Pedley and J. A. Scott (eds.), *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. xii-xvii.

[23] Guy P. R. Metreaux, "A New Head of Zeus from Sardis," *AJA*, LXXV (1971), 155-59.

other purposes which the city gave to the Jews, who adapted it for their uses.[24]

At Hierapolis, an Italian expedition under Prof. Paolo Verzone began work in 1957, made a new survey of the city area and the necropolis to the north, and excavated in various places. Besides the nymphaeum and monumental city gate, two buildings are of particular interest. One is the temple of Apollo, below which on one side is the Plutonium which corresponds quite well to the ancient accounts of it. The other is the octagonal martyrium which beyond doubt was delicated to the St. Philip mentioned by Polycrates and Gaius.[25]

Smaller campaigns were undertaken at Laodicea on the Lycus in 1961 and later by Prof. Jean des Gagniers of Laval University, Quebec. Some streets and buildings were cleared, including a nymphaeum and a building identified as a sanctuary of Isis, containing reliefs in late second-century style.[26] Colossae, a few miles away, remains untouched. Its importance is obvious. The Lycus cities are approximately at the borders of Lydia, Phrygia and Caria, and not far from Ionia.

Aphrodisias in Caria, where the Italian school worked at one time, continues to yield important information. Previously something had been known of its sculpture, and in 1961 Kenan T. Erim of New York University began a major effort which still continues. The excavators have penetrated to the prehistoric levels at the

[24] This seems now to be worked out in convincing form by Andrew R. Seager, "The Building History of the Sardis Synagogue," *AJA*, LXXVI (1972), 425-35. The first stage was related to the palaestra of the gymnasium and to a similar building opposite on the north side of the palaestra. The second stage has a radically different plan. This may have been a public building completed about the time of the Lucius Verus statue (A.D. 166). Seager suggests that the building became too great a drain on civic funds and was sold or given to the Jewish community so that it might be completed. The main hall mosaics and most of the donation inscriptions seem to belong to Stage 3 in the third century. Stage 4, perhaps in the fourth century, resulted in a reorientation of the building. Seager dates the bima and marble table to this period. For evidence that the central part of the gymnasium cannot have been completed much before A.D. 161, cf. Mellink, *AJA*, LXXVII (1973), 186f.

[25] P. Verzone, *Palladio*, I-II (1960); *Atti del Congresso internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Ravenna, 23-29 Settembre* 1962, pp. 611-38; *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene*, n.s., XXIII-XXIV (1961-62), 633-47; XXV-XXVI (1963-64), 351-433.

[26] J. des Gagniers and others, *Laodicée du Lycos. Le Nymphée* (Quebec-Paris, 1968); Mellink, *AJA*, LXVII (1963), 184; LXVIII (1964), 160.

temple of Aphrodite. Other work includes the baths of Hadrian, the theatre, the area of the Odeion and bishop's palace, propylon area, portico of Tiberius, and the agora. Statuary competitions were held here, and the "school" of Aphrodisias evidently exported statues to various parts of the world. The sculptors were versatile; they followed various styles, and made original contributions to the techniques of relief and portrait work. Finds include two statues of Aphrodite, one of the Cnidus type and one draped, and statues of Diogenes and Domitian. The latter, fully draped, was found in the theatre, which must have been in use in the emperor's lifetime.[27]

For a number of years a Swedish expedition has made extensive discoveries at Labranda, another Carian site. The buildings range from the fifth century B.C. through the Roman period. They include a temple of Zeus, a first Andron and a second built by Mausolus, a fountain house, a stadium, and baths dating to the Claudian period, later succeeded by a Christian church.[28]

Farther south, Jürgen Borchardt has been conducting surveys in Lycia since 1965. His expedition has recorded the topography of all *in situ* monuments of Limyra and Myra, and in 1966 discovered and excavated a heroön at Limyra. At Myra the church of St. Nicholas has been cleared and partly restored, and the theatre excavated.[29]

H. Metzger and P. Demargne have excavated Xanthos for a number of years. Since about 1963 they have worked on the Letoön and a Roman nymphaeum of imperial date, and have made many finds of statuary and inscriptions.[30]

Side is perhaps the only city on the south coast to have been systematically excavated. Prof. A. M. Mansel and his colleagues carried on campaigns from 1946 to 1966. The ruins include the

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[27] Reports of Mellink from 1963 on; *ILN*, Jan. 13, 1962, 61-63; *Archaeology*, XV (1962), 59f.; XVII (1964), 59-61; XVIII (1965), 67f.; XX (1967), 18-27; K. T. Erim, *National Geographic Magazine*, Aug. 1967, 280-94; Jale Inan and Elisabeth Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portraiture in Asia Minor* (London, 1966); Bean, *Turkey beyond the Maeander*, pp. 221-31.

[28] Bean, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-68. The series of publications begins with Kristian Jeppesen, *Labraunda, Swedish Excavations and Researches*, I. 1. *The Propylaea* (Lund, 1955).

[29] Mellink's reports; two volumes on Myra and Limyra are to appear in *Istanbuler Forschungen*.

[30] Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie*, IX A 2, cols. 1375-1408; see also, *Guide de Xanthos*, *n.* 13, above.

agora, theatre, temples, baths, and a colonnaded street. Thus a rather complete picture emerges.[31] Now at Perge, Mansel has recently found several statues, including two important ones of Hadrian.[32]

Much farther east, near Nemrud Dagh, Theresa Goell some years ago uncovered the unique monumental sanctuary of Antiochus I of Commagene. From 1953 to about 1965, F. K. Dörner and Miss Goell worked at Arsameia on the hierothesion of Mithradates Kallinikos.[33]

An expedition under Prof. Pieter Lambrechts of the University of Ghent began work at Pessinus in north Galatia in 1967. This included investigation of the canal system of the city, the cemetery areas, and the presumed site of the temple of Cybele. A temple which was discovered was still being excavated and studied in 1970. This is now dated about A.D. 20-25. Numerous inscriptions from the site and its vicinity have been recorded.[34]

The past fifteen years of Asia Minor archaeology have seen the development of new scientific techniques of excavation and recording, and innumerable footnotes have been added to ancient history. The wealth and sumptuousness of Asia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, always known, have been further illustrated. Thus there should be a better understanding of the cosmopolitan culture of the Aegean littoral. Graeco-Roman civilization was not a mere veneer; nevertheless, beneath it, and coalescing with it, were old Anatolian cults, folk-ways and attitudes which from time to time came to the surface. Inner Anatolia was touched much less by Greek culture.[35] The data immediately available from archaeology

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[31] A. M. Mansel, G. E. Bean and J. Inan, *Die Agora von Side und die benachbarten Bauten* (Ankara, 1956); *Belleten*, 110 (1964), 185-208; Pauly-Wissowa, Supplementband X (1965), *s.v.* "Side," cols. 879-918; Jale Inan, *Römische Porträts aus dem Gebiet von Antalya* (Ankara, 1965); G. E. Bean, *The Inscriptions of Side* (Ankara, 1965); also Mansel's guide book, *n.* 13, above.

[32] Mellink, *AJA*, LXVII (1973), 180.

[33] F. K. Dörner and T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios. Istanbuler Forschungen*, XXIII (Berlin, 1963); T. Goell, *BASOR*, 147 (Oct. 1957), 4-22; T. Goell, *American Philosophical Society Yearbook 1958*, pp. 366-71; *FA*, XX (1966), Nos. 3663-4; XXI (1967), No. 3389.

[34] Mellink's reports from 1968 on; for references to inscriptions, see *AJA*, LXXIV (1970), 174f.; for other finds, LXXVI (1972), 185; LXXVII (1973), 189f.

[35] For example, the architecture of interior Anatolia remained backward and provincial; see Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine*

to the historian of early Christianity are modest—rather more is available for Byzantine studies—nevertheless, something more is known of the topography of early Christianity and the roads that Paul and Ignatius might have travelled. There is some light on the pagan and Jewish background, and the physical surroundings are better known. Historians of Christianity should take full account of these findings.

III. *Christianity in relation to its Environment*

There are several ways in which one may try to test the interaction of early Asia Minor Christianity and its environment, though always with the caution that we deal with fragments not always easy to evaluate. Here I should like to make a few remarks on pagan and Christian literature and on the sparse pagan references to Christianity; to evaluate the anti-Roman sentiment that existed and the various Christian responses to the empire; and, finally, to consider relations between Judaism and Christianity in this time and place.

The pagan literature of Asia Minor was, with few exceptions, simply a part of the literature of the cultivated Hellenistic world. Many Asian poets treat themes that are Greek commonplaces. On the other hand, although Diodorus Zonas of Sardis—to take an early example—was an imitator, in a few of his verses he gives charming glimpses into country life and at times is colloquial and natural. Magnesia near Maeander was famous for its improper songs, and Asia in general had a reputation for softness, sentimentality, and exaggerated pathos in its literature.

The highly artificial Asian style of rhetoric had developed well before the first century A.D. Asiatic orators were very prominent in the reaction toward Atticism and the development of the second sophistic, and, as everyone knows, Dio Chrysostom of Prusa was one of the most significant figures in the oratory of the period we are studying. When we read his speeches to the people of various cities—particularly those addressed to the Tarsians—we suspect that he looks down on them as country cousins who despite their

Architecture (Harmondsworth, 1965; Baltimore, 1968). We now have the magnificent work of C. H. Emilie Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia Sites and Monuments*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1971); review by Rodney S. Young, *AJA*, LXXVI (1972), 444-47. The Mother of the Gods retains great importance, and there are other Greek divinities identified with Anatolian counterparts, but very few gods that are non-Phrygian.

pretensions still have some way to go before they can be truly Greek.[36]

Alongside the Asianic and Atticistic, other styles existed as well. Dioscorides of Anazarbus is among the writers studied by Rydbeck in his monograph on *Fachprosa*, a type of writing that has some similarities to the New Testament.[37]

Against this background, what are we to say about the forms and styles of Christian literature in the period under consideration?

Ignatius of Antioch had little or no effect on the style of Christian writing in Asia Minor and is quite apart from its development. His oriental style seems to have been entirely his own. In contrast to the Asians, whose rhythms are carefully worked out, with the syllables counted, Ignatius is formless. He is like the Asians and his great hero Paul in that he loves antitheses and writes with passion. Completely at home in Greek, as Norden says, he handles the language in a sovereign manner: uses vulgarisms and Latin words, coins his own words and constructions, and begins long periods that he does not complete. Polycarp's sober and somewhat colorless style is as different as possible from this.[38]

In much of the Christian literature current in Asia Minor, for example Revelation and the Fourth Gospel, the style is Semitic and shows no trace of the fashionable rhetoric. The Sibylline Oracles belong to a special artificial genre that is used in various places. Avircius Marcellus is a Phrygian, and his poetic inscription is unique.

Thus it is only relatively late in the second century that Chris-

[36] G. Mussies, *Dio Chrysostom and the N.T.* (Leiden, 1972), now provides a full collection of parallels to the N.T., with occasional pertinent comments. W. C. van Unnik, in a lecture to the First Colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture in Berkeley, Calif., on April 25, 1970, "First Century A.D. Literary Culture and Early Christian Literature" (mimeographed), remarked that the process of attraction and repulsion with regard to the literary culture of the day is notable among Christians of the second and third centuries. Religion plays a small part in Dio and in the Epistles of Pliny the Younger; though they were religious, the points that mattered for them lay in a direction other than that of religion.

[37] L. Rydbeck, *Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament* (Uppsala, 1967), pp. 200ff. Albin Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature* (E.T., London, 1966), p. 833, notes the mixing of Asianic and Atticistic styles in the second century. For Asianism see also pp. 699, 830; for the "second sophistic," pp. 824-44; the book contains rich bibliographies. Lesky does not discuss Christian literature in this connection.

[38] E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1909), pp. 510-12.

tian literature exhibits much influence from the fashionable rhetoric of pagan writers. Campbell Bonner, in his *editio princeps* of Melito's Homily on the Passover, noted some of the characteristics of Asianic rhetoric and also traits of Semitic style.[39] Wifstrand has shown that Melito's style derived from the Asianic and perhaps partly from the second sophistic,[40] and Smit Sibinga has worked out his technique in great detail.[41] Melito was evidently an author capable of sophisticated artifices who could write in more than one style.

Several erotic romances were written in Asia Minor. Of those that have been preserved, one of the earliest is *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, by Chariton of Aphrodisias. This species of writing, with its extravagant emotion, has had its influence on the Thecla episode in the Acts of Paul, and on other apocryphal acts. It is not surprising that Lucian of Samosata parodies the miracle stories that are to be found in popular literature, both pagan and Christian.[42]

When we turn to the pagan reports about Christianity, we must first note that an unpopular minority religion attracts little attention from ancient writers. There were men in antiquity who were curious about strange beliefs and cultures, and we owe much to a writer like Theophrastus who describes the Superstitious Man, and to Lucian for his account of the Syrian goddess, though here we

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[39] C. Bonner, *The Homily on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis*, "Studies and Documents, XII" (London and Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 20-27.

[40] A. Wifstrand, "The Homily of Melito on the Passion," *VC*, II (1948), 201-23.

[41] J. Smit Sibinga, "Melito of Sardis, the Artist and His Text," *VC*, XXIV (1970), 81-104.

[42] Rudolf Helm, *Der antike Roman* (Berlin, 1948), especially pp. 28-65. Rosa Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1932, reprinted 1969), compares the apocryphal Acts and ancient novels with respect to five elements: (1) the theme of wandering; (2) aretalogy; (3) teratology; (4) propaganda for doctrine and morals; (5) eroticism. Evidently *Joseph and Asenath* is early second century but written in Egypt and not Asia Minor; see M. Philonenko, *Joseph et Asénath* (Leiden, 1968), pp. 106-9. On the mixing of religious and erotic themes, see Károly Kerényi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur*[2] (Darmstadt, 1962). Reinhold Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (Munich and Berlin, 1962), develops this theme further, arguing that the themes of the romances are generally related to elements in the mystery religions (pp. 333-40 for summary). The exception is Chariton, who divorces the story from the cult, and is dated much later by Merkelbach. There are elements in the novels of Xenophon of Ephesus and Achilles Tatius (both second century) that are reminiscent of the Christian acts of martyrs, and this is not accidental (pp. 99, 148).

are dealing with the prevailing paganism. There are, however, some significant pagan notices of Christianity in Asia Minor.

What is said in the Book of Acts about the reaction to Paul's activity in Lystra and Ephesus is, after all, Christianity seen from the outside as seen from the inside; i.e., here Christians report the response of pagans. The same is true of such a precious account as the Martyrdom of Polycarp.

We need not discuss in detail the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan. Suffice it to say that in Bithynia the new religion had penetrated not only the cities but villages and rural regions, so much so that temples and sacrifices were being neglected. The chief visible marks of Christianity were vows to moral living, hymns to Christ before daybreak, and a common meal.[43]

Lucian was widely read and travelled, and is one of the ancient writers whom one reads with pleasure. He originated in Samosata, on the upper Euphrates, on the edges of Syria and Commagene, and knew western Asia Minor quite well. Only a few points need be noted. That egregious impostor Alexander of Abonuteichus coupled Christians with Epicureans and atheists in warning them away from his mysteries. He was particularly hostile to the city of Amastris in Pontus, where Christians were numerous. As for Peregrinus Proteus, he is said to have learned Christianity in Palestine, but he came from Parium on the Hellespont and at one time returned there. Lucian describes him in partly Jewish and partly pagan terms as προφήτης καὶ θιασάρχης καὶ ξυναγωγεύς, and it appears that one of the most noticeable activities of Christians, apart from their sharing of goods and ministry to the martyrs, is the writing of books and exposition of scriptures.[44] Christianity is portrayed al-

[43] For the attitude of the Roman government to Christianity, see R. M. Grant, *Augustus to Constantine* (New York, 1970), pp. x-xii, 77-100.

[44] The standard work is P. de Labriolle, *La réaction païenne* (Paris, 1934); see pp. 85, 97-108. Labriolle remarks that Lucian has no real knowledge of Christian doctrine (p. 109f.). Lucian's view of the Christians as essentially irrational is the same as that of Celsus and Galen; cf. Grant, *Augustus*, p. 88; H.-D. Betz, *Lukian von Samosata und das N.T.* (TU, LXXVI, Berlin, 1961); R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians* (Oxford, 1949). Grant notes, *ibid.*, p. 108f., that there are parallels between the Cynic and Christian attacks on paganism, with respect to its ambiguity, immorality, fraudulence, oracles, etc.; cf. R. J. Karris, "The Background and Significance of the Polemic of the Pastoral Epistles," *JBL*, XCII (1973), 549-64. H. A. Fischel in J. Neusner (ed.), *Religions in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1968), pp. 372-411, shows how a Cynic *chria* could be adapted in Jewish tradition; note also the bibliography given in this article.

most as a Jewish form of the Cynic philosophy, and Jesus is called σοφίστης as well as νομοθέτης. This may partly be due to the fact that Peregrinus was a Cynic, at least after his Christian period. Historians have disagreed about Lucian's assessment of this man. It is possible that the satire is unfair, at least in the motive that Lucian assigns for Peregrinus' immolation.[45] At many periods in history there have been seekers and wanderers, men and women who have tried various philosophies and religions, who have attempted to lead ascetic lives but have fallen into libertine ways. It is only to be expected that both Cynicism and Christianity would attract such people. What is significant here for Asia Minor is the apparent connection between Cynics and Christians. In each case there is some rejection of the world around them, and each group produced martyrs. One of the decisive differences is that the Cynic was a lonely, self-sufficient soul, while the Christian received support, not from individual followers and admirers, but characteristically from a community.

Lucian was bright and witty; so was Epictetus, but he was much more. He is one of the ancients whom we love and admire the most.[46] We are not sure how much he knows about Christianity as distinct from Judaism, or whether his knowledge was gained in Hierapolis of Phrygia, where he was born, or in Rome or Nicopolis. He does not speak of Christians but he does mention "Galileans" as examples of those who do not fear tyrants or care about the safety of themselves and their families (iv. 7. 6). This might almost apply to the grandsons of Jude. Epictetus' failure to understand Judaism is shown by his absurd judgment that Jews care more about food laws than for holiness (i. 22. 4; cf. i. 11. 12). But what is most interesting is that he sees baptism as the decisive act of choice in becoming a true Jew, and not just one who is acting a part (ὑποκρίνεται, ii. 9. 19-21). Is this because, for fear of the Roman authorities, Jews spoke only of baptism and not of circumcision? Or has Epictetus confused Jews and Christians? The same problem

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[45] Hazel M. Hornsby, "The Cynisme of Peregrinus Proteus," *Hermathena*, XXIII (1933), 64-84, suggests that Peregrinus thought of himself as a Christian martyr. I have not yet seen E. Benz, "Der gekreuzigte Gerechte bei Plato, im N.T., und in der alten Kirche," *Akad. der Wiss. u. d. Lit. in Mainz, geistes- und sozialwiss. Kl.*, No. 12 (1950), pp. 1048ff. On Lucian in general, cf. Lesky, *op. cit.*, pp. 838-45.

[46] The most extensive discussion is that of A. Bonhöffer, *Epiktet und das N.T.* (Giessen, 1911).

relates to the fourth book of the Sibylline Oracles, certainly from Asia Minor and to be dated about A.D. 80, where the true worshippers of God reject temples, altars and animal sacrifice (iv. 27-30), bless the mighty God before eating and drinking (iv. 24-26), and repent and wash their bodies in the everflowing streams (iv. 162-70). Since the Jerusalem temple was already in ruins, the language can apply to Jews, but to an outsider there could have been but slight distinction between Jews and Christians.

Finally, there is a fragment attributed to Galen that may or may not be spurious, in which he speaks of the continence of Christians, their moderation in eating and drinking, and their keen pursuit of justice. Although they derive their faith from parables, miracles and allegories rather than from reason, they behave much like those who philosophize.[47]

The next question has to do with the relation of Christians to an anti-imperial sentiment that can be documented from both Jewish and pagan sources. Here we may begin with Diodorus Zonas of Sardis, who was evidently more prominent as an orator than a poet. Strabo says that he pleaded the cause of Asia before the Romans, but he must have been a friend of Rome because Mithradates suspected him of encouraging revolt against himself. Perhaps Diodorus was one of those unhappy few who stand between the powers in the hope of promoting justice.

It is well known that the Book of Revelation contains a clear anti-Roman sentiment. To be sure, this book is prophetic-eschatological, and teaches that not only Rome but also all kings and potentates will fall under the divine judgment. It is also true that God will bring the judgment and the new order. Thus it expects a "kingdom not of this world," as in John 18:36, and as the grandsons of Jude are reported to have said when they were brought before Domitian. The risen Lord is ruler of the kings of the earth (Rev. 1:5; cf. 1:6, 8; 19:16). The Church will have authority over the nations (2:26-28) and sit on Christ's throne; as in Dan. 7:13f., 27, the saints will rule (5:9f.; 20:6; 22:5; cf. also 11:15, 17; 12:10; 19:1f., 6, 15f.). This idea pervades the entire book.

As part of the events leading up to the end, the prophet expects

[47] Shlomo Pines, *An Arabic Version of the Testimonium Flavianum and its Implications* (Jerusalem, 1971), pp. 73-82. For Galen and other texts, see W. den Boer, *Scriptorum Paganorum I-IV Saec. de Christianis Testimonia* (Textus Minores, II, Leiden, 1948).

an invasion from Parthia (6:2; 9:3, 14; 16:12). The pseudo-Nero myth is reflected: Nero will return once more (13:3, 12). Babylon, i.e. Rome will fall, and those who have worshipped the beast will be punished (14:8-12; 16:2, 19; 17:18). The catalogue of imperial commerce is particularly noteworthy (18:11-13); Rome sells everything, including slaves (σωμάτων) and the lives of men.

Furthermore, 6:6 appears to know of Domitian's order to cut down the vines and the protest which this occasioned, and of famine prices for wheat and barley.[48]

Thus the prophet John is fully conscious of political and economic conditions in Asia, and sees in them signs of the coming crisis.

Asia was, of course, the province most strongly devoted to the empire and the imperial cult. Paul had been a good Roman. The Pastoral Epistles—whose point of view is much like that of Polycarp—are favorable to the empire, and so is First Peter, which must have been written and circulated in Anatolia. At a later time, Melito dedicated an apology to Marcus Aurelius. The Gospel of John goes farther than any of the other canonical gospels to mitigate the guilt of Pilate. We do not know how Ignatius came to be arrested or whether his martyrdom and that of Polycarp had anything to do with political issues—except that, for Polycarp, Jesus Christ was his King.

The persecution of Christians in Asia was enough by itself to persuade the Apocalyptist that Rome was Babylon and that Satan's throne was at Pergamum. But, once this judgment was made, an oriental Christian might feel sympathy with other Asiatics who felt oppressed, or at least might recognize in their unhappiness an evil to be avenged.

The fact is that we know relatively little about the feelings of common people in the villages and small cities of Asia Minor. Most of our knowledge of this region and period comes from the Roman side, from historians, from the geographer Strabo, and from other literary men who belong to the dominant culture, or from inscriptions which by their nature are public. How many people in Asia

[48] See David Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950), I, 580f. Ramsay MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p. 180, holds that famine was the most common cause of disorder; cf. also pp. 249-54. J. N. Sanders, "St. John on Patmos," *NTS*, IX (1963), 75-85, argues that the author of Revelation probably had been exiled from Jerusalem to Patmos for political reasons, not because of religious persecution as such. Patmos was a place of *relegatio*, exile for *honestiores*.

and other provinces still felt some sympathy for the lost cause of Mithradates as an oriental opponent of Rome? Were there lingering feelings that old gods and good old ways of life were being submerged by the triumph of Greek culture and the all-too-successful economic domination of Rome? [49]

The Third Book of the Sibylline Oracles, much of which is Jewish, contains an oracle that may or may not be of Jewish origin, and that is often thought to come from the period of the Mithradatic wars: "For all the wealth that Rome took from tributary Asia, three times as much shall Asia take from Rome, requiting upon her her cursed arrogance" (iii. 350-355). Other oracles, more certainly Jewish, are directed against Rome, Samos, Delos and Smyrna, and come perhaps from the time of Pompey, 63 B.C. (iii. 356-362, 363-380). One would not necessarily expect these sentiments to continue into the imperial period, yet they are echoed in the Fourth Book (iv. 145-149), which is evidently written at the time when the pseudo-Nero is expected, about A.D. 80 (iv. 137-139). The Eighth Book, which contains pagan and Christian elements, comes from the second century and continues the tradition of prophecy against Rome.

Response to political, economic and cultural oppression can take various forms. The crisis of Palestinian Judaism in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes produced the revolutionary Maccabees, the apocalyptic of Daniel, and, some believe, a quietistic movement. Hans Jonas has interpreted gnosticism as a phenomenon of alienation, in which bearers of the submerged oriental culture reasserted

[49] For a good brief sketch of the political situation, see M. S. Enslin, "Rome in the East," in *Religions in Antiquity*, pp. 125-36; for more detail, Magie, *op. cit.*, I, 177-258, 432, 441-43. Any pro-Parthianism that existed was probably underground. After the defeat of Pacorus in 38 B.C. there was a general move against individuals and cities that had sided with Pacorus, and this continued under Octavian. MacMullen thinks that there was very little anti-Roman sentiment as such, and cites an inscription from Sardis (*op. cit.*, p. 188); cf. L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937), p. 203f. "Rome's internal enemies were not the urban poor but rather the members — a small minority — of the group specially favored: Greeks of the upper class, defending the purity of their cultural inheritance" (p. 189). It is curious that in his chapter on "The Outsiders," pp. 192-241, MacMullen does not discuss the Jewish revolts, for they are an exception to his thesis that there was very little nationalism in the empire. On the pseudo-Neros, see pp. 143-46, and on prophecy as a weapon of propaganda, pp. 146-52. MacMullen notes the prophets who appear in the pages of Josephus in the decades preceding the first Jewish revolt. See also E. Kocsis, "Ost-West Gegensatz in den jüdischen Sibyllinen," *NovT*, V (1962), 105-10.

their identity by a profound rejection of the world as it is.[50]

One of the responses of Asia Minor can be seen in the Stoic and Cynic philosophers.

Perhaps the fact that Diogenes came from Sinope is of no signif icance, since most of his activity was elsewhere, yet Asia Minor was the land of his birth. Other Cynics, such as Demetrius, whom Seneca admired so much, were a considerable nuisance to emperors from the time of Caligula through that of Titus because of their denunciations ("barking") and their contemptuous attitude. They were usually tolerated, though Vespasian banished most of them from Rome. Finally, when two Cynics denounced Titus and Bernice for living together, one of them, Diogenes, was flogged, and the other, Heras, beheaded (Cassius Dio *Hist.* lxv. 15). There is, however, no apparent connection between these men and Asia Minor.[51]

Apollonius of Tyana is a somewhat obscure figure because so much of Philostratus' *Life* is legendary. It is possible that he outfaced Tigellinus, Nero's minister, and was brought before Domitian. The story is that he was acquitted and, just as he was about to lecture the emperor, miraculously vanished from his presence. He is portrayed as a neo-Pythagorean, but has some traits that he shares with Cynics; and he commended Demetrius the Cynic to Titus. Some of his activity was in Asia Minor, and he showed a

[50] H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*[2] (Boston, 1963), pp. 17-34; *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*[3], 1 (Göttingen, 1969), pp. 58-73, 140-46, 150f., 234; V. Maag in R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and C. J. Bleecker (eds.), *Types of Redemption* (Leiden, 1970), pp. 14-22. Grant, *Augustus*, p. 120, remarks that both gnostics and Montanists exhibit a radical alienation. MacMullen curiously has very little to say about gnosticism.

[51] Of course Epictetus and Dio Chrysostom came from Asia Minor, and they were exiled from when, about A.D. 93, Domitian made a clean sweep of the philosophers. After this, philosophic protest was more sentimental than actually threatening. MacMullen, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-94, provides a superb sketch of the way in which philosophers extolled the tyrannicides, from Harmodius and Aristogeiton through Brutus to later figures. The heroism of tyrannicides was a stock theme of Greek and Roman education. The "enemies" and the "establishment" came from the same social classes and had the same education. Stoicism was as influential as cynicism. "Where mendicant philosophers were given a name, they were likely to be Cynics but not always; and Cynicism has well been described as 'a kind of radical Stoicism'" (p. 59f.). Philosophical protest existed wherever there were philosophers, but some of them actually did come from Asia Minor. This was all part of the Greek tradition of παρρησία. It appears also in IV Maccabees and in the much later *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*; thus it is found in Rome, Greece, Alexandria, and in Jewish circles.

sovereign independence of princes. Philostratus portrays him as a determined opponent of Domitian.[52]

Peregrinus, according to Lucian, came from Parium on the Hellespont, and although he travelled widely, embraced Christianity in Palestine, and was in Rome in the time of Antoninus Pius, much of his life was spent in Asia Minor. Even in his Christian period, he manifested many Cynic traits, and was avowedly a Cynic after his expulsion from the Church. He appears to have had the psychological characteristics of the alienated.

Whereas Cynics rejected the world, often angrily, those Stoics who were non-political adjusted themselves to life, and their withdrawal from life was inward. Epictetus was born in Hierapolis about A.D. 50; thus his home was not far from that of Onesimus, the slave in the letter to Philemon. Brought to Rome, he served Epaphroditus, a freedman of Nero. Epictetus found his security and independence within himself and in worship of God. Many passages in his lectures express his indifference to whatever the emperor might do to him.

All of this might be part of the spiritual background of John the Apocalyptist, Ignatius and Polycarp. On a very popular level, we encounter some familiar themes in the Acts of Paul, where Patroclus acclaims "Christ Jesus, the king of the aeons," and says, "Yes, he destroys all kingdoms under heaven, and he alone will remain forever, and there will be no kingdom that can escape him" (Hennecke-Schneemelcher, II, 266). In the much later Acts of John, the Apostle says, "Therefore, men of Ephesus, repent, for you know that the kings, the dynasts, the tyrants, the boasters, those who conquer in wars, shall be taken hence naked and suffer torment in eternal misery" (*Ibid.*, II, 150).

Perhaps the suspicions of a governor like Pliny were not so strange, after all. They were not so much directed against Christians as such; rather they reflected an understanding that in Anatolia there was a latent hostility to the empire that might emerge in popular movements. How could Pliny know that these simple people in Bithynia did not share the anti-imperial sentiment, since

[52] A witticism of Apollonius, at the time when Domitian ordered the vines cut down, is said to have encouraged the Ionians to send a deputation to the emperor. On Apollonius of Tyana, cf. MacMullen, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-75, 113-15. On Peregrinus, *ibid.*, p. 69f.; on Alexander of Abonuteichos, pp. 115-20. Such magicians and quacks made a great impression on the Roman aristocracy.

it was certainly present here and there? And it was perhaps very necessary for Melito of Sardis, at a later time, to write an apology.[53]

One cannot fail to notice that in considering the pagan background of Christianity we have continually come across references to Judaism. For example, the fact that there are both Jewish and Christian Sibylline Oracles shows that there are cultural contacts between the two religions on this highly artificial and cultivated literary level. Some interaction between the two religious cultures—whether by way of convergence or hostility—is to be found in practically every document that can plausibly be assigned to Asia Minor Christians. These facts are well known and will concern us continually throughout this essay.

It now remains to summarize what additional evidence has become available, particularly through archaeology.

There seems to be general agreement that there were Jews in Sardis when Obadiah was written (Sepharad, verse 20), and there is a possible reference in Herodotus.[54] By the time of Seleucus Nicator there was a significant number of Jews in Asia Minor, and Antiochus III settled two thousand families from Babylonia, mainly in Lydia and Phrygia. A. Thomas Kraabel has collected the sources for western Asia Minor and discussed them, together with the secondary materials.[55] It has long been known that Jewish

[53] It is, of course, well known that the imperial government kept a watchful eye on clubs, guilds, and all voluntary organizations; cf. MacMullen, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-73, on the danger of shouting demonstrations in the Colosseum and in other theatres, where mass emotion might turn the crowd into a mob. The incident in Acts 19:23-41 is a case in point.

[54] M. J. Mellink, *s.v.* "Sepharad," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1962), IV, 272f.; Herodotus ii, 104; Josephus *Ant.* viii, 10, 3 § 262; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950), II, 1001.

[55] A. T. Kraabel, "Judaism in Western Asia Minor under the Roman Empire," Th.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1968, soon to be published in revised form by Brill in Leiden. See also his article, "Melito the Bishop and the Synagogue of Sardis: Text and Context," in D. G. Mitten, J. G. Pedley and J. A. Scott (eds.), *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann* (Mainz, 1971), pp. 77-85, which is also rich in bibliographical references. Important works published since Juster and Schürer include G. Kittel, "Das kleinasiatische Judentum in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, LXIX (1944), 9-19, an article marred by some stupid anti-Jewish remarks; A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1959). There is relevant material in M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I (3rd ed., Munich, 1967), II (2nd ed., 1961), and in E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (13 vols., New York, 1953-68). A. Galanté, *Histoire des juifs d'Anatolie* (2 vols., Istanbul, 1937-39), contains brief notices of Jewish colonies in antiquity. Galanté makes no

settlements existed in a number of Ionian, Lydian and Phrygian cities. Additional inscriptions, particularly from Phrygia, now fill many gaps, but it is Sardis that has yielded the most information, from the unique synagogue itself, and from the inscriptions found there which are more numerous than those from all the rest of western Asia Minor.[56]

Kraabel surveys the evidence for various Jewish communities of the region. He suggests that the Jews of Sardis were powerful, had been integrated into the community for many generations, and were an important part of civic life. It appears that when one goes inland for only a few miles, local Judaism is found to have distinctive characteristics. For example, women are very prominent in the Jewish inscriptions, and this fact is significant for early Christianity. But the Anatolian evidence, while it tells much about the position of the Jewish communities, gives relatively little evidence about their theology and piety.

Kraabel is cautious in his judgments, but is definite on one point: many monuments that once were thought to be Jewish Christian are probably simply Jewish. He is reserved in discussing the possible relation of Judaism to syncretistic features in Anatolian paganism. There are several ἄγγελος inscriptions that suggest connections with the angel-worship mentioned in Colossians, but Jewish influence cannot be proved.[57] For the most part, the θεὸς ὕψιστος inscriptions are pagan, not Jewish.[58] I have also concluded that the Sabazios inscription found at Sardis provides no evidence that the Jews of Sardis were involved in this syncretistic cult.[59]

A recent study of Anatolian Judaism proposes more radical hypotheses. This is a master's thesis by Ellen Saltman that covers some of the same ground as Kraabel's work but adds materials from central and eastern Phrygia and from other parts of Asia Minor.[60]

reference to Jews in north Galatia, with the exception of Ancyra, where the evidence is tenuous.

[56] See also Kraabel, "Ὕψιστος and the Synagogue at Sardis," *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*, X (1969), 81-93, especially pp. 85-87.

[57] Kraabel, dissert. "Judaism," p. 145f.

[58] Kraabel, "Ὕψιστος," pp. 87-93.

[59] S. E. Johnson, "A Sabazios Inscription from Sardis," in J. Neusner (ed.), *Religions in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1968), pp. 542-50.

[60] Ellen S. Saltman, "The Jews of Asia Minor in the Greco-Roman Period: A Religious and Social Study," unpublished M. A. thesis, Smith College (1971). I am grateful to Mrs. Saltman, and to her adviser, Prof. K. P. Donfried, for making this available to me. The thesis is imaginative and suggestive

She proceeds from Kraabel's hypothesis that many monuments once thought to be Christian may now be regarded as Jewish.[61] Combining literary and archaeological evidence, she concludes that there are decided differences between the Judaism of western Asia Minor, which she calls "Pharisaic"—a highly debatable judgment—and that of inner Anatolia, though she believes that there is variety here and there in Phrygia, Pisidia and Lycaonia. She notes that Jewish cult objects are frequent on tombstones in the west and south coastal areas, but not in the interior.

In the interior, there are practically no inscriptions in Hebrew, and none of the usual pious Jewish sentiments is to be found in funerary monuments. Instead they contain Anatolian sentiments about death, with the usual curses on anyone who disturbs the tomb. One of the monuments from Burnt Laodicea is older than the Dura Synagogue and is possibly the earliest known example of free and bold use of the human figure in Jewish art. The Noah coin from Apameia is another indication that Judaism is completely at home in the interior.[62]

Mrs. Saltman in fact believes that central Anatolian Judaism is pre-exilic and exilic in origin. The place of prayer is never called προσευχή, as in the Aegean region, but synagogue, and sometimes οἶκος, a word that can refer to the Temple. The Sardis synagogue is hellenized in design, feeling, and symbolism. It contains the curious eagle table and two little aediculae whose meaning has never been explained. The arrangements of the synagogue are reminiscent of Rev. 4:4f.; 7:9f., where the elders have seats around the throne.

but needs further criticism, and I hope that she will continue her work. One of her points is that there were acts of hostility against Jews in Miletus and Ephesus, and that there is nothing to suggest that Jews on the Aegean coast were citizens. Persecution of Christians was also confined to the coast. On the other hand, the Jews of interior Asia Minor were integrated, and there is no sign that their privileges were violated. Flaccus' seizure of gold in Laodicea was an act of pure greed, not an anti-Jewish act as such.

[61] If this is correct, my remarks in *JBL*, LXXVII (1958), 15 must now be revised, for her evidence includes Burnt Laodicea.

[62] The Noah coins seem first to appear under Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211) and the latest under Philip the Arab (A.D. 244-249); cf. L. Madden, *Numismatic Chronicles* (n.s., VI, 1866), 173-219; C. Lenormant, *La monnaie dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1887), III, 123f.; E. Babelon, "La tradition phrygienne du déluge," *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, XXIII (1891), 174-6. I am indebted to Mrs. Saltman for these references.

One of her most debatable points has to do with the possibility of something like sacrificial worship. She notes that at one time the Jews of Sardis requested a place where prayers and sacrifices could be offered (Josephus *Ant.* xiv. 10. 24 § 259-61). There are two stones from Acmonia, and two columns in the Side synagogue, that she believes may represent the Jachin and Boaz pillars of Solomon's temple. She finds no evidence that the Jews of inner Anatolia had a resurrection faith, while on the other hand, like pre-exilic Jews, they worshipped in temples.[63]

Finally, Mrs. Saltman regards her evidence as supporting Ramsay's famous "south Galatian" hypothesis, viz. that the Galatians to whom Paul wrote were people of Phrygia, Pisidia and Lycaonia. She believes that Christianity made early and strong inroads in this region because of the presence of the Anatolian Jews.

While much of this is debatable and subject to further discussion, the cumulative evidence points to a distinctive Judaism—particularly in interior Asia Minor—that had consequences for the later development of Christianity.

Judaism in "north Galatia," i.e. Galatia proper, is still quite obscure. I have not yet been able to find any Jewish inscriptions from this region that have been published within the past thirty years. Finds from earlier periods are scarce. Mrs. Saltman discusses some inscriptions from Cilicia, but a thorough study of Judaism in this region is yet to be done. Welles has remarked that there is very slight evidence for the settlement of Jews in Tarsus, and he rejects Ramsay's assumption that Antiochus IV settled Jews there. In his opinion Paul's family might have been resident in Tarsus for three or four centuries. When the city developed into a *polis*, the Jews, together with the other old oriental population, would have become citizens. Paul's Roman citizenship is a separate matter. It was exceptional and may have been acquired by his

[63] Two comments. (1) Mrs. Saltman finds parallels to several of these characteristics in Berber Judaism, but such arguments have the weakness that always inheres in far-flung literary and artistic parallels. It is always possible that a religion may have similar traits in far distant parts of the world, but whether these are related or parallel remains debatable until genetic relationships can be established. (2) Such places as Sardis and Laodicea on the Lycus were geographically so situated that they could have been in contact with both the Aegean coast and the interior and thus would have been open to influences from both sides. Thus the Judaism of Sardis could have been strong enough to preserve much of its earlier character.

grandfather in the time of Julius Caesar. Welles conjectures that Paul's Roman name was Gaius Julius Paulus.[64]

IV. *Galatians and Colossians*

Four letters in the Pauline corpus are addressed to localities in Asia Minor—Galatians, Colossians, Philemon and Ephesians. The last named I regard as the product of a later Paulinist. Colossians has frequently been put in the same category, but the close connection of this with Philemon argues that at least part of the letter must be the work of the Apostle. About Galatians and Philemon there is no doubt.

The history of "north Galatia," the old Celtic realm, and of the Roman province of Galatia, which included a wider territory, is reasonably well known. Inscriptional material continues to be published, and recent discoveries add to our knowledge of the system of roads. It is not settled whether Paul wrote his letter to Galatia proper or to churches in the southern part of the province. Even if Ramsay's "south Galatian" theory should be correct, the letter was not necessarily sent to the cities mentioned in Acts, for Acts contains only a partial account of Paul's missionary activity. Most classical scholars have followed Lightfoot and Kirsopp Lake in preferring north Galatia.[65] The chief cities, particularly Ancyra, were sufficiently hellenized to permit missionary activity. The only serious difficulty is that very few Jews are known to have settled in this region, and that until a late date there are few Christian churches. Lightfoot's argument that the *Monumentum Ancyranum* inscription includes privileges for Jews has no particular weight, and the five Jewish inscriptions that he cites have not, so far as I know, been assigned dates; they might, therefore, be quite late. I have not thus far been able to find any Jewish inscriptions from Galatia published in the last thirty years.[66]

[64] C. Bradford Welles, "Hellenistic Tarsus," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, XXXVIII (1962), 43-75. The article contains interesting sidelights on Tarsian culture, based on an interpretation of Dio Chrysostom's *Orations* xxxiii and xxxiv. For Ramsay's theories, see *The Expositor*, V (1902), 29-33.

[65] J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (10th ed., London, 1890), pp. 1-16; K. Lake in F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I (London, 1933), V, 224-40, against Sir W. M. Ramsay, *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (2nd ed., London, 1900), especially pp. 1-11, 76f., 82f., 103-27, 162-70.

[66] Lightfoot cited four inscriptions from *CIG*, III, Nos. 4045, 4074, 4088,

Paul's letter is clearly addressed to former pagans. This, together with the facts just cited, means that the Judaizers are not likely to have come from the local synagogue, but must have arrived from somewhere else, perhaps from Judaea. Robert Jewett has suggested that the Jewish Christians of Palestine were under great pressure from zealots in the forties and fifties to prove that they were genuine Jews and not in communion with Gentiles. They therefore sent emissaries to Judaize the Pauline churches.[67]

The other principal question about Galatians has to do with 4:6-11, where Paul accuses his readers of relapsing into slavery to the weak and paltry στοιχεῖα by observing "months and seasons and years." Colossians also speaks of στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (2:8) and of food and drink, festival, new moon and sabbath (2:16). Here Judaism is clearly present. Does the less explicit reference in Gal. 4:9f. intend to say the same thing? If so, the Jewish customs now being propagated in Galatia have their parallels in pagan religious practices. Schlier, in his commentary on Galatians, gives elaborate evidence from Ethiopic Enoch, Jubilees, the Qumran literature, and the Elchasaites in Hippolytus as to the importance of keeping strictly to a fixed calendar.[68]

The short letter to Philemon tells us nothing about theology; it simply shows that slaves were being received into the Christian Church. Delos was a great slave market in antiquity, but many slaves were exported from Caunus on the southwest coast of Asia Minor, from Side, and no doubt from other places. Lydian slaves were proverbial.[69]

The problems become more complicated when one turns to Colossians. There is first the question of the letter's Pauline authorship. If Colossians does not attest to the situation in Paul's time it cannot be very much later, for it is used by Ephesians; the reverse relationship is most unlikely. It therefore gives evidence of an early situation in a city in Phrygia in close contact with Hiera-

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4092; in addition see J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, II (Rome, 1952), pp. 48f., Nos. 796, 797.

[67] Robert Jewett, "The Agitators and the Galatian Congregation," *NTS*, XVII (1971), 198-212.

[68] H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater* (4th ed., Göttingen, 1965), pp. 202-7.

[69] R. M. Grant, *Augustus*, pp. 57-61. On the ethnic divisions in Asia Minor and intermarriage with Greeks, see Strabo xiii. 12. 1ff.; Cicero *Flacc.* 65; Plato *Laches* 187 B. Slaves and therefore freedmen came from Asia Minor, e.g. Trimalchio in Petronius *Satyricon* 76.

polis and Laodicea, which belong more to the Aegean littoral than to the highlands.

The problems with which Paul dealt in Galatia and Colossae are not necessarily the same those in Corinth, Thessalonica and Philippi. The Judaizing problem is reflected in Second Corinthians and Philippians, but in other respects we must expect the background to be quite different.

There is little agreement as to the nature of the teaching in Colossae which Paul combats as false. It certainly involved definite elements: other intermediaries than Christ between man and God, rules about food and drink and sacred days, the worship of angels, and asceticism. But the origins of the teaching are debated. Lightfoot, seventy years before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, suggested that the Essenes were in the background. Their calendar observance fits with this. The names of the angels are important in Enoch, which the Qumran people read, and angels figure in the War Scroll.[70] Bornkamm argues, however, that in Colossae there was present a syncretistic diaspora Judaism open to the influences of Persian religion. The phrase in 2:11, ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός, is completely un-Jewish and to be understood from gnosticism.[71] Kraabel understands the Colossian ideas as product of the local Judaism. Its peculiarities are to be explained from Anatolian influence. He believes that it is premature, in our present state of knowledge, to attempt to connect Anatolian Judaism, which had its own peculiar character, with the Dead Sea Scrolls.[72]

[70] J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (3rd ed., London, 1879), pp. 71-111. See also P. Benoit in J. Murphy-O'Connor (ed.), *Paul and Qumran* (London, 1968), p. 17; Ernest W. Saunders, "The Colossian Heresy and Qumran Theology," in B. L. Daniels and M. J. Suggs (eds.), *Studies in the History and Text of the N.T.* (Salt Lake City, 1967), pp. 133-45, containing references to many earlier studies. J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (E.T., London, 1964), deals extensively with the doctrine of angels, which Cardinal Daniélou sees as one of the most prominent characteristics of Jewish Christianity. Trinitarian theology expressed in terms of angelic beings appears first in the Ascension of Isaiah, which he dates A.D. 80-90 and assigns to Antioch (p. 12). But the doctrine of angels appears soon in various forms in Asia Minor and persists over a long period. See also the earlier article by J. B. Bernardin, "A New Testament Triad," *JBL*, LVII (1938), 273-79, which gives evidence for a triad of Father, Son and holy angels in early Christian thought.

[71] G. Bornkamm, "Die Häresie des Kolosserbriefes," in *Das Ende des Gesetzes* (Munich, 1952), pp. 139-56.

[72] Kraabel, dissert. "Judaism," pp. 143-49; also "Ὕψιστος, 83f.; S. E. Johnson, "Laodicea and Its Neighbors," in D. N. Freedman and E. F. Campbell

He does not, however, take into account the Qumran elements in the letter to the Ephesians. If Murphy-O'Connor's conjectures are correct, the Essene movement began with a group of Babylonian Jews who returned to Jerusalem, attempted to propagate their own understanding of the Law, and were disillusioned by opposition in Jerusalem.[73] On this assumption it would be possible to explain some similarities between Anatolian Judaism and that of Qumran. The argument would be tenuous, but so are all conjectures on the Judaism of Colossae.

V. *Foundations of the Later Orthodoxy*

Asia Minor was a region where several different strands of Christian teaching and practice competed and at times coalesced. Here were laid some of the foundations of that which came to be recognized as orthodox, catholic and apostolic. The same can be said of Rome, and to a lesser extent of other parts of the Christian world. Nevertheless Anatolia is unusually significant for developments in the second century.

Any consideration of these currents should start from the work of Rudolf Knopf, Walter Bauer, Arnold Ehrhardt and Helmut Koester.[74] The present sketch is an attempt to carry the discussion further.

Bauer believed that by the time when Revelation was written, Pauline Christianity had suffered an almost total eclipse in Ephesus. After the first Jewish Revolt, many Jewish Christians fled to Asia Minor, joined with the remnants of the Pauline church, and became dominant there. This "orthodox" group was opposed by a gnosticizing Jewish Christian group represented by Cerinthus. Out of this development came a modification of Pauline teaching which we can see in the Pastoral Epistles and in Polycarp. Koester visualizes at least three groups at Ephesus: the original Pauline church

(eds.), *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, II* (Garden City, 1964), pp. 353-68. Canon 35 of the Council of Laodicea forbids worship of angels. Theodoret on Col. 2:18 cites specifically, by way of criticism, the church of St. Michael at Chonae, south of Colossae.

[73] Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB*, LXXVI (1969), 528-49; "An Essene Missionary Document? CD II, 14 - VI, 1," *ibid.*, LXXVII (1970), 201-29; "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document VI, 2 - VII, 3," *ibid.*, LXXVIII (1971), 210-32.

[74] See notes 1, 2, 3 above.

(represented by Ephesians and Luke-Acts), the Jewish Christian school of Certnthus, and an apocalyptic school.

Ehrhardt criticizes Bauer's methodology on the ground that the distinction between "orthodoxy" and "heresy" presupposes some kind of *regula fidei* that is generally accepted. Koester remarks that the terms canonical, apostolic, Jewish Christian and Gnostic are misleading and not helpful. The situation at the end of the first century was fluid, and we can speak only of various competing influences. One must, however, observe that Ignatius of Antioch had a *kerygma* that was quite definite and almost credal in character.

At this point an observation made by Georg Kretschmar may prove to be most helpful. His theory is that various types of traditions in early Christianity led to different kinds of communal organizations. The gnostics, particularly in Egypt, seem to be associated in schools. This was characteristic of the Hellenistic environment. By contrast, the wandering charismatics of Palestine-Syria developed no regular ecclesiastical organization. Their demands for ascetic living were directed toward individuals, and they gathered only sporadic groups of followers. The Asia Minor churches, in Kretschmar's opinion, formed a third and distinct pattern. These, which were both of Palestinian and Pauline origin, were real congregations, made up of families, following the old family ethic of Palestine. Congregations met in the home of the pastor or bishop, and the episcopal office was sometimes practically inherited in a family. Worship developed out of the Passover, which was a family and home celebration.[75]

We can only speculate on what happened to the churches originally founded by Paul; but in doing so, one should bear in mind two points. These churches, consisting preponderantly of Gentiles, existed against the local background of Judaism and paganism, and so were open to influences. Second, it is a fallacy to suppose that these Christians were completely "Pauline," i.e. that they understood Paul's preaching in every respect or took it as their sole guide. We are dependent upon Paul's literary, remains, which are studied minutely and from a theological point of view, but these very

[75] G. Kretschmar, "Christliches Passa im 2. Jahrhundert und die Ausbildung der christlichen Theologie," *RSR*, LX (1972) (Festschrift for Daniélou), 287-323, especially pp. 298-303. For the Christian Passover of the Quartodecimans, see note 151 below. Cf. also R. M. Grant, "Polycarp of Smyrna," *ATR*, XXVIII (1946), 137-48, especially p. 140.

letters show how often he must have been misunderstood. The earliest Christians in his churches heard Paul *viva voce* (and met other Christians also), remembered some things, and misheard and forgot others.

Koester is probably correct in assuming that apocalyptic is the next phenomenon. It could have arrived in Asia Minor any time after A.D. 70, and it had an enduring influence.[76] It was brought by prophets like John who spoke words of the risen Christ and by the "elders" mentioned by Papias who purported simply to be bearers of the oral tradition. Neither of these groups excluded written gospels. Papias certainly knew Matthew and Mark, and, apparently, John. The Apocalyptist in several places shows knowledge of Matthew. But the raw materials of his visions come mainly from the O.T. and the Jewish apocalyptic tradition. Matthew was the first gospel to be influential in Asia Minor, and it was also know to Ignatius. There was a constant movement from Palestine and Syria toward Asia Minor.

The next important development might be roughly contemporaneous with the Book of Revelation: this is the collection of the Pauline letters, the composition of Ephesians, and the writing or at least the dissemination of Luke-Acts.[77] The author of Ephesians steeped himself in the thought of Paul more deeply than any writer before Augustine, even though he did not attempt a full compendium of his teaching. What he did was to adapt it to the immediate needs of the Pauline churches, which were in danger from new teachings, and in which family life and morality needed to be strengthened. Traces of the thought and language of the Qumran literature appear throughout the epistle, as though the author had distilled out of that tradition what he needed, ignoring the parts that were not applicable. Luke-Acts, which shows less

[76] On relations between the apocalyptic of Asia Minor, particularly that of Rev., and Jewish Christianity generally, see Daniélou, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-204.

[77] The author of Ephesians uses Colossians as his basis but knows and uses all the other letters except, of course, the Pastorals. This is the great contribution of E. J. Goodspeed; see especially *The Meaning of Ephesians* (Chicago, 1933). Whether the publication of Luke-Acts impelled the unknown writer to make the collection and write Ephesians is, of course, another matter; but Luke-Acts must have been available about the same time, since it is used along with the Pauline letters in the Pastorals. And Goodspeed's brilliant conjecture, that the collection served as an external model for the letters to the seven churches of the Apocalypse, prefixed by a covering letter, is attractive.

understanding of the Pauline theology, set before the churches the image and career of the great missionary hero, and it was this which for centuries was most remembered by Christians.

The Pauline letters and the Book of Revelation are in most respects as far apart theologically as any books in the canon. Yet it can be argued that both Paul and the Apocalyptist independently combatted certain gnosticizing tendencies by means of early Christian eschatology. It has sometimes been thought that when "that woman Jezebel" of Thyatira is denounced for teaching sexual immorality and eating meat offered to idols (Rev. 2:20), it is a criticism directed against a church that derives from the Pauline tradition; but if so, Thyatira has perverted Paul's teaching just as libertines in Corinth and Philippi may have done. The Nicolaitans of Pergamum (Rev. 2:15) are perhaps the same group as Jezebel's followers. Who they were otherwise is obscure. The connection of their name with that of Nicolas of Antioch may have been due to the group itself.[78] The polemic of the Apocalypse derives not from Paul but from the "apostolic decree" of Acts 15:23-27, which seems to have been promulgated for the purpose of bringing peace between the Pauline and non-Pauline churches, and which laid four commandments on the churches of Syria and Cilicia. It would be natural for the prophet John and other Christians from those regions to enforce the decree in Asia Minor also.

The drama predicted in the Apocalypse is a cosmic drama, but its main theatres are Asia Minor and Rome. Perhaps it is only because the prophet lives in the region of Ephesus that the risen Son of Man has in his hand seven stars that represent the angels of the neighboring churches (1:16). The letters are specifically directed to their problems, but does the Apocalyptist regard them as the most significant churches in Christendom, by which all other churches will stand or fall? At any rate, this may be the case for Asia.

Here the section in chap. 11 dealing with the two prophet-witnesses may be instructive. It is idle to try to locate this in past history or to identify the martyrs, but what is significant is that

[78] Norbert Brox, "Nikolaos und Nikolaiten," *VC*, XIX (1965), 23-30. Balaamites and Nicolaitans may be the same; in Judaism Balaam was a symbol for false teaching. E. S. Fiorenza, "Apocalyptic and Gnosis in the Book of Revelation and Paul," *JBL*, XCII (1973), 565-81, identifies the Nicolaitans as a species of gnostics and points out their similarities to the group combatted by Paul.

their dead bodies will lie in the street of the city where their Lord was crucified (11:8). Why does John call this city Sodom and Egypt? Egypt, perhaps, because of the Crucifixion; but Sodom because of false teaching coming from Palestine and Syria. Jerusalem is only the earthly city: the true home of Christians is the coming heavenly Jerusalem. The mother of the Messiah is nourished in the desert for 1,260 days, the same period of time as the ministry of the two martyrs (12:6). This is often connected with Eusebius' story of an oracle that led the Jerusalem Christians to flee to Pella, east of the Jordan (*H.E.* iii. 5. 3). But is it possible that the author thinks of the woman as fleeing to Asia Minor? For John true Christianity is to be found in Asia, where the Lord stands in the midst of the seven lamps, and even here it is in desperate danger. If the woman represents the true Church, her counterpart is the great harlot of Babylon-Rome, i.e. the empire.

Despite the bizarre character of its imagery and predictions, the Book of Revelation taught a high Christology, maintained much of the earlier kerygma, and was close enough to the synoptic gospel tradition so that the later Church was able to fit it, however reluctantly, into its canon. It was one of the developments, not merely apocalyptic but prophetic also, that emerged ultimately from Palestinian Christianity.

The letter to the Colossians had provided the earliest glimpse into the Christian churches of Phrygia and the Lycus valley. Rev. 3:14-22 adds little except to say that Laodicea is lukewarm, poor (though it does not know it), and blind. The next information concerns Papias of Hierapolis, who flourished later than the prophet John, perhaps in the reign of Trajan.[79] His five books of *Explanation of the Logia of the Lord* must have been composed toward the end of that reign, if Irenaeus is correct in saying that he made use of I John as well as of I Peter.

Although we have only fragments of his book, Papias is a link with early tradition. He mentions Aristion and the elder John, disciples of the Lord, and other unnamed elders as well as their followers, who know traditions purporting to come from the original Twelve. Even though he said that "utterances of a living and

[79] R. M. Grant, "Papias and the Gospels," *ATR*, XXV (1943), 218-22, supposes that Papias was born about A.D. 60. Eusebius locates Papias immediately after Clement of Rome. Grant argues that Papias knew all four gospels.

abiding voice" were more useful to him, he did not disdain written gospels. Not only do we have remarks on the composition of Mark and Matthew, but the fragments contain allegorical or midrashic exegesis of canonical sayings. The oral tradition that he repeats is quite unpruned. The most respectable item is related to the *Pericope Adulterae*, but Papias' form of it is lost. There is a fantastic account of Judas' death, and there are two miracles reported by the daughters of Philip who lived in Hierapolis.

Papias was a millenarian, but how exactly does he fit into the picture? He quotes an alleged saying of the Lord to the effect that food and drink would be enjoyed in the Resurrection, and his prophecy of miraculous plenty has contacts with the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch. He was evidently in touch with Palestinian Jewish tradition. Daniélou discusses millenarianism fully in its relation to Jewish Christianity, and believes that he can distinguish three distinct schools of thought in the millenarianism of Asia Minor: (1) that of Cerinthus, who was the most crude in his expectation of pleasures in the age to come; (2) that of Papias, who was more moderate; and (3) the much later Methodius of Olympus, who thought that the seventh millennium would be a divine sabbath in which all the work of creation would cease. Daniélou does not seem to discuss the relation of this "Jewish Christianity" to the canonical Revelation, but it would appear that the latter is more symbolical and less crude than even Papias. There cannot be any doubt that the millenarian theology is primarily a product of Asia Minor. Justin Martyr, who learned his Christianity in Asia, was a millenarian.[80]

Although Papias' name could be Jewish, it is more probable that it is Phrygian and that he was a Gentile. When he says that God had given charge to the angels to rule the world well, but that their rule had ended in nothing, one is reminded of the angel speculations of Colossians.[81]

[80] Daniélou, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-404, especially p. 392. On Justin, see R. M. Grant, *Augustus*, p. 51, and *Dial.* 80:4f. This is just the period when Montanists were beginning to propagate the same doctrine. Cf. also L. Gry, "Le Papias des belles promesses messianiques," *Vivre et Penser*, III (1943-44), 112-24; "Hénoch x. 19 et les belles promesses de Papias," *RB*, LIII (1946), 197-206.

[81] Angels figure throughout the Book of Revelation, but they forbid John to worship them (Rev. 19:10; 22:8f.). One of the canons of the Council of Laodicea also forbids the worship of angels; cf. Johnson in *Biblical Archaeologist Reader, II*, p. 367. On the prominence of angels in Anatolian religion,

There is nothing in Papias' fragments or in what is said about him to indicate that he was a prophet. He was an apocalyptist and a collector of traditions, and probably a bishop, but he was in contact with the prophetic movement and evidently knew Philip's four daughters. Prophecy was more prevalent in the Judaism of this period than one would gather from the rabbinic writings.[82] After the first century it appeared only on the edges of the main stream of Christianity, except for such figures as Hermas and Elchesai (and were they on the edges?)—and except in Asia Minor, where it found a congenial home. A direct line runs from "Jezebel" and the daughters of Philip to the Montanists, and many of the prophets were women. Quadratus and Ammia in Philadelphia were claimed by later Catholic writers as authentic prophets.[83]

That mysterious figure Cerinthus must have appeared on the scene in Asia Minor in the first decade of the second century. He was probably not the only teacher to introduce new ideas. His were those of a freely speculative Christianity in contact with minority thinkers in Judaism. It must be remembered that after A.D. 70 Palestinian Judaism was in disarray, and the influence of Johanan ben Zakkai and the school of Jamnia was not yet dominant. One sign of this is to be seen in the revision of apocalyptic in the later strata of II Baruch. There must have been many different attempts to understand the future destiny of Judaism and the meaning of the O.T. Some results of this, in Christian circles, are to be seen in the Kerygmata Petrou and the Gospel of Thomas, neither of which seems to have had much effect on Asia Minor. Cerinthus, nevertheless, is a product of speculative Syrian Christianity.

Strecker maintains that the Syrian Jewish Christians represented in the Kerygmata Petrou attempted to convert Gentiles, not Jews.[84] The same may be true of the Judaizers of western Asia Minor. We

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see Kraabel, "Judaism," pp. 143-46. Daniélou, *op. cit.*, p. 47, however traces all angelology back to Jewish Christian theology.

[82] See P. Vielhauer in E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, II (3rd. ed. by W. Schneemelcher, Tübingen, 1964), 422-27; D. Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbriefe* (Neukirchen, 1964), pp. 130ff.

[83] Sir W. M. Calder, "Philadelphia and Montanism," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, VII (1922-23), 309-54; Kraabel, "Judaism," pp. 149-56. The phenomenon of Christian prophecy is now receiving attention; e.g., a seminar of the Society of Biblical Literature was devoted to it in 1973. Cf. also David Hill, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Revelation of St. John," *NTS*, XVIII (1972), 401-18.

[84] G. Strecker in W. Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

learn of them primarily from the letters of Ignatius, who was deeply shocked and disturbed by them when he made his journey as a captive from Cilicia though central Asia Minor, the Hermus valley, Smyrna and Troas. Ignatius combats two types of teaching. He attacks docetists in Smyrna and Tralles, Judaizers in Magnesia and Philadelphia. Perhaps the two groups are only a single group, gnostic Judaizers, though as yet there is no agreement on this.[85] If Irenaeus is right, Cerinthus combined the two tendencies.

Ignatius' polemic against Judaism is very general, but he is specific on two points: keeping Sabbath instead of the Lord's Day (Magn. 9:1) and dependence on the ἀρχεῖοι (the "archives" or the ancients) instead of the kerygma about Jesus Christ (Philad. 8:2). It is possible that Gentile Christians in these places were not required to keep the Law as a whole but observed the Sabbath and indulged in a highflown exegesis of the O.T. Ignatius makes one curious statement, that it is better to listen to Christianity from a circumcised man than to Judaism from the uncircumcised (Philad. 6:1). In the letter to the church in Philadelphia, the Book of Revelation has a curse on those who say that they are Jews but are not, but are a synagogue of Satan (Rev. 3:9). Massey Shepherd may be right in holding that the Judaizing propaganda reflected in Ignatius and the Johannine literature was carried on by Gentile Christians, not native Jews.[86]

Ignatius' style of Christianity can be called kerygmatic. As in Paul, the accent is on the events which make up the later creeds: incarnation, Cross, resurrection, and the present lordship of Christ, rather than on the teaching and earthly ministry of Jesus. It is a theology founded not on interpretation of the O.T. but on the Church's fundamental proclamation. Yet one must not exaggerate.

[85] Cf. L. W. Barnard, *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background* (Oxford, 1966), p. 23f.; E. Molland, "The Heretics Combatted by Ignatius of Antioch," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, V (1954), 1-6. On docetism see P. Weigandt, *Das Doketismus im Urchristentum und in der theologischen Entwicklung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1961.

[86] M. H. Shepherd, Jr., in C. M. Laymon (ed.), *The Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible* (New York, 1971), p. 708; also Barnard, *op. cit.*, p. 25. Goppelt, however, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-62, understands the polemic in both the gospel and the apocalypse as directed against Judaism as such. R. M. Grant, *RSR*, LX (1972), 10of.: those in Philadelphia seem to be Gentile Judaizers. The more extreme Judaizers had affinities with Qumran; cf. Virginia Corwin, *St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch* (New Haven, 1960), pp. 61-63.

Ignatius knows the gospel of Matthew, and he appeals to the witness of the O.T. more than once (Magn. 12:1; Trall. 8:2; Philad. 5:2; 9:1; Smyrn. 5:1).[87] The peculiarities of his theology have often been discussed. It is sufficient here to note that he speaks of the "silence" of God (which is an element of later gnosticism),[88] and that, although Paul is his hero, and his gospel tradition is Matthaean, he lives partly in the spiritual world of the Odes of Solomon and the Fourth Gospel.

Where and how the Gospel of John fits into the scene of Asia in the early second century is still obscure. Recent studies disclose Syrian, in fact Palestinian, elements in the gospel: its topography, and its relation to the Wisdom literature, to the Qumran writings, to Jewish midrashic method, to the exegesis of Philo, to Mandaism, and finally to the primitive Palestinian gospel tradition. It is as though the evangelist had been conscious of every theological and spiritual movement in this region and was presenting a positive gospel in relation to them. The external testimony to the gospel favors Asia Minor. The conditions are best fulfilled if we suppose that a Palestinian or Syrian evangelist wrote his gospel in Ephesus or if at any rate it was published there at the end of the first century.[89] The gospel deals with Judaism and Christianity, the relation of the new to the old, and pays at least passing attention to the problem of docetism.

It must be remembered that Ignatius was not only a bishop but also a prophet, a charismatic. The discourses of the Fourth Gospel can also be best explained as the utterances of a prophet who speaks words of the risen Christ, often developed out of logia in the earlier tradition.

In the first decades of the second century in western Anatolia

[87] R. M. Grant, *After the N.T.* (Philadelphia, 1967), argues that he knew Luke and John, but used gospels on the same basis as oral tradition. Of course he knew I Cor. practically by heart. There is a strand of early Christian anti-gnostic tradition in Ignatius; cf. H.-W. Bartsch, *Gnostisches Gut und Gemeindetradition bei Ignatius von Antiochien* (Gütersloh, 1940), p. 107.

[88] Cf. Henry Chadwick, "The Silence of Bishops in Ignatius," *HTR*, XLIII (1950), 169-72.

[89] K. Aland, "Der Montanismus und die kleinasiatische Theologie," *ZNW*, XLVI (1955), 114, makes the interesting suggestion that the gospel was assigned to John *because* it was an Asia Minor production, not that it was located in Asia Minor because it was ascribed to John. Cf. also his "Bemerkungen zum Montanismus und zur frühchristlichen Eschatologie," *Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe*, I (Gütersloh, 1960), p. 140.

there are probably two current but independent phenomena: the Fourth Gospel and the Pastoral Epistles, the latter followed by Polycarp.

The Pastorals build on the foundation laid by Ephesians. The Pastor (for so we may conveniently call their author) knows Paul only from his epistles and from Acts; the latter provides him with his model of the apostle. His summary of Pauline doctrine in Tit. 3:5-7 is reminiscent of Ephesians: we are justified by God's grace, it is not works that save us but the washing of rebirth and the renewal of the Holy Spirit.[90] Descriptions of the false teachers are vague, probably because they belong to several varieties. They engage in disputes about the Law, retail "myths and endless genealogies" (I Tim. 1:4-8; Tit. 1:14), and some of them belong to the circumcision (Tit. 1:10). On the other hand, they forbid marriage, as in the later Acts of Paul, have rules about abstention from foods and wine, and promote bodily asceticism, as was the case in Colossae (I Tim. 4:3, 8; 5:23). The Pastor's opponents, like some of the Cynics, are accused of greed (I Tim. 3:3, 8; cf. II Cor. 11:20). They are always learning but never able to come to knowledge of the truth (II Tim. 3:7f.)—a charge that practical men often level against theologians.

There is no real controversy about circumcision. To the Pastor "the Law" means the moral demands of the O.T. as understood in the Christian paraenetic tradition. He reveres the Scriptures but does not seem to be well acquainted with them; some of his quotations may be merely Christian commonplaces. As is so often the case, the problem is the old and the new. How much of what passes for O.T. theology should be preserved?

The Pastor wants peace in the Church, wholesome teaching and clean family life, and good relations with the world outside. Let us stay with what we have and lead good, decent lives, obeying the rulers and praying for them. Women, except for the older widows, are to stay at home, marry and bear children, and perform domestic duties. No women are to speak in church (I Tim. 2:12). There is to be no Jezebel or Thecla, and even Philip's daughters

[90] Cf. 2:11-14, where grace, hope and good works are combined. The statement about baptism can be compared with Ignatius' description of the Eucharist as the medicine of immortality (Ign. Eph. 20:2). It is perhaps accidental that the Lord's Supper is mentioned in neither Ephesians nor in the Pastorals; there is no controversy about it at this time.

would probably have been suspect. No one should have too little or too much. Let people mind their own business, be kind to others, worship God, and expect the coming of Christ, though not perhaps immediately (Tit. 2:11-14). The author is not a typical Anatolian; he is an Aegean Greek.

For this kind of life the ministry should be a pattern. Kretschmar is no doubt correct in visualizing here a pastorate of married men, and this type of church as essentially a holy family governed by a father. As in Acts, there is a presbytery (I Tim. 4:14) and there are deacons. The word πρεσβύτερος sometimes refers to older men, sometimes to an established ministry. At one point bishop and presbyter are equated (Tit. 1:5-7), but there are men who aspire to the office of bishop (I Tim. 3:1). Church order appears to be fluid, but the monarchical episcopate may be about to emerge in Asia Minor.

Polycarp comes a little later. His attitude is so similar to that of the Pastor that von Campenhausen identifies him as the author of the Pastorals.[91] He now thinks of widows as the "altar of God;" and virgins are a recognized group in the Church (Polyc. Phil. 4:3; 5:3). Although Ignatius addresses him as bishop and urges him to exercise his leadership, he does not use the title for himself and speaks of the presbyters with him. He modestly disclaims any ability to follow Paul's wisdom. He learns from Paul what all Christians learn: faith, hope and love (3:2f.). He claims to have only slight knowledge of the O.T. but may cite it more frequently than the Pastor. His echoes of gospel tradition, particularly of Matthew and Luke, and of Acts, I Peter, I Clement, Ephesians, the Pauline letters and the Pastorals, show that he is in touch with a rich Christian literature.[92] While Ignatius is a prophet-bishop, Polycarp is one of the earliest in the line of teacher-bishops.[93] He carries on the kerygmatic tradition; statements of this are to be found in his first two chapters. He transmits elements of Jewish moral teaching,

[91] H. von Campenhausen, "Polykarp von Smyrna und die Pastoralbriefe," in *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums* (Tübingen, 1963), pp. 196-252.

[92] R. M. Grant, "Polycarp of Smyrna," *ATR*, XXVIII (1946), 137-48; see especially pp. 140-45 for Polycarp's "library." It is possible that he knows some oral gospel tradition, but the quotation in 2:3*a* is undoubtedly derived from I Clem. 13:3; see H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Väter* (TU, LXV, Berlin, 1957), pp. 115-18.

[93] M. H. Shepherd, Jr., "Smyrna in the Ignatian Letters: a Study in Church Order," *Journal of Religion*, XX (1940), 141-59.

and also gives a group of *Haustafeln* (4:2—6:3). All of this is woven together into a unity. But there is more: like the author of I Peter, he is interested in the human character of Jesus and in his teaching. This has helped to form his understanding of the Christian ethic, and is a sign that the synoptic gospels are beginning to make an impact upon Asian Christianity. Polycarp has gone deeply enough into the gospels to know that the story of Gethsemane and the Lord's Prayer are connected (7:2; cf. 6:1).

As a teacher, he had to deal with opponents. There are some general references to false teaching, but his only specific attacks are on those who do not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh (cf. I John 2:22; 4:2f.; II John 7), on those who do not confess the testimony of the Cross (cf. I John 3:8), and, as for him who says that there is neither resurrection and judgment, such an one is the "first-born of Satan" (7:1). The tradition is that on one occasion Polycarp applied this epithet to Marcion (Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* iii. 3. 4), but the present passage is directed against docetists. Harrison may be right in dividing the epistle into two letters, chaps. 1-12 having been written later than the last two, but the date of these chapters is debated.[94]

In any case, docetists have been present in Smyrna since the days of Ignatius, and Christian teachers combat them. Whatever may be the facts about the origin of the gospel of John, it has produced a Johannine school, perhaps in Ephesus, for at least two men bearing the name of John are associated with that city in the tradition. Perhaps the school made the final redaction of the gospel, and it certainly is responsible for the three epistles. Three things stand out here: the organic connection between Christology and the ethic of love, the explicit rejection of docetists as Antichrist, and controversy over membership and leadership in the Church. The congregations are house churches, and the problems have to do with receiving visitors into them. The references are so vague that we cannot tell whether Diotrophes ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων (III John 2) is trying to establish himself as a monarchical bishop. We do not know where the Elect Lady or Gaius lived. The tone and theology of these letters is quite different from those of Polycarp, different too from Ephesians. If they were written from Ephesus, they come out of a church with a very fervid atmosphere, threatened

[94] P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 15f.; Barnard, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-39.

and defensive. The religion of these three letters is a kerygmatic type of Christianity, which some similarities to that of Ignatius, which pays practically no attention to the O.T. It is eschatological but not in close touch with Judaism or Jewish Christianity;[95] in fact, this is a very peculiar Johannine development, because the Fourth Evangelist's theology is closely related to the interpretation of the O.T. Polycarp as a boy may have known an old Christian named John (the Apostle, or evangelist, or elder), but, a few miles away in Smyrna, he was not in close touch with this Johannine school.

Meanwhile First Peter has come to Polycarp's attention. This epistle is addressed to the elect in the "diaspora" of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia. We know that by A.D. 180 there were churches in all these regions,[96] and unless the destination is fanciful, at least some congregations existed in these provinces much earlier. The epistle can scarcely have been written before the reign of Domitian. Goodspeed conjectured that it was partly an answer to the "seditious" sentiments of the Book of Revelation.[97] It purports to come from Rome (=Babylon, 5:13), but if it was actually written from Bithynia, it may be as late as the reign of Trajan, and reflect the situation of Pliny's correspondence. Christians are to be patient under suffering and to give no occasion for any accusation except that of the "name" of Christ or Christian (4:14, 16). The main body of the letter has also been considered to be a paschal homily, addressed to the newly baptized as well as to the rest of the congregation.[98] It is important to note here that First

[95] The parallels between Ignatius and First John are so striking that I can understand the latter only as representing the tradition of the Fourth Gospel with the thought of Ignatius superimposed upon it. The Johannine school must have known Ignatius' letters. Note, e.g.: (1) Unity and ὁμόνοια, I John 1:3 = Ign. Eph. 4:2—5:1; Magn. 1:2; 6:1; 13:1; Trall. 7:1. (2) The schismatics, I John 2:19 = Ign. Eph. 5:3. (3) Love, I John 3:23; cf. 2:9, 11 = Smyrn. 6:2 and the Ignatian coupling of faith and love. (4) Christ has come in the flesh, I John 4:2f. = Smyrn. 2-4; Trall. 9-10. (5) True believers are sinless, I John 3:6, 9; 5:18 = Ign. Eph. 8:2; 14:2. (6) Anointing equated with teaching, I John 2:20, 27 = Ign. Eph. 17:1. (7) Do not love the world, I John 2:15 = Ign. Rom. 7:1-3. (8) It is the last hour, I John 2:18 = Ign. Eph. 11:1. First John appears to me to be a hardening of the teaching both of the Fourth Gospel and of Ignatius.

[96] A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (4th ed., Leipzig, 1924), II, 626f.

[97] E. J. Goodspeed, *An Introduction to the N.T.* (Chicago, 1937), p. 268f.; *New Solutions of N.T. Problems* (Chicago, 1927), pp. 110-15.

[98] F. L. Cross, *I Peter, A Paschal Liturgy* (London, 1954); H. Preisker in

Peter uses the O.T. freely, and includes a developed Christian midrash on the foundation stone and the stone of stumbling (2:6-10); it contains many echoes of the Pauline letters, and apparently also of the gospel tradition, which has been digested and pondered;[99] and, above all, there is a real appreciation of the character of the earthly Jesus. It reflects a fully mature, balanced and warm type of Christianity. Together with the Pastoral Epistles and Polycarp, it is a sign that the collection of Christian literature is stabilizing the young churches, and that the two traditions of Paul and the synoptic gospels have coalesced. If monepiscopacy exists, no weight is laid on it; Peter is pictured as a fellow-presbyter (5:1).

The earliest Christian writings were designed for instruction within the community. Luke-Acts can, however, be considered the earliest apologetic work preserved to us. Its functions could have been multiple: as a gospel it is a kerygmatic and catechetical work, but this *genre* has been modified slightly so that some scholars classify it as a life of Jesus combined with a history of the Church's beginnings;[100] but all of this is composed in such a way that it could serve also as a defense of Christianity. In this sense First Peter is an apology also; so are the fragments of the Preaching of Peter, preserved by Clement of Alexandria, which belong to the first half of the second century. Nearly all apologies must have had more than one function. They defended the Church against enemies and competitors, but they were also aimed to attract outsiders and to strengthen the faithful, who had to be ready to give a reason for the hope that they had (I Pet. 3:15).

The first formal apology known to have been addressed to an emperor was that of Quadratus, presented to Hadrian about 125-129. The fragment preserved in Eusebius (*H.E.* iv. 3. 2) states that some of those who had been cured or raised from the dead had survived up to Quadratus' time (presumably as late as A.D. 90). If this is the man whom Eusebius mentions as a prophet (iii. 37.

H. Windisch, *Die katholischen Briefe* (3rd ed., Tübingen, 1951), pp. 156-62.

[99] E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of Peter* (2nd ed., London, 1947), pp. 18-23; Philip Carrington, *The Primitive Christian Catechism* (Cambridge, 1940).

[100] The most important discussion of the *genre* of the gospels is perhaps that of H. Koester in Robinson and Koester, *Trajectories*, pp. 158-204. See also the remarks of W. Marxsen, *Introduction to the N.T.* (E.T., Oxford, 1968), pp. 149, 151, 156, 160, 163; E. Käsemann, *Essays on N.T. Themes* (London, 1964), p. 29; also D. Georgi in Society of Biblical Literature 1972 Proceedings, *Book of Seminar Papers*, II, 527-42.

1f.) the apology comes from Asia Minor and the fragment may enshrine one of the traditions brought from Palestine by the "elders." Rather few scholars have adopted the theory of Dom P. Andriessen that the Epistle to Diognetus was written by the same man and fits into the lacuna between Diogn. 7:6 and 7:7.[101] Marrou prefers a date of 190-200 for Diognetus, and Goodspeed assigns it to the third century.[102] Shepherd, in seminar discussions, has said that he would place it as early as possible in the second century. The writer knows Paul but does not use the gospels, though there are possible reminiscences of the Johannine literature. Many themes found in other apologies are absent, while on the other hand Diognetus parallels certain themes of the Preaching of Peter: the folly of idolatry and of Jewish worship, and the idea of the third race. If the Quadratus fragment belongs in the lacuna, much more must have been lost, for it does not fit in directly. Fairweather argues strongly that the apology belongs in Asia Minor and was written by Quadratus about A.D. 129.[103] If this is so, Quadratus is a very mature Christian theologian, of great refinement and sensitivity. Except for the ignorant and stupid polemic against Judaism, there are few early Christian writings that are more elegant and attractive.

The period from A.D. 60 to 75 marks the transition from the apostolic age to the post-apostolic. By the latter date, the persecution under Nero and the first Jewish War had taken place, and practically all of the intimate disciples of Jesus had died. This was a time of crisis for Judaism, which regained its strength under the leadership of great Pharisaic rabbis, particularly the saintly R. Joḥanan ben Zakḳai. As Judaism consolidated itself, Christianity increasingly became a Gentile religion. Actual separation from the synagogue came rather slowly, and no doubt more rapidly in some places than in others. Christians had a kerygmatic tradition, a message of Jesus' life, death and resurrection, they possessed traditions of his words and deeds, and some churches had letters of

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[101] P. Andriessen, "L'Apologie de Quadratus conservée sous le titre d'Épitre à Diognète," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, XIII (1946), 5-39, 125-49, 237-60; XIV (1947), 121-56; "The Authorship of the *Epistula ad Diognetum*," *VC*, I (1947), 129f.

[102] H. I. Marrou, *A Diognète* (Paris, 1951), pp. 266-68; E. J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1942), p. 148.

[103] E. R. Fairweather in C. C. Richardson (ed.), *Early Christian Fathers*, I (London, 1953), pp. 206-10.

Paul. But still their only scripture was the O.T.[104] With the exception of Paul's letters, practically all of the N.T. was a product of the post-apostolic age.

The same crisis faced the Christian communities with at least three serious problems.[105] The delay of the Parousia was the least difficult of these. Most Christians simply revised their expectations,[106] though II Pet. 3:3f. speaks of scoffers. In the Fourth Gospel eschatology is "realized," it seems to disappear completely in the Gospel of Thomas; and it underwent radical reconstruction at the hands of the gnostics. A more serious danger was that the link between Jesus and the developing tradition might be broken. Jesus and his followers were not rabbis, and there was no regular and systematic method of preserving the tradition.[107] Jesus was Lord and Messiah, but there were two other authorities: the O.T. and the Holy Spirit, who spoke through Christian prophets. The third problem arose because of the Jewish War. Because of the dispersion of the Jerusalem Christians and the shock of the Roman victory, Christians must have thought of the relation between Judaism and Christianity, and the meaning of the old revelation, in various ways.

After Paul and the earliest disciples had died, and this variety of theological understandings arose, there was a real danger to the unity and cohesiveness of the Church. Toward the end of the first century various Christian writers dealt with this problem. The Epistle to the Hebrews developed a theology based on O.T. interpretation, with a clear sense of continuity between the old and the

[104] See especially H. von Campenhausen, *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums*, pp. 152-96. Even Ignatius held that Christ had been written about in the O.T.

[105] The formulation of these three I owe to M. H. Shepherd, Jr., in seminar discussions. G. B. Caird, *The Apostolic Age* (London, 1955), p. 141, does not mention the delay of the Parousia, but instead speaks of the beginning of persecution by Rome.

[106] D. Flusser, "Salvation Present and Future," *Numen*, XVI (1969), 139-55. On the crisis created when "the optimism provided by apocalyptic or prophetic eschatology waned," cf. also R. M. Grant, "Jewish Christianity at Antioch," *RSR*, LX (1972), 97-108, especially p. 98f. The question of expectation of the end was seldom raised by the Church; cf. L. Goppelt, "The Existence of the Church in History," in W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder, *Current Issues in N.T. Interpretation* (New York, 1962), p. 198f.

[107] M. Smith, "A Comparison of Early Christian and Early Rabbinic Tradition," *JBL*, LXXXII (1963), 169-76; Jacob Neusner, "The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before A.D. 70: the Problem of Oral Transmission," *Journal of Jewish Studies*, XXII (1971), 1-18.

new.[108] The Gospel of Matthew similarly emphasizes the continuity. It presents a version of Mark's basic work enriched by an account of Jesus' teaching, an interpretation of the delay of the Parousia and of the Jewish War, and a doctrine of the unity of Jews and Gentiles in the Church. The teaching materials almost constitute a church order. All this is undergirded by the commission given by Jesus to the disciples after the resurrection. First Clement, a formal letter written from Rome, attacks the problem of disunity directly by teaching that the apostles' successors should continue in office. The form of the letter is a rhetorical exhortation to concord (ὁμόνοια).[109]

Many of the developments toward unity are associated with Asia Minor. When Ignatius was there, he exhorted the churches to be loyal to the threefold ministry, and particularly to the bishop and his eucharist.[110] He said nothing about a succession from the apostles. Meanwhile Ephesians had already taught the importance of Paul's teaching and the foundation of the Church on the apostles and prophets. The importance of Luke-Acts in this development can hardly be overestimated. As in Matthew, the Church derives from a commission after the resurrection. The word "apostle," found only occasionally in Matthew, is now applied not only to Paul and to other missionaries but also to the Twelve. It is to "Luke," more than to any other person, that the Church owed the concept of apostolicity which was to have such far-reaching consequences. This evangelist also develops the concept of a sacred history that begins in the O.T. and carries over into the story of the primitive Church.

The Gospel of John is an independent and individual presentation of Jesus and of Christianity, and can almost be called a creed in gospel form. Among its themes are the relation of Christianity to Judaism and the relation between the story of Jesus and the prophetic Spirit. These are the evangelist's answers to theological

[108] The Epistle of Barnabas, which is probably much later, combines catechetical instruction with an anti-Jewish interpretation of the Scriptures.

[109] W. C. van Unnik, "Studies over de zogenaamde eerste brief van Clemens, 1. Het literaire genre," *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde,* Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 33, No. 4 (1970), 151-204.

[110] R. M. Grant, *Augustus,* pp. 47, 150 sees a parallel to Ignatius' view of the monarchical episcopate in Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 1-3, where monarchy is a divine institution.

currents that threaten the Church. Here again there is a commission of the risen Lord, and this is related to discipline in the Church. The Johannine epistles also attempt to exercise such a discipline. The Pastoral Epistles treat of discipline in a quite different way. Superficially in epistle form, they have the characteristics of a church order.

The type of Christianity that later came to be considered "orthodox," "catholic," and "apostolic" was an outgrowth, though not the only one, of the earliest Christian tradition. It drew from three sources and very early based its authority on them: the Lord (i.e. the words and deeds of Jesus), the O.T., and the Spirit (mainly the utterances of Christian prophets). Just because of this threefold source, Christian tradition was more fluid than that of Judaism. Jesus was known through oral tradition, much of which came to be deposited in the gospels and a small part of it in the letters of Paul. Utterances of the Spirit added to the sayings of Jesus. Christians used some Jewish methods in interpreting the O.T.—we can see similarities here and there to the Qumran writings and to the midrashim—and many *testimonia* to Christ were derived from the O.T., but the ways of understanding the books of the O.T. show considerable variety.

Christian gnosticism differed from other strands of Christian teaching in that the gnostics put less reliance on the old tradition of Jesus' deeds and words and more on theological speculation. Their use of the O.T. also differed from that of most other Christians. To some degree they were Hellenistic schoolmen; not pastors of churches, but more the counterparts of today's university professors of philosophy.

It is probably mistaken methodology for the historian to single out certain writers or strands of thought in the period from 70 to 150 and label them catholic, and I think that it is tendentious to speak of *Frühkatholizismus* or of the "founding" of the Catholic Church in the last quarter of the second century. I have the same criticism of Daniélou's use of the terms "orthodox" and "heretical." [111] The early Church was not yet at that point, and such

[111] Daniélou, *op. cit.*, e.g., pp. 8, 55. L. Goppelt, "The Existence of the Church," pp. 193-209, attempts a precise definition of "early Catholicism." The apostolic witness was "abbreviated to a contemporary proclamation formed in a stereotyped fashion" which "finds no material relationship to the O.T. and to eschatological grace." The word was subordinated to the authority of the legally ordained office, to the sacrament, and to a system

use of language implies an *a priori* theological judgment. By the same token, it is confusing when one speaks of gnosticism in Christianity before the rise of the great gnostic leaders, though for the sake of convenience it is hard to avoid doing so. The elusive "Jewish Christianity" is another example, although Daniélou carefully defines the various possible meanings of the phrase. There were many competing influences, the oral tradition was largely uncontrolled, and many different views of Jesus were possible. In Pharisaic Judaism, by contrast, after A.D. 70 there was a more unified method and greater control, because oral tradition could be related to a single written corpus, the O.T., whose canon was now fixed, whereas in Christianity the tradition of Jesus and the Christian prophets introduced two other factors.

Gospel sources were written quite early, and by the early second century the four canonical gospels were in existence, together with competitors now lost to us, except in fragments. These books were read and had some immediate impact, but they were not yet scripture. This was the situation when Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp and Papias wrote, and this also explains why such books as I Peter, the Pastorals, and Hebrews do not reflect them directly. Here an insight of Robert Grant is illuminating. He observes that Ignatius knows and uses the Pauline letters, particularly I Corinthians, which he apparently knows by heart. There are elusive parallels to Matthew and John, and perhaps to Luke, that can be accounted for, as Koester does, from oral tradition. But when one observes Ignatius' free use of Paul, it is equally possible that he knows

of repentance. This institutionalizing is a "fall;" at the same time the early second century leaders ("apostolic fathers") preserved the documents embodying the apostolic faith and thus, in contrast to gnosticism and Jewish Christianity, "the apostolic witness in its full latitude." Goppelt makes a rather strict distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings but does not mention the fact that the Pastorals contain about as many "early Catholic" elements as Polycarp. The article is worth reading as a clear presentation of a definite point of view. What for Goppelt is "early Catholicism" is for Daniélou the natural working out of "orthodoxy." Every historian writes from his own point of view, in this field usually a theological one, and my own presentation could be criticized as too empirical or positivistic. Nevertheless I regard the second century development, which came to be regarded as "orthodox," as being a logical development which on the whole carried on the several traditions in the canonical N.T. writings. Our difficulty as historians is that we have practically nothing but the fragmentary literary sources of the first two centuries. There is nothing else to tell us how early Christians lived, felt and thought.

written gospels. Nevertheless, he uses all this material as if it were oral tradition; in other words, the gospels, the letters of Paul, and oral material are merely part of one tradition. As yet there is no scripture except the O.T.[112]

What was basic to this tradition was a *kerygma*, a message about Jesus. It is formulated in many different ways. There are quasi-credal formulae in the letters of Paul, the speeches in Acts, and the Pastorals, and they are frequent in Ignatius. This proclamation seems to have determined both the content and the structure of the canonical gospels. It also lies behind the writings of Christian gnostics and such books as the Epistle of the Apostles.

Despite all the variety, there were those who transmitted this *kerygma* and added to it two other elements: traditions of the words and deeds of Jesus, which were valued highly, and interpretations of the O.T., which was regarded as the word of the one God but was understood from a Christian point of view. Such people wrote the canonical gospels and saw to it that the letters of Paul were collected and copied. Many Christians lived outside this particular development. The Gospel of Thomas and the gnostic documents from Egypt, though confessedly later, go back to earlier movements, and they show how strong were certain tendencies that came later to be rejected. If more Christian writings from the period 70-150 had been preserved, we should no doubt observe even greater variety.

In the emergence of what came to be the dominant strand, the letters of Paul were important. But most Christians, except Marcion, did not accept them as the one and only interpretation of Christianity. Those who loved and revered Paul, such as Ignatius and the authors of Hebrews, I Clement, Luke-Acts and the Pastorals, were not complete Paulinists, and some hardly understood the Apostle at all.

Something like the gospels was needed also to formulate what

[112] R. M. Grant, *After the N.T.*, pp. 37-54, particularly pp. 43-45; cf. also his *The Formation of the N.T.* (New York, 1965), pp. 93-102, on Ignatius' use of the Pauline letters and the gospel tradition. Cf. also J. Smit Sibinga, "Ignatius and Matthew," *NovT*, VIII (1966), 263-83. W. C. van Unnik, *Oog en Oor: Criteria voor de eerste Samenstelling van het N.T.* (Utrecht, 1973), discusses the motive for collection of the four gospels as a nucleus for the canon, i.e. that as the eye-witnesses receded farther into history it was necessary to preserve all four as apostolic witnesses. He suggests that this was in western Asia Minor and that behind Papias' notice of Mark there was a debate as to whether this gospel should be included (p. 15f.).

many Christians had learned from their parents and teachers and had believed. The gospels preserved to us answered the plea for loyalty to what was apostolic, and they gave substance to the *kerygma* by providing portraits of Jesus in his earthly ministry. The synoptics seem to have had little difficulty in winning acceptance. The Gospel of John was so different from them that it made its way only later. But the production and dissemination of these four, more than any other single factor, set many churches on the road that was to be followed in the future.

What churches were these? Palestine and Syria—conceived as one region in the early empire as in Ottoman times—had a part in this development, and it is likely that Matthew and the basic substance of Mark and John came from this region, as well as the sources of Luke. But all roads led ultimately to Rome, where Mark was written, and usually through Asia Minor. It was in the latter region that in all probability Luke and John received something like their present form, and it was in Asia Minor and Rome that the most important developments, which led to the later "orthodoxy," occurred.

VI. *Marcion and His Forerunners*

The remainder of this essay will be devoted to figures and movements in Asia Minor that, either in part or completely, later were condemned by the majority of the Church. Marcion is one of the most significant men in second century Christianity. He was born at Sinope in Pontus, is said to have been the son of the bishop there, and spent his early life in Asia Minor. Although he was rejected by the church in Rome after having taught there for several years, other theologians were forced to take account of his ideas and to answer them. Harnack and others have claimed that the Church's reaction to Marcion, the gnostics, and the Montanist movement led directly to consolidation of its position, in fact to the "founding of the Catholic Church." The Marcionites soon formed a separate church, with sacraments and a hierarchical ministry parallel to that of other Christians.[113] Marcionite churches

[113] Tertullian's charge, *de Praescr. Haer.* xli, that heretics had no stable ministry, need not necessarily apply to Marcionites, though their organization was seemingly less rigid than that of other churches; cf. É. Amann, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, IX, 2, col. 2026. This would be natural in view of Marcion's rejection of ecclesiastical tradition, which appealed to the O.T. for types of the Christian ministry (e.g., I Clem. 40:5; 42:5). At

existed for several centuries afterward, and in some regions they were in the majority.[114]

All recent study of Marcion takes its departure from Harnack's great monograph, in which he brought together practically all the relevant information and applied to it his massive learning and tact in handling of sources.[115] We have already objected to the notion that the Catholic Church was "founded" in the late second century, but it remains true that there was a decided consolidation of the great Church through the establishment of the N.T. canon and the rule of faith, and the appeal to the traditions of bishops in the more important sees.

Three of Harnack's other judgments have been debated, and it is well to summarize them here. (1) Maricon was the first to create a canon of the N.T. His purpose was to replace the O.T. by Christian scriptures, and this he did by producing a canon in two parts, the Gospel (an edited form of Luke) and the Apostle (ten Pauline letters, headed by Galatians; the Pastorals were not yet included).[116] (2) The ancients were correct in holding that Marcion edited the text of the epistles, removing portions that did not suit his dogmatic scheme; as for the gospel, it was "a falsified Luke." [117] (3) Marcion was not a gnostic. He was a radical biblical theologian, for whom these texts were authoritative. He not only revised them but read them in the light of his preconceptions.

Harnack's thesis, that the canon began with Marcion, has been accepted by many scholars, including Goodspeed and Knox, who developed it further.[118] Blackman attacked the entire idea, arguing that a Catholic canon was already in the making.[119]

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the same time, inclusion of the Pastorals in the later Marcionite canon would have encouraged a regular ministry. That women undertook sacramental functions is perhaps natural in view of Marcion's origin in Asia Minor.

[114] Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit*, pp. 25-33.

[115] A. von Harnack, *Marcion: das Evangelium des fremden Gott*, TU XLV (Leipzig, 1921); *Neue Studien zu Marcion* (Leipzig, 1923).

[116] Harnack, *Marcion*, pp. 32-68, for his basic thesis on the canon. Later Marcionites admitted the Pastorals.

[117] *Ibid.*, p. 221*f.

[118] E. J. Goodspeed, *The Formation of the N.T.* (Chicago, 1926); John Knox, *Marcion and the N.T.* (Chicago, 1942). In the latter book Knox states his theory of the order of the original Pauline collection. This is related to Goodspeed's hypothesis that Ephesians was written by the collector of the Pauline letters as a covering encyclical. For criticisms of Knox's theory of the original order, see Jack Finegan, "The Original Form of the Pauline Collection," *HTR*, XLIX (1956), 85-103, and Knox's rejoinder, L (1957);

Perhaps the most judicious discussion of the problem is that of von Campenhausen. In pre-Marcionite Christian literature the O.T. is treated as scripture and is formally cited and explained, but there is no exegesis of the text of a N.T. book and no scriptural proof derived from one. That these books were known and used is a different thing from normative authority. In this period, as Robert Grant has also observed, oral tradition had at least equal authority. What Marcion sought to do was to displace oral tradition by recovering the old texts of Paul and using them as the basis for his message. Paul was the only true interpreter of Christ. Marcion's canon was not in two parts: it was all "apostolic," for he considered the gospel to be not Luke's but Paul's. The *Antitheses* were written to defend this canon by systematic and philological arguments. Paul, as interpreted by Marcion, was to be the norm.[120]

It is Knox who has called into question the judgment of Harnack on Marcion's treatment of the text in the books of his canon. Knox concedes that Marcion deliberately omitted parts of the epistles, but not necessarily Rom. 15-16. A shorter recension of Romans may have circulated in non-Marcionite circles, and indeed this is probable.[121] Marcion's gospel is another matter. Knox analyzes the canonical Luke into three groups of passages: those known to have been in Marcion's gospel, those known to have been excluded, and sections for which there is no evidence. Not all of the exclusions can be accounted for by Marcionite doctrine, and many passages in the third group may have been in Marcion's gospel. Knox suggests that Marcion took over and edited a more primitive form of Luke's gospel than that which we now have. The canonical Luke-Acts is quite late and was produced by Catholics as an answer to Marcion. Knox's strongest argument is that there is no clear evidence of the existence of Acts before 150. But it seems almost

C. L. Mitton, *The Formation of the Pauline Corpus of Letters* (London, 1955), generally agreeing with Knox; W. Schmithals, "Zum Abfassung und ältesten Sammlung der paulinischen Hauptbriefe," *ZNW*, LI (1960), 225-45; C. H. Buck, "The Early Order of the Pauline Corpus," *JBL*, LXVIII (1949), 351-57, the last two refuting Knox's thesis. Grant, *The Formation of the N.T.*, p. 126, doubts that Marcion consciously formed a canon.

[119] E. C. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence* (London, 1948), pp. 27f., 48.

[120] H. Freiherr von Campenhausen, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Bibel* (Tübingen, 1968), pp. 174-93; cf. also Grant, *After the N.T.*, pp. 43-46.

[121] Knox, *op. cit.*, chap. iii. For other evidence supporting Harnack on this point, cf. Blackman, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-50.

impossible that gospel material which is unquestionably old, together with the sources of Acts, should suddenly have turned up at this point. The literature then being written was quite different in character.[122]

There still remains the question where the Gospel of Luke originated. Marcion's father is said to have been a bishop in Sinope. *A priori* it seems possible that this gospel was the one that Marcion had known from his youth.[123] It may have had a form slightly different from that which we now have, and it is as possible that Luke-Acts was written in Asia Minor as in any other place.

Von Campenhausen makes two points about Marcion's deletions. No one regarded these early writings as sacrosanct; Matthew and Luke made free use of Mark, and Tatian did not scruple to weave the gospels into a single account—including materials from the Gospel of Thomas. Second, Marcion's method was not that of scientific textual or source criticism; he arbitrarily removed what was not in accord with his dogmatic views, just as he rejected oral tradition out of hand.[124]

Was Marcion a gnostic? This turns partly on the definition of gnosticism. If the term is used in the strictest sense, i.e. the teaching that there is a metaphysical dualism in man and that man is saved by a new knowledge, such as that found in the Valentinian system, it is possible to agree with Harnack. Marcion's dualism was not metaphysical, but there are many features of his doctrine that are characteristic of gnosticism.[125]

[122] Knox, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-139; for more detailed criticisms see my review in *ATR*, XXV (1943), 228-33; Blackman, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41. Polyc. Phil. 1:2 seems to have a clear quotation of Acts 2:24; see also Polyc. Phil. 2:2; 6:3; 12:2.

[123] B. W. Bacon argued, *Expositor*, 8th Series, No. 118 (Oct., 1920), p. 291, that at an early period a local church had but one gospel. Basilides and Marcion's teacher Cerdo, both Antiochenes, used only the Gospel of Luke.

[124] See n. 111, above. For Thomas, see G. Quispel, "The Latin Tatian or the Gospel of Thomas in Limburg," *JBL*, LXXXVIII (1969), 321-30. Cf. also P. G. Verweijs, *Evangelium und neues Gesetz in der ältesten Christenheit bis auf Marcion* (Utrecht, 1960), p. 344. Morton Smith disagrees. In *The American Historical Review*, LXXI, 1 (Feb., 1972), p. 96, *n.* 14, he says, "The pseudonymity of the Pastorals and II Peter suggests canonical pretensions; John, Heb., Eph. and I Pet. were obviously written to be 'holy scriptures.'" One might add that Matthew was composed like a biblical book; in the genealogy it latches on to the genealogies of the priestly document in the Pentateuch. This is, however, different from saying that all these writings were immediately accepted as canonical.

[125] See, e.g., Ugo Bianchi, "Marcion: Théologien biblique ou docteur

Nothing in our sources indicates that Marcion was hostile to the Jewish people as such, and it is a curious coincidence that Aquila, the literalistic translator of the Hebrew Bible, is said to have come from Pontus in the second century. Sometimes it is easy for men of different religions to be friends if they agree that their religions are quite distinct; this is in contrast to the position of Justin Martyr, who claimed that Christianity was the only legitimate successor of the old religion, so that the O.T. belonged to Christians rather than to Jews. Marcion was so much detached from the O.T. that he could use it almost as a source book for the history of religion. He was conscious of its contradictions, but, lacking a true historical perspective, he could not perceive the continuity that actually existed. Thus he used the O.T. in an attempt to prove the newness of the Christian message about the Stranger God, and to refute the prevailing use of the O.T. as a source for Christian faith. Some of his interpretations of the O.T. may indeed come from Jewish tradition.[126]

From the earliest days, Christians had tried to understand the relationship between the old and the new, and this was made more urgent by the first Jewish War and the break between Church and Synagogue. Verweijs exaggerates when he says that there is no direct line from the Church's rejection of Judaism to that of Marcion,[127] for the latter seems to have been brought up in a Christian home, and must have known of more than one Christian attitude to Judaism. Marcion, in an attempt to be consistent, simply cut the line.

The first concern of Christian thinkers was always the meaning of Jesus' life and work. Only second to this was the problem of the old and the new, with which the first was intimately interrelated.

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gnostique?" *VC*, XXI (1967), 141-49; Blackman, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 66-97; F. M. Braun, "Marcion et la gnose simonienne," *Byzantion*, XXV-XXVII (1955-57), 631-48. Braun believes that while Marcion was in Asia Minor or Syria, he encountered the Simonian gnosis and that it also influenced him in Rome. Verweijs, *op. cit.*, p. 355f., sees a parallel between Marcion and the gnostics in that both resisted the understanding of the Law which was current in the Church, and sought to replace it with the Gospel.

[126] So Harnack and L. Goppelt, *Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh, 1954), p. 273; Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* iii. 8. Verweijs, *op. cit.*, p. 274f., argues against this.

[127] *Ibid.*, p. 355. This monograph deals extensively with pre-Marcionite and non-Marcionite attitudes to the Law.

Far from rejecting the O.T., Paul simply read it in a new way. Yet, in writing Romans and Galatians, and in saying that Christ is the end of the Law for anyone who believes (Rom. 10:4), he prepared the way for Marcion, who had only to omit certain passages in the letters and to change the emphasis in others.

The gospel tradition contained antitheses that looked toward a new Law (Matt. 5:21-45), though these were balanced by other passages (Matt. 5:17-20). Stephen's speech in Acts 7:2-60, which is often thought to come from a Hellenistic Antiochian source, rejects Judaism more radically. The keystone of the argument is that, although Solomon built the House, God does not dwell in a temple made by hands. The O.T. is a record of idolatry. The Jews had persecuted all the prophets; they had received the Law from angels and had not kept it. "You always oppose the Holy Spirit—as your fathers did, so do you."

Perhaps this belongs to a tradition of polemic that is also reflected in Matt. 23:29-31, 34-36 = Luke 11:47-51. Such sayings, which include a prophetic oracle, were finally expanded into the terrible litany of denunciation in Matt. 23.

Although the antitheses in Matt. 5:21-45 originally had to do with understandings of the Law, they could be read as proclaiming quite a new Law. What is so often decisive is not what is originally said or intended, but what is understood. Stephen's speech, and the Q sections that have just been mentioned, denounce the history of an entire people. The Epistle to the Hebrews takes a different line: the old revelation was partial and typical, but it was genuine. It was in continuity with the perfect and heavenly new order, and it produced a line of heroes and saints. This way of thinking carries over into the letter of Clement of Rome. Barnabas, on the contrary, rejects Judaism outright as a complete misunderstanding of the O.T., and does so with a clumsy and heavy-handed typology.

The literature just mentioned is not connected with Asia Minor; the Fourth Gospel may, however, be related to this area. Some elements in John go back to old discussions between Jewish Christians and other Jews and so, in a sense, are within Judaism. But there are also bitter denunciations of the Ἰουδαῖοι for their rejection of Christ and their failure to accept the Christian interpretation of the O.T. Possibly the original evangelist thought of these as controversies between Galileans who accepted Jesus and Ἰουδαῖοι in the sense of Judaeans. When the gospel was finally edited and used

in Asia Minor, the Ἰουδαῖοι were thought of as the Judaizers attacked by Ignatius.[128]

Harnack, in a few brilliant pages, outlined ten points in which the doctrine of the Fourth Gospel paralleled that of Marcion.[129] It is possible that Marcion knew John, which in some ways would have served his purpose better than Luke. But he did not do so, and for this one can suggest several reasons. Luke was the gospel that he and others knew, and it was more widely accepted; further, he believed that it was Paul's gospel. On the other hand, the Fourth Gospel would have required much more editing at his hands, because alongside traits that were favorable to him there were others that caused difficulties. The God of the O.T. is not only the revealer and redeemer but also the creator. There is continuity between the O.T. and the New, and the O.T. is appealed to at every point to establish Christian claims. Although (in harmony with Marcion's doctrine) it is God's will that men should be saved, there is nevertheless a real judgment. Some of the primitive apostles truly understood Jesus; neither the Beloved Disciple nor Paul was the only true apostle. Finally, there are anti-docetic elements in the gospel.

Four examples from later sources illustrate the various attempts to solve the problem of the old and the new. The position generally held by what became the orthodox majority was that the O.T. Law should be divided into three parts: the ceremonial element, that had been abrogated by the Gospel; the moral Law, which was considered binding; and that which by prophecy, typology or allegory was understood to proclaim Christ. This was a kind of rough systematization of Paul, and was held by Justin Martyr, who had been converted to Christianity in Asia Minor. Ptolemaeus, in his famous letter to Flora, offers an acute and sophisticated gnostic solution. On his reading of the gospels, the Pentateuchal Law was in three parts: that given by God himself, that legislated by Moses from his own understanding, and that which was introduced by elders of the people. The portion given by God himself is in turn tripartite: the Decalogue, which is pure law of God; the *lex talionis*, abrogated by Jesus; and the third part which is typical, viz. sacrifice, circumcision, fasting and Passover. The god who gave this was, however, only the Demiurge.[130]

[128] See above, p. 111.

[129] Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-40.

[130] While Justin in less penetrating, and is high-handed in his appropria-

The third solution is that of the *Kerygmata Petrou* source in the pseudo-Clementines. It is at least as late as Justin, for the author knows some of the Pauline epistles, the four gospels, and Acts. The source of revelation is the "true prophet," who, like the hidden Imam, emerges in Moses and Jesus. Here there is no polemic against Judaism, but on the contrary much sympathy with it, nor is there hostility against other parts of the Church, except that Paul is rejected as false. The problem of the O.T. is solved by the assumption that it contains true and false pericopes.[131]

Even though the Syriac Church father Aphrahat is much later (fourth century), it is interesting to compare his approach with that of the others. In many ways he is independent. As in the speech of Stephen, the old Israel is completely rejected. The promises of God have been fulfilled in the new people of God, drawn from all nations. As Neusner observes, neither the Jews nor the Christians understood one another very well in the debate. But the arguments of Aphrahat assume that both sides acknowledged the O.T. Scriptures as valid in their entirety. Aphrahat's "exegeses of Scriptures are reasonable and rational, for the most part not based on a tradition laid down by the church and not by the synagogue, but rather on the plain sense of Scripture as everyone must understand it. . . Exegesis of Scriptures actually plays a small part." [132]

VII. *Gnosticism in Asia Minor*

We deal more with questions than with answers to them when we inquire about the presence of gnosticism in Asia Minor, and its nature and extent, in the period A.D. 50-150. (After 150 the picture becomes clearer.) We do not find gnosticism in the sense of an elaborate system such as that of Valentinus. It is possible, however,

tion of the scriptures to Christians and denial of them to the Jews, he preserves the continuity with the old revelation better than does Ptolemaeus, who in the end ascribes even a good revelation to an inferior god; cf. the comments of von Campenhausen, *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums*, p. 195f. The best edition, with a good introduction, is that of G. Quispel, *Ptolémée, Lettre à Flora* (Paris, 1949), in the Sources Chrétiennes series.

[131] See G. Strecker in Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit*[2], pp. 260-69; also his introduction in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*[3], II (Tübingen, 1964), 63-69. For another classification of attitudes to the O.T., cf. Goppelt, *op. cit.*, p. 316f.

[132] J. Neusner, *Aphrahat and Judaism* (Leiden, 1971), especially pp. 5, 86-89, 123, 127, 143f.

to speak of gnosticism in the background of Colossians if we refer to some of the factors that make up the later systems. There may well have been belief in aeons or emanations from the godhead. There was some kind of worship of angels—a tendency combatted in the Book of Revelation and other writings from Asia Minor. One finds the antithesis between flesh and spirit, and the suggestion of a hidden wisdom. But there is no sure trace of the idea of a sinful fall within the godhead, and the question of a gnosis which by itself brings self-knowledge and salvation is at best elusive. Perhaps there are sacraments and rites, which are known to exist in a few gnostic systems.[133]

We have already mentioned the Nicolaitans, the heretics of Thyatira, and Cerinthus.[134] If there was a gnosticizing movement in Pergamum and Thyatira, we know only that it was libertine in character, and we have no further trace of it. Otherwise Cerinthus is the first figure who has been claimed to be a gnostic operating in Asia Minor. Patristic testimony about him is hazy and conflicting. Irenaeus attempts to trace most of the origin of the Valentinian gnosis back to him, and he tells the famous story of John the disciple of the Lord in the bath house. The Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of John are, I believe, written partly to oppose the Judaizers and docetism.[135] Cerinthus may have been a docetist as well as a Judaizer, though this is curious in view of the tradition that he declared Jesus to be born of Mary and Joseph, and can be explained only if in Cerinthus' view Christ departed from Jesus at the time of the Crucifixion. Bardy argued that Irenaeus was confused about the early traditions and that Hippolytus had superior information. He concluded that Cerinthus was an anti-Pauline Judaizing Christian with apocalyptic ideas.[136] It is only Irenaeus

[133] Cf. R. P. Casey, "Gnosis, Gnosticism and the N.T.," in W. D. Davies and D. Daube (eds.), *The Background of the N.T. and Its Eschatology* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 52-80; A. D. Nock, "Gnosticism," *HTR*, LVII (1964), 255-79.

[134] See above, pp. 107, 110; also note 78 above.

[135] The Fourth Gospel is essentially a positive proclamation of the kerygma and not primarily an apologetic or polemical work, but this does not exclude a statement of the gospel that guards against destructive tendencies. On the other hand, the Johannine epistles are frankly polemical. Cf. Shepherd in *The Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary*, especially p. 708; L. W. Barnard, *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background* (Oxford, 1966), p. 25.

[136] G. Bardy, "Cérinthe," *RB*, (XXX, 1921), 344-73. Bardy uses the statements in Pseudo-Tertullian *Against all Heresies*, which may derive from the *Syntagma*, and quotations from Hippolytus in Dionysius bar Salibi.

who connects Cerinthus with the developed gnosis. The latter, however, had another trait that was controversial in Asia Minor: the world was created by angels, and the god of the Jews is not Lord, but an angel. This puts him in the line of Simon, Menander and Satornilus, and such an idea is a component of gnosticism.

Bardy has not been followed by recent writers, but one of his arguments is worth considering. Gaius of Rome, who was apparently a conservative opposed to "new" scriptures coming out of Asia Minor, attributed the Book of Revelation to Cerinthus. It is just possible that Cerinthus used the "marriage supper of the Lamb" (Rev. 19:9) as a point of departure for more fantastic prophecies, and that this tended to discredit the Apocalypse itself.

The Epistle of the Apostles might have been written in Syria, but Daniélou confidently assigns it to Asia Minor.[137] It is explicitly directed against Simon and Cerinthus, and appears to combat the supposed teaching of Cerinthus at at least three points: (1) Jesus was truly born of a virgin; (2) the one God created the whole heaven and the earth and spoke through the patriarchs and prophets (chap. 3; the Law as such is not mentioned); and (3) Jesus was truly crucified, buried and resurrected (chap.s 9-12). The Epistle, however, also contains the myth of Christ's descent through the heavens, as in the Ascension of Isaiah (chap. 13), and this is a component of some types of gnosis. There is also a peculiar theory of Jesus' conception: "I took the form of the angel Gabriel, I appeared to Mary. . . I, the Word, entered into her and became flesh. And I myself became a minister to myself. . . It was in the appearance of an angel that I acted thus. Thereafter I returned to my Father" (chap. 14). Finally, it is said that Christ has redeemed the disciples from the power of the archons (chap. 28).[138]

R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity* (New York, 1959), p. 98, explains Cerinthus' peculiar form of gnosis as based on Christian apocalyptic, particularly that of the Book of Revelation. Daniélou, *op. cit.*, p. 68, recognizes some connection with gnosis but marshals the evidence for Cerinthus as essentially representative of a bizarre type of Jewish Christianity.

[137] Daniélou, *op. cit.*, p. 27f., dates the Epistle of the Apostles in the first half of the second century, and regards it as Jewish Christian. He argues that it belongs to Asia Minor because of the prominence of the Apostle John, because the ogdoad is called κυριακή, and Easter is celebrated on 14 Nisan. Since there is no millenarianism, it does not come from the school of Papias. In some respects it is akin to the Jewish Christian gnosis.

[138] This raises the question of the provenance of the Ascension of Isaiah. The fact that the writer knows the pseudo-Nero myth (4:2; cf. Or. Sib. iv. 121) might suggest Asia Minor, and Canon Streeter tended to locate it

Since teachers moved freely about the empire, it is only to be expected that gnostics would come to Asia Minor from time to time. But the judgment of G. Jossa is probably correct: most gnostic documents known to us reflect either Syria or Egypt. Books that are certainly Asian, like the Apocalypse of John and the fourth and fifth books of the Sibylline Oracles, are eschatological in orientation, even though they are pessimistic and dualistic.[139] According to Gaius, as quoted by Eusebius, Cerinthus predicted physical pleasures for the future, and a millennium of wedding festivities. These predictions resemble those of Papias but are more extravagant.

The Ophites are perhaps later. Legge assigned them to Asia Minor because of the large amount of Phrygian religion in their system. Wilson prefers to draw a distinction between Ophites and Naassenes. The former are closer to Valentinus and to Egyptian gnosis, while there is a larger Phyrgian element in the Naassene system.[140] Hippolytus also speaks of Phyrgians—a term that normally refers to Montanists—though he may call the Naassenes this because of their character and origin. It is true that the Naassene hymn could originally have been an Attis hymn with the name of Christ substituted; but it contains the ascent and descent myth which is similar to the one in the Ascension of Isaiah. Casey regarded the Naassenes as out-and-out pagans who had assimilated Christ into

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here in the first century; cf. B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (London, 1929), p. 112f. His argument is that the prophecy of strife between shepherds and elders was known to Ignatius, but on this basis Asc. Isa. could as easily have been written in Syria. Thus Daniélou, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-14, places it in Antioch A.D. 80-90. In his opinion, Ign. Eph. 19:1 has a later form of the idea in Asc. Isa. 11:16: the descent and nativity of the Beloved were hidden from the heavens and all the princes and gods of this world. The basic material in Asc. Isa. in Jewish, and has been claimed to have an essene origin; cf. D. Flusser, "The Apocryphal Book of *Ascensio Isaiae* and the Dead Sea Sect," *IEJ*, III (1953), 30-47. Christian additions begin at 3:13. The latter parts of the book contain angelology and elements that appear in gnosticism. Because of the relatively developed gospel tradition contained in it, I find it hard to accept Daniélou's date, but it cannot be very late in the second century.

[139] G. Jossa in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Le Origine dello Gnosticismo* (Leiden, 1970), p. 426; cf. also A. Ehrhardt, *HTR*, LV (1962), 97-101. Ehrhardt even denies the presence of strong gnostic movements in Syria. For a contrary opinion, cf. Goppelt, *op. cit.*, p. 220f.

[140] R. McLean Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem* (London, 1958), p. 177; F. Legge, *Fore-runners and Rivals of Christianity* (Cambridge, 1915), II, 28-37, 45, n. 1 (on Sophia as the equivalent of the Mother Goddess).

their system, and thought that Monoïmus the Arab was the author of Hippolytus' Naassene source. Monoïmus probably operated in Syria, not in Asia Minor.[141]

Naassenes evidently appear rather late in the second century. Toward the end of this century a famous gnostic, Marcus, comes from Asia Minor, and he is said to have been a pupil of Valentinus. His system is more crude than that of Valentinus, and with more elements of popular religion in it: an elaborate gematria, a nuptial couch and spiritual marriage, interpretation of portents, liberal use of Hebrew words, and even, it is alleged, magical demonstrations. There was a second baptism, called Redemption, and the church had bishops. One Asiatic trait appears, which is shared with Montanism: according to Irenaeus, Marcus permitted women to prophesy and to participate in celebration of the sacraments. Hippolytus claimed that the sect was heavily Pythagorean. It appears that when gnosticism actually developed in Asia Minor it coalesced with local popular religion and was on the borderline of magic. This is particularly true of the Acts of John, which may be third century, and which contain Valentinian elements.[142]

VIII. *Melito of Sardis*

Melito of Sardis, whom Eusebius ranked with John, Philip and Polycarp as one of the great luminaries of the Church, was until 1940 known only through fragments, but in that year Campbell Bonner published the *editio princeps* of what is now called the *Homily on the Passover*.[143] Since then another MS. from the Bodmer papyri has been published.[144] The *Homily* is a remarkable document in several respects. It is an example of a Quartodeciman paschal

[141] R. P. Casey, "Naassenes and Ophites," *JTS*, XXVII (1926), 374-87.

[142] Ehrhardt argues, *HTR*, LV (1962), p. 103f., that in Asia Minor gnostic literary activity manifested itself in the production, not of gospels, but of gnostic Acts of Apostles. He sees a kind of "coöperation between gnostics and 'Catholics'" in the Leucian collection. Certainly the boundaries were very fluid, but it appears to me that the earlier Acts, such as those of Peter and Paul, are non-gnostic, and that later gnostics borrowed and used this literary genre.

[143] C. Bonner, *The Homily on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis* (London and Philadelphia, 1940).

[144] O. Perler, *Méliton de Sardes: Sur la Pâque* (Sources Chrétiennes, No. 123, Paris, 1966), utilized the Bodmer papyrus. This edition contains also the fragments. B. Lohse, *Die Passa-Homilie des Bischofs Meliton von Sardes* (Textus Minores, XXIV, Leiden, 1958), is a critical edition giving bibliography up to that point.

sermon.[145] Its style appears to be a mixture of the intricate and fervid Asianic rhetorical style, mingled with that of the second sophistic, but containing some Semitic elements also.[146] Not only is it highly emotional; it is the utterance of a prophet, for in the peroration Melito speaks words of the risen Christ. That he stood in the prophetic line of Asia Minor is indicated by Polycrates' description of him as "Melito the eunuch [presumably meaning the celibate], who lived entirely in the Holy Spirit" (Eusebius *H.E.* v. 24. 2, 5). There seems to be a clear relation between the *Homily* and the paschal *Exultet* of the western Church. Melito's work contains a dramatic series of denunciations of the Jews for the Crucifixion that is painful for modern Christians to read. An article by Eric Werner traces the Reproaches of the western Good Friday liturgy back to Melito, and considers the parallel passages in the *Homily* to be a parody of the *Dayyenu* in the Passover Haggadah.[147] If there is a relation to the *Exultet*, this is also possible.

Melito's relation to Judaism is, in fact, very peculiar. He visited the holy places of Palestine and is said to have lived there for some time. Some of his fragments are preserved only in Syriac, and it has been suggested that he wrote some things in that language.[148] We have already noted that his style contains Semitic elements along with the styles of Asianism and the second sophistic.[149] The Quartodeciman practice undoubtedly derives from a Jewish Chris-

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[145] Although Quartodecimanism was condemned by the Council of Nicaea, it continued in Sardis for more than a century later. The historian Socrates (*H.E.* vii. 29) blames Nestorius for persecution of Quartodecimans throughout Asia, Lydia and Caria, and for uprisings in Miletus and Sardis in which many lost their lives. Dr. Shepherd has called to my attention the monograph of Raniero Cantalamessa, *L'Omelia "in S. Pascha" dello Pseudo-Ippolito di Roma* (Milan, 1967), in which it is argued that this is a Quartodeciman homily of the late second century, closely related to that of Melito. Problems regarding the Christian Passover remain. C. C. Richardson, "A New Solution to the Quartodeciman Riddle," *JTS*, XXIV (1973), 74-84, holds that there were two types of Quartodecimans. The conservatives adopted the Synoptic chronology of the Passion to defend their ancient practice of a Christian Passover. The other group argued from the viewpoint of the Fourth Gospel: Jesus did not eat the Passover; he *was* the Passover.

[146] See above, pp. 87 f.

[147] E. Werner, "Melito of Sardis, the First Poet of Deicide," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXXVII (1966), 191-210. That the *Dayyenu* is very ancient is argued by Louis Finkelstein, "Pre-Maccabean Documents in the Passover-Haggadah," *HTR*, XXXVI (1943), 1-3, 25.

[148] R. M. Grant, *Second-Century Christianity* (London, 1946), p. 69.

[149] See above, p. 89.

tian tradition from Palestine. Melito may have known of a paschal celebration that included dancing; this could easily have been a Jewish trait.[150] Certainly he makes much use of the O.T., and in his letter to Onesimus (*H.E.* iv. 26. 13f.) actually gives one of the earliest Christian lists of O.T. books. But his use of the O.T. is entirely typological and turned against Judaism; here one is reminded of the Epistle of Barnabas. Melito seems to have had no real sense of the continuity of sacred history or of the positive value of the O.T. Law. Kraabel suggests that Melito's hostility was due to competition with the local synagogue: the Jews of Sardis were rich, numerous and powerful, while the Church was in a small minority.[151]

Some of the fragments exhibit the same stylistic traits as the *Homily*. The *Apology*, however, seems to be in a more sober style.[152] Two of his arguments, viz. that Christians should be punished only for actual crimes, and that Hadrian had put a stop to persecution, are familiar from other apologies. There is, however, one new argument: the Church and the empire began at the same time, and the prosperity of the empire is due to the presence of the Christian philosophy. This is somewhat reminiscent of the Epistle to Diognetus, though in the latter document it is the whole world, and not merely the empire, that is sustained by the Christians.

Among the discoveries at Sardis in 1958 was an inscribed pedestal for a statue of Lucius Verus, and I have conjectured that in the spring of 166 Melito presented the co-emperor with a copy of his *Apology* when Verus returned from a successful campaign in Armenia.[153]

[150] W. C. van Unnik, "A Note on the Dance of Jesus in the 'Acts of John,'" *VC*, XVIII (1964), 1-5. Van Unnik traces the dance back to *Homily* 80, "thou wast dancing, but he was being laid in the tomb," and cites Midrash on Song of Songs 7:1f.

[151] A. T. Kraabel, "Melito the Bishop and the Synagogue at Sardis: Text and Context," in D. G. Mitten, J. G. Pedley and J. A. Scott (eds.), *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann* (Mainz, 1971), pp. 77-85. Note 22 contains a select bibliography on the Quartodeciman problem. Problems regarding the Christian Passover remain. C. C. Richardson, "A New Solution to the Quartodeciman Riddle," *JTS*, XXIV (1973), 74-84, holds that there were two types of Quartodecimans. The conservatives adopted the Synoptic chronology of the Passion to defend their ancient practice of a Christian Passover. The other group argued from the viewpoint of the Fourth Gospel. Jesus did not eat the Passover, he *was* the Passover.

[152] This is in no way surprising, for normally the function of a document determines its style to a great degree.

[153] S. E. Johnson, "Christianity in Sardis," in A. Wikgren (ed.), *Early*

IX. *Montanus and Montanism*

All recent study of Montanism is indebted to Labriolle's great work,[154] and can almost be considered a series of supplements and amendments to it. Here we are principally concerned with the beginnings of the movement in Asia Minor, not its spread to Europe and Africa and its later history. Labriolle's patient exegesis of the Montanist oracles is the heart of this part of his book. Cutting through the ecclesiastical polemic, he showed that Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla were not making divine claims for themselves but uttering what they understood to be words of the Holy Spirit speaking through them.

Montanism was in one sense a genuinely native Phrygian movement. It arose where Phrygian was the native language, not in such a place as Hierapolis, which was in closer touch with the Hellenistic world. The Phrygians, like the Paphlagonians, had strict sexual morals; and, as Lightfoot remarked, they had a taste for "the mystic, the devotee, the Puritan." [155] These traits suggest that they were a simple and earnest people in an agricultural or pastoral setting, with a strong family life. Labriolle finds nothing in them that suggests remnants of the Attis and Cybele cults. They had apparently made a complete break with their old religious history.[156] In their social organization and to some degree in their

Christian Origins (Chicago, 1961), p. 87. For the inscription, see S. E. Johnson, *BASOR*, 158 (1960), 7-10; criticisms by L. Robert, "Bulletin Épigraphique," *Revue des études grecques*, LXXV (1963), 200f., No. 290.

[154] P. de Labriolle, *La crise montaniste* (Paris, 1913), especially pp. 3-203; also *Les sources de l'histoire du montanisme* (Fribourg and Paris, 1913). References below are to the first named work.

[155] Labriolle, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-11; J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (3rd ed., London, 1879), p. 98. Montanus had a native Phrygian name.

[156] Labriolle, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Greville Freeman, "Montanism and the Pagan Cults of Phrygia," *Dominican Studies*, III (1950), 297-316, apparently takes the later writers too uncritically. The only part of his article worth considering deals with the peculiarities of the Montanist ministry. The best case for influence of pagan religion on Phrygian and Montanist Christianity has been made by Wilhelm Schepelern, *Der Montanismus und die phrygischen Kulte* (Tübingen, 1929); see especially pp. 161-4. MacMullen's remarks, *op. cit.*, p. 208, are worth considering: "The total picture of this corner of the world is, however, not a chain of cause and effect but a mosaic of coincidence. Language, religion, art: all differ from patterns dominant in more central areas, not because of hostility to Hellenism, or to Rome, or later, to Christian orthodoxy—not because of any conscious nationalism, as is sometimes inferred—but simply because of isolation."

mores and general outlook on life they were Phrygian, but not in their faith and cult. Labriolle finds their traditional attitude especially significant.[157] The utterances of the early prophets contain many echoes and interpretations of N.T. writings, particularly the Pauline letters and the Fourth Gospel. Labriolle sees no trace of gnosticism in the oracles. Montanus and his followers at first had no intention of separating from the Church, nor were they in protest against its worldliness; so far as Asia is concerned, there was no occasion for this, since evidence is lacking for worldliness or relaxation of morals.[158] Thus Montanism was a pneumatic movement, and its threat was to the Church's teaching office, particularly that of the bishops. Had they accepted the new prophecy, they would no longer have been the authentic organs of doctrine, and they feared the complete triumph of anarchy. The ecstatic features of Montanism seemed too bizarre, and they especially objected to the women prophets.[159]

It is not quite certain when the movement began, i.e. when Montanus first gave his distinctive prophecies (for otherwise the prophetic movement was probably continuous in Anatolia). Labriolle followed Eusebius *H.E.* in dating this in 177; Bardy preferred 172/3. The three sources for the date are conflicting. The most recent studies are those of Barnes and Robert Grant. The former argues for a date nearer that of Bardy: Montanus' ministry began about 170, not earlier than 168/9 nor later than 173/4. Grant prefers 156/7.[160] In any case, by the time when Apollinarius of Hierapolis and the "Anonymous" wrote, ecclesiastical rejection had begun.[161] At first the polemic was somewhat restrained, but later it became very bitter.

Discussions since Labriolle have centered on several points: the relation of the movement to Phrygian paganism and to Judaism

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[157] Labriolle, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[158] *Ibid.*, p. 136f.; cf. Goppelt, *op. cit.*, p. 266f.

[159] Labriolle, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-83.

[160] T. D. Barnes, "The Chronology of Montanism," *JTS*, n.s. XXI (1970), 403-8. The question turns on the date of the proconsulate of Gratus. As frequently in Asia Minor studies, there is always the possibility that an inscription will be found that will settle the point. Cf. also Grant, *Augustus to Augustine*, p. 132f.; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, "The Date of the Outbreak of Montanism," *JEH*, V (1954), 7-15.

[161] Miltiades, quoted by the "Anonymous," *H.E.* v. 17. 4, says that he is writing in the fourteenth year after Maximilla's death.

and Jewish Christianity; celibacy and martyrdom among the Montanists; their paschal customs; and their church order.

Kurt Aland considers the picture given by Labriolle to be essentially accurate, and agrees with Schepelern to some extent; he would modify the consensus only in a few details. (1) Montanism should not be regarded as a unified movement. According to Eusebius and Epiphanius, prophecy ceased after the first generation, but this is contradicted by three other accounts. Furthermore, early Montanism was trinitarian; only later was the movement charged with Sabellianism and Manichaeism.[162] (2) The one piece of evidence adduced by Schepelern for pagan influence comes from late and unreliable sources.[163] (3) All the known traits of early Montanism have parallels in early Christianity: prophecy, ecstasy, a rigoristic ethic, expectation of the end, the heavenly Jerusalem, the millennium and the Paraclete. All of these are characteristic of the Asia Minor theology. Every known theologian of this period who expressly taught chiliasm was an Asia Minor man. This helps to explain why the Alogi rejected the Fourth Gospel and the Book of Revelation.[164]

Charges made against the Montanists by ecclesiastical writers with regard to martyrdom were conflicting: they produced no martyrs, their martyrs must not be reckoned as authentic, they offer themselves too willingly for martyrdom. On this last point it is necessary only to mention Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Apocalypse, which calls for courageous witness on the part of Christians.[165]

[162] K. Aland, "Bemerkungen zum Montanismus und zur frühchristlichen Eschatologie," *Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe*, I (Gütersloh, 1960), 105-48; also his earlier article, "Der Montanismus und die kleinasiatische Theologie," *ZNW*, XLVI (1955), 109-16; on this point see p. 110f. While I must in the main agree with Aland, it seems to me that an essentially unschooled movement like Montanism would not be so conscious of theological issues as the bishops of western Asia Minor would have been. Thus when "Sabellianism and Manichaeism" appear they are perhaps the naïve and uncritical acceptance of outside influences or even of native speculations.

[163] Aland, "Der Montanismus," pp. 111-13.

[164] *Ibid.*, pp. 113-16; "Bemerkungen," pp. 139-42; Daniélou, *op. cit.*, p. 389f.; see also p. 112, above.

[165] Heinz Kraft, "Die altkirchliche Prophetie und die Entstehung des Montanismus," *ThZ*, XI (1955), 249-71. On this point see p. 269f. Kraft collects the evidence for the continuity of Christian prophecy in Asia Minor. In discussing the Montanist rite in which virgins in white prophesy with lamps in their hands (Epiph. *Haer.* xlix. 2), he relates this to the stational fasts; cf. Hermas *Sim.* v. 1. Pepuza and Thymion were particularly sacred places because they lay on either side of a high mountain where the heavenly

The Montanist preference for celibacy is possibly recognizable in Luke-Acts and is found in Marcion and in other Asia Minor writers; one thinks of Polycrates' words about Philip's daughters and Melito.

Most scholars have held that the Jewish elements in Montanism do not derive directly from Judaism. Thus Josephine Massingberd Ford notes that, both in Asia Minor and the west, Montanism arose in areas thickly populated by Jews, where there were prominent Jewish women, and argues that the fasts and calendar regulations show affinity to sectarian Judaism, as does the Montanist conception of prophecy.[166] Kraabel answers that the evidence points to sectarian Judaism rather than to Christianity. All Anatolian Christianity had strong Jewish elements, although "Jewish Christianity" in the technical sense is rare in Asia Minor.[167] In a subsequent article Miss Ford carries the argument a stage further: it is likely that the teaching attacked in Eph. 5:18-20 and in the Pastorals (particularly I Tim. 4:1-3) is a kind of proto-Montanism, i.e. a tendency in Anatolian Christianity out of which the Montanist movement could develop.[168]

The paschal observance of the Montanists in Sozomen's time was very peculiar, and he distinguishes it from that of the Quartodecimans and other groups. Each month consisted of thirty days, and the Montanists celebrated the Passover on a Sunday in April that fell not earlier than the 14th nor later than the 21st (*H.E.* vii. 18. 12-14). We do not know whether this was the custom in Montanus' time, but the insistence on such a calendar and the arguments given for it by the later Montanists, suggest the influence of Qumran.[169]

Recent discussions have revived the question of Phrygian paganism. Here it is important to draw a distinction between Phrygian culture and specific indications of paganism, if this is possible. The

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Jerusalem was to appear. Vincent Scully, *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods* (New Haven, 1962), has interesting theories about the siting of sacred places, particularly on or near mountains with twin peaks. He deals with the topography of Ephesus, Magnesia near Maeander and Sardis, but not with inner Asia Minor.

[166] J. M. Ford, "Was Montanism a Jewish-Christian Heresy?" *JEH*, XVII, 2 (Oct., 1966), 145-57.

[167] Kraabel, "Judaism," pp. 149-52, esp. p. 150, *n.* 3.

[168] J. M. Ford, "A Note on Proto-Montanism in the Pastoral Epistles," *NTS*, XVII (1970-71), 338-46.

[169] See above, p. 103.

"Anonymous" dedicated his pamphlet to Avircius Marcellus of Hierapolis, no doubt assuming that he would be well disposed toward its arguments. Avircius' unique funerary inscription gives no hint that he was a Montanist, though its style, so different from anything else that we know, must be Phrygian.[170] This poetic proclamation of his Christian faith speaks of the Shepherd, Paul, faith, the Fish which the pure Virgin caught, and of wine and the loaf. He had travelled to Syria and to Rome, where he admires the city and its church. There are penalties if his tomb is violated.

Arnold Ehrhardt accepted the patristic tradition that Montanus had been a pagan priest. Aland, he says, is too skeptical in his approach to the sources, which should not be brushed aside unless there are reasons for doing so.[171] Kraabel, in reviewing the literature, agrees with Ehrhardt and emphasizes the national Phrygian character of the movement. It began in Phrygia, it expected the new Jerusalem to appear there, and after it was rejected by other parts of the Church found its permanent home there.[172]

At least in the fourth century the Montanists of Phrygia had a distinctive church organization. Jerome says that the head of the church was the patriarch in Pepuza; under him were officials called κοινωνοί, and bishops were in the lowest rank (*Ep.* xli. 3). Canon 8 of the Council of Laodicea requires catechism and baptism for former Montanists who return to the Church, "even if they are alleged to be clergy . . . even if they are called μέγιστοι. Kraft suggests that κοινωνοί and μέγιστοι are the same. He points out that there were bishops even in the villages, and his hypothesis is that the Montanist church order was pre-Ignatian. Montanism spread where the episcopal organization was weak.[173] This is more debatable. For one thing, the evidence is rather late, and the simplest explanation of the success of the movement is its national Phrygian character.[174] Ehrhardt makes the attractive suggestion that Mon-

[170] On the Avircius Marcellus inscription, see H. Strathmann and T. Klauser in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I, 12-17. Avircius viewed himself as under the protection of Roman law, and evidently, since he admired the church in Rome, belonged to the great Church.

[171] Ehrhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 104, *n.* 47.

[172] Kraabel, "Judaism," pp. 152-54.

[173] Kraft, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-09. Kraabel, "Judaism," p. 151f., discusses S. Lieberman's theory that the κοινωνός had a counterpart in rabbinic Judaism, and judges that the evidence is too late to be conclusive; see literature there cited.

[174] That the "Anonymous" in his tract (Eusebius *H.E.* v. 16) speaks of

tanus and the two prophetesses became Christians as the result of a mass conversion. The district surrounding Sardis and stretching as far as Pergamum and Laodicea had been at least partly ministered to by an ambulant ministry.[175]

X. *Conclusion*

Although an attempt has been made, here and there, to relate Asia Minor to other parts of the empire, an area study such as this gives only a partial picture of early Christianity. The principal influences bearing on Asia Minor were from Palestine and Syria. Asia Minor influenced the west to some extent, and there was no doubt some reciprocal influence. I have not been able to see much evidence of relationships between Asia Minor and Egypt. It does appear that Christianity in Asia Minor is distinctive enough to justify an area study. There is, of course, a danger of circular reasoning, since documents that appear to fit with known Asiatic writings can be assigned there and then used to describe Christianity in that region.

A few conclusions—most of them obvious—can be stated briefly.

1. Geography is important in an area study. The various parts of Anatolia had different cultures, and this affected the types of Christianity there.

2. In attempting to assess the contribution of archaeology to this study, I am conscious of my weakness and welcome the criticisms of competent archaeologists. (*a*) First, it is evident that the extensive explorations of Sardis and various finds elsewhere have contributed greatly to the understanding of Asiatic Judaism in its own right and as a background for Christianity. The background of Melito's work has become much clearer. (*b*) A next point is scarcely new, but it is evident that western Asia Minor underwent a great material development in the second and third centuries. (*c*) Greek styles continued to be popular; the fact that theatres were not built on western Roman models except at Aspendos is a case in point. This fits with the oratory of men like Dio Chrysostom, which is another example of the vitality of Greek traditions. (*d*)

"presbyters" in Galatia and of himself as a "fellow-presbyter" is not conclusive. This archaic and honorific language seems to be derived from I Pet. 5:1. He later speaks of bishops also, and says nothing about the ecclesiastical organization of the Montanists; the only ministry mentioned in connection with them is that of the prophets.

[175] Ehrhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 106; cf. Kretschmar's hypothesis, above, p. 105.

At the same time, the second century exhibits a revival of interest in local deities. (*e*) There are many local variations, the farther one is removed from western Anatolia. The monuments of Antiochus of Commagene show a local syncretism, while the bombastic style of his inscriptions owes something to Asianic rhetoric. Phrygian language and culture probably began to revive as early as the second century, and Montanism surely owes something to its national background. (f) Aphrodisias is unique for its versatility in sculptural styles, and this site has proved to be important for all periods.

Another negative point may be mentioned. Archaeology discloses many brilliant achievements of Greek culture in Asia Minor, e.g. the great medical center of the Asklepieion at Pergamum, but Christian literature ignores these almost completely. We have only a reference to "Satan's throne" in Pergamum in Rev. 3:13.

3. Both Judaism and Christianity varied according to the regions of Asia Minor where they existed. There is clear evidence of the influence of the local pagan and Jewish culture on the Christianity of the Aegean coast. Similarly, Anatolian, particularly Phrygian culture, made its mark on the Christianity of Phrygia. Essene influence is, however, not to be excluded.

4. While Christians perhaps reacted negatively to the art and architecture disclosed by archaeological research, they were open to the influence of literary styles. This has been known for a long time, and can be seen in Christian "non-literary" works, where there are parallels in pagan *Fachprosa*, in the apocryphal Acts, which evidently borrowed traits from erotic novels, and in the more pretentious styles which have pagan models behind them. In other respects there are cultural parallels, to say the least. Pagan writers saw similarities between Christianity and the Cynic philosophy, and this may have been more than an illusion. In the main, however, the alienation that existed in Asia Minor manifested itself in Christianity in a form different from that of Cynicism or Gnosticism. The typical response was that of apocalyptic and millenarianism.

5. The later "orthodoxy" is made up of various elements, and in the process leading up to it Asia Minor played an important part. Prophecy, which later subsided, and apocalyptic, which found a permanent place in the N.T., were the most prominent features. One may add the family pattern of the Pastoral Epistles, the various attempts to understand the relation of Judaism to Christi-

anity, the several approaches to the understanding of Paul, and the peculiar contribution of the Fourth Gospel, which here and in Egypt first gained wide acceptance. Asia Minor was significant for the development of the N.T. canon. Both the church in Rome and many leaders in Asia Minor exerted themselves for the unity of the Church universal. It must be recognized, of course, that a propagandist for unity usually seeks it on his own terms. Thus much variety continued to exist in Asia Minor, perhaps more than in places that were more closely attached to Rome.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ATR	Anglican Theological Review
Anat St	Anatolian Studies
Ant Cl	L'Antiquité Classique
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
FA	Fasti Archaeologici
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
ILN	Illustrated London News
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
NTS	New Testament Studies
RB	Revue Biblique
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

PETER IN ROME

A Review and Position

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The story of Peter in Rome is not a story at all; it is a riddle. The riddle is not simple because the answer rests upon the proper solution of many minor riddles, each of which involves a number of problems. Literally hundreds of scholars have spent thousands of hours seeking to untie this Gordion knot or lift this latter day Excalibur from its stone since 1326, when Marsilius of Padua first seriously questioned the tradition of Peter's residence in Rome, and thus his martyrdom and burial there. In the twentieth century alone many hundreds of articles have attempted to solve the various problems one by one, and a score of books have undertaken to analyze and examine the entire problem or a sizeable segment of it.[1] Before entering upon an examination of the excavation of the traditional burial place of Peter in Rome, a brief resumé of the general problem is included only to aid in orienting the reader and in placing the conclusions of the author in some sort of context. Brevity is often dangerous, leaving many definite statements unexplained and conflicting views unsupported and undefended. The footnotes are a feeble attempt to atone for this obvious but necessary lack.

It seems more likely than not that Peter did reside in Rome.[2] But it is not and cannot be known when he came to Rome, how long he remained there or what function of leadership he exercised in the Church of Rome. A listing of the evidence is all that may be attempted here. First of all, there is no reference to a Roman residence in Acts or Romans, surprising, but perhaps explainable.[3]

[1] For example, Oscar Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr* (2nd ed.) translated by F. V. Filson (Phil., Westminster Press, 1962); Daniel Wm. O'Connor: *Peter in Rome, the Literary, Liturgical and Archeological Evidence* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1969); Hans Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom* (2nd ed.) (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1927). For a very good bibliography see Angelus de Marco, *The Tomb of St. Peter* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1964); also D. W. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-26.

[2] D. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-50.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-12.

If the Apostle was the author of I Peter, the mention of Babylon in 5:13 is an early witness to that author's visit to Rome. If I Peter was written later, then we have a late first or early second century Christian witness to the fact, for "Babylon" was a cryptic term indicating the Capitol City in Revelation 14:8; 16:19; 17:5, 6 and in various Jewish works, such as, Baruch 1:1, 4; Esdras 2.[4]

The tradition that Peter had resided in Rome surely existed by the early second century. Evidence for this is found in Ignatius, *Epistle to the Romans* IV. 3. Later and less valuable reports are found in a fragment of a second century bishop of Hierapolis named Papias and in Dionysius of Corinth, *Letter to the Romans*. The following witnesses should also be noted: Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* III.iii.3; Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, IV.v; a fragment of the Roman presbyter Gaius; Clement of Alexandria, *Commentary on I Peter* and such unreliable apocryphal literature as the *Acts of Peter*, the so called "Detached Fragments" of the *Acts of Paul, Acts of Andrew and Paul, Clementine Homilies and Recognitions* and the *Didascalia*. It was not until the third century that the tradition developed that Peter had enjoyed a twenty-five year episcopate in Rome. The claims that Peter founded the church in the Capitol City or that he served as its first bishop are founded upon evidence which is no earlier than the middle of the second century.

It may be accepted with a high degree of probability that Peter was martyred in Rome under Nero.[5] The author of the last chapter of John was aware of a tradition that Peter when an old man had died as a martyr and included this in a veiled way in vss. 18, 19. There is a *possible* cryptic reference in these verses also that Peter, like his Master, was crucified. There is no mention whatsoever of where or when Peter died. There has been the suggestion, which finds little support, however, that Revelation 11:3-13 contains a hidden reference to the martyrdoms of both Peter and Paul.[6] The strongest and most clear evidence that Peter was martyred in Rome is found in Chapter 5 of Clement of Rome, *Letter to the Corinthians* (96 A.D.).[7] These sources, in addition to the suggestions and impli-

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[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-8. But see E. Schuyler English, "Was St. Peter Ever in Rome?" *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1967, pp. 317-8.

[5] D. W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome*, pp. 53-89.

[6] Johannes Munck, *Petrus und Paulus in der Offenbarung Johannis* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1950).

[7] D. W. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-86.

cations of a number of later works,[8] has led many to accept the fact that Peter died in Rome during the reign of Nero, between 64 and 67. That he was crucified head downwards is a late and apocryphal tradition first found in the second century *Acts of Peter* and carried on by Origen, Jerome, the *Epistle of Clement to James*, Eusebius, etc.

Why he was martyred is a question that still cannot be answered. Perhaps the reason is related in some way to the great fire of Rome in the reign of Nero or to some other charge which a powerful, unfriendly community might bring against a group that it feared, disliked and distrusted, such as the Christians. The early and more reliable sources do not mention the place of martyrdom, but among the later and less reliable sources there is virtual agreement that it was the Vatican area.

For more than six hundred years where Peter was buried has been a matter for concerned discussion.[9] The New Testament is completely silent on the matter and no help is given by any writer until Gaius the Roman (c. 200 A.D.) in his report of a tradition which is at least a generation older. This report refers to a "trophy" (tropaion—a memorial or funerary monument) which was to be found at the Vatican.[10]

Through the years a few scholars have clung to a tradition that Peter was buried "Ad Catacumbas" (in the present day catacomb of San Sebastiano on the Via Appia).[11] Support for this thesis is cited in an inscription of Pope Damasus (A.D. 366-84). However, the terms used are so ambiguous that a number of erroneous conclusions were drawn, such as those found in the letter of Gregory the Great to the Empress Constantina and the notice of Cornelius in the *Liber Pontificalis*, that both Peter and Paul were buried Ad Catacumbas immediately after their martyrdom and much later

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[8] *Ascension of Isaiah* 4:2f.; Ignatius, *Epistle to the Romans* 4:3, and Macarius Magnes III:22.

[9] D. W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome*, pp. 93-206.

[10] Friedrich Lammert. "τρόπαιον," *Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Second Series, Vol. VII (Neue Bearbeitung) Part I (1939), pp. 663-73; Christine Mohrmann, "A Propos de deux Mots controversés de la Latinité chrétienne — tropaeum - nomen," *Vigiliae Christianae*, VIII (1954), pp. 154-73.

[11] The most modern and most complete study is to be found in Francesco Tolotti, *Memorie degli Apostoli in Catacumbas* (Collezione "Amici delle Catacombe," XIX. Vatican City: Società "Amici delle Catacombe," 1953; see also D. W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome*, pp. 135-58.

the bones of Peter were taken to the Vatican and those of Paul to the Via Ostia. Beginning in 1915 excavations were conducted at San Sebastiano to evaluate the truth of the long tradition. Although it is not possible to state that the Apostle was buried Ad Catacumbas immediately after death nor that his body was brought ("translated") there at any later time, it may be conceded that a *cult* of the Apostles Peter and Paul may have been conducted there beginning about A.D. 260; and Christian influence of some sort may have existed there as early as A.D. 200.

It is beyond all doubt that in the early fourth century the emperor Constantine was convinced that the relics of Peter were to be found beneath a small aedicula (a shrine for a small statue) in the area of a pagan necropolis on the side of the Vatican hill, and that he erected a basilica over the presumed grave. The great problems of building on the hill, as compared with the relative ease of building in the valley below are mute witness to the Emperor's firm belief.[12]

Through the years some doubt had been expressed concerning the existence of the great bronze coffin noted in the *Liber Pontificalis*, and even of the grave itself. The wish of Pope Pius XI to be buried as near as possible to the remains of Pius X in the area of the Confession of the Church of St. Peters, built over the Constantinian basilica in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, precipitated the modern excavations.

In the process of fulfilling the request of Pius XI in 1939, a marble plaque was removed from a wall in the papal crypt. The wall caved in and revealed an ancient vault. At the vigil of the feasts of the apostles Peter and Paul (June 28), Pope Pius XII ordered a full investigation of the area to be undertaken in secret. In the course of the excavations (there have been two phases: the first was carried on from 1939 to 1949 and the second from 1953 to the mid 1960's), under the supervision of the College of Architects of St. Peter's and a committee of renowned archeologists, a rather large pagan cemetery was thoroughly excavated.[13]

[12] See Arthur S. Barnes, *St. Peter in Rome and His Tomb on the Vatican Hill* (London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1900), pp. 158-78. Jocelyn Toynbee, and John W. Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (New York, Pantheon Books, 1957), pp. 195-239; *Esplorazioni sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano*. Edited by B. M. Appollonj-Ghetti, *et al*, Vols. I, II. (Vatican City: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1951), Vol. I, pp. 161-72.

[13] See *Esplorazioni*, Vol. I, pp. 29-91, Vol. II, figs. I-XLI; Toynbee and

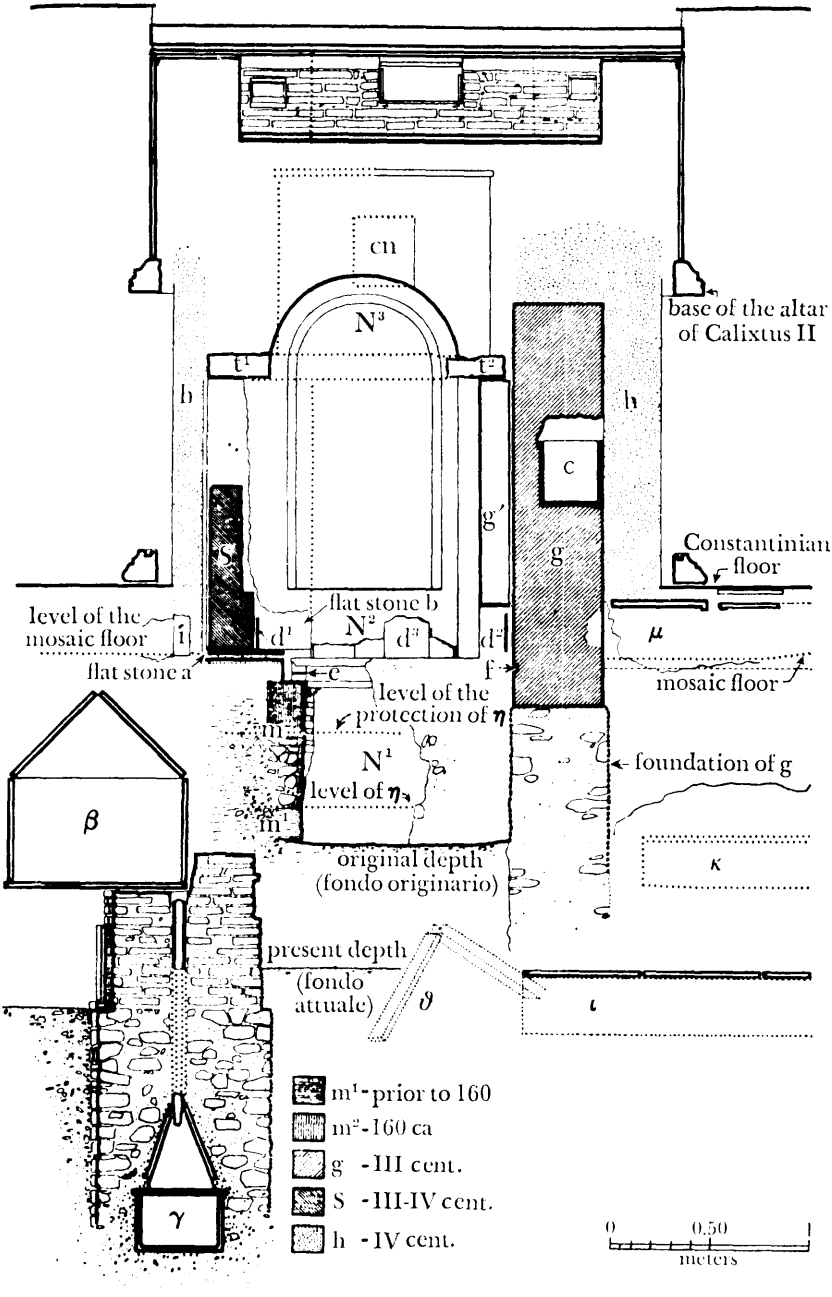

Plate 1. The Vatican cemetery. The dated lines indicate suggested reconstructions and the arrows indicate the entrances to the tombs or tomb areas. (Toynbee and Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter, fig. 3*).

The existence of a number of mausolea in this complex (A-L, R-T extending E-W beneath the nave of St. Peter's) had been known since the 17th century during the construction of the eastern foundations of the cupola and the western columns of Bernini's baldacchino. It is freely admitted today that the burials within the approximately 25 mausolea are with one possible exception pagan, not Christian, in origin.[14] These mausolea (dating from c. A.D. 90-333 arranged in two files approximately 70 meters in length and divided by a street) are all similar; mausolea not of noblemen but of freedmen. Many of the tombs, terraced and covered, are richly decorated with paintings and mosaics, some of which were covered over later by decoration of greatly inferior quality.

The area of interest, however, is not the fine mausolea, but the so-called area P at the NW end of the necropolis, an ancient "potter's field" which (c. A.D. 160) was bounded on two sides by mausolea S (c. A.D. 150) to the south and O (c. A.D. 135) to the east.

The uncovered open area P measures about 7 m. long and 4 m. wide. A red retaining wall (MR) extends for the entire 7 m. length at the western end of the area. The northern boundary is hypothetical, but it probably abutted upon the Red Wall (MR) at a point near its northern end. The location of the entrance to P is also not known. In the approximate center of the Red Wall (MR) a small aedicula was built. The aedicula is formed by three superimposed niches (N^1, N^2, N^3). The two niches above ground (N^1, N^3) are of one build with MR, which may be dated rather precisely, since it is of one build with the clivus behind, which contains in its floor five tiles *in situ* bearing seals from the period of Marcus Aurelius Caesar (A.D. 140-61) and Faustina Augusta (A.D. 147-75). Thus a date of c. A.D. 160 would be approximately accurate for the building of the aedicula. The graves in area P (Plates 1 and 2: α-μ, *et al.*—a total of 25) are of importance solely because of their proximity to this aedicula. A few marble sarcophagi and burials protected by stones were found, all of which were post-Constantinian. Most of the graves anterior to the construction of the Constantinian basilica were simple burials—the body was merely

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Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter*, pp. 24-124; Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Die Gräber der Apostelfürsten* (Frankfurt on Main: Heinrich Scheffler, 1957), pp. 18-45; D. W. O'Connor, *Peter In Rome*, pp. 167-72.

[14] E. Kirschbaum, *Die Gräber*, p. 35.

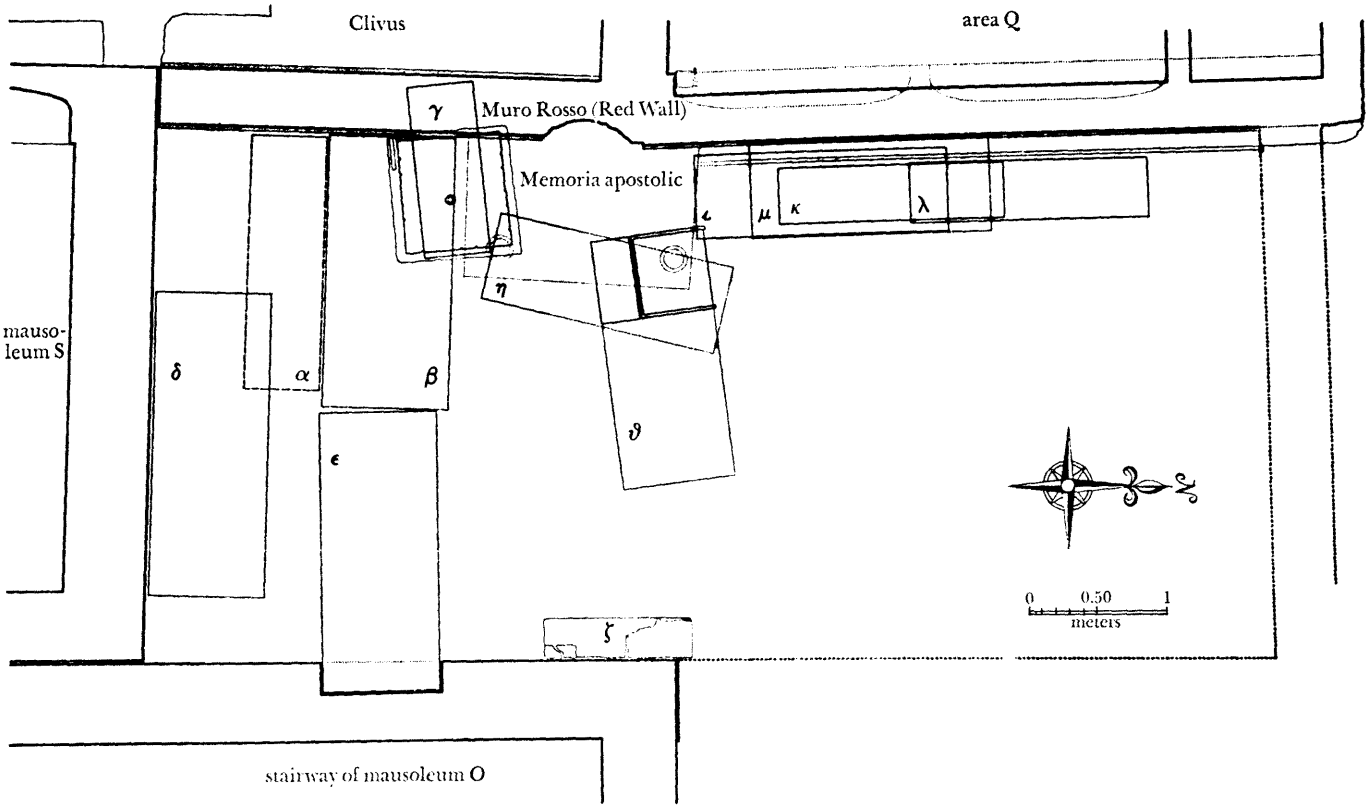

Plate 2. The position of the tombs in area P (*Esplorazioni*, vol. I, fig. 79).

placed in the ground and covered by two tiles or one tile in an inclined position; some burials were not covered by any protecting tiles. One of the three earliest, second century graves (γ, η, 0) obviously was that of a pagan child (γ); whether or not the other two grouped around the aedicula are Christian (and it is assumed that they are not) cannot be definitely determined.[15]

It is best now to discuss the aedicula in some detail. Because of extensive destruction of the monument during its 1800 year history, any positive reconstruction is mere conjecture. The aedicula referred to by Gaius (A.D. 200) and probably constructed in the period of Pope Anicetus (A.D. 157-68) contains what appears to many as a niche constructed below ground (N^1). Contrary to the opinion of the original excavators, the present author would agree with Prandi [16] that what is referred to as N^1 is no more than an accidental incameration, an impression made by something solid when MR was constructed. When this solid "something" (a cippus, a gravestone covering, etc.) was removed later a "niche" was created. Whatever it was it *may have* dated from the first century. There is no way to be sure now. N^1 is very irregular (.72 m. wide, 1.40 m. high and 1.20 m. in depth). On the south side it is bounded by a small wall (m^1) built before the construction of MR and another small wall (m^2) above m^1, built later than MR. M^1 is impossible to interpret, but M^2 is perhaps related in some way to the aedicula.[17] N^1 which extends on the west side into MR is 90 cm. in depth and 30 cm. in width. The north side of N^1 was destroyed in the various forceful invasions of the immediate area and the later modifications of the aedicula. On the east, the boundaries of N^1 are the west sides of two nearby graves. The top of N^1 is covered by a slab of marble originally from mausoleum E. A hole (.25 m. x .19 m.) was cut at some time in the slab to permit access to N^1. Within N^1 various coins were found and several bones. These latter were removed and eventually examined by a specialist Venerando Correnti.[18] He ascertained that the bones (the finding of which had

[15] For a discussion of area P and the relationship of the clivus, Red Wall (MR), graves, and the aedicula in general, see D. W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome*, pp. 172-91.

[16] Adriano Prandi, *La zona archeologica della Confessione Vaticana. I monumenti del II secolo* (Vatican City, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1957), pp. 69f. Also see D. W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome*, pp. 191-7.

[17] See D. W. O'Connor, pp. 193-5.

[18] Margherita Guarducci, *Le Reliquie di Pietro sotto La Confessione della*

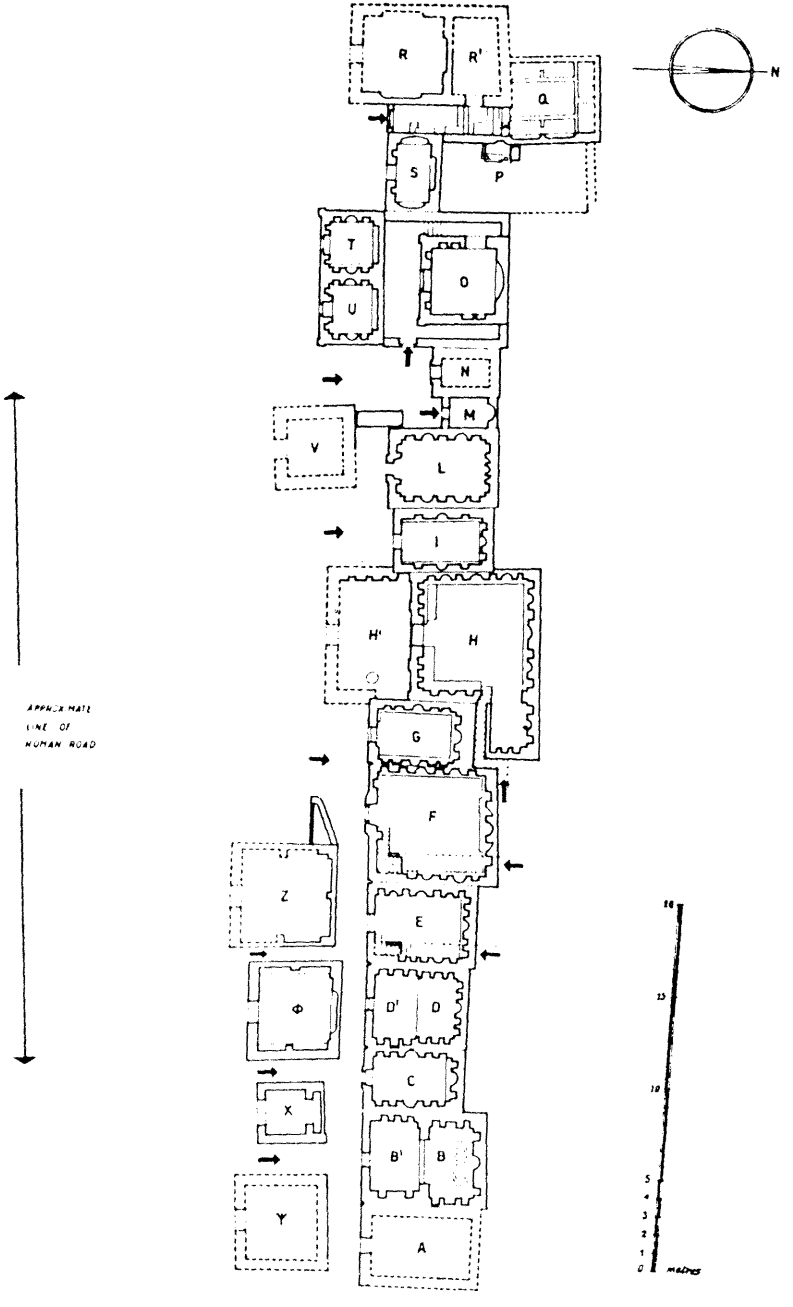

Plate 3. A south-to-north section of the aedicula (*Esplorazioni*, vol. 1, fig. 91).

occasioned the dramatic announcement of Pope Pius XII in August 1949 that the bones of St. Peter had been found) belonged not to one but to *three* persons: a woman 70-75 years old; a mature, robust man of 50-60 years; and another man of less robust build between 50 and 60 years of age. Whose bones are these? Perhaps the best explanation is that they were found by the builders of MR when constructing MR, and because of the very strict Roman law against the disturbing of graves, were hastily reburied. Furthermore, it would not be at all strange to find numerous skeletal remains in such a "potter's field." With Toynbee and Perkins [19] it is possible to say, however, that it was *believed* around A.D. 160 that a grave of Peter was to be found in N^1. This would serve as *one* explanation for: 1) the rise and fall of MR 2) the oblique angle of N^1 to MR and the location of the aedicula at this precise point. The present author would limit agreement only to the last point made.

Nothing more than a basic description of N^2 will be attempted here.[20] The niche gives evidence of a number of attempts at various times at beautification and repair. On the south is a wall S (originally 1.34 m. high) which was faced on the inner north side with a marble covering (d^1) at a later date. In front (east) of N^2 (.74 m.) were originally two columns (one remains *in situ*) 1.18 m. high plus a base. Resting on the pillars and inserted into MR was T^1-T^2, a travertine slab (1.78 m. wide and .11 m. thick). On the west side of N^2 is MR. On the north side is the important wall g (.85 m. long and .47 m. thick). Wall g was constructed not to buttress MR but to cover the "seam" where the two parts of MR meet [21] and to serve as a retaining wall, necessary because earth continually washed down from the slope to the north. In any case wall g does not reinforce, but only touches MR.[22] When this wall was built, much of N^2 had to be remodeled, perhaps around A.D., 250 to repair the damage to its symmetry.

The great importance of wall g in the contemporary discussion

Basilica Vaticana (Vatican City: Libraria Editrice Vaticana, 1965), pp. 14-16, 83-85, 93, 94, 96-103, 107-24.

[19] Toynbee and Perkins, *The Shrine of Peter*, p. 160.

[20] For further details, see D. W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome*, 198-204.

[21] D. W. O'Connor, p. 199.

[22] This is contrary to the opinion of the *Esplorazioni*, fig. 88, Kirschbaum, "Das Petrusgrab," *Stimmen der Zeit*, CL (August 1952), pp. 328, 400, G. Snyder "Survey and New thesis on the bones of St. Peter," *Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, p. 5, etc., and in agreement with A. Prandi, *La Zona*, p. 66.

of the Vatican excavations does not lie in the fact of whether or not it braced MR or served as a retaining wall but that it contained a loculus and that its northern surface was covered with graffiti. The loculus was .77 m. long, .32 m. deep and .29 m. wide and about .80 m. above the pavement of P. The question of whether the loculus was built with the wall or built into the wall later is not entirely clear. The latter view would seem more probable, since graffiti on wall g at the north side of the loculus were disturbed, presumably when the marble case was inserted.

The wall, loculus and marble cassette within, were found by the original excavators; the contents were removed and transferred to a box which was deposited in the confessio of the crypt to the rear of the Niche of Pallia. The material was examined, returned to the box and stored by Msgr. Kaas (administrator of St. Peter's at that time) *but not reported upon further*. It is about this box and the charge that its contents had been negligently forgotten or that the information about them had been suppressed that has occasioned the new controversy relative to the Vatican excavations. According to the original excavators, the box was virtually empty when found. In 1953, however, Margherita Guarducci, the eminent Roman epigraphist, asked Giovanni Segoni, one of the custodians of St. Peter's, about the chest and its contents. She was told that the box as originally found had contained various materials, but that these were removed by Msgr. Kaas, and transferred to another box in another location. Those in charge of the excavations, including the writers of the official report, had known nothing about this.[23] It is fruitless at this late date and tangential to the main importance of the discussion to contemplate upon *why* such a thing was done, or *who* was to blame; the important matter now is to establish what were the contents of the box and how are they to be interpreted.

The rediscovered materials of the cassette of wall g were handed over to Venerando Correnti for analysis.[24] He identified the bone fragments as those belonging to a single human skeleton—a male between 60 and 70 years of age, of average height and robust. When the earth, also found with the contents of the cassette, was

[23] Graydon Snyder, "Survey and New Thesis on the Bones of Peter," pp. 12f.

[24] M. Guarducci, *Le Reliquie*, pp. 26-35, 86-92, 96-105, 134-60, Fig. 8 (p. 90).

examined by agronomists, it was reported that fragments of plaster from MR were present and that the earth was the same as that found in the vicinity of N^1 in area P. In addition, there were fragments of purple cloth, gold thread, and some threads of gold-plated copper. These, reasoned Guarducci, were from the cloth used to wrap the bones. She then concludes that *in the period of Constantine* the bones believed to be those of Peter were taken from the ground of Area P in the vicinity of N^1, wrapped in cloth and deposited in the marble cassette which was placed in wall g. She further supposes that in the first century when the area was known as the gardens of Nero, agriculture was carried on here which would account for the presence of the bones of ox, goat, sheep, cock and mouse. These animal bones were already in the earth of N^1 and unknowingly disinterred along with the human bones.

On the northern surface of wall g about 1 m. above the level of area P, there is a whitewashed space on which are preserved fragments of graffiti (A.D. c. 300-333)—phrases used by the pious, including the Constantinian monogram ☧, such as "vite in ☧, victor cvm svi[s] Gavdentia vibatis in ☧", etc. The name of Peter, at least in any recognizable form, is conspicuously absent. For those who hold the translation theory, however—that the bones of Peter had been removed from the Vatican and at one time were temporarily deposited in the catacombs of San Sebastiano—this absence is not surprising.[25] Guarducci, however, is confident that the name of Peter does appear in symbolic representation.[26] The careful groundwork that she has laid to support this thesis is convincing, *if* the various suggested symbolic representations of the name of Peter were as widely known as she believes *if* they can be as clearly deciphered on the wall as they are in the diagrams prepared for her text, and *if* those who wrote on the wall were actually aware that this was an area venerated as being the place of Peter's burial.

Near the junction of MR and wall g, on the west side of the cavity in wall g, there is the possible graffito "ΠΕΤΡ ΕΝΙ" which has been interpreted as "Peter is within" or "Peter in peace." [27]

[25] D. W. O'Connor, pp. 103-10, 111, 114-5, 126-34, 157-8, 178, 209.

[26] M. Guarducci, *I Graffiti sotto La Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1958), Vol. I, II. Also D. W. O'Connor, pp. 201-4.

[27] M. Guarducci, *I Graffiti*, Vol. II, pp. 389-96 and D. W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome*, pp. 178-9. However, upon further study, it seems doubtful

But it may well be, as José Ruysschaert has pointed out [28] that this graffito is not complete. What remains may be a segment of an originally larger context truncated when parts of the Red Wall (MR) were sacrificed at the time of Constantine. And because the graffito is no longer *in situ* and was not photographed at the moment of discovery, it is difficult to know now if the words remaining are in fact complete or not. M. Guarducci sees this graffito as strong evidence that when the cassette was placed in wall g, it was firmly believed that the bones were those of Peter, and furthermore, she is completely confident that such belief is based upon fact. To derive the reading "Peter is within," it must be supposed that the first word "ΠΕΤΡ" has been mutilated *but* that the second word is complete, which is curious! José Ruysschaert rightfully questions 1) whether or not the graffito is complete and 2) whether it may not simply be part of a pious formula addressed to Peter as many others, for example those which appear on the wall of the Triclia in San Sebastiano. Furthermore, it is very difficult to be at all certain about the meaning and importance of the graffito when it is remembered that in 1958 Guarducci believed the graffito antedated wall g and affirmed that the body of Peter rested below the aedicula; [29] in 1965, that both words were written when the cassette was placed in wall g (early 4th century); [30] in 1967, that the first word "ΠΕΤΡ" was from the period of the construction of wall g, but that the second word "ΕΝΙ" dates from sometime before wall g was built—perhaps the middle of the 3rd century.[31] This last separation in date of the writing of the two words does seem to support the thesis of Ruysschaert that there was an original larger context. The explanations and attendant questions are important since the present day discussion of the excavations centers no longer on the aedicula, N[1] and its contents, but upon the contents of the cassette of wall g and their meaning. If the graffito as interpreted most recently by Guarducci is correct, then we may accept it as reasonable testimony that *at the time of the entrance of the cassette into wall g* (*c. A.D. 250*) it was firmly believed by some

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that ἔνι may be so translated. See W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (1958), col. 527.

[28] "Un Problème d'identification d'Ossements," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Vol. 62, Nos. 3-4 (1967), pp. 760ff.

[29] M. Guarducci, *I Graffiti*, 1958, pp. 385-411.

[30] M. Guarducci, *Le Reliquie*, 1965, pp. 37-41.

[31] M. Guarducci, *Le Reliquie*, 1967, pp. 53-65.

or some*one* that the remains of the bones of Peter were in that cassette. However, if 1) the graffito is incomplete, (and thus its meaning in the original context was perhaps quite different) or 2) it was written (as Guarducci explained in 1958) on MR *before* A.D. 250, then the graffito perhaps referred to the *supposed* presence of the bones of Peter below the aedicula. The meaning and date of the graffito is thus seen as pivotally important to the whole argument surrounding the cassette, its contents and their meaning. Furthermore, it might well be asked at this point, if the contents of the cassette were understood as being accurately labeled by this graffito, why did not Constantine center his enclosure around the cassette of wall g rather than the center of the aedicula itself?

It is admitted that the Constantinian basilica was built over a pagan cemetery, that the point of interest in that cemetery at the time of building was the aedicula in Area P and that the reason for the great interest in the aedicula was the firm belief *c. A.D. 330* that the remains of Peter lay within it, or more properly below it. Surely this belief was not new at the time of Constantine. It may well represent the faith and confidence *c. A.D. 250* when wall g was built and perhaps may even reflect the same or similar faith at a time just after the completion of the first construction of the aedicula, MR and the Clivus (*c. A.D. 160*).

It is at this point, i.e. *before* c. A.D. 160, that the present author becomes increasingly uncertain concerning the beliefs of the Christian community relative to the meaning and importance of the site in general and the aedicula in particular. It still remains to be reasonably established that the aedicula was originally considered as a funerary monument. It may well have been a memorial one. It may very well be that Christians erected the aedicula for veneration in the general area of the *martyrdom* of the Prince of Apostles rather than over the precise area of his *grave*. The word τρόπαιον by no means is limited to describing a funerary monument; it is true that the word is semi-poetic and figurative in character, as when used to describe the Cross. In fact, there appears to have been a clear development in the pagan and Christian history of the word: 1) the commemorative "tree" together with the spoils that hung upon it, 2) the monument which is reminiscent of the victory, 3) the Cross of Christ, 4) the Body of Christ, 5) the victory itself without a monument to commemorate it, 6) the martyrdom of a Christian in the sense of such martyrdom being a victory over

Satan, 7) the body or relics of the martyr and only *finally*, 8) the tomb of the martyr which contains the relics (the actual symbols of victory!) [32]

It appears most reasonable to the present author that after MR was built (c. A.D. 160) and the solid "something" was removed that had been the cause of the rise of the wall at N^1, and the bones had been found in this cavity (probably from three surrounding graves disturbed in the building of the aedicula and/or MR), *then* the aedicula which had been previously constructed to mark the area of martyrdom came to be considered as a grave monument. Further, 1) the graffiti on wall g, 2) the graffito on the west side of the loculus within wall g (if it was written in this period at all), 3) the remnants of purple cloth and gold thread within the cassette, 4) the general care with which the bones no doubt had been wrapped and 5) the careful placing of the cassette within wall g, *all* attest to the faith of the Christian community, or a segment of it, *c. A.D. 250* and provides no reliable information concerning the actual location of the grave of Peter who died somewhere in the general vicinity during the reign of Nero between A.D. 64 and 67.

On the basis of all the literary, liturgical and archeological, information available, it seems most probable that:

1. Peter did reside in Rome at some time during his lifetime most probably near the end of his life.

2. He was martyred there as a member of the Christian religion.

3. He was remembered in the early traditions of the Church and in the erection of a simple monument—the aedicula—near the place where he died.

4. His body was never recovered for burial by the Christian group (probably because of the extreme danger at the time of Nero in claiming the body of a Christian leader).

5. When relics became of great importance for apologetic reasons (about the time when MR and the aedicula were built, and the bones of N^1 were found), Christians came to believe sincerely that the τρόπαιον which originally had marked the general area of the martyrdom, of Peter in reality indicated the precise placement of his grave.

[32] D. W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome*, pp. 96-100; see also above note 2 on p. 146.

UNE ALLUSION DE L'*ASCLEPIUS* AU LIVRE D'*HÉNOCH*

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L'importance des sources juives de la gnose hermétique semble avoir été sous-estimée. Trop souvent on s'est contenté d'admettre que les auteurs du *Corpus Hermeticum* n'avaient connu du judaïsme que la version des Septante.[1] Nous nous sommes efforcés de montrer ailleurs que l'auteur de la *Koré Kosmou* avait utilisé le livre d'*Hénoch*.[2] On voudrait également attirer l'attention sur une allusion au livre d'*Hénoch*, restée inaperçue, dans l'*Asclepius*.

L'*Asclepius* nous est connu par une version latine,[3] quelques citations de l'original grec perdu[4] et, pour une partie, par une version copte trouvée à Nag Hammadi.[5] Le passage qui nous intéresse est tiré de la "petite apocalypse" de l'*Asclepius*. Les affinités égyptiennes de cette "apocalypse" ont été soulignées par Reitzenstein,[6] Philippe Derchain[7] et Martin Krause.[8] Elles sont indéniables. Il est toutefois dans l'"apocalypse" des éléments d'origine juive que l'on aurait tort de négliger, comme on va le voir.

On lit au paragraphe 25 de l'*Asclepius* ce qui suit: "Les dieux se séparent des hommes: divorce déplorable! Seuls demeurent les anges malfaisants qui se mêlent aux hommes, et les contraignent par violence, les malheureux, à tous les excès d'une criminelle

[1] Voir C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, London, 1953.

[2] M. Philonenko, La plainte des âmes dans la *Koré Kosmou*, à paraître dans les Actes du Colloque de Stockholm d'août 1973 sur le gnosticisme.

[3] Edition A. D. Nock et traduction A.-J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, II, Paris, 1945, p. 259-404.

[4] Cf. A. D. Nock-A.-J. Festugière, *op. cit.*, p. 275-277.

[5] M. Krause-P. Labib, *Gnostische und Hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI*, Glückstadt, 1971.

[6] R. Reitzenstein-H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1926, p. 43-44.

[7] Ph. Derchain, L'authenticité de l'inspiration égyptienne dans le "Corpus Hermeticum", *Revue de l'Histoire des religions*, 161, 1962, p. 175-198; *Le papyrus Salt 825*, I, Bruxelles, 1965, p. 14-15; 20; 24.

[8] M. Krause, Ägyptisches Gedankengut in der Apokalypse des Asclepius, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplementa, 1, Wiesbaden, 1969, p. 48-57.

audace, les engageant en des guerres, des brigandages, des tromperies, et en tout ce qui est contraire à la nature de l'âme".[9]

fit deorum ab hominibus dolenda secessio; soli nocentes angeli remanent qui humanitate commixti . . . Le thème de l'exil des dieux est bien égyptien.[10] On le retrouve, par exemple, dans l' "Oracle du Potier", dont la parenté avec l'"apocalypse est patente.[11] La présence des *nocentes angeli* est, elle, sans parallèle égyptien et détonne dans ce contexte. Ferguson,[12] suivi, semble-t-il, mais avec quelque hésitation, par le R. P. Festugière [13], voit là les dévas d'Ahriman. L'hypothèse reste fragile, car elle ne rend pas compte de la fonction des "anges malfaisants" dans l'"apocalypse".

L'idée que ces "anges malfaisants" "se mêlent" à l'humanité a surpris. Le R. P. Festugière alléguant un texte voisin, tiré de l'*Asclepius*,[14] imagine que les anges se mêlent aux hommes "en s'introduisant en eux avec la nourriture", mais, dans le texte invoqué, ce sont les vices qui se mêlent aux corps, "venus par les aliments", et non les anges malfaisants.

La solution est ailleurs: il faut reconnaître dans "les anges malfaisants qui se mêlent à l'humanité" une allusion à la chute des anges et au livre d'*Hénoch*. On sait tout le parti qu'avait tiré du sixième chapitre de la *Genèse* les auteurs du livre d'*Hénoch*, en identifiant "les fils d'Elohim", attirés par les femmes, aux anges déchus venus s'unir aux filles des hommes.[15]

L'expression latine *nocentes angeli* est naturellement la traduction du grec ἄγγελοι πονηροί.[16] Quant à la tournure *qui humanitate commixti*, elle trouve sur cet arrière-plan mythique sa valeur techni-

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[9] Traduction A.-J. Festugière.

[10] Cf. M. Krause, *art. cit.*, p. 52-53.

[11] Edition récente de l'"Oracle du Potier" par L. Koenen, Die Prophezeiungen des "Töpfers", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 2, 1968, p. 178-209.

[12] W. Scott-A. S. Ferguson, *Hermetica*, IV, Oxford, 1936, p. 417-418.

[13] A.-J. Festugière, *op. cit.*, p. 381, note 217.

[14] *Asclepius* 22.

[15] Voir là-dessus, Bousset-Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums*[3], Tübingen, 1926, p. 491-492; A. Lods, La chute des anges, in *Congrès d'histoire du christianisme*, I, Paris-Amsterdam, 1928, p. 491-492.

Nous citerons le texte grec du livre d'*Hénoch* d'après l'édition de M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, Leiden, 1970; le texte éthiopien d'*Hénoch* dans la traduction de F. Martin, *Le livre d'Hénoch*, Paris, 1906.

[16] Voir Lactance, *Inst.*, 2, 15, 8: *daemonas* . . . *Trismegistus* ἀγγέλους πονηρούς *appelat* et la version copte de l'*Asclepius* dans M. Krause-P. Labib, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

que: les mauvais anges "se mêlent" à l'humanité en s'unissant aux filles des humains.

En 10, 11, le texte grec du livre d'*Hénoch*, selon le Syncelle, désigne ainsi les anges déchus: τοὺς συμμιγέντας ταῖς θυγατράσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ μιανθῆναι ἐν αὐταῖς ἐν τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ αὐτῶν: "ceux qui se sont *mêlés* aux filles des hommes pour se souiller avec elles dans leur impureté." On lit de même en *I Hénoch* 19, 1: Ἐνθάδε οἱ μιγέντες ἄγγελοι ταῖς γυναιξὶν στήσονται: "C'est ici que les anges, qui se sont *mêlés* aux femmes, se tiendront." Le *Chronicon alexandrin*, dans le *Chronographe* de 354, fait encore écho à cette terminologie: *et disperdidit eos, quoniam miscuerant se filii dei cum filiabus hominum.*[17]

Il y a plus. Les anges déchus, sous la conduite de leur chef Azaël, ont appris aux hommes la violence. Ainsi lit-on, en *I Hénoch* 8, 1, selon le Syncelle: Πρῶτος Ἀζαὴλ ὁ δέκατος τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐδίδαξε ποιεῖν μαχαίρας καὶ θώρακας καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος πολεμικόν: "Le premier, Azael, le dixième des chefs, apprit à faire des épées et des cuirasses, et tout instrument de guerre." Témoignage confirmé par un autre passage du livre d'*Hénoch*: "Le nom du troisième est Gadriel: . . . c'est lui qui montra les plaies de mort aux fils des hommes, et le bouclier et la cuirasse et l'épée pour le combat, et tous les instruments de mort aux fils des hommes."[18] Par là s'explique que l'*Asclepius* nous montre les mauvais anges à l'origine des guerres et des brigandages.[19]

Cette allusion au livre d'*Hénoch* dans l'"apocalypse" de l'*Asclepius*, dont le caractère égyptien est si marqué, n'étonnera pas. On sait, en effet, la remarquable diffusion que le livre d'*Hénoch* a connu en Egypte à l'époque romaine.[20] L'auteur égyptisant de l'"apocalypse", en s'inspirant de l'enseignement du patriarche antédiluvien, en apporte un nouveau témoignage.

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[17] Edition T. Mommsen, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, IX, Berlin, 1892, p. 164.

[18] *I Hénoch* 69, 6.

[19] Comparer le passage parallèle de la *Koré Kosmou* 53.

[20] Cf. J. T. Milik, Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân, *Harvard Theological Review*, 64, 1971, p. 333-378; Fragments grecs du livre d'Hénoch (P. Oxy. XVII 2069), *Chronique d'Egypte*, 46, 1971, p. 321-343.

CHRIST IN VERBAL AND DEPICTED IMAGERY

A Problem of Early Christian Iconography

S. G. F. BRANDON *

For too long, in the study of religions, the evidence of iconography has been neglected in preference for that of texts. This comparative neglect has been due to two factors: namely, the training of scholars predisposes them to attribute primary importance to written data, whereas little attention has been given so far to constructing a methodology for dealing with the religious significance of iconographic material.[1] This neglect should not be allowed to continue; for it not only impoverishes our knowledge of the religions of mankind, but it may also lead to a distorted conception of how the ordinary believer thought and felt about his god. In this essay an attempt will be made to show that the Early Christians visualised Christ in a form that had no apparent relation to the conceptions implied or promoted in the New Testament, or in contemporary patristic writing.

It will be well to remind ourselves, at the outset, of a fact that is too often overlooked or unappreciated. It is that the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, despite their vivid narrative-accounts of the career of Jesus, contain no information whatever about his physical appearance. There are a few brief references to his clothting; [2] but of his facial features, his stature, manner of movement, or pitch of voice nothing is recorded.[3] We can only conclude that

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* Editor's note: The late S. G. F. Brandon was Professor of Comparative Religion at Manchester University, England. This paper was sent by him on July 28, 1971. Shortly thereafter he wrote to inquire whether he might include some plates and other illustrations; the affirmative reply never reached him. He clearly intended, therefore, to provide illustrations with the present article. The editor chose to print it as received.

[1] The question of the priority of iconography as evidence for the history of religions is discussed by the writer in his forthcoming book *Man & God in Art & Ritual*, Part I (Scribners, New York).

[2] E.g. *Matt.* 9:20; *John* 19:23-4.

[3] An attempt was made to supply such details in the so-called *Letter of Lentulus*, which seems to date in its present form from the 13th century: cf. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 477ff.; see also R. Eisler, ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΣ (Heidelberg, 1929), II, pp. 359ff.

Jesus, since he was a Palestinian Jew, must have had that cast of countenance which we distinguish as Jewish.

The Early Christians, therefore, found no guidance in their sacred literature as to the physical appearance of Jesus. And, as we shall see, in visualising him they ignored the fact of his Jewish origin.[4] But, if the Gospel provided no indication of his physical appearance, other writings of the New Testament used imagery calculated to have influenced profoundly the visual conception of Jesus for those who read them or heard them read. Thus, the celebrated *kenosis* passage in Paul's *Epistle to the Philippians* (2:5ff.) would seem to suggest a visual image of dramatic significance—"Christ Jesus, who though in form (*morphē*) of God ... emptied himself, taking the form (*morphē*) of a slave, being born in the likeness of men".[5] But the conception never seems to have received iconographic expression, possibly because of its complexity. It is worth noting, in this connection, that the fragmentary remains of a coloured mosaic, found in the pre-Constantine cemetery under the basilica of St. Peter in Rome, represent Christ refulgent with solar rays in radiating cruciform, and standing in the chariot of Helios, the sungod—in this way perhaps an attempt was made to depict the reabsorption of the human into the divine.[6]

The *Epistle to the Hebrews* offered a conception of Christ which might have inspired a visual image that was both impressive and significant, namely, as the "great high-priest who has passed through the heavens".[7] But this conception figures in no surviving example of Early Christian art; and we can only speculate as to the cause—that the imagery was too Jewish for Christian taste, or that the *Epistle to the Hebrews* was little known or valued.[8]

The *Apocalypse of John* provided a majestic picture of Christ as

[4] In Christian iconography Jesus has been invariably depicted with Caucasian features.

[5] Cf. M. Dibelius, *An die Philipper* (Tübingen, 1925), pp. 61-2, W. K. L. Clarke, *New Testament Problems* (London, 1929), pp. 143-8; R. P. Martin, 'The Form-analysis of Philippians 2, 5-11', in Studia Evangelica (ed. F. L. Cross), II (Berlin, 1964), pp. 611-20.

[6] Cf. J. Toynbee/J. W. Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London, 1956), plate 32, pp. 73-4, 116-17; A. Grabar, *Beginnings of Christian Art*, 200-395 (E.T., London, 1967), ill. 74, pp. 80-1.

[7] 4:14ff.

[8] It is worth noting that Epiphanius refers to a tradition (*Haer.* xxix, 3-4), that James, the brother of Jesus, served as high-priest in the Jerusalem Temple and wore the *petalon*; but such traditions doubtless emanated from Jewish Christian sects, regarded as heretical by orthodox Christians.

the Cosmocrator, which did exercise a powerful influence on medieval iconography, as may be seen in sculptured tympana of the abbey church at Moissac and the Cathedral of Chartes, to quote but two notable examples.[9] However, although Christ does appear in this rôle on certain sculptured sarcophagi from about the fourth century, the awesome conception of *Apoc.* 1:12ff. and its esoteric symbolism do not seem to have affected the iconography of the Early Church in any obvious way.[10]

The evidence of Early Christian art, as it has been preserved in the catacomb paintings and the carved sarcophagi, reveals, on the contrary, a distinctive iconographic conception of Christ, together with an equally distinctive iconographic programme of motifs for the representation of doctrinal belief. Both the conception and the motifs display a remarkable independence of the impression of Christ and of Christian belief which later generations have received from the New Testament documents. The hiatus that exists between the two is serious, and it demands more attention than has hitherto been given to it. Certain of the more notable points of difference will be briefly noted here, in the hope of stimulating interest in a problem that is both interesting and important.

To begin with the portrayal of Christ himself. The earliest known depiction dates from about 232-56, and was found in the ruins of a house-church at Dura-Europos, on the river Euphrates.[11] Although this depiction was made in a remote frontier city of the Roman Empire, it conformed to an already established tradition of portrayal, of which the Roman catacombs provide slightly later examples. It shows Christ, as a young, apparently beardless man, with close-cropped hair. He wears a tunic and pallium, thus indicating a person of good social rank in contemporary Graeco-Roman society. Thus, it would seem that the Christians of Dura-Europos were unmindful of the fact that Jesus had been a Jew, and they visualised him as having the form and appearance of a young man, of their

[9] Cf. E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France* (Paris, 1953), pp. 4-9, fig. 1, 2, pp. 378ff., fig. 218, 219, 223.

[10] Cf. F. Grossi Gondi, *I monumenti cristiani* (Roma, 1923), p. 117; Grabar, *Christian Iconography* (Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 434, ill. 108-113. In later Christian art attempts were made to portray the conception of *Apoc.* 1:12ff. literally, even to depicting the two-edged sword proceeding from the mouth of Christ: e.g. see Rogier van der Weyden's polytych of the Last Judgment at Beaune.

[11] Cf. Grabar, *Beginnings of Christian Art*, ill. 61; F. van der Meer, *Early Christian Art*, pp. 127-8, plate 1.

own time, whom they respect for his authoritative and dignified bearing. It is notable, also, that no attempt was made to signify his divinity by such traditional means as the use of the nimbus or superhuman stature.[12]

In this Dura-Europos fresco, Christ is depicted in the act of healing the Paralytic Man, according to *Mark* 2:3ff.[13] The selection of this miracle is significant; for it formed one of a series of acts of divine deliverance which find recurrent expression in the art of the Roman catacombs. Some of these *Heilstaten* are taken from the Old Testament; they include Daniel in the Lion's Den, the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace, and Jonah and the 'Whale'.[14] Three miracles of Christ, so depicted, have a similar soteriological significance: the Healing of the Paralytic, the Healing of the Woman with the Issue of Blood, and the Raising of Lazarus.[15] As in the Dura-Europos depiction, Christ is portrayed as a young, beardless man, in Roman attire, whose gestures are authoritative and his countenance serene—perhaps even expressionless.[16]

These representations of Christ in catacomb-art may be described, with qualification, as realistic. They indicate that Christians, at this early period, thought of Jesus as a kind of young hero, distinguished from other men by his manifest sense of command and possession of supernatural power, yet appearing in dress and manner as a philosopher of good social standing. With this 'realistic' presentation there appears also the symbolic figure of the Good Shepherd.[17] This figure, which derived from pagan origins and in Graeco-Roman iconography represented *Philanthropia*, was certainly intended to represent Christ on some occasions in some Early

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[12] It is not until the 4th cent. that the divinity of Christ is denoted by the nimbus: see n. 5 above. What appears to be the earliest known portrait of a bearded Christ, with nimbus, occurs in the catacomb of Commodilla (late 4th cent.) and is obviously inspired by contemporary representations of the sovereign deities of the period—Jupiter and Sarapis. Cf. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, pp. 34-5, ill. 81-2; P. du Bourguet, *Early Christian Painting* (E.T., London, 1965), ill. 22.

[13] Two episodes of the miracle are shown: Christ speaks to the Paralytic; the Paralytic walks off, carrying his bed.

[14] Cf. du Bourguet, ill. 3, 17, 38, 40, 42, 79.

[15] Cf. du Bourguet, 45, 99, 117, 129. Cf. Th. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst, IV", in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 4 (1961).

[16] Sometimes Christ is represented somewhat taller than other persons.

[17] Cf. F. van der Meer/C. Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World* (London, 1958), pp. 44-5.

Christian art; [18] but it is uncertain whether Christians did actually visualise Christ in this form, as they apparently did in the figure of the miracle-performing young Teacher.[19]

This Early Christian iconography must, however, be reckoned almost as significant negatively as it is in its positive witness. In other words, the topics which are not treated in catacomb art reveal, by their omission, aspects of Early Christian thought and feeling that are as notable as those that find iconographic expression. The two most important of these omissions is the absence of scenes of the Passion and Crucifixion of Jesus, and of depictions of the Last Judgment.[20]

The apparent neglect, or conscious avoidance, of the death of Jesus in the pre-Constantine period of Christian art is indeed remarkable; and it naturally calls for explanation, in view of the intense preoccupation with the subject in all subsequent Christian art. The phenomenon is the more puzzling, since the Passion and Crucifixion dominate the Gospel narratives, and powerfully impress the imagination through the graphic quality of their literary presentation. Two possible explanations suggest themselves, which though differently motivated, are not mutally exclusive.

A clue to this Early Christian reticence about depicting the Crucifixion of Jesus is perhaps to be seen in the scurrillous drawing, found scratched on a wall of a house on the Palatine hill in Rome, showing a man worshipping a crucified human figure with an ass's head: an accompanying scrawl reads, "Alexamenos worships his god".[21] This obvious parody of the Christian worship of the Crucified Christ, with some possible overtones of antisemitism, reveal how easily the Crucifixion could be derided and misrepresented.[22] Moreover, there was always the political factor to be considered. As Tacitus reminded his readers, a Roman governor had found it necessary to crucify the founder of Christianity for subversive activit-

[18] See the masterly study of the origin and evolution of the 'Good Shepherd' by Th. Klauser in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 1 (1958), pp. 24-51, *op. cit.*, 10 (1967), pp. 119-120.

[19] For example, on the 'sarcophagus of the Three Shepherds', in the Lateran Museum, two Shepherds are beardless and one bearded: cf. van der Meer/Mohrmann, p. 44, ill. 67.

[20] Cf. Brandon, *Man and God in Art and Ritual*, Part III (viii).

[21] Cf. H. Leclercq, *La vie chrétienne primitive* (Paris, 1928), planche XLIX, p. 85; M. Gough, *The Early Christians* (London, 1961), pp. 83-4, fig. 9.

[22] Cf. P. de Labriolle, *La réaction païenne* (Paris, 1942), pp. 194-99.

ies: hence it would have been unwise to have provided pictorial reminders, either on the walls of house-churches or catacombs of this potentially dangerous, as well as tragic, event.[23]

Although this aspect of the Crucifixion may account for the Early Christians' reluctance to depict the event, it would seem that other, and more powerful, factors also operated to prevent its portrayal. It is possible that Paul had already deflected preoccupation with the death of Christ by directing attention away from Christ *kata sarka*, to the Risen Christ, into whose transcendental form of being the faithful were incorporated by baptism. In other words, Paul's 'Gospel' was primarily that of a new life *in Christo*; with the Crucifixion an essential, but now a past event of the divine *Heilsgeschichte*.[24] The art of the catacombs significantly witnesses to this view of Christianity. Its emphasis is exclusively on the theme of divine deliverance to a new state of life. Christ, the divine young hero, frees the Paralytic from the constriction of his disease and the Woman from her debilitating Issue of Blood, and he raises the dead and mummy-like Lazarus to new life. In other scenes, he turns the water into wine at Cana, he tells the Woman of Samaria of the 'living water', and he provides his disciples with mystic loaves and fishes of the Eucharist.[25] In this art, the theme of death has no place—the only reference to it is in the Raising of Lazarus, which symbolises resurrection to new life.

There is, in the iconography of the catacombs, just one possible reference to the Passion of Christ, which we must notice. It is an enigmatic scene in the Catacomb of Praetextatus, which has been interpreted as a depiction of the Crowning with Thorns.[26] If this is truly the subject of the picture, then we have evidence of a very notable transformation of the incident as recorded in the Gospels. For instead of being the victim of the cruel parody described in *Matthew* 27:29-31, Christ appears serenely wearing a foliate crown, and acclaimed by men holding palm-branches of victory. This apparent re-interpretation of an harrowing incident of the Passion-story anticipates an even more remarkable transformation of the

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[23] Tacitus, *Ann.* XV:44. Cf. de Labriolle, pp. 38ff.

[24] Cf. Brandon, *History, Time & Deity* (Manchester University Press, 1965), pp. 164ff.; see also pp. 26-28.

[25] Cf. du Bourguet, ill. 11, 46, 75, 101, 126.

[26] Cf. du Bourguet, ill. 53, who dates it for the first half of the 3rd cent. See Brandon, *The Trial of Jesus of Nazareth* (London/New York, 1968), plate 14, p. 157.

Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus which appears on a sculptured sarcophagus of the late fourth century, now in the Lateran Museum, Rome.[27]

The scenes on this sarcophagus, which mark the beginning of the depiction of the Passion in Christian art, represent four incidents of the Gospel narrative. In his Trial before Pilate, the youthful Christ is shown as dominating the transaction—he speaks authoritatively to his Roman judge, who averts his gaze. This suggestion of the serene superiority of Christ is more clearly made in the depiction of the Crowning with Thorns. The incident is transformed into a crowning of Christ with a laurel wreath of victory by a respectful Roman soldier, while Simon of Cyrene bears the Cross. The centre panel of the sarcophagus symbolises the Triumph and Resurrection of Christ: the Cross is adorned by a wreath of victory, which embodies the Chi Rho monogram, and the diminutive figures of two sleeping soldiers denote the Resurrection.

That the Passion and Crucifixion, of which the suffering and degradation are so vividly described in the Gospels, could be so completely transformed into the triumph of a serene young hero is truly surprising. It indicates a conception of the faith that differs radically from that characterised by concentration on the sufferings of Christ in the later doctrine, art and ritual-practice of the Church. But, incompatible though it surely is with what was to become the tradition of both Catholic and Protestant theology, the fact that the conception finds expression in an art that was both popular and official demands careful consideration. For it means that the Early Christians saw, primarily, in the Passion and Death of Christ divine victory, and not the price paid to redeem sinful mankind. The agonised figure of the later crucifixes, the grim *Vesperbild* of German medieval art, and the pathetic pietà were clearly not the forms under which they visualised their Lord. These later images reflect a soteriology which emphasised the enormity of human sin, and the awful cost paid by Christ for man's salvation.[28]

The absence of reference to the Passion of Christ, or its curious transformation in Early Christian art, is paralleled by an apparent unconcern about the *post-mortem* judgment. Except for some pos-

[27] Cf. van der Meer/Mohrmann, ill. 446, 467, p. 143; Brandon, *op. cit.* plates 16-17, pp. 157-8.

[28] Cf. Brandon, *Man & God in Art & Ritual*, Part III (viii), "The Portrait of Christ: its origin and evolution", in *History Today*, vol. xxi (1971).

sible esoteric imagery on certain sculptured sarcophagi of the 4th-5th centuries, the earliest recognisable representation of the Last Judgment dates from the 6th century.[29] It takes the form of mosaic depiction, in the basilica of Sant' Apollinare, Ravenna, of the imagery used in Christ's prophecy of the Last Judgment, as recorded in *Matthew* 25:1ff. The scene is characterised by its restrained symbolism. A youthful beardless Christ divides the sheep from the goats. The only hint of the baleful consequences of the transaction for the 'goats' is given in the sombre blue garments of the angel who presides over them.[30]

The contrast between this presentation and the typical medieval 'Doom', with its implacable Christ and the terrified damned dragged off to Hell by ferocious demons, is most striking.[31] But the difference of treatment is perhaps even more remarkable, when it is recalled how the Last Judgment is presented in both the New Testament and early Christian literature. Although the references in the Gospels are suggestive rather than descriptive, allusions to flames, the 'worm that dieth not', and weeping and gnashing of teeth conjure up a picture of the dreadful torments suffered by the damned.[32] These suggestions were given a vivid and detailed reality in the *Apocalypse of John*, which profoundly stirred the imagination of later Christians, and by the gruesome accounts of Hell in such writings as the second-century *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Testament of Abraham*.[33]

That the Early Christians were not moved, as were those of later generations, to express their eschatological beliefs in their art, certainly constitutes a problem that demands investigation. The fact raises again the question which we have already noticed, namely, of the apparent hiatus that exists between the ideas and concerns of the Christians of the early centuries, as reflected in their iconography, and those which might reasonably be inferred from the contemporary literature. In other words, we have to ask whether

[29] Cf. Beat Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends* (Wiener Byzantinische Studien, III, Wien, 1966), *Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes*, pp. 37-51, Abb. 1.

[30] Cf. Grabar, *Byzantium* (E.T., London, 1966, ill. 165; B. Govini, *Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna* (E.T., Milan, 1961), plate 20, pp. 16-17; Beat Brenk, pp. 41-3, Abb. 3.

[31] Cf. Brandon, *The Judgment of the Dead* (New York, 1967), ill. 3-7, 9, fig. 7.

[32] *Mark* 9:43, 48.

[33] Cf. Brandon, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104, 116-119.

the iconography of Early Christianity or its literature more truly mirrors what most Christians thought and felt about their religion.

It is possible that our current estimate of Early Christian faith and practice is derived too exclusively from evidence culled from the study of written sources. On analysis, such an estimate is based on a tacit assumption that the Early Christians were as familiar with the contents of the New Testament and the writings of the Fathers as scholars are today. But it must be remembered that far more of the ordinary believers would then have known the iconographic record of their faith than would have possessed and studied the relevant texts. Moreover, on the minds of most persons a greater impression is made by the visual image than by the written words. Accordingly, it would seem that the time has come for students of Early Christianity to break out from their traditional preoccupation with the texts, and to begin constructing a methodology for evaluating the evidence of the iconography.

DIE VERTREIBUNG AUS DEM PARADIES IN DER KATAKOMBE DER VIA LATINA IN ROM

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Seit der Entdeckung der Katakombe in der Via Latina in Rom im Jahre 1955 [1] hat sich die Annahme immer mehr verdichtet, daß jüdische Illustrationen vielfach als Vorlage für Denkmäler der frühchristlichen Kunst angenommen werden müssen. [2] Seit dem Wintersemester 1972/73 beschäftigt sich daher eine Arbeitsgemeinschaft im Institut für Judaistik der Universität Wien mit der Untersuchung der Fresken, die Motive aus dem Alten Testament darstellen, aus der Katakombe der Via Latina im Lichte der rabbinischen Tradition. Einige Ergebnisse dieser Arbeitsgemeinschaft sind veröffentlicht in *Kairos* 16 (1974), Heft 1 [3] und ergaben für etliche der alttestamentlichen Motive neue Argumente für die schon weithin akzeptierte These jüdischer Bildvorlagen. [4] Diese müssen sowohl als illustrierte Handschriften als auch als Darstellungen heilsgeschichtlicher Zyklen verstanden werden. [5]

Ein Motiv, das von späteren christlichen Illuminatoren offenbar nicht mehr im richtigen Kontext verstanden wurde, ist die 'Ver-

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[1] Antonio Ferrua, *Le pitture della nuova catacomba di Via Latina*, Città del Vaticano, 1960.

[2] Josef Guttmann (Hsgbr.), *No Graven Images*, New York 1971.

[3] Kurt Schubert, "Sündenfall und Vertreibung aus dem Paradies in der Katakombe der Via Latina im Lichte der jüdischen Tradition", *Kairos* 16 (1974), 14-18 (das hier besprochene Bild ist in diesem Beitrag noch nicht berücksichtigt); Günter Stemberger, "Die Patriarchenbilder der Katakombe in der Via Latina im Lichte der jüdischen Tradition", *Kairos* 16 (1974) 19-78.

[4] Gegen die These von Heinrich Strauss, *Die Kunst der Juden im Wandel der Zeit und Umwelt*, Tübingen 1972, 28-44, besonders 39f. (vgl. Heinrich Strauss, "Jüdische Quellen frühchristlicher Kunst, optische oder literarische Anregung?", *ZNW* 57 (1966), 114-136; *ders.*, "Jüdische Quellen frühchristlicher Kunst—optische oder literarische Anregung?", *ZNW* 64 (1973), 323f.), der sich gegen die Annahme jüdischer Bildvorlagen ausspricht und lieber an eine mündliche Anregung der christlichen Künstler durch die jüdische Legendentradition denkt, vgl. die Rezension von Kurt Schubert in: Kairos 16 (1974), 88-93.

[5] Ursala Schubert, *Spätantikes Judentum und frühchristliche Kunst* (Studia Judaica Austriaca, Bd. II), Wien 1974.

treibung Adams und Evas aus dem Paradies' (Abb. 1), das aber der Freskant der Via Latina-Katakombe aus dem 4. Jh. n. Chr. offenbar noch vorlagengetreu wiedergegeben hat. Die Darstellung befindet sich im Cubiculum B [6] und ist über den trauernden Stammeltern, der Schlange, Kain und Abel angebracht, einem Motiv, das ebenfalls ohne Zuhilfenahme der jüdischen Tradition schwer verständlich ist. [7] Ganz im Vordergrund, ungefähr in der Mitte des Bildes und bedeutend größer als die anderen Figuren, steht ein alter Mann mit Bart in Tunika und Pallium. Links von ihm ein Baum, rechts ein schräg in den Raum gestelltes offenes Tor, durch welches Adam und Eva in Felltunika schreiten. Rechts vom Tor eine Quadermauer. Der alte Mann steht vor dem Tor, sein rechter Arm ist deutlich vor dem Pfosten zu sehen. Er faßt entweder Adam an der Schulter oder weist ihn auf etwas hin.

Die späteren christlichen Darstellungen verstanden ihre Vorlage so, als ob hier Gn 3:23 illustriert worden wäre: "Und Gott der Herr vertrieb ihn aus dem Garten Eden, um die Erde zu bearbeiten, von der er genommen worden war." Die Tatsache aber, daß in der Via Latina-Katakombe der bärtige alte Mann ganz eindeutig nicht hinter, sondern vor dem Paradiesestore steht, läßt erkennen, daß hier nicht Gn 3:23, sondern Gn 3:24 dargestellt ist: "Und er vertrieb den Adam und ließ vor dem Garten Eden die Cheruben nieder und das feurig zuckende Schwert, um den Weg zum Lebensbaum zu bewachen." Auch diesem Wortlaut entspricht die Darstellung in der Via Latina nicht. Hingegen folgt sie deutlich der targumischen Tradition. Von für unseren Zusammenhang unbedeutenden Varianten abgesehen, stimmen überein Targum Neophyti, Targum Pseudojonathan und der fragmentarische Targum Jeruschalmi: [8]

1. Gott ließ vor dem Eingang zum Garten Eden nicht Cheruben nieder, sondern die Herrlichkeit seiner Schekhina, d.h. seiner Wesensgegenwart selbst, und zwar zwischen zwei Cheruben.

2. Darauf folgt der Hinweis, daß die Tora schon vor der Weltschöpfung geschaffen wurde, eine Auffassung, die im hellenistischen

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[6] Antonio Ferrua (Anm. 1), Tav. XXIX (hier nur schwarzweiß. Eine Farbwiedergabe in: Ursala Schubert (Anm. 5) Abb. 9).

[7] Kurt Schubert (Anm. 3).

[8] Alejandro Díez Macho, *Neophyti* I, Tomo I, *Genesis*, Madrid 1968; Moses Ginsburger, *Das Fragmententargum*, Berlin 1899 (Neudruck: Jerusalem 1969); *ders.*, *Pseudojonathan*, Berlin 1903 (Neudruck: Jerusalem o.J.).

und spätantiken Judentum im Anschluß an Sprüche 8:22f. weit verbreitet war.[9]

3. Der Garten Eden wurde für die Gerechten geschaffen, die dann von den Früchten des Paradiesesbaumes essen werden. Das ist der Lohn dafür, daß die Gerechten auf dieser Welt das Gesetz der Tora befolgt haben.

4. Die Hölle, das Gehinnom, das für die Frevler geschaffen wurde, wird von den Targumen anstelle des feurig zuckenden Schwertes erwähnt.

5. Die Tora wird mit dem Lebensbaum gleichgesetzt. Wer sie befolgt, ist wie jemand, der von den Früchten des Lebensbaumes genießt. "Die Tora zu befolgen auf dieser Welt, ist so wie die Früchte des Lebensbaumes" (Targum Neophyti zu Gn. 3:24).

Die Targume deuten also Gn 3:24 in dem Sinn, daß die Wesensgegenwart Gottes (*jeqar schekhinteh min leqadmin* 'die Herrlichkeit seiner Einwohnung von Urzeit her') selbst den Eingang zum Garten Eden bewacht. Die in Gn 3:24 als Paradieseswächter genannten Cheruben haben in der targumischen Deutung von Gn 3:24 gleichsam die Bedeutung von Leibwächtern oder Begleitern Gottes. Dem entspricht, daß vor der Paradiesespforte, in der Adam und Eva in Fellkleidern stehen, eine übergroße bärtige Gestalt dargestellt ist. Die jüdische Vorlage, auf die die Darstellung in der Via Latina-Katakombe zurückzuführen ist, hielt sich also an die Targume, indem sie die Schekhina selbst darstellte und die begleitenden Cheruben wegließ.[10]

Das im Zusammenhang mit den Cheruben im biblischen Text genannte feurig zuckende Schwert wird in den Targumen auf die Hölle als künftigen Aufenthaltsort für die Sünder umgedeutet. "Gott bereitete den Garten Eden für die Gerechten und das Gehinnom für die Frevler. . . . , das dem feurig zuckenden, von beiden Seiten verzehrenden Schwerte entspricht" (Targum Neophyti zu Gn 3:24). Targum Jeruschalmi 1 und 2 bieten der Sache nach einen vollkommen analogen Text. Durch die Umdeutung des feurig zuckenden Schwertes zur Hölle erhält der Zusammenhang einerseits einen eschatologischen Charakter und andererseits wird das

[9] Kurt Schubert, *Die Kultur der Juden*, I, *Israel im Altertum*, Frankfurt M. 1970, 228-234; Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, Tübingen ²1973, 275-318.

[10] Engel als Hofstaat Gottes können die Erwähnung Gottes ersetzen und umgekehrt, vgl. Mt 10:32 und Lk 12:8.

Schwert des das Paradiesestor bewachenden Cheruben funktionslos. Es wurde daher genauso wenig dargestellt wie der Cherub selbst.

Die eschatologische Deutung des Schwertes auf die Hölle ist in der targumischen Überlieferung begleitet von einer eschatologischen Sicht des Paradieses. Adam und Eva werden nicht nur aus dem Paradies vertrieben, sondern der Garten Eden mitsamt dem Lebensbaum bleibt die eschatologische Chance fur die Gerechten. Die Tora ist das Mittel, durch das der Mensch diese Chance nützen kann. Daher heißt es gleich nach der Erwähnung der Tora, die 2000 Jahre vor der Weltschöpfung erschaffen wurde: "Gott bereitete den Garten Eden für die Gerechten. . . , damit sie essen und sich ernähren können von der Frucht des Baumes, weil sie die Gebote der Tora auf dieser Welt beobachtet und ihre Befehle eingehalten haben" (Targum Neophyti zu Gn 3:24) Die Auffassung, daß die Früchte des Lebensbaumes im Eschaton von den Gerechten genossen werden, findet sich schon in einem so frühen Text wie Henoch 25:5 (etwa Mitte 2. Jh. v. Chr.), wo es heißt, daß nach dem großen Gericht der Lebensbaum "den Gerechten und Demütigen übergeben werden wird. Seine Frucht wird den Auserwählten zum Leben dienen".

Dem Verständnis der Tora als irdische Repräsentation des Lebensbaumes entspricht auch die Tatsache, daß ein sich weit verzweigender Baum genau oberhalb der Toranische in der untersten, später übermalten Schicht des eschatologischen Feldes der Westwand in der Synagoge von Dura Europos dargestellt war.[11] In der Synagoge von Dura Europos wuchs der Lebensbaum gleichsam aus der Tora hervor. Im nachparadiesischen Zustand hat die Tora die Funktion des Lebensbaumes übernommen. Daher stellen Targum Neophyti und Targum Jeruschalmi 2 die Tora für diese Welt dem Lebensbaum gleich, während Targum Jeruschalmi 1 noch um einen Schritt weitergeht: "besser sind die Befolgung der Tora und ein ordentlicher Lebenswandel als die Früchte des Lebensbaumes".

Der Baum links im Bild in der Darstellung der Via Latina-Katakombe könnte natürlich auch nur der Veranschaulichung des Gartens Eden dienen. Aber im Gesamtzusammenhang der Dar-

[11] Carl H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue, The Excavations at Dura Europos*, Final Report VIII, Part I, New Haven 1956, 63; Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, vol. 11, New York 1964, Abb. 73 und 76.

Abb. 1. Katakombe der Via Latina, Rom, 4. Jht.
Vertreibung aus dem Paradies.

Abb. 2. S. Marco, Venedig, Vorhalle, Weltschöpfungskuppel, 13. Jht.
Vertreibung aus dem Paradies.

Abb. 3. Albanipsalter, Hildesheim, St. Godehard, 12. Jht. Vertreibung aus dem Paradies.

Abb. 4. Millstätter Genesis, 12. Jht. Klagenfurt, Mus. Cod. VI, 19, fol. 14 b. Vertreibung aus dem Paradies.

Abb. 5. Millstätter Genesis, Klagenfurt, Mus. Cod. VI, 19, fol. 16 v. 12. Jht. Der Engel mit dem feurigen Schwert vor der Paradiespforte.

Abb. 6. Hortus Deliciarum der Herrade von Landsberg, Straßburg, ehemals Bibl. de la Ville, 12. Jht. Vertreibung aus dem Paradies.

Abb. 7. Hortus Deliciarum der Herrade von Landsberg, Straßburg, ehemals Bibl. de la Ville, 12. Jht. Der Cherub mit dem feurigen Schwert vor dem Paradiesestor.

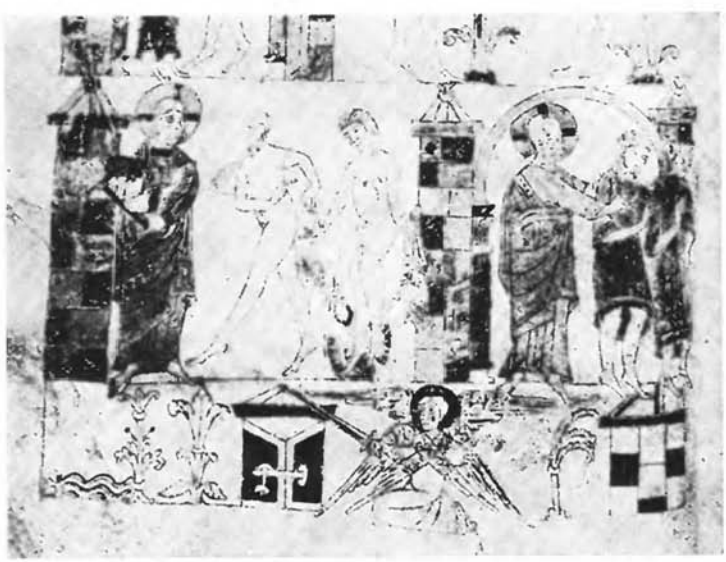

Abb. 8. Bibel aus S. Maria de Ripoll (Farfa-Bibel), Rom, cod. Vat. lat. 5729, Mitte 11. Jht., fol. 5 v. Rechtfertigung des Adam vor Gott nach dem Sündenfall; Vertreibung aus dem Paradies; Cherub mit Schwert vor dem Paradiesestor.

stellung, die stark von der targumischen Tradition beeinflußt ist, dürfte er wohl eher als Lebensbaum und somit als Hinweis auf die Tora zu verstehen sein. Nach der jüdischen Vorlage des besprochenen Freskos aus der Via Latina-Katakombe weist also Gott selbst, vor der Paradiesespforte stehend, die aus ihr heraustretenden Adam und Eva auf Paradies und Hölle hin und somit auch auf die Chancen, die dem Menschen durch das Befolgen der Tora gegeben sind.

In den späteren christlichen Darstellungen der Vertreibung von Adam und Eva aus dem Paradies erfolgte diese gewöhnlich durch einen Engel und die Vertreibung durch Gott "in persona" wird von Otto Pächt [12] als "extremely unusual motif" bezeichnet. Es ist eine ganz bestimmte Handschriftengruppe, in der sich diese ungewöhnliche Ikonographie findet, und ihre Mitglieder gehören zur sogenannten Cotton-Genesis Rezension. Der Urtyp der griechischen Cotton-Genesis, einer Handschrift des 6. Jh.'s, von der heute nach dem Brand von 1731 fast nur mehr verkohlte Überreste erhalten sind, wird um 500 angesetzt.[13] Aber die Mosaiken der Vorhallenkuppeln von San Marco in Venedig (Abb. 2) wurden schon zu Ende des vorigen Jh.'s von J. J. Tikkanen [14] als treue Wiedergabe dieser Handschrift erkannt und können daher als Beispiel der spätantiken Ikonographie mit der Via Latina Szene verglichen werden, die dem Urtyp der Cotton-Rezension um ca. 120 Jahre voraus geht. Trotz großer ikonographischer Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen den beiden Bildern gibt es ebenso viele bedeutende Unterschiede. Die Gemeinsamkeiten fallen in die Augen: durch das leicht schräggestellte Paradiesestor schreiten Adam und Eva; der Schöpfer, bzw. das Wort Gottes, durch das entsprechend Jo 1:3 alles gemacht ist, steht neben dem Paradiesestor und berührt Adam an der Schulter. Aber ebenso unverkennbar sind die Unterschiede. Adam und Eva sind in San Marco bekleidet und tragen die Werkzeuge ihrer künftigen Arbeit, Hacke und Spinnrocken, in Händen. Vor allem aber steht der Schöpfer nicht neben, sondern deutlich hinter dem Tor, sodaß sein Arm von dem Torpfosten überschnitten wird.

[12] O. Pächt, *Rise of Pictorial Narrative in 12th-Century England*, Oxford 1962, 23.

[13] K. Koshi, *Die Wiener Histoire universelle (cod. 2576) unter Berücksichtigung der sogenannten Cotton-Genesis Rezension*, Wien 1970, Diss. (maschinschriftlich), 172.

[14] J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Genesismosaiken von San Marco in Venedig und die Cottonbibel*, Helsingsfort 1879.

Außerdem ist hinter dem Schöpfer und somit noch innerhalb des Paradieses ein Baum zu sehen, der eine Flammenrosette und darüber ein Kreuz umschließt, welches nach R. B. Green [15] wahrscheinlich mit dem Schwert identisch ist, das Gott als Wächter vor das Paradiesestor setzte, nachdem Adam und Eva es durchschritten hatten. Somit konnte O. Pächt als einzige Erklärung für eine solche Anordnung — gegen den historischen Ablauf der in Gn 3, 24 geschilderten Ereignisse — nur einen "anachronism of combining the two parts of the scene in the wrong sequence" annehmen.[16] Eine Unterstützung für diese Vermutung fand Pächt in der Vertreibungsszene des Albanipsalters [17] (Abb. 3), einer englischen Handschrift des 12.Jh.'s., die eine analoge Anordnung der einzelnen Bildelemente wie San Marco zeigt, nur daß der Schöpfer hier in der Mitte des dreiteiligen Paradiesestores steht, Adam und Eva wie in der Via Latina eine Art von Fellkleidung tragen, und auf der anderen Seite des Schöpfers ein sechsflügeliger Cherub mit dem Schwert über einem als feurig zu verstehenden Rad steht. Die Parallelität der "unhistorischen" Darstellung ließ Pächt auf ein gemeinsames Vorbild schließen, das innerhalb der Cotton-Genesis Rezension existiert haben muß und somit auf spätantike Zeit zurückgeht. Da es nun in dem zu Beginn erwähnten Text aus dem Targum Neophyti zu Gn 3:24 heißt: "Und er warf den Menschen hinaus und ließ die Herrlichkeit seiner Schekhina (Wesensgegenwart) von Urzeit her östlich vom Garten Eden zwischen zwei Cheruben wohnen", so könnte das spätantike Vorbild, das einerseits die Vorlage für das Mosaik von San Marco bildet, und dessen Typus andererseits — wie Pächt nachgewiesen — auch als Anregungsquelle für die Miniatur des Albanipsalters gedient haben mag, in jüdischen Kreisen entstanden sein. Jedenfalls würde der Targumtext das Vorhandensein des Cherub an der "chronologisch" unrichtigen Stelle neben dem Schöpfergott innerhalb des Paradieses leicht erklären, da dieser ja laut Targum vor dem Garten zwischen den zwei Cheruben steht.

Die Unkenntnis des Targumtextes und dessen Divergenz vom Bibeltext mußte die christlichen Künstler, die die jüdische Vorlage

[15] R. B. Green, *The Adam and Eve Cycle in the Hortus Deliciarum*, in: *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend Jr.*, 1955, 334-347, bes. 346.

[16] A.a.O. (Anm. 12), 26.

[17] Hildesheim, St. Godehard; O. Pächt, C. R. Dodwell, F. Wormald, The St. Albans Psalter (Albanipsalter), London 1960, 80f. pl. 15a.

für Darstellungen der Vertreibungsszene verwendeten, unweigerlich verwirren. Die Via Latina-Katakombe zeigt den Schöpfergott deutlich vor dem Paradiesestor, aber die Cheruben fehlen. In San Marco hingegen steht der Schöpfer hinter dem Paradiesestor, Adam gleichsam hinausstoßend, und neben dem Schöpfer innerhalb des Paradieses eine Veranschaulichung des Cherub. Am besten scheint der Albanipsalter die ursprüngliche Ikonographie bewahrt zu haben, da der Schöpfer auch hier vor dem Paradiesestor zu stehen scheint, neben sich den Cherub; außerdem ist er sichtlich im Gespräch mit Adam — seine Rechte ist im Sprechgestus erhoben —, vielleicht um Adam auf die Befolgung der Tora und einen ordentlichen Lebenswandel ald Ersatz für die Früchte des Lebensbaumes im Sinne der zitierten Targume hinzuweisen.

Einige andere Mitglieder der Handschriftengruppe der sogenannten Cotton-Genesis Rezension haben die Vertreibungsszene mit dem Schöpfer ebenfalls bewahrt, wenn auch dort die mangelnde Übereinstimmung zwischen Bild und Bibeltext zu weiteren Mißverständnissen und Umdeutungen geführt hat. Die Millstätter Genesis,[18] ein mittelhochdeutsches Gedicht des 12. Jh.'s, das in Versen das Buch Genesis nacherzählt, ist mit einer Vielzahl von kleinen Szenen ausgestattet, die nur lose dem Text folgen, aber unter den Mitgliedern der Cotton-Genesis Familie zu den wichtigsten Vertretern der Tradition dieses Bilderzyklus im Westen gehören.[19] Auf fol. 14 v ist die Vertreibungsszene durch den Schöpfer dargestellt (abb. 4), die einzelnen Bildelemente stimmen im wesentlichen mit der Katakombe der Via Latina überein, wenn auch infolge der schwungvoll erzählten Handlung manche Umstellung der Personen erfolgte. Im Einklang mit der Vorlage von San Marco steht auch hier der Schöpfer innerhalb des Paradieses, von wo aus er die Vertreibung der Ureltern durchführt. Aber die Szene wurde ohne Zweifel als Illustration zu Gn 3:23 verstanden, da auf fol. 16 v als Veranschaulichung von Gn 3:24 der Engel mit dem feurig zuckenden Schwert folgt, der das Paradiesestor bewacht (abb. 5).

Weniger klar erkennbar ist die Anordnung der einzelnen Szenen

[18] Klagenfurt, Mus. Cod. VI, 19; R. Eisler, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Kärnten*, Leipzig 1907, 50ff. und Tafel 5 und 6; A. Kracher, *Millstätter Genesis und Physiologushandschrift*, Graz 1967.

[19] K. Weitzmann, Observations on the Cotton-Genesis Fragments, in: Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend jr., Princeton, N. Jersey, 1955, 112-131, bes. 121f.; K. Koshi, a.a.O. (Anm. 13), 128.

im Hortus Deliciarum der Herade von Landsberg, da die Handschrift heute nur mehr in Nachzeichnungen erhalten ist.[20] Diese halten aber die ursprüngliche Reihenfolge der Bilder nicht mehr fest, sodaß sich zwar mit Sicherheit sagen läßt, daß auch diese Handschrift eine Vertreibung der hier nackten Ureltern durch den Schöpfer enthielt (Abb. 6); aber die Frage, in welchem Verhältnis diese Szene zu einem zweiten Einzelbild steht, das einen Cherub mit feurigem Schwert und einer Lanze vor dem verschlossenen Paradiesestor zeigt (Abb. 7), kann nicht mehr beantwortet werden. Die Tatsache, daß der Schöpfer auch hier vor, bzw. in der Tür des Paradieses steht, könnte die Darstellung der Wiedergabe der Szene im Albanipsalter und damit dem Targumtext näher bringen als dies bei San Marco der Fall ist. Auch die Bibel aus Santa Maria de Ripoll [21] bringt diese beiden Szenen (Abb. 8). Auf fol. 5 v sind in 4 Reihen übereinander Weltschöpfung, Sündenfall, Vertreibung und verschlossene Paradiesespforte dargestellt. Die dritte Reihe wird z.T. von der Vertreibungsszene eingenommen: Der Schöpfer, der wieder die Rechte im Sprechgestus erhoben hat, steht im Tor des Paradieses und schiebt mit beiden Händen den mit einer kurzen Tunika bekleideten Adam hinaus; vor Adam, halb den seitlichen Torpfosten verdeckend, steht Eva in langer Tunika. In der Reihe darunter deuten die Paradiesesflüsse und zwei Bäume das Paradies an. Vor der geschlossenen Paradiesestür steht ein sechsflügeliger Cherub mit gezücktem Schwert. Die beiden Szenen sind somit wieder als Veranschaulichungen von Gn 3:23 und Gn 3:24 zu verstehen.

Bei K. Koshi [22] werden noch eine Reihe von Beispielen angeführt, in denen die Vertreibung der Stammeltern durch den Schöpfer selbst erfolgt. Wenn auch die Bezugspunkte zu den als Ausgangspunkt dieser Entwicklung angenommenen jüdischen Targumen infolge der christlichen Uminterpretation immer undeutlicher werden, so haben doch sowohl das frühe Datum der ersten Bildformulierung in der Via Latina-Katakombe als auch die Ungereimtheiten späterer Handschriften, die sich nur durch den Targumtext erklären lassen, hier die Abhängigkeit des christlichen Bildtypus von einer jüdischen Vorlage wahrscheinlich gemacht.

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[20] Straßburg, ehemals Bibl. de la ville; A. Straup und J. Keller, *Herade de Landsberg, Hortus Deliciarum*, Straßburg 1901; J. Walter, *Herade de Landsberg, Hortus Deliciarum*, Straßburg und Paris 1952.

[21] Farfabibel, Rom, cod. Vat. lat. 5729, Mitte 11. Jh.; W. Neuß, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des 1. Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei*, Bonn und Leipzig 1922, fol. 5v.

[22] A.a.O. (Anm. 13), 154-156.

VOX POPULI VOLUNTAS DEI AND THE ELECTION OF THE BYZANTINE EMPEROR

Vox populi (*vel tyranni vel imperatoris vel Augustae*) *voluntas Dei*: observations on the election and coronation of the Byzantine Emperor

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It is a great satisfaction for me to be able to contribute to this series of volumes in honor of my good friend, Professor Morton Smith, whose versatility, decisive manner, and vast erudition I have admired since he was a student at the Harvard Divinity School. I hope that he may be gratified to note that the sources I have used in writing this paper are contained almost exclusively in the magnificent set of the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, richly bound in exquisite full morocco in a variety of handsome colors, and decorated with gold leaf, which he most graciously sold me a generation ago at his cost price.

Him I now salute in the Byzantine manner:

Chorus: πολλά, πολλά, πολλά ('Many, many, many').
People: πολλὰ ἔτη εἰς πολλά ('Many years, for many years').
Chorus: πολλοί σου χρόνοι ('Many years to thee').

I. *Introduction*

Unlike the Hellenistic rulers and the later Roman emperors, who had been deemed to be gods and received cult as such, the rulers of Byzantium were regarded, not as gods, but as God's vicegerents. They were not themselves divine but were chosen by God to rule the terrestrial world in his name.[1] This view of divine election,

[1] *Important note*: In what follows, I give the original Greek only when it is necessary to support my argument. I do not reproduce the whole of the Greek text I have translated but only the words on which I rely to prove *vox populi* (*vel tyranni*) *voluntas Dei*, and coronation by the hand of God. I am deeply indebted to my student, Mr. John R. Johnson, for valuable advice and assistance.

In preparing this paper, I have read through several volumes of the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (cited below as CSHB) and a host of other sources. But I have also profited greatly from the penetrating analysis of these materials by Professor (Mrs.) Aikaterine Christophilopulu in her important book on the *Election, acclamation, and coronation of the Byzantine Emperor*: Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 22, 2 [Athens, 1956]).

On the translation of pagan political theory into Christian terms, see

which persisted from the fourth century to May 29, 1453, when the Byzantine Empire came to an end, is well attested by a host of documents from every period.

No text gives explicit details concerning the process by which the divine will manifested itself or was communicated. But an analysis of the ceremony of coronation indicates that the Byzantines had two principal ways of determining whom God had chosen to be emperor.

In the first place, as the evidence to be summarized below will show, they regarded the divine appointment as having been made in response to, or as a result of, the election of the emperor by the Senate, the army, and the people, who looked upon their decision in this matter as an indication, reflection, or equivalent, if not the actual cause, of what they took to be the will of God. Epigrammatically, perhaps, we might summarize this method of ascertaining the will of God as *vox populi voluntas Dei*.[2]

Until recently, it had been thought that selection of the emperor by the Senate, the army, and the people was a 'constitutional requirement.' [3] Now, however, it has been argued, these three electors did not always function together, and sometimes one of the

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Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine political philosophy*, 2 vols. (*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 9 [Washington, D.C., 1966]), with literature there cited; Otto Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell*, 2d ed. with additional chapter (Darmstadt, 1956); Johannes A. Straub, *Vom Herrscherideal in der Spätantike* (*Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte*, 18 [Stuttgart, 1939, reprinted Stuttgart, 1964]). Cf. my 'Political theory in the lives of the Slavic saints Constantine and Methodius,' *Harvard Slavic Studies*, 2 (1954), 11-38.

[2] The ancient form of the expression is *vox populi vox Dei*. The *voluntas Dei* is my contribution. See George Boas, *Vox populi, essays in the history of an idea* (Baltimore, 1969), 8, 22f.; S. A. Gallacher, 'Vox populi vox Dei,' *Philological Quarterly*, 24 (1945), 12-19. In a letter to Charlemagne dated ca. 798, Alcuin warns against those who claim that the "voice of the people is the voice of God"; for, he says, 'the unruliness of the common herd is always akin to madness' (Nec audiendi qui solent dicere: "Vox populi, vox Dei," cum tumultuositas vulgi semper insanie proxima sit): *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, 2, ed. E. Duemmler (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* = MGH below), *Epistolarum*, 4 [Berlin, 1895], Ep. 132, ix, p. 199.25-27. Cf. Hans Walther, *Proverbia, sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi, Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung* (*Carmina medii aevi posterioris latina*, 2, 5 [Göttingen, 1967]), no. 34182, p. 919.

[3] J. B. Bury, 'The constitution of the Later Roman Empire' (The Creighton Lecture, University College, London, November 12, 1909, Cambridge University Press, 1910), reprinted in *Selected essays of J. B. Bury*, ed. Harold Temperley (Cambridge, England, 1930), 99-125.

three or a group of two was sufficient to choose the emperor.[4] This hypothesis seems to be borne out by the sources, although it is not impossible that this impression arises because of gaps in the evidence.[5] Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the view that all three electors had to agree on the choice of the ruler rests on an assumption which is not supported by any explicit texts, although it is significant that the historian and polymath Michael Psellus (fl. 1070), in discussing the election of the emperor, remarks that the 'security of the emperors depended upon three groups, the common people, the senatorial order, and the army.'[6]

But even when all three of these are mentioned as having participated in an election, it is clear that they did not all play an equal part and that sometimes one or the other of the three took the initiative or was primarily responsible for the final decision. An election became necessary when an emperor died without leaving an heir who could succeed him or appoint someone to do so. This is the situation with which I propose to deal in Part II of this article.

In the second type considered, there was no need for an election since the succession was settled entirely by the reigning monarch himself or his widow. Even under these circumstances, usually—or at least often—there was a ratification of the selection thus made by one or more of the three electors. The sources are laconic and by no means consistent in recording what actually happened on these occasions.

[4] Hans G. Beck, *Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel, Probleme der byzantinischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (*Sitzungsberichte, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philosophisch-hist. Kl. [Munich, 1967], Heft 6). Mrs. Christophilopulu had already examined and discussed many aspects of this problem in her book, *op. cit.* (note 1 above).

[5] I hope someday to prepare an index or tabular summary of all the references in the sources to election, acclamation, and coronation. Most of the elements for such a survey are to be found in the works of Christophilopulu and Beck cited above (notes 1 and 4).

[6] *Chronographia*, 7, 1 [on Michael VI Stratiotikos], ed. Constantine Sathas (London, 1899), 188.25-27: ἐν τρισὶ δὲ τούτοις τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῖς [= the emperors] ἱσταμένης, δημοτικῷ πλήθει, καὶ συγκλητικῇ τάξει, καὶ συντάγματι στρατιωτικῷ . . . Michael Psellus, *Chronographie*, 2, ed. Émile Renauld (Paris, 1928), 83.10ff.; *The Chronographia* of Michael Psellus, translated by E. R. A. Sewter (New Haven, 1953), 209 (a much criticized but eminently readable translation). Cf. Hans G. Beck, 'Kirche und Klerus im staatlichen Leben von Byzanz,' *Revue des études byzantines*, 24 (= *Mélanges Venance Grumel*, 1) (1966), 1. Cf. Eduard Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung im Abendland*, 1 (Würzburg, 1942), 12-23.

But whether or not there was a subsequent confirmation by one or more of the three electors, the decisive step had been taken before the acclamation.[7] That is, the actual choice had already been made previous to any action on the part of the electors, either by the emperor himself (in choosing a successor before his death) or by the late emperor's heir or widow or some influential person like Aspar (see p. 193 below). This method of revealing God's pleasure in the choice of an emperor by the unilateral action of a single individual (to be examined in Part III below) I term *Vox tyranni voluntas Dei.*

II. *Vox populi voluntas Dei and the election of Justin I in 518*

The first of these types can be illustrated by the elevation of the Emperor Justin (518-27) to the throne in 518. On this occasion, we learn from the ἔκθεσις τῆς βασιλείου τάξεως (commonly known by its Latin title, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, and entitled the *Book of Ceremonies* in English) compiled by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos (913-59) in all likelihood from the work of Peter Patricius (fl. ca. 530), a disturbance took place because there was no emperor or empress to choose a successor for Anastasius I (491-518), who had died suddenly during the night.

When it became known that the throne had become vacant, the *silentiarii* (officials who served as ushers for the imperial Consistorium, so called because at least originally they were to impose silence and keep order) notified Celer, the Magistros (the Greek form for *Magister officiorum*, the chief officer of the bureaux of the civil service, who was responsible for the conduct of court

[7] It is usually, and correctly, stated that the emperor was regarded as what we should call 'duly elected' when he had been acclaimed Augustus: Eichmann, *op. cit.*, 12ff.; Straub, *op. cit.* (note 1 above), 20-22; Christophilopulu, *op. cit.* (note 1 above), 22 (at note 6), 33 (last sentence); Treitinger, *op. cit.* (note 1 above), 27f.; *idem*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (cited below as BZ), 39 (1939), 196ff. But these elections or acclamations were normally controlled by some one person (or a few persons) who had already decided who the new emperor was to be, had dictated his choice, and were thus in actuality the moving force behind the acclamations which followed.

This generalization applies only to elections. More normally, the emperor was chosen and crowned by the senior emperor. He probably was recognized immediately thereafter. Whether or not an acclamation was then 'constitutionally' requisite cannot now be determined because of the inconsistency of the sources, which are often silent or ambiguous on this matter. Even if there were such a confirmation, it was only a formality, since the coronation by the emperor had already settled the matter.

ceremonies) and Justin, the *comes* (i.e., the commander) of the *excubitores* (crack troops, the chief palace guards), who was eventually elected emperor. As soon as they arrived at the palace in response to these tidings, Celer ordered the *candidati* (special palace troops whose name was derived from the fact that their uniforms were white) and the rest of the *scholarii* (originally an elite military corps but now parade-ground soldiers) to assemble, and Justin made what seems to have been a formal announcement: "Our Lord [*Despotes*: Emperor], being mortal, has died. We must all therefore take counsel together and choose an emperor pleasing to God and suitable for the Empire." [8] Celer made a similar statement to the *candidati* and the officers of the *scholarii*.

Then at dawn, the chief imperial officials (ἄρχοντες) met [presumably in the palace]. At the same time, the people (ὁ δῆμος) congregated in the hippodrome and called upon the Senate to elect "an emperor chosen by God" (ἐκ Θεοῦ: literally "from God"). Thereupon, the high imperial officials and the Archbishop of Constantinople set up benches in the portico in front of the great triclinium (the *Megas Triklinos*, the great state dining room of the imperial palace with 19 accubita [i.e., couches], each of which had capacity for twelve guests reclining in the ancient manner) and there launched into a bitter discussion of candidates for the succession.[9] As time passed without result, Celer urged that they make up their minds quickly, arguing that if they named a new emperor without delay, they would win popular favor and restore tranquillity. But if they procrastinated, he warned, they would not only soon lose the opportunity of making the selection themselves but also be compelled to yield to the judgment of others.

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[8] *De cerimoniis*, 1, 93, CSHB, Constantine Porphyrogennetos [abbreviated below CP], 1 (Bonn, 1829), 426ff.; section translated 426.15-18: ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐτελεύτησεν· δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς πάντας κοινῇ βουλεύσασθαι, καὶ τὸν τῷ Θεῷ ἀρέσκοντα καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ συμφέροντα ἐπιλέξασθαι. On the *Book of Ceremonies*, see Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1, 2d ed. (*Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten*, 10 [Berlin, 1958]), 380-84, with bibliography. On Justin, see Alexander A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 1 [Cambridge, Mass., 1950]), 69-72.

[9] *Op. cit.*, 1, 426.18-427.4. On ἄρχοντες, see note 23 below. On the 'Great Triclinium,' see Rodolphe Guilland, *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine*, 1 (*Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten*, 37 [Berlin-Amsterdam, 1969]), 71-75, 79, reprinted from *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 10 (1950), 293-306 (*Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, 2); R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 2d ed. (*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien*, 4a [Paris, 1964]), 112.

Despite this plea, the wrangling continued, and the *excubitores* in the hippodrome chose a certain tribune named John, one of Justin's associates (who later became bishop of Heraclea). But the Blues (one of the four 'demes' or factions of the people) were so displeased by this choice that they threw stones at the *excubitores*, and suffered a number of casualties when the latter retaliated with bows and arrows.[10]

At this juncture, the *scholarii* rushed into action and were about to acclaim a certain unnamed patrician. Before they could do so, however, the *excubitores* laid hold of him and would have murdered him, had he not been rescued by the future emperor, Justinian I, who was at that time serving in the ranks of the *candidati*. Next, the *excubitores* tried to compel Justinian to assume the purple, but he refused. Many other candidates were named and then rejected, one after the other, by the *cubicularii* (eunuchs who were custodians of the royal wardrobe, and apparently had the right to withhold the garments for coronation until they were satisfied that a real choice had been made in the proper way).

At length, the Senate united upon Justin and prevailed upon him to accept. At first, he was opposed by some of the *scholarii*, one of whom punched him in the face and cut his lip. Finally, however, the army and the people gave their assent, Justin was escorted to the hippodrome, the Blues and the Greens (two of the factions of the people) signified approval, and the *cubicularii* sent the royal attire that was required for the coronation.[11]

[10] *Op. cit.*, 1, 427.4-19. For the bibliography on the demes and popular factions, see Speros Vryonis, "Byzantine Δημοκρατία and the guilds in the eleventh century," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), 287-314. Cf. also Beck, *op. cit.* (note 4 above), 44f., 75; Gheorghe Cronţ, 'Les dèmes et les partis politiques dans l'Empire byzantin aux Ve-VIIe siècles,' *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 7 (1969), 671-74; Ewa Wipszycka, 'Les factions du cirque et les biens ecclésiastiques dans un papyrus égyptien,' *Byzantion*, 39 (1969), 180-98; J. V. A. Fine, Jr., 'Two contributions on the demes and factions in Byzantium in the sixth and seventh century,' *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 10 (1967), 29-37; Stylianos Spyridakis, 'Circus factions in sixth-century Crete,' *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 8 (1967), 249f.

On the various officials named see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 284-602, 1 (Norman, 1964), *scholarii* (284, 613f., 634, 643, 647f., 657, 681, 1253, 1272, 1280), *silentiarii* (127, 548, 571f.), *excubitores* (267, 658f., 1273), *magistros* (*magister officiorum*: 103, 368f., 490, 498, 575-84, 1144f.), *cubicularii* (49, 346, 490, 566-70). Cf. also Robert Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (Berlin, 1920), 93-96 (on *scholarii*), 96f. (*candidati*), 270f. (*excubitores*).

[11] *Op. cit.*, 1, 427.19-428.18.

Having thus prevailed in the election, Justin was led up to the imperial box in the hippodrome and raised on a shield in the traditional manner. At this point, the battle flags, which had been lying on the ground, were lifted up, and Justin was vested behind the protecting shields of his troops. Then, upon being crowned by Archbishop John of Constantinople, he invoked divine providence, having ascended the throne, as he put it, "by the decree of Almighty God and the vote of you all." [12] To this and other pronouncements made by Justin in a similar vein the people responded (in part), "O Son of God, have mercy upon him [i.e., Justin]. Thou hast chosen him." [13]

It is clear from this summary of the proceedings that the Senate, the army, and the people are said to have produced a joint decision, which was then hailed as having been made by God. Since it was the Senate which took the initiative here, perhaps the rubric for the second part of this article should be *vox Senatus voluntas Dei*. But in view of the participation of many elements of the population and Justin's acknowledgment that he had gained the throne by the will of God *and the vote of all* (quoted in note 12 above), it might perhaps in some way be justifiable to look upon his election as having been brought about by the voice of *all* classes of the people, high and low, military and civilian—i.e. of all of the electors together, upon 'nomination' by the Senate.

Unfortunately, however, the record is marred in two respects. In the first place, the suspicion of bribery is raised by two chroniclers (John Malalas and Marcellinus Comes, both of whom flourished in the latter part of the sixth century). According to them, Amantius, the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (i.e., the Grand Chamberlain, a powerful official at court, but as a eunuch not qualified to ascend the throne himself) furnished money to Justin so as to influence the troops to vote for a certain Theocritus. Despite this, the chroniclers report, in the spirit of that conventional, solipsistic piety of the Byzantines, who looked upon whatever they did, however selfish, perverse, or subversive of the public welfare, as the implementation of a divine mandate, the army and the people refused 'by the will of God' to accept Theocritus and chose Justin

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[12] *Ibid.* 427.19ff., n.b. 429.18-20: τῇ τοῦ παντοδυνάμου Θεοῦ κρίσει, τῇ τε ὑμετέρᾳ κοινῇ ἐκλογῇ πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν χωρήσαντες, τὴν οὐράνιον πρόνοιαν ἐπικαλούμεθα.

[13] *Ibid.*, 430.6f.: υἱὲ Θεοῦ, σὺ αὐτὸν ἐλέησον· σὺ αὐτὸν ἐπελέξω.

instead.[14] Of course, cynics might well take this to mean that Justin had misappropriated the money given him by Amantius and used it to bribe the electors in his favor.

In the second place, however this lugubrious tale is to be interpreted, no one will make the mistake of supposing that Justin's election was in any way comparable to the kind with which we are familiar in modern democratic society. To say nothing of bribery and corruption, οἱ ἄρχοντες (the high government officials), the Senate, and the detachments of the army stationed in Constantinople were always in a position to intimidate the rest of the population. The common people were very rarely [15] able to offer any kind of meaningful resistance.

Moreover, only the very few who lived in or near Constantinople could ever hope to participate in the final choice or in the acclamations in the hippodrome. Most of the army and of the people would not even learn of the results until long after the election had taken place. Finally, since the only expression of choice that is ever mentioned was oral, it is obvious that the whole operation was easily dominated and controlled by intimidation and skillful use of propaganda. The average person, it must be assumed, would hardly have known who the possible candidates were, nor would many have been able to give any rational reason for preferring any one of them to another. Indeed, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that when the emperors were not exposed to the public eye, they were somewhat lacking in enthusiasm for ordinary folk, if not openly scornful of them. Whether this be a just appraisal of the imperial attitude or not, it is at least interesting that, when Justin notified Pope Hormisdas of Rome of his accession to the throne, he ascribes his election to divine favor, the high officials, the Senate, and the army but is silent about the role of the people.[16]

[11] *Chronographia*, 17, CSHB, 410.4f.: κελεύσει Θεοῦ (of Justin's election by the *excubitores*); 410.8-411.3: . . . ὁ στρατὸς οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος λαβὼν οὐχ εἵλατο Θεόκριτον, ἀλλὰ θελήσει θεοῦ ἐποίησαν Ἰουστῖνον βασιλέα. Cf. Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, s. anno 519, MGH, *Auctores antiquissimi* = AA below, 11, ed. Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1894, reprinted Berlin, 1961), 101.10-22. See A. H. M. Jones, *op. cit.* (note 10 above), 267f.; Vasiliev, *op. cit.* (note 8 above), 81f.

[15] See below on the Empress Theodora in 1042, when at least some of the people sought to put her on the throne as sole empress; Vryonis, *loc. cit.* (note 10 above).

[16] Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae, Avellana quae dicitur collectio, ed. O. Guenther

III. *Vox tyranni vel imperatoris vel Augustae voluntas Dei*

At the very least, despite all the rancor and violence, the election of Justin was a few degrees freer and more open than the procedure by which emperors were normally chosen in Byzantium. Usually, what appeared to be a free vote of one or more of the electors was only the ratification of a decision that had already been dictated by someone else—in most cases by the emperor himself in naming an heir or by an emperor's widow. In such instances, the vote by the army, Senate, and the people, or even any one of these three, was illusory and merely served as a formal public salutation of a ruler whom no one could reject.

An excellent example of this kind of election occurred in 457, when Leo I (457-74) was chosen to succeed the Emperor Marcian. What happened on this occasion is set forth by the Emperor Constantine VII in the *Book of Ceremonies*.[17] After the election of Leo by the Senate, Constantine says, 'All assembled in the field, including the high officials, the imperial guards, the soldiers, Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople, and Martial, the Magistros (presumably the *Magister officiorum*, the chief of the imperial bureaux; cf. Celer at the coronation of Justin I). And after the labara [military flags bearing the Christogram] and the standards were laid on the ground, the entire assemblage began to cry out as follows: "Hear, O God, we beseech thee. Hear, O God. [Long] life to Leo, hear, O God. Leo shall reign. O merciful God, the Empire demands Leo as Emperor. The army demands Leo as Emperor. The laws

(*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, 35, 2 [Vienna, 1898]), Ep. 141, p. 586.2-9: proinde sanctitati uestrae per has sacras declaramus epistolas, quod primum quidem inseparabilis Trinitatis fauore, deinde amplissimorum procerum sacri nostri palatii et sanctissimi senatus nec non electione firmissimi exercitus ad imperium nos licet nolentes ac recusantes electos fuisse atque firmatos; quoted by Beck, *op. cit.* (note 3 above), 17f. But, n.b., Malalas, *loc. cit.* (note 14 above), credits both the army and the people with Justin's election.

[17] *De cerimoniis*, 1, 91, CSHB, CP, 1, 410-17. It was the army (and the high officials) which acclaimed Leo in the hippodrome, maintains Christophilopulu rightly, *op. cit.* (note 1 above), 30-34, against O. Treitinger, who in BZ, 39 (1939), 194-202, n.b. 196f., had argued that Leo had been acclaimed (and elected) by all three of the electors. On Leo's election, see Jones, *op. cit.* (note 10 above), 322, 325, 338; Ernest Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, French translation by Jean R. Palanque, 1 (n.p., 1959), 353f.; 2, 588f.; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the death of Theodosius I to the death of Justinian*, 1 (London, 1923), 314-16; Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 6 (Stuttgart, 1920), 356f., 485.

await Leo. The palace awaits Leo. This is the prayer of the palace. This is the desire of the troops. This is the prayer of the Senate. This is the prayer of the people. The universe awaits Leo. The army awaits Leo. Let Leo, who is the adornment of all, come. Leo, the common good, shall reign. Hear, o God, we beseech thee."[18] As soon as they had finished these acclamations, Leo was brought in. He then mounted to the tribunal, and Busalgus, a *campiductor* (a regimental drill instructor), placed the military chain (μανιάκιν, *torques* in Latin) on his head, and another was placed upon his right hand by Olympius, who also held the rank of *campiductor.*[19] At this moment, the labara were raised, and all cried out "Leo Augustus, thou conquerest. Thou art pious, thou art august. God has given thee. God shall protect thee. Worship Christ, and you always conquer. Many years shall Leo reign. God will watch over the Christian Empire."' [20]

Then, hidden from view in the tribunal by the *candidati,* drawn up with overlapping shields, Leo dons the royal garments and diadem, appears before the people, and receives the obeisance of all the high officials in the order of their rank. Thereafter, grasping shield and lance, he is acclaimed by all in the following terms, "Mighty one, Conqueror and Augustus, hail to thee, hail to thee. Many years shalt thou reign, Leo Augustus. God will preserve this Empire. God will preserve the Christian Empire.[21] In acknowledging

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[18] *Op. cit.*, 1, 410.6-411.3; n.b. 410.13-411.3: εἰσάκουσον, ὁ Θεὸς, σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν. ἐπάκουσον, ὁ Θεός· Λέοντι ζωή. εἰσάκουσον, ὁ Θεός· Λέων βασιλεύσει. Θεὲ φιλάνθρωπε, Λέοντα βασιλέα τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ δημόσιον αἰτεῖ· ὁ στρατὸς Λέοντα βασιλέα αἰτεῖ· Λέοντα οἱ νόμοι ἐκδέχονται· Λέοντα τὸ παλάτιον ἐκδέχεται· αὗται εὐχαὶ τοῦ παλατίου· αὗται ἐντεύξεις τοῦ στρατοπέδου· αὗται εὐχαὶ τῆς συγκλήτου· αὗται εὐχαὶ τοῦ λαοῦ· Λέοντα ὁ κόσμος ἀναμένει· Λέοντα ὁ στρατὸς ἐκδέχεται· τὸ κοινὸν καλὸν, Λέων, ἐλθέτω· τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν, Λέων, βασιλεύσει· εἰσάκουσον, ὁ Θεὸς, σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν.

[19] *Ibid.*, 411.3-8. On *campiductor,* see Jones, *op. cit.* (note 10 above), 634, 675; Ernest Stein, 'Ordinarii et campidoctores,' *Byzantion,* 8 (1933), 379-87, with literature there cited. On the *torques,* Wilhelm Ensslin, 'Zur Torqueskrönung und Schilderhebung bei der Kaiserwahl,' *Klio,* 35 (1942), 268-98, 288ff. on *campiductor*; Grosse, *op. cit.* (note 10 above), 126f., 225f.; Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, 3, Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717-1081, Part 1, Leo III to Michael III, 717-867* (Washington, D.C., 1973), 123. On the *labara,* see *ibid.*, 134-40.

[20] *Op. cit.*, 1, 411.9-13: Λέων αὔγουστε, σὺ νικᾷς, σὺ εὐσεβὴς, σὺ σεβαστός· ὁ Θεός σε ἔδωκεν, ὁ Θεός σε φυλάξει· τὸν Χριστὸν σεβόμενος ἀεὶ νικᾷς· πολλοὺς χρόνους Λέων βασιλεύσει· χριστιανὸν βασίλειον ὁ Θεὸς περιφρουρήσει.

[21] *Ibid.*, 411.13-21.

these words, Leo said, ". . . almighty God and your suffrages, most mighty comrades, have under good omens chosen me to be ruler of the Roman Empire."

To which all cried out, "Leo Augustus, thou conquerest. He who chose thee shall guard thee. God will watch over his choice. God will protect the pious Empire. Pious [art thou] and mighty." Then Leo replied, "You will have me as your ruler and commander, who was your comrade in the struggles which I learned to undergo when I campaigned with you." Then all cried out, "Hail. The army wants you to be emperor, o conqueror; the army wants you to be emperor, o fortunate one. We all want you." [22]

It is possibly of some interest to remark that in the above quoted statement by Leo, the compound subject is used with a singular verb (see Greek in note 22 below): "Almighty God and your suffrages *has* elected me emperor." This may be only an accident (since plural subjects are often found with a singular verb) or, perhaps, a scribal or editorial error. But it may also have been deliberate as an indication of the identity of the popular will and God's.

Quite literally, this passage as a whole demonstrates, the electors call upon God to note the results of their election and, in effect, to adopt their choice as his own. In one very important respect, however, this vote, which gives the appearance of expressing the unanimous approval of the Senate, the army, and the people, was grossly misrepresented. For, although the Senate was said to have voted for Leo (as Constantine had stated at the beginning of the text quoted), it was only the army which took part in acclaiming him. The reference at the beginning (see the text at note 18 above) to "high officials" might perhaps suggest that leaders of the Senate were in fact present among those who took part in the ceremony. For the word ἄρχοντες, which I have rendered here by 'high officials' can mean either leaders of the Senate or the chief officers of the

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[22] *Ibid.*, 411.22-412.9: "ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοδύναμος καὶ ἡ κρίσις ἡ ὑμετέρα, ἰσχυρώτατοι συστρατιῶται, αὐτοκράτορά με τῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων δημοσίων πραγμάτων εὐτυχῶς ἐξελέξατο." παρὰ πάντων ἐκράγη· "Λέων αὔγουστε, σὺ νικᾷς· ὁ σὲ ἐκλεξάμενος σε διαφυλάξει· τὴν ἐκλογὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς περιφρουρήσει. εὐσεβὲς βασίλειον ὁ Θεὸς φυλάξει. καὶ εὐσεβὴς καὶ δυνατός." ἀπόκρισις. αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ αὔγουστος "ἔξεταί με ἐξουσιαστὴν ἄρχοντα τῶν κόπων συστρατιώτην, ὧν μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔτι στρατευόμενος ἔμαθον ὑπομένειν." παρὰ πάντων ἐβοήθη· "εὐτυχῶς· ὁ στρατός σε βασιλεύοντα, νικητά· ὁ στρατός σε βασιλεύοντα, εὐτυχῆ· σὲ ποθοῦμεν πάντες."

civil bureaucracy.[23] But Leo's remarks addressed to "most mighty comrades" and his allusion to the travails he had shared with them show that the whole demonstration described above involved only members of the armed forces along with the chief officers of the civil bureaucracy and the patriarch, who are mentioned at the beginning of the passage.

Under these circumstances, we must conclude that, on this occasion, only the troops garrisoned in Constantinople were permitted (or expected) to acclaim the new emperor. They obviously had been authorized to speak for the Senate. But we can only guess as to their warrant for claiming to represent the views of the people. The fact that they took it upon themselves to be the spokesmen for both the Senate and the people is another proof of the kind of autocratic control which was exercised over the entire proceedings, including both the election itself and the acclamations.

The question then arises as to how this apparent 'unanimity' was achieved and who the moving force behind it was. Constantine Porphyrogennetos is the only authority who mentions all three of the electors (in the acclamations). Marcellinus Comes (in the latter part of the sixth century) says Leo was raised to the throne by the army,[24] and Malalas (ca. 491-578) has it that he was crowned by the Senate,[25] whereas Nicephorus Callistus (ca. 1300) maintains that he was acclaimed by the 'common' [=unanimous] vote of the Senate and crowned by the Patriarch Anatolius,[26] while Theophanes (ca. 813) mentions only the coronation by Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople,[27] to which, it must be carefully noted, Constantine does not refer. If Theophanes and N. Callistus (both presumably relying here upon Theodore Lector of the sixth century) are to be believed, and the Patriarch *did* crown Leo, he must have done so *after* the ceremony which we have been examining and, therefore, *subsequent* to the acclamation of Leo as emperor. This would mean that the patriarchal rite was purely religious in purpose, that it did

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[23] Christophilopulu, Ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ Βυζαντινὸν Κράτος, Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Ἀρχείου τῆς Ἱστορίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ δικαίου τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 33; *eadem*, *op. cit.* (note 1 above), 31.

[24] *Chronicon*, s. anno 457, MGH, AA, 11 (Berlin, 1894), 87.1-5 (Greek version).

[25] *Chronographia*, 14, CSHB, 369.1f.; ἐστέφθη ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου.

[26] *Ecclesiastical History*, 15, 15, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 147, 48B.

[27] Ed. de Boor, 1, 110.19-21; Theodore Lector, 2, 65, PG, 86, 216A.

not have any effect on Leo's election, and could not possibly have had any constitutional significance.[28]

None of these authorities gives further details concerning Leo's election or refers to the other electors. Actually, however, the preferred candidate for the succession to Marcian, we learn, was Aspar, an Alan, who held a high military command and was known to be an Arian.[29] But, a Latin authority indicates, he himself refused to accept the throne when it was offered by the Senate in order to avoid establishing a precedent.[30] This text does not specify what

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[28] This is consistent with the present consensus of opinion: Beck, *op. cit.* (note 4 above), 4f.; Christophilopulu, *op. cit.* (note 1), 28-34, 171, 173f., 230; J. Karayannopulos, BZ, 50 (1957), 488 n. 2; Anton Michel, *Die Kaisermacht in der Ostkirche* (Darmstadt, 1959), 156ff., reprinted from *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 4 (1955), 221-60; Bernhard Sinogowitz, in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung*, 74 (1957), 489-95; Franz Dölger, BZ, 43 (1950), 146f.; 38 (1938), 240; Wilhelm Ensslin, *Zur Frage nach der ersten Kaiserkrönung durch den Patriarchen und zur Bedeutung dieses Aktes im Wahlzeremoniell* (Würzburg, [?1947]), partly published in BZ, 42 (1943-49), 101-15, 369-72; Otto Treitinger, BZ, 39 (1939), 200-202; A. E. R. Boak, 'Imperial coronation ceremonies of the fifth and sixth centuries,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 30 (1919), 37-47; W. Sickel, 'Das byzantinische Krönungsrecht bis zum 10. Jahrhundert,' BZ, 7 (1898), 511-57. See note 7 (above) and note on p. 207 (below).

For the contrary view, that the act of coronation by the patriarch was constitutionally indispensable and a manifestation of ecclesiastical approval of the choice of the emperor, see Vasiliev, *op. cit.* (note 8 above), 75-80; George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, revised edition (New Brunswick, 1969), 61; *idem*, BZ, 41 (1941), 211-23; Peter Charanis, 'Coronation and its constitutional significance in the Later Roman Empire,' *Byzantion*, 15 (1940-41), 49-66; *idem*, 'The imperial crown modiolus and its constitutional significance,' *ibid.*, 12 (1937), 189-95; *idem*, 'The crown modiolus once more,' *ibid.*, 13 (1938), 377-81.

On coronation in general, see also I. Goschew, 'Zur Frage der Krönungszeremonien und zeremonielle Gewandung der byzantinischen und der bulgarischen Herrscher im Mittelalter,' *Byzantino-bulgarica*, 2 (1966), 145-68 (with 18 illustrations); Hermann Fillitz, 'Die Krönungsgewänder des Heiligen Römischen Reiches und ihr Verhältnis zu Byzanz,' *Jahrbuch des österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 4 (1955), 123-34; H. L. del Medico, 'Le couronnement d'un empereur byzantin vu par un juif de Constantinople,' *Byzantino-Slavica*, 16 (1955), 43-75; Eichmann, *op. cit.* (note 6 above), 12-23; Georg Ostrogorsky and Ernst Stein, 'Die Krönungsurkunden des Zeremonienbuches,' *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), 185-233; reviewed by Franz Dölger, BZ, 36 (1936), 145-57; F. E. Brightman, 'Byzantine imperial coronations,' *Journal of Theological Studies*, 2 (1900-1), 359-92.

[29] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 5961, ed. de Boor, 1, 116, 6-9. Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, 13, 25, 31-34; cf. 14, 1, 1-5; CSHB, 3, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897), 121.6-123.1.

[30] See the *Anagnosticum regis* of a council which met in Rome in 501: MGH, AA, 12, ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin, 1894): Aliquando Aspari a senatu

kind of precedent Aspar had in mind. But, as an Arian, he could not have failed to have been aware of the strong Byzantine prejudice against Arianism.[31] He must therefore have deemed it prudent to defer to the popular feelings in this matter, and rule the Empire through a puppet rather than in his own name. For this reason he and his son Ardaburius chose Leo, a tribune of soldiers, who had managed their property, with the expectation that they would be the real rulers of the Empire.[32]

Though it is clear from these texts (notes 31f. below) that Aspar was responsible for Leo's elevation to the throne, we are ignorant of the procedure by which he secured Leo's election. We know only that, as the event proved, he was able by his influence with the Senate and the army to persuade or compel them to vote for Leo, so as to attain the apparent unanimity described by Constantine Porphyrogennetos. Indeed so successful were these maneuvres that in 471 Leo apparently had no difficulty in executing both Aspar and Ardaburius, to whom he owned his throne, when he decided to rid himself of them.[33] It is somewhat ironical also that it was Aspar's decision, which, by wiles, stratagems, threats, and coercion unchronicled, he transformed into what the armed forces represented as the unanimous vote of the three electors and thus, in the manner described above, into what the Byzantines took to be the voice of God, that in the end encompassed his own death.

In effect, therefore, the 'unanimity' expressed in the acclamations for Leo was nothing more than a fairly transparent mask for the will and determination of a single individual. In other words, we have here another piece of evidence for the unrelieved and un-

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dicebatur, ut ipse fieret imperator: qui tale refertur dedisse responsum: 'timeo, ne per me consuetudo in regno nascatur.'

[31] According to Zonaras, *loc. cit.* (in note 29 above), Aspar would have been chosen emperor had not the people of Constantinople objected to him because he was an Arian and authorized (or suffered) him to choose Leo. Cf. Theophanes, *loc. cit.* (note 29 above).

[32] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 5961, ed. de Boor, 1, 116.6-9; n.b. the last words: αὐτοὶ προσδοκῶντες διοικεῖν τὸ βασίλειον. Cf. Jordanes, *De summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum*, 335, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH, AA, 5, 1 (Berlin, 1882, repr. 1961), 43.16f.: Leo . . . Asparis patricii potentia ex tribuno militum factus est imperator.

[33] Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum*, 14, 1, 8, *ed. cit.*, 3, 123.5-7. George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum*, CSHB, 1, 607.14f., probably exaggerates in attributing their murder to their being Arians.

In what follows I cite Cedrenus and Zonaras by name only, without mention of titles.

mitigated absolutism of the Byzantine state. The election, if it can be so called, was only the device by which Aspar had hoped to establish himself as the real sovereign. Once Leo attained the throne, however, and was officially recognized as emperor, he was invested with the Byzantine mystique surrounding the 'elect of God' and no one could prevent him from dealing as he wished with threats to his throne from whatever quarter they might come.

A very similar equation between the vote of the electors and the will of God is to be found in the account of the election of Anastasius I in 491 as successor to Zeno. Here, however, the sponsor was not an Arian upstart like Aspar, but Ariadne, the widow of the legitimate emperor Zeno (474-91). In their acclamation of Ariadne, the multitudes (including the chief imperial officials, many soldiers, the Archbishop Euphemius, and the people) cried out, "Many years to the Empress; Ariadne Augusta, thou conquerest, ... Kyrie eléëson, Heavenly King, grant us an emperor on earth who will not be avaricious [and shall rule] the world." [34] In response, Ariadne announced that, "in order to hold an election that is unsullied and pleasing to the Lord God, we have commanded the most noble officials and the sacred Senate, acting with the concurrence of the very honorable armed forces, to make the choice [of an emperor], in the presence of the Holy Gospels and the most venerable and most holy patriarch of this royal city ...." [35]

As soon as the balloting began, however, it became clear that the electors were sharply divided in their views. Accordingly, Urbicius, the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (the Grand Chamberlain, a digni-

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[34] Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *op. cit.*, 1, 92, CSHB, 1, 417.14-425.21; n.b. 419.15f.: Κύριε, ἐλέησον. βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε, δὸς ἡμῖν ἐπίγειον ἀφιλάργυρον βασιλέα τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. On Anastasius's election, see Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical history*, 3, 29, edd. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), 125.10ff.; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 5983, ed. de Boor, 1, 136.3-5; George Cedrenus, *ed. cit.*, 625.20-24; Zonaras, *op. cit.*, 14, 3, 1, *ed. cit.*, 3, 133.6ff.; Carmelo Capizzi, *L'imperatore Anastasio I (491-518)* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 184 [Rome, 1969]), 71-86; Peter Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire, the religious policy of Anastasius the First, 491-518* (*University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History*, 26 [Madison, 1939]), 10f.

[35] *Op. cit.*, 1, 419.16-420.2: ἀπόκρισις· "ὥστε δὲ καθαρὰν καὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ Θεῷ ἀρέσκουσαν τὴν κρίσιν γενέσθαι, ἐκελεύσαμεν τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους ἄρχοντας καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν σύγκλητον, συντρεχούσης καὶ τῆς τῶν γενναιοτάτων ἐξερκίτων ψήφου, προκειμένων καὶ τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων, παρόντος τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου τῆς βασιλίδος ταύτης πόλεως πατριάρχου, καὶ προκειμένων, ὡς εἴρηται, τῶν ἁγίων λογίων, γενέσθαι τὴν ἐπιλογήν ... Cf. *ibid.*, 421.6-13.

tary of the highest rank, who wielded enormous influence, though a eunuch), suggested that it would be better to let the Empress select whomever she wished. Accordingly, the Senate sent the patriarch to ask her to do so; and, when she named Anastasius the Silentiarius, they assented at once.[36]

In the ensuing exchange of greetings between the various groups assembled in the hippodrome, Anastasius, the new emperor, responded in part, "It is clear that human power depends upon the will of the supreme glory." [37] He then acknowledged his election by Ariadne, the chief officers of the state, the Senate, the army, and the people "under the leadership of the Holy Trinity." [38]

To this all reply, "Kyrie eléëson. O Son of God, have mercy upon him [i.e., Anastasius]. Anastasius Augustus, mayest thou conquer. God will protect the pious Emperor. God has given thee. God will protect thee . . . Worthy art thou of the Empire, worthy of the Trinity, worthy of the city . . ." [39] Then, at the conclusion of the ceremony all cry out, "Anastasius Augustus, thou conquerest. Ariadne Augusta, thou conquerest. God has given you [n.b. plural]. God will protect you [plural]." [40]

Here again, we see, as in the election of Leo, which was traceable to one person (Aspar), that the three electors have in effect done nothing but accede to the wishes of Zeno's widow, Ariadne. Nevertheless, here, as before, all of those responsible for the choice of the Emperor attribute the final result to God—Ariadne (note 35), Anastasius (note 38), and the people (notes 39f.).

The pattern established by Ariadne and the Byzantine court set a precedent for future generations. That is, when the emperor died without issue, his widow chose his successor, usually for both the throne and her bed. Thus, upon the death (or rather murder) of

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[36] *Ibid.*, 421.17-422.4. On Urbicius, see Jones, *op. cit.* (note 10 above), 230, 338; E. Honigmann, 'Le cubiculaire Urbicius,' *Revue des études byzantines*, 7 (1949-50), 47-50; *idem*, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie*, Zweite Reihe, 9A, 1 = 17. Halbband (Stuttgart, 1961), 992.13-994.17.

[37] *Op. cit.*, 1, 423.22-424.2: δῆλόν ἐστιν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον κράτος τῆς ἀνωτάτω δόξης τῷ νεύματι ἀπαρτίζειν.

[38] *Ibid.*, 424.4-11. Next to the last line for προηγουμένως I read προηγουμένης.

[39] *Ibid.*, 424.11-14, 16f.: Κύριε, ἐλέησον· υἱὲ Θεοῦ, σὺ αὐτὸν ἐλέησον. Ἀναστάσιε αὔγουστε, τούμβηκας· εὐσεβῆ βασιλέα ὁ Θεὸς φυλάξει· ὁ Θεός σε ἔδωκεν, ὁ Θεός σε φυλάξει . . . ἄξιε τῆς βασιλείας, ἄξιε τῆς τριάδος, ἄξιε τῆς πόλεως . . .

[40] CP, 425.11-13: Ἀναστάσιε αὔγουστε, σὺ νικᾷς· Ἀριάδνη αὐγούστα, σὺ νικᾷς· ὁ Θεὸς ὑμᾶς δέδωκεν, ὁ Θεὸς ὑμᾶς φυλάξει.

the Emperor Romanos III Argyros in 1034, Zoe, his widow, the second daughter of Constantine VIII (1025-28), who had settled the succession to his throne by marrying her to Romanos,[41] not only picked Michael IV (1034-41) to be both husband and emperor, but also crowned him with her own hand, personally set him on the throne, and bade all to acclaim him and pay homage to him.[42] Upon his death, Zoe was persuaded by her brothers-in-law (led by John Orphanotrophos) to allow Michael V Calaphates (her nephew through Michael IV) to assume the purple.[43]

When Michael V proved unsuitable, he was dethroned by an insurrection of the people, some of whom turned away from Zoe and would have preferred to make her sister, Theodora, Constantine VIII's youngest daughter, sole empress, with the result that the Senate, the people, and some of the clergy actually acclaimed her as empress in the Church of Hagia Sophia. In the meantime, however, Zoe had returned to the imperial palace and finally overcame her reluctance to share the throne with Theodora either by her own volition (as Psellus says) or at the behest of the Senate (as Zonaras reports) or because of the insistence of the people (as Cedrenus maintains).[44]

But after three months of their joint reign, fearing that Theodora might become sole empress or perhaps, Zonaras suggests, because she had wearied of celibacy and wished to resume marital life, Zoe ousted Theodora from the throne and bestowed herself upon Constantine (IX) Monomachus, whom she made both emperor and consort.[45] Despite her removal from the seat of power by the accession of Constantine IX in 1042, after Zoe's death in 1050 [46] and

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[41] Psellus, 2, 10, ed. Sathas, 24.22-25.15; ed. Renauld, 1, 30.16-31.28; Cedrenus, 2, 484.15-485.18; Zonaras, *Epitome*, 17, 10, 17-24, *ed. cit.*, 3, 572.6-573.14. On the events discussed (at notes 41-48), see, besides, Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 320-38; *Selected essays of J. B. Bury*, ed. Harold Temperley (Cambridge, England, 1930), 143-200. Cf. also the old classic, Gustave Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* 3, *Les Porphyrogénètes Zoe et Théodora* (Paris, 1905), 54ff., 156ff., 159ff., 323-28, 355-78, 385ff., 393-400, 749-67.

[42] Psellus, 4, 2, ed. Sathas, 42.24-43.16; ed. Renauld, 1, 53.18-54.24; Cedrenus, 2, 505.14-506.6; Zonaras, 17, 14, 1-6, *ed. cit.*, 3, 585.11-586.10.

[43] Psellus, 5, 3-5, ed. Sathas, 69.22-70.24; ed. Renauld, 87.17-88.10; Cedrenus, 2, 534.5-535.1; Zonaras, 17, 18, 1-8, *ed. cit.*, 3, 605.5-606.9.

[44] Psellus, 5, 26-33, 34-37, 46, 51, ed. Sathas, 81-87, 90, 92f.; ed. Renauld, 102-16; Cedrenus, 2, 537.5-539.20; Zonaras, 17, 19, 5-28, *ed. cit.*, 3, 610.1-613.13.

[45] Psellus, 6, 11, 18-21, ed. Sathas, 97.9-22, 100.19-101.21; ed. Renauld,

Constantine's in 1055 Theodora was restored to the throne (1055-56); and near the end of her life, after a reign of about a year and and nine months, she was persuaded to crown Michael VI (1056-57) as her successor.[47]

Although the sources do not record public statements in which the electors equated their will with that of God in these elections (i.e., from 1034-56), it must be assumed that they did in point of fact do so. For the historian Michael Psellus, who covers the years 976-1078 in his *Chronographia* and was acquainted at first hand with the imperial elections summarized above, unambiguously states that 'the emperor receives his crown neither from men nor through men but, in accordance with nature, from above.' [48]

This concept was a commonplace in Byzantium, even when there was no election and the imperial power was transmitted directly by the emperor to a successor he had himself chosen. In 578, for example, the Emperor Justin II said after acclaiming Tiberius II as emperor, "Behold, it is God who exalts you; it is God who confers this dignity on you, not I." [49]

The general view in all contexts was that the emperor received his crown from God. Thus the Emperor Leo III (717-41) in the pro-oimion to the *Ecloga*, the code of law which he promulgated in 726, refers to himself as having been crowned by the hand of

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1, 122.8ff.; 1, 126.11-127.7; Cedrenus, 2, 540.22-542.19; Zonaras, 17, 20, 4-21, 1, *ed. cit.*, 3, 614.4-616.16.

[46] Psellus, 6, 160; ed. Sathas, 162.20-32; ed. Renauld, 2, 50.1-13; Cedrenus, 2, 610.2-23; Zonaras, 17, 28, 1f., *ed. cit.*, 3, 647.15-648.3.

[47] Psellus, *Theodora*, 1-21, ed. Sathas, 180-88; ed. Renauld, 2, 72-82; Cedrenus, 2, 610.23-612.14; Zonaras, 17, 29, 1-10, *ed. cit.*, 3, 651.9-653.11.

[48] Ep. 207, ed. K. N. Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi* (Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη), 5 (Paris-Venice, 1876), 508f.: . . . βασιλεύς, ὧ τὸ στέφος οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν ἐνήρμοσται προσφυῶς. This letter does not reappear among the texts edited by E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1936-41). Cf. *Idem, Chronographia*, 6, 18 (where Zoe's choice of Constantine IX seemed to her advisers to be θεοκίνητος — 'inspired by God'), ed. Sathas, 100.29f.; ed. Renauld, 1, 126.11f. Note also BC, 1, 7, CP, 1, 54.10f.: σὺ οὖν δοξάσας τῷ στέφει, Θεέ, δεσπότας παλάμῃ σου, φύλαττε . . . *Ibid.*, 1, 9, CP, 1, 59.10 and 60.1f., 14f. (θεόστεπτοι). Note additional examples cited by Vasiliev, *op. cit.* (note 8 above), 78-80.

[49] Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, 3, 11, 8, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1887), 132.26f.: ἴδε, ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀγαθύνων σε. Τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα ὁ θεός σοι δίδωσιν, οὐκ ἐγώ. This text is repeated almost verbatim by Theophanes, A.M. 6070, ed. C. de Boor, 1 (Leipzig, 1883), 248.18f. For a different interpretation see Peter Charanis, 'Coronation and its constitutional significance in the Later Roman Empire,' *Byzantion*, 15 (1940-41), 55.

God.[50] In his *Parainesis* (a collection of moral exhortations), the Emperor Basil I (867-886) reminds his son, Leo VI (886-912), to whom this work was addressed, that, "You received your crown from God through my hand," and urges him to "honor greatly thy mother, the Church, which nurtured you in the Holy Spirit and, with me, through Christ in God, placed the crown on your head." [51] Some one hundred years later, John Mauropus (metropolitan of Euchaïta, often called John Euchaïta, fl. ca. 1050) in a poem addressed to an icon wrote, "Thy mighty hand, O Christ, hath crowned the mighty monarchs and given them power." [52]

This conception of God as crowning the emperor by his own hand is a prominent feature of the services of coronation for the emperor, the empress, and the emperor's heir or personally chosen successor, whether the actual crowning was performed by the patriarch or by the emperor himself. Since the prescribed liturgies in their present form are not later than the Emperor Constantine VII (913-59), there is no reference to the kind of situation which developed in the period between 1034 and 1042 (as sketched above; see notes 41-47), when Zoe controlled the succession to the throne. But since her three favorites (as well as Michael VI, whom Theodora had co-opted) were eventually crowned by the patriarch, it cannot be doubted that they, too, were thought to have been 'God-crowned.' (See texts at note 48 above.)

In what follows I quote a few relevant portions from the ceremony of coronation as recorded by Constantine VII in the *Book of Ceremonies*. In the text as it now stands, special emphasis is laid

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[50] *Ecloga legum*, edd. J. and P. Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum*, 2 (Athens, 1931), 13: Πιστεύομεν . . . καὶ οὕτως . . . ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ [= θεοῦ] παντοδυνάμου χειρὸς στεφανοῦσθαι ἡμᾶς τοῦ περικειμένου διαδήματος . . . Translated by Edwin H. Freshfield, *A manual of Roman law, the Ecloga* (Cambridge, England, 1926), 67. For the date, see Ostrogorsky, *History*, 152; Georgios Petropulos, Ἱστορικὴ εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Δικαίου (Athens, 1961), 76. Some prefer 741; see Bernhard Sinogowitz, *Studien zum Strafrecht der Ekloge* (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 21 [Athens, 1956]), 1.

[51] PG, 107, xxxiiB: Στέφανον ἐκ Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐδέξω χειρός. Cf. *ibid.*, xxiv A: . . . τίμα περισσῶς τὴν μητέρα σου, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ἥτις ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματί σε ἐτιθηνήσατο, καὶ σὺν ἐμοὶ διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν Θεῷ τῇ κεφαλῇ σου τὸ στέφος ἐπέθηκεν.

[52] Ed. Paul de Lagarde, *Iohannis Euchaitorum Metropolitae quae in Codice Vaticano Graeco 676 supersunt* (Göttingen, 1882), No. 80.1f., p. 30, reprinted from *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 28 (Göttingen, 1881):

Σὴ χεὶρ κραταιὰ τοὺς κραταιοὺς δεσπότας
ἔστεψε, Χριστέ, καὶ παρέσχε τὸ κράτος.

upon the senior emperor's bestowal of the crown upon 'the newly elected emperor.' (This is indubitably a generalized formula and must be presumed to have been intended to apply to whomever the senior emperor had designated as his successor—whether it was his son or some favorite.) First, Constantine says, the patriarch prays over the crowns and "with his own hand crowns the senior emperor. Then he gives the crown to the emperor, and the emperor crowns the newly-elected emperor." [53] These acts of coronation are followed by acclamations made in the presence of the Senate and the people:

Chorus: "Glory be to God, who crowned thy head" (repeated by the people). Chorus: "Glory be to God, who revealed thee to be emperor" (repeated by the people). Chorus: "Glory be to God who exalted thee in this way" (repeated by the people). Chorus: "But he who crowned thee, so and so, emperor with his own hand" (repeated by the people). Chorus: "Will preserve thee for many years in the purple" (repeated by the people). Chorus: "For the glory and exaltation of the Romans" (repeated by the people) . . . Chorus: "Many years to you, so and so and so and so, emperors of the Romans." The people: "Many years to you." . . . Chorus: "Many years to you, so and so and so and so, Empresses of the Romans." The people: "Many years to you." . . . Chorus: "Many years to thee, so and so, Emperor of the Romans." The people: "Many years to thee." Chorus: "Many years to thee, God-crowned so and so." The people: "Many years to thee." Chorus: "Many years to you, o Lords [= Emperors], together with the Empresses and your children born in the purple." The people: "Many years to you." Chorus: "But the Creator and Lord of the universe" (repeated by the people). Chorus: "Who crowned you [plural] by his own hand" (repeated by the people). Chorus: "Gives you length of days along

[53] *De cerimoniis*, 1, 38, CP, 1, 194.10-14, cf. 193.1-3; ed. Albert Vogt, *Le livre des cérémonies*, 2 (Paris, 1939), 3.11-14, cf. 2.7-10. It is not clear whether the text refers to one crown, or presumably, two, one for each of the emperors. I have translated the Greek exactly as it is.

Pseudo-Codinus (of the fourteenth century), *De officialibus Palatii Constantinopolitani*, 17, CSHB, 90.19-22, says the emperor and the patriarch jointly place the crown on the head of the emperor's son. Cf. the commentary of Gretser and Goar *ad loc.*, *ibid.*, 359f.; Christophilopulu, *op. cit.* (note 1 above), 44. According to the rites printed by Jacobos Goar, Εὐχολόγιον sive *Rituale Graecorum* (Paris, 1647), 926, 8 and 16; 2d ed. (Venice, 1730), 727. 8 and 16; the emperor, not the patriarch, crowns the emperor's son, daughter, or wife.

with the Empresses and your children born in the purple" (repeated by the people).[54]

The same ideology recurs in the rites performed at the marriage of the emperor to the empress and at the latter's coronation. In the former of these, she is addressed as both "elected by God" and "Augusta [= empress] appointed by God." [55] The chorus then declares, "Thou wert selected by divine decree [literally 'vote'] for the security and exaltation of the universe; thou wert joined to the purple by God's will. Almighty God has blessed thee and crowned thee with his own hand. But he who has called thee to this rank and joined thee to so and so, the Lord [Emperor[, gives thee length of days in the purple." [56]

At the coronation of the empress, the patriarch prays over the crown, which he gives to the emperor, who places it on the head of the empress.[57] Having been duly crowned in this way, the empress is greeted by the customary traditional acclamations:

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[54] *Op. cit.*, 1, 38, CP, 1, 194.14-196.16; ed. Vogt, 2, 3.14-5.5; n.b. 4.3ff. I have translated 195.8-196.16 with a few excisions; n.b. the following: οἱ κρακται· "δόξα Θεῷ τῷ στέψαντι τὴν κορυφήν σου." ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως. οἱ κράκται· "δόξα Θεῷ τῷ ἀναδείξαντί σε βασιλέα." ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως. οἱ κράκται· "δόξα Θεῷ τῷ δοξάσαντί σε οὕτως." ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως. οἱ κράκται· "δοξα Θεῷ τῷ εὐδοκήσαντι οὕτως. ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως. οἱ κράκται· "ἀλλ' ὁ στέψας σε, ὁ δεῖνα βασιλέα, αὐτοχείρως." ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως . . . οἱ κράκται· "πολλοί σου χρόνοι, Θεόστεπτε ὁ δεῖνα." ὁ λαὸς· "πολλοί σου χρόνοι." . . . οἱ κράκται· "ἀλλ' ὁ πάντων ποιητὴς καὶ δεσπότης." ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως. οἱ κράκται· "ὁ στέψας ὑμᾶς τῇ αὐτοῦ παλάμῃ." ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως. οἱ κράκται· "τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν πληθύνει σὺν ταῖς αὐγούσταις καὶ τοῖς πορφυρογεννήτοις." . . . The basic ideas of this passage are repeated with only minor changes *ibid.*, 1, 40 (on the coronation of the empress), CP, 1, 207.5-9. These acclamations have a certain rhythm but are, perhaps, less formally constructed than those discussed by Paul Maas, 'Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner,' BZ, 21 (1912), 28-51. Cf. on the election and crowning of the emperor by God: Goar, *op. cit.* (note 53 above), 1647 ed., 925, 6f.; 2d ed., 726, 6f. I reproduce only part of the relevant Greek text; see note 1 above.

For the actual crowns, see Percy E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, 2 (*Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 13, 2 Stuttgart, 1955), 379-84; Josef Deér, *ibid.*, 418-22, 426-41, 445-49; *idem*, *Die heilige Krone Ungarns* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philosophisch-hist. Kl., Denkschriften, 91 [Vienna, 1966]).

[55] *Op. cit.*, 1, 39, CP, 1, 198.11 (θεοεπίλεκτε), 200.10 (θεοπρόβληπτε); ed. Vogt, 2, 7.21, 9.6f.

[56] *Ibid.*, 198.17-22: σὺ ἐκ θείας ψήφου προεχειρίσθης εἰς σύστασιν καὶ ἀνέγερσιν τοῦ κόσμου, σὺ ἐνυμφεύθης ἐκ Θεοῦ τῇ πορφύρᾳ, σὲ εὐλόγησεν ὁ Θεος ὁ παντοκράτωρ, στεφανώσας σε τῇ αὐτοῦ παλάμῃ· ἀλλ' ὁ εἰς ταύτην καλέσας σε τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ συζεύξας σε ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεσπότῃ τοὺς χρόνους σου πληθύνει ἐν τῇ πορφύρᾳ. These words are repeated antiphonally with a few minor variations by the chorus and the people *ibid.*, 200.15-23; ed. Vogt, 2, 7.28-32, cf. 9.11ff.

[57] *Ibid.*, 1, 40, CP, 1, 203.4-7; ed. Vogt, 2, 11.23-12.1.

Chorus: "Glory to God who revealed thee to be empress" (repeated thrice by the people). Chorus: "Glory to God who crowned thy head" (repeated thrice by the people). Chorus: "Glory to God who hath thus shown [thee] his favor" (repeated thrice by the people). Chorus: "But he who has crowned thee, so and so, by his own hand" (repeated thrice by the people). Chorus :"Will preserve thee many years in the purple" (repeated thrice by the people). Chorus: "for the glory and exaltation of the Romans" (repeated thrice by the people). Chorus: "God will hear your people" (repeated thrice by the people).[58]

In the ceremony for the coronation of the Caesar, after a prayer, the patriarch lifts up the so-called καισαρίκια, the crown intended for the Caesar, kisses it, passes it on to the emperor, who kisses it, has the Caesar kiss it, makes the sign of the cross over the Caesar's head, while repeating the words, "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," and then sets the crown on the head of the person who is to be made Caesar. Whereupon begin the acclamations, which undoubtedly included the words on God's crowning the Caesar with his own hand that occur in the ceremonies for the coronation of the emperor and of the empress.[59]

IV. *Archaeological evidence*

The Byzantine conception of the divine origin of the imperial authority conferred upon the Byzantine emperor, as analyzed above can be fully documented from Byzantine works of art, which represent monarchs being crowned by Christ, the Virgin Mary, an

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[58] *Ibid.*, 206.6-15: οἱ κράκται· "δόξα Θεῷ τῷ ἀναδείξαντί σε βασίλισσαν." ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως ἐκ τρίτου. οἱ κράκται· "δόξα Θεῷ τῷ στέψαντι τὴν κορυφήν σου." ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως ἐκ τρίτου. οἱ κράκται· "δόξα Θεῷ τῷ εὐδοκήσαντι οὕτως." ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως ἐκ τρίτου. οἱ κράκται· "ἀλλ' ὁ στέψας σε ὁ δεῖνα αὐτοχείρως." ὁ λαὸς ἐκ τρίτου ὁμοίως. οἱ κράκται· "φυλάξει σε εἰς πλήθη χρόνων ἐν τῇ πορφύρᾳ." ὁ λαὸς ἐκ τρίτου ὁμοίως. οἱ κράκται· "εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἀνέγερσιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων." ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως ἐκ γ'. οἱ κράκται· "εἰσακούσει ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ὑμῶν." ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως ἐκ τρίτου. Ed. Vogt, 2, 14.15-24.

[59] *Ibid.*, 1, 43, CP, 1, 217.18-225.13. This time, however, the texts are not given in full but in abbreviated form with an indication of the *incipit* (225.7: "πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς) and the *explicit* (225.8f.: ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευτᾶν· "πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου Καίσαρος"); ed. Vogt, 2, 26-32, n.b. 32.8-10. But, *mutatis mutandis*, these are precisely the words that introduce and terminate the acclamations above translated (note 54, cf. 54 *ad fin.*), which include the references to coronation by the hand of God (195.19ff. and 196.15; 206.17ff. and 207.10f.).

angel, or a saint. Of the large numbers of these monuments in many different media (mosaics, miniatures, enamels, ivories, coins, etc.),[60] it will be sufficient for the present argument to draw attention to only a few of the more striking examples.

Before examining these, however, two preliminary observations must be made. In the first place, it should be remembered that figures of God the Father are exceedingly rare in Byzantine art. The very few extant examples [61] can be explained by the ignorance of the artists, who did not realize that Byzantine theologians had defined God the Father and the divine essence in general to be uncircumscribable (ἀπερίγραφος). The divine, they maintained, is always inaccessible to the human eye: it is invisible and cannot be represented. Both iconoclasts and their opponents agreed, there-

[60] See André Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strassbourg*, 75 [Paris, 1936]), pl. 19, 2; 23, 1; 24, 1 and 2; 25, 1 and 2; 26, 1; 28, 5 and 6; pp. 112-22 (with several examples of coronation not discussed above).

The first full length scene of a coronation to appear on a coin was struck for the Emperor Alexander (912-13). On this issue the emperor is represented flanked on his left by a saint (presumably Alexander), who crowns the emperor with his right hand. See Philip Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection*, 3, *Leo III to Nicephorus III*, 717-1081, part 2, *Basil I to Nicephorus III*, 867-1081 (Washington, D.C., 1973), 523-25, pl. 35, A 2.1, 2.2. For other scenes of coronation see *idem*, 544f., pl. 36, A 5.1, 5.2, 6.1, 6.2 (Romanos I crowned by Christ: both standing figures); 589ff., pl. 42, A 1a, 1b, 1c, 2.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.7, 4b, 5a, 6a.3, 6b, 6c, (John I Tzimisces crowned by the Virgin: both busts); 711ff., pl. 56, A 1a.2, 1b.2, 1b.3, 1b.9, etc. (8 coins: Romanos III crowned by the Virgin Mary: both full length standing figures); 754ff., pl. 62, A 1a.1, 1a.2, 1b.3 (Michael VI crowned by the Virgin Mary: both nearly full-length standing figures); 764ff., pl. 64, A 2.1, 2.4 (Constantine X Ducas crowned by the Virgin Mary, both full length standing figures); 785ff., pl. 65, A 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, 2.4 (Christ standing on suppedium between Romanos IV and Eudocia and crowning them). On some of these coins, it is difficult to determine whether Christ is crowning the emperor and empress respectively, or whether he is joining them in marriage, since crowning (στεφάνωμα) was also a prominent feature of the latter: Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *Book of Ceremonies*, 1, 39, 41, CSHB, 1, 196.17-202.3, 207.13-216.3. See also Cécile Morrison, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 (Paris, 1970): scenes of coronation: pl. 80, 84, 88, 89, 96, 99, 100, 102.

[61] Most of the examples cited are illusory. But n.b. Henri Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du xi^e siècle, reproduction des 361 miniatures du manuscrit grec 74 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, (Paris, n.d.), pl. 1 (f. 1 recto): the Ancient of Days (ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν); 2 (n.d.), pl. 142 (f. 167 recto: with another representation of the same subject). For discussion and additional examples, see E. Lucchesi Palli, s.v. Christus-Alter der Tage, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1 (Freiburg im Br., 1968), 394-96; Karl Künstle, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 1 (Freiburg im Br., 1928), 233-35.

fore, that it was impossible to make an image of God and that any attempt to do so was blasphemous.

Nevertheless, the Seventh Oecumenical Council, which met in Nicaea in 787 ('the Second Council of Nicaea'),[62] ruled that the Jesus Christ, whose life on earth is described in the New Testament, can be portrayed in paintings, mosaics, embroideries, and many other media. Such representations, the Council held, exhibit Christ's true humanity and lift the mind of the observer so that he may in his mind contemplate Christ's divinity (i.e., the divine Logos or his divine nature), which is uncircumscribable and cannot be the subject of artistic representation.

Secondly, it is important to note, in these icons Jesus Christ is the surrogate for God the Father, who, being uncircumscribable and invisible,[63] can be made accessible to mortal eyes only in the form of his Son. Thus, when Christ (or Mary, an angel, or a saint) is represented as bestowing the crown in scenes of coronation, it should be understood that it is God who is in reality conferring the crown through an agent who is circumscribable. According to the doctrine of 787, true worship (λατρεία) is paid only to God; images are not worshipped but are accorded pious salutation and reverence (ἀσπασμός and προσκύνησις).

Apparently the first scene of coronation occurs in *Parisinus Graecus* 510 (dating from ca. 880), a famous manuscript which contains the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. Here, on folio 100 verso, is a miniature of three standing figures; the Emperor Basil I (867-86), flanked on his right by the Prophet Elijah and on his left by

[62] On the subject as a whole, see my 'Iconoclasm and imperial rule, 717-842,' *Cambridge Medieval History*, 4, 1 (Cambridge, England, 1966), n.b. 85ff., bibliography, 835-48; Edward J. Martin, *A history of the iconoclastic controversy* (London, n.d., ?1930).

[63] The West, it should be added, never understood the Byzantine doctrine of images and, although Charlemagne denounced the Byzantines as idolaters, representations of God occur frequently in the Western art of the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Theologically, such figures are a desecration.

The representations of the Trinity which sometimes adorn the frontispiece of Byzantine liturgical books probably reflect Latin influence since many modern editions still carry on the tradition of the early service books, which were printed in Venice. But, strictly speaking, these Trinitarian groups, which represent God the Father as an elderly gentleman, Jesus Christ in somewhat younger guise sitting to his Father's left, with the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove swooping down upon them from above like a dive bomber, are a theological abomination.

the Archangel Gabriel, who is shown placing a crown on his head. The manuscript has suffered a great deal of flaking. But the subject is recognizable, and along the four sides, forming a frame for the miniature as a whole, is an inscription, the last two lines of which explain that [in this painting] 'Gabriel brings tidings of joy, [Lord] Basil, and crowns thee ruler of the universe.' [64]

About one hundred years later, the Emperor Constantine VII (913-59), whose *Book of Ceremonies* provides the best evidence for the Byzantine rites of coronation, as we have seen, is represented on an ivory (now in the Moscow State Museum of Fine Arts) inclining his head to his left and extending his hands towards Christ in an attitude of submission, as the latter, standing on a one-stepped podium, places a crown on his head. This famous work was apparently produced in 945 to commemorate Constantine's reestablishment on the throne as sole ruler of Byzantium.[65]

During the reign of Constantine VII's son, Romanos II (959-63), or, according to some authorities, Romanos IV (1068-71), in a modification of this iconographic type on an ivory plaque in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Christ is depicted standing between, and slightly higher than, the Emperor Romanos II and his wife, the Empress Eudocia, crowning the former with his right hand and the latter with his left.[66]

Even more explicit than these two very literal translations of the above-quoted texts on the coronation is the inscription on a Georgian enamel of the eleventh century which forms a part of the

[64] Henri Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), p. 13, pl. 19; cf. pl. 6 (Par. gr. 139, f. 6 verso, of the tenth century: The Psalmist David, raised on a shield and crowned by an angel; H. Buchthal, *The miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (*Studies of the Warburg Inst.*, 2 [1938], pl. 6). The text:

ὁ Γαβριὴλ δὲ τὴν χαρὰν προμηνύων,
Βασίλειε, στέφει σε κόσμου προστάτην.

[65] A. Banck, *Byzantine art in the collections of the USSR* (Leningrad-Moscow, 1966), pls. 124f., pp. 299, 353; Kurt Weitzmann, 'The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogennetos,' in *idem, Studies in classical and Byzantine manuscript illumination* (Chicago-London, 1971), 242-45, reprinted from *Cahiers archéologiques*, 11 (1960), 163ff.; David T. Rice, *Kunst aus Byzanz* (Munich, 1959), pl. 96; Philipp Schweinfurth, *Die byzantinische Form, ihr Wesen und ihre Wirkung*, 2d ed. (Mainz, 1954), pl. 65, p. 168.

[66] Rice, *op. cit.*, pl. 97, p. 63; John Beckwith, *The art of Constantinople, an introduction to Byzantine art, 330-1453*, 2d ed. (London-New York, 1968), fig. 101, pp. 81f.; Hayford Peirce and Royall Tyler, 'An ivory of the tenth century,' *Three Byzantine works of art* (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 2 [Cambridge, 1941]), 15 (with references to other literature), pl. 8.

Khakhuli Triptych in the Museum of Fine Arts in Tiflis. Here, the bust of Christ, posed frontally against a blue field sown with small yellow stars, is shown poised above and between the Emperor Michael VII Parapinakes (1071-78) and his wife, the Empress Mary, both of whom he is represented as crowning, Michael with his right hand and Mary with his left. Lower down, under the Christ and somewhat below the Emperor's left hand there is an inscription: "I crown Michael and Mary with my hands." [67]

After Michael VII's abdication and retirement to a monastery, his wife Mary married his successor, the Emperor Nicephorus III Botaneiates (1078-81), a splendid portrait of whose coronation by Christ has been preserved in a manuscript of the homilies of John Chrysostom (*Coislinianus Graecus*, 79 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, f. 1 verso). In this miniature, which dates from the last quarter of the eleventh century, Christ crowns the two monarchs as in the Khakhuli Triptych. But here he floats against the gold background and is represented at about two-thirds length, a figure cut off just above the knees, and set about on a level with the heads of Nicephorus and Mary, who are represented nearly four times taller than he. Christ's head is angled to his right, and he lays his right hand on Nicephorus's crown and his left on Mary's. The inscription, which runs above the frame of the picture, contains a prayer in a slightly irregular form of the ancient iambic trimeter:

"May Christ crown and protect thee,
Lord of Rome,
Together with [thy] altogether
most noble Empress." [68]

The texts and monuments of art discussed above, along with a great many others of similar purport that could be cited, reflect the traditional ideology which the Byzantines always cherished even when the Empire had shrunk to an area barely extending

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[67] Chalva Amiranachvili, *Les émaux de Géorgie*, translated by François Hirsch (Paris, 1962), 99-101 (with colored plate). Cf. Grabar, *op. cit.* (in note 60 above), 118. The inscription: στέφω Μιχαὴλ σὺν Μαριὰμ χερσί μου (with rectifications).

[68] Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 33, pl. 62; Viktor Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), p. 190, pl. 232.

The inscription runs: σκέποι τε Χριστὸς εὐλογῶν, Ῥώμης ἄναξ, σὺν βασιλίδι τῇ πανευγενεστάτῃ. The verb σκέπω involves a pun since it means both to 'cover' literally (here 'crown') and to shelter or protect.

beyond the city of Constantinople. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, they always professed to believe that the Byzantine emperor had been chosen and crowned by God to rule over the whole of the inhabited world. This unwavering commitment to both political and metaphysical absolutism is one of the chief characteristics of the 'Byzantine mind' and probably helps to explain why Byzantium never experienced any great cultural, political, scientific, or theological revolutions. For some twelve centuries the Byzantines were the principal custodians of the heritage of ancient Greece. But for them this never proved to be the liberating force that the Renaissance in the West found it to be.

Addition to note 28 *above.*

Constantine Porphyrogennetos does not discuss or allude to any coronation of the Emperor Leo I by the Patriarch in the *Book of Ceremonies*, and the crown (στέφανος) to which reference is made (*op. cit.*, 413.10, 14, 16-414.1, 415, 3, 11) must have been identical with the diadem assumed by Leo after his acclamation (411.15; see BZ, 39 [1939], 197). It is nevertheless important to emphasize that mention four pages later of the bishop (presumably the Patriarch) as laying the crown upon the head of the emperor (415.11: ἐπιτιθέντος αὐτῷ τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου) when the latter was preparing to leave Hagia Sophia for the imperial palace does not in any sense imply that the Patriarch was now performing a service of coronation. For Leo had already become emperor upon being acclaimed and vested with the *torques* (pp. 189ff. above).

Moreover, he had not only already donned the royal garments, along with the diadem (i.e., the crown), received acclamations for the second time, and made a formal statement in which he referred to his elevation to the throne but also had formally begun his reign in the traditional manner by distributing the customary donative to the troops in gratitude for his ascent to the royal power (412.12ff.: ὑπὲρ ἐντεύξεως τῆς ἁγίας καὶ εὐτυχοῦς βασιλείας μου). After his accession to the throne had been thus fully consummated, he is described as making his rounds through the city, stopping at various churches to offer prayer and donations (413.9ff., 14ff.; 415.3, 11), putting down his crown briefly (before praying, e.g.) and then taking it up again. It is only on the last of these occasions, in Hagia Sophia, that, after having deposited his crown on the altar, he received it back from the Patriarch, who placed it upon his head, not by any means in order to confer or bestow it formally upon him for the first time, since the official crowning had taken place previously, but only to return it to him so that he might continue on his way. In other words, what the Patriarch did at this juncture was merely incidental to Leo's first participation *qua* emperor in the liturgy of the Church, and one of the consequences of the coronation.

HYPATIUS OF EPHESUS ON THE CULT OF IMAGES*

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About thirty-five years ago Franz Diekamp edited, from a thirteenth-century manuscript, a portion of a letter of Hypatius, bishop of Ephesus in the first half of the sixth century, dealing with the question of image worship.[1] The text has since been discussed by N. H. Baynes,[2] P. J. Alexander,[3] E. Kitzinger,[4] J. Gouillard,[5] and G. Lange[6] but its meaning and import are not yet entirely clear. It is not proposed here to analyze anew the whole text; rather, only some observations will be made on specific points. The reader is referred to the previously mentioned, and quite easily accessible, publications for background information.

Baynes had suggested that a persistence of the attitude shown by Hypatius could explain the genesis of the iconoclastic movement in Asia Minor in the eighth century.[7] Whether or not this, at most

* I am grateful to Prof. E. Kitzinger of Harvard University for his help and advice during the preparation of this paper.

[1] Fr. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta No. 117), (Rome, 1938), pp. 127-129. The fragment is taken from Hypatius' Συμμικτὰ Ζητήματα, ("Miscellaneous Investigations"). On Hypatius, who played an important role in the ecclesiastical controversies during the emperor Justinian's reign, see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (München, 1959), pp. 372-73.

[2] N. H. Baynes, "The Icons before Iconoclasm," *The Harvard Theological Review* 44 (1951), pp. 93-106. The article was reprinted in Baynes' *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London, 1955), pp. 226-239. (Future reference will be made to the latter publication.)

[3] P. J. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus. A Note on Image Worship in the Sixth Century," *The Harvard Theological Review* 45 (1952), pp. 177-184. This article gives a complete, and, in most places, correct translation of the text. But see the article of E. Kitzinger (referred to in the next footnote) pp. 94-95, note 33 for one important rectification of Alexander's version.

[4] E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* No. 8 (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 94-95 and pp. 137-138.

[5] J. Gouillard, "Hypatios d'Éphèse on du Pseudo-Denys a Théodore Studite," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 19 (1961), pp. 63-75.

[6] G. Lange, *Bild und Wort: Die katechetischen Funktionen des Bildes in der griechischen Theologie des sechsten bis neunten Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg, 1968), pp. 44-60.

[7] Baynes, *op. cit.*, p. 228. On the Asia Minor bishops cf. my monograph

partial, explanation has any cogency, the subsequent history of the text is interesting. To be sure, the text was not cited at the Councils of 754 and 787, both occasions where many other, much more irrelevant patristic quotations were brought forth. However, as J. Gouillard has discovered,[8] a passage from the Hypatius text *is* quoted in a letter of Theodore the Studite (9th cent.).[9] This letter is important for two reasons: first, it helps to clear up a major textual difficulty in the Diekamp text; second, Theodore's commentary on the citation perhaps explains why the Hypatius letter was not used by the defenders of images.

After acknowledging the receipt of a book from his correspondent Nicetas,[10] Theodore quotes one passage from it, the new witness to the Hypatius text: Τὴν ἄῤῥητον καὶ ἀπερίληπτον εἰς ἡμᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγῶνας ἐν γράμμασι μὲν ἡμεῖς ἱεροῖς ἀνευφημεῖσθαι διατυποῦμεν, οὐδεμιᾷ πλάσει τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἢ γραφῇ καθάπαξ [11] ἡδόμενοι· συγχωροῦμεν δὲ τοῖς ἁπλουστέροις ἀτελεστέροις αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ὑπὸ συμφυοῦς αὐτῶν ἐναγωγῆς,[12] καὶ ὄψει τῇ αὐτοῖς συμμέτρῳ, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν εἰσαγωγῆς τρόπῳ μανθάνειν.[13] (We pre-

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Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III, with Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources (Louvain, 1973), chapter VIII.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

[9] *J. Sirmondi Opera Varia, Tomus V., Sancti Theodori Studitae Epistulae Aliaque Scripta Dogmatica* (Venice, 1728), p. 525 (Liber II, No. 171). The text of the letter is accurately reproduced in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 99, col. 1537. For convenience, reference will be made to the text in P.G.

[10] τὸ παρὰ τῆς ὁσιότητος ἡμῶν, [emend to ὑμῶν] . . . ἀποσταλὲν ἡμῖν βιβλίον ἀνέγνωμεν P.G. 99, 1537A. It is not clear whether the book contained only Hypatius' writings, or—as is more likely—it was a florilegium of patristic passages concerned with images. However, it is not impossible that the βιβλίον contained material culled from the libraries by the emissaries of Leo V in preparation for the Council of 815 (*Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio*, P.G. 108, 1028E) and subsequently found unusable; as we shall later show, the Hypatius text gives support neither to active iconoclasts nor to the strict iconophiles. Theodore's letter does not link the anonymous quotation with the name of Hypatius.

[11] Jacques Sirmond based his edition of the letters on two MSS. The reading of the *Codex Regius*, καθάπαξ, agrees with the Diekamp text, and also makes better sense than the other variant, καθάπερ.

[12] The Diekamp text has the clearly superior reading συμφυοῦς αὖτῶν ἀναγωγῆς. 'Εναγωγή has the legal meaning, attested in the Justinianic Code, of "prosecution, suit, claim" (Liddell-Scott-Jones, 1968 edition, p. 553); ἀναγωγή, "upbringing," much better suits the sense. However the ὑπό of the Theodore letter seems to be preferable (*pace* Gouillard) to the ὑπέρ of Diekamp, to denote causality.

[13] P.G. 99, 1537A. Corresponds to Diekamp, *op. cit.*, p. 127, line 28 to p. 128, line 5.

scribe that the ineffable and incomprehensible divine love for men and the sacred struggles of the saints be celebrated in holy writings; for our own part, we take no pleasure in any sculpture or depiction. We allow simpler, less perfect people to learn these things by means of the instruction congenital to them, by means of the seeing which is suitable for them by way of introduction).

Some of the divergences have already been noted in the preceding footnotes; but one important variant should be discussed in full. The new text has τούς ἱερούς, supporting the MS reading of the Hypatius letter, against Diekamp's emendation τὰς ἱεράς. This is connected to the crucial fact that whereas the Diekamp text has εἰκόνας, Theodore quotes ἀγῶνας: that is, Hypatius recommended verbal depiction of the divine love for man and of the *holy contests of the saints*. That εἰκόνας is a corruption is already attested by the anacoluthon of cases after τούς ἱερούς in the Diekamp text, which of course prompted the emendation.

Both Baynes and Alexander have deformed the thought of Hypatius at this point, since they only had access to the corrupt text. But Baynes also translates ἐν γράμμασι . . . ἱεροῖς as "in sacred representations," [14] to my mind quite unjustifiably, since Hypatius uses only the terms πλάσις and γραφή for images. Alexander, though correctly observing the distinction between γράμμα and γραφή, accepts Diekamp's emendation of ἱερούς to ἱεράς, and thus makes Hypatius advocate the "sacred patterns set by the saints." [15] To be sure, Alexander admits that the text is corrupt, and that he opted for a rather uncommon interpretation of εἰκών.[16] But the reading attested by Theodore seems to remove the difficulty completely. Hypatius commands that the deeds of the saints be read from the holy writings—whether the Scriptures or liturgical books, he does not make clear. He allows pictorial helps to be used by the simple, as a concession to weakness. Thus the seeming inconsistency of Hypatius' promoting "holy images of the saints" disappears.

As could be expected, Theodore disapproves of this condescending and grudging attitude to images. Theodore derides any division of Christians into two groups, that of the neophytes, the simple, who still need "visual aids," and that of "spiritual athletes" who can dispense with such material props. Theodore appeals to Gala-

[14] Baynes, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
[15] Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
[16] Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 179, note 18.

tians 3:28, Ephesians 4:5, and I Peter 2:9 to support his own view of spiritual egalitarianism and quotes from a homily of Basil on the didactic value of pictures. Therefore, he concludes, such vain babblings should be rejected— "διὰ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς μὲν πάντη διαγράφομεν τὰ τοιαῦτα βατταρίσματα." [17]

It is a pity indeed that Theodore did not quote more of Hypatius' letter—though whether or not he had more than this one isolated extract from Hypatius in his βιβλίον is not at all clear. At any rate, it is obvious that iconophiles of Theodore's persuasion would have disapproved of Hypatius' doctrine of "pictures for the simple, books for the perfect." However, this view would not have been welcomed by the iconoclastic party either. Hypatius does not completely reject images, is not even a qualified iconoclast, as was his correspondent Julian, and admits a definite, though subordinate, place for religious images in the ecclesiastical cult. It seems that Hypatius' doctrine, akin in some ways to the stance of Gregory the Great and the *Libri Carolini*, was not palatable to either of the extreme groups; thus the "conspiracy of silence"—seemingly broken only by this one unfavorable mention on the part of Thodore—that buried our text during the whole iconoclastic period is quite easily understandable.

This brings us to the second, more general point concerning the interpretation of the Hypatius text. In his previously mentioned paper on the cult of images, Kitzinger suggests that Hypatius uses the ideas and very language of pseudo-Dionysius.[18] In particular he proposes that Hypatius' statement: Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ κόσμον ὑλικὸν ἐῶμεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οὐχ ὡς θεῷ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ σειρικῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ λιθοκολλήτων σκευῶν τιμίων τε καὶ ἱερῶν δοκούντων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑκάστην τῶν πιστῶν τάξιν οἰκείως ἑαυτῇ χειραγωγεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάγεσθαι συγχωροῦντες, ὥς τινων καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τὴν νοητὴν εὐπρέπειαν χειραγωγουμένων καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὰ ἱερὰ πολλοῦ φωτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ νοητὸν καὶ ἄυλον φῶς [19] echoes *De Coelesti Hierarchia* 1:3.[20] There the pseudo-Areopagite states that the heavenly

[17] P.G. 99, 1537D.

[18] Kitzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[19] Diekamp, *op. cit.*, p. 128, ll. 24-30.

[20] *Denys l'Aréopagite, La hiérarchie céleste*, ed. G. Heil (Sources Chrétiennes No. 58), (Paris, 1958), pp. 72-73 (= P.G. 3, 121 CD). Gouillard's listing of terminological similarities between pseudo-Dionysius and Hypatius (*op. cit.*, pp. 74-75) would only be convincing if set in the larger context of sixth century ecclesiastical language. In any case Gouillard admits that the verbal similarities are not accompanied by ideological ones (p. 73).

mystagogue leads the human spirit to consider visible beauty to be a copy of the invisible, sensible odors as figures of the νοητὴ διάδοσις, the "intelligible diffusion," and material light to be image of the immaterial glory—τῆς ἀΰλου φωτοδοσίας εἰκόνα τὰ ὑλικὰ φῶτα.

Several considerations, it seems to me, militate against the assumption of such literary dependence. First of all, the argument from similarity of language is precarious. Quasi-philosophical, quasi-mystical phraseology of this sort was common coin in late antiquity, in particular among the heirs of the Platonic tradition. Resemblances in usage of the language of the mysteries, of concepts like the material and immaterial light,[21] the ἀναγωγή etc., merely indicate common dependence on a Middle- and Neo-Platonic background. In particular, detailed comparison of the Hypatius text with the Dionysius passage shows no close literary dependence, in this writer's opinion at least.

Moreover any such dependence, even if admitted, could merely indicate Hypatius' affiliation to late pagan Neoplatonism. The wholesale borrowing by Dionysius from Proclus—or at any rate Proclus' own sources—had been quite adequately demonstrated by Hugo Koch.[22] Another powerful argument against the dependence of Hypatius on Dionysius is the fact that Hypatius openly declared the Dionysiac writings to be forgeries.[23]

In addition to these considerations, there is a fundamental difference of outlook between Hypatius and pseudo-Dionysius. The Areopagite envisions ascent for all believers through the earthly and heavenly "hierarchies"; his "sacramental" view of the cosmos sees material helps as lower but still indispensible stages in the ascent. A careful reading of Hypatius indicates no such view; rather, the "simple," the "imperfect" are provisionally granted the use of κόσμος ὑλικός, material adornment; the strong, the spiritually perfect—among whom Hypatius naturally counts himself—do not

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[21] The patriarch Germanus I (8th cent.), in the context of an apology for icons declares that the material lights are symbols of the immaterial, and incense symbolizes the inspiration of the Holy Spirit: σύμβολον μὲν τὰ αἰσθητὰ φῶτα τῆς ἀΰλου καὶ θείας φωτοδοσίας. ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀρωμάτων ἀναθυμίασις . . . τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος περιπνοίας. J. D. Mansi, *Concilia* XIII, 124C. Is this pseudo-Dionysiac influence, or does perhaps Germanus echo Hypatius' arguments?

[22] H. Koch, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagitica in seinen Beziehungen zum Neoplatonismus und Mysterienwesen* (Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte I, 2-3), (Mainz, 1900). See in particular p. 221 for parallels from Proclus to this passage of *De Coelesti Hierarchia*.

[23] Diekamp, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

need these. Moreover, Hypatius does not intimate that the τέλειοι—whoever they are—ever passed through such a stage where they required such helps. Theodore justly attributes to Hypatius the notion of a spiritual—shall we say "gnostic"?—aristocracy. In his letter of course Hypatius does not expound the details of his ecclesiology; but it seems clear that the *via imaginum* for him is not the royal road. Hypatius is not applying the pseudo-Dionysiac ideology to religious art; this was only done later, by the writers of the seventh and eighth centuries. Yet, it should be emphasized that the Hypatius text is the first application, as far as is known, of "anagogical" and Neo-Platonic language to the specific question of church decoration. Though Hypatius is not a John of Damascus *avant la lettre*, the text nonetheless indicates a seeming shift of attitude on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities toward art as a handmaid of spiritual worship.

How then is Hypatius' argument to be elucidated? First of all one must consider the text which precedes this statement about adornment of churches, and "material" versus "immaterial" light. Hypatius quotes some of the Old Testament strictures on idolatry, but then turns to examples of biblical οἰκονομία toward paganism. The Magi were brought to Bethlehem by a *star* (as temporary accommodation to their astrological errors); Scripture mentions a fictitious "Queen of Heaven," and makes use of pagan names for the constellations. In fact, Providence did not abolish the system of sacrifices for the Israelites, but merely redirected the intention of these, from idols to the one true God. Moses made the golden Cherubim also by way of concession, accommodation for the weaker people, τοῖς ἀσθενέσι.[24] All this is very far from the philosophical tenet that the material reflects the intelligible being.

Though Hypatius' thought is not entirely clear, it seems to me that he is merely giving here his version of an old patristic exegesis of Deuteronomy 4:19. In Justin Martyr the educational aspect is not yet evident.[25] But Clement and Origen already interpreted this

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[24] Diekamp, *op. cit.*, p. 128, ll. 14-21.

[25] In Justin's *Dialogue* (ch. 55) Trypho interprets the text as saying that God apportioned the sun and moon to be gods to the heathen, φυλαξάμενος λέγειν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἃ γέγραπται τοῖς ἔθνεσι συγκεχωρηκέναι τὸν θεὸν ὡς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν (I. Otto, *Justini Philosophi et Martyris Opera*, I, 2, (Jena, 1887), p. 184). Justin does not comment on Trypho's exegesis at this point, but later himself declares (ch. 121) that God gave the sun to the nations to be worshipped. "Τὸν δὲ ἥλιον ὁ θεὸς ἐδεδώκει πρότερον εἰς τὸ προσκυ-

text, according to which Yahwe "apportioned" (*hlq*, ἀπένειμεν) in some way the heavenly bodies to the heathen, as revealing a divine pedagogic method. Clement declares that God assigned to the heathen the sun, moon and stars to be adored, so that they may not fall away to atheism and gross idolatry of material objects. In fact, he goes on, God provided this way for them to rise up to true religion by means of the worship of the stars.[26] Origen echoes the same thought, with some elaboration.[27] In particular he declares the adoration of heavenly bodies, though inferior to the worship of God and the Logos, to be much better than devotion to material idols.[28] Much later, Athanasius, commenting on Deut. 4:19, also emphasizes the pedagogical role of the heavenly lights in leading men to knowledge of the Creator Logos. God gave the sun, moon

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νεῖν αὐτόν, ὡς γέγραπται." (Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 434). Obviously we have to do with a borrowing from Hellenistic Jewish exegesis, which sought to accommodate Hebrew monotheism to the less objectionable forms of pagan religion. However, the ultimate origin of this interpretation, in rabbinical or Philonic thought, does not concern us here. But see, for instance, Philo, *On the Special Laws* I, 13-17. *A propos* Deut. 4:19, Philo calls the heavenly bodies ἐνὸς τοῦ πάντος πατρὸς ὑπάρχους which serve as helps to man in his ascent to the divine, ὥσθ' ὑπερβάντες τῷ λογισμῷ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁρατὴν οὐσίαν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀειδοῦς καὶ ἀοράτου καὶ μόνῃ διανοίᾳ καταληπτοῦ τιμὴν ἴωμεν. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera Quae Supersunt*, vol. 5 (Berlin, 1906), pp. 3-5; p. 4, line 5 and p. 5, ll. 7-9 quoted. Thus, already in Philo, Deut. 4:19 and the ascent to the intelligible, invisible divinity *per visibilia lumina* are connected. (Eusebius cites this passage of Philo, without any noteworthy comment, in *Praeparatio Evangelica* (XIII, 18, 11).

[26] Clement, *Stromata* VI, 110, 3: ἔδωκεν δὲ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄστρα εἰς θρησκείαν, ἃ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, φησὶν ὁ νόμος, ἵνα μὴ τέλεον ἄθεοι γενόμενοι τελέως καὶ διαφθαρῶσιν. VI, 111, 1: ὅδος γὰρ ἦν αὕτη δοθεῖσα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀνακῦψαι πρὸς θεὸν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἄστρων θρησκείας. (*Clemens Alexandrinus, Zweiter Band, Stromata Buch* I-IV hrsg. von O. Stählin, (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*), (Leipzig, 1906), p. 487).

[27] Commentary on John, II:3. Origen seems to think that God gave the heavenly bodies to be adored not only to the heathen but the less intellectual among the Israelites also: πῶς γὰρ ἀπένειμε πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ θεός, οὐχ οὕτως δεδωκὼς αὐτὰ τῷ Ἰσραήλ; τῷ τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους ἐπὶ τὴν νοητὴν ἀναδραμεῖν φύσιν, δι' αἰσθητῶν θεῶν κινουμένους περὶ θεότητος, ἀγαπητῶς κἂν ἐν τούτοις ἵστασθαι καὶ μὴ πίπτειν ἐπὶ εἴδωλα καὶ δαιμόνια. (One must remember that in Origen's system the sun, moon and stars are intelligent, living beings; *De Principiis*, i:7, 3) *Origenes Werke, Vierter Band, Der Johanneskommentar* hrsg. von E. Preuschen (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller . . .*), (Leipzig, 1903), p. 56, ll. 16-21.

[28] Οἱ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ [sc. ὡς θεὸν ἔχοντες] ἀπὸ θεοῦ πλανηθέντες, πλὴν πλάνην πολλῷ διαφέρουσαν καὶ κρείττονα τῶν καλούντων θεούς ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τέχνης ἐμμελετήματα. Preuschen, *op. cit.*, p. 56, ll. 23-26.

and stars to the nations so that they may come to know the Fashioner of all things.[29] These patristic witnesses thus concur in a particular interpretation of the Deuteronomy passage: the imperfect were apportioned the ὑλικὸν φῶς of the heavens in order to rise eventually to the immaterial light of the divinity. The true Israel of "gnostics" of course needed no such preparation.

Now, though Deut. 4:19 is not explicitly quoted by Hypatius, his insistent juxtaposition of various aspects of astral worship with the biblical "pedagogy" seems to indicate that this interpretation is in the background. Moreover, in the first part of the fragment Hypatius does quote Deut. 4:15-16, which specifies the aniconic nature of true worship. The latter part of the text is then quite probably Hypatius' adaptation of the earlier exegesis of Deut. 4:19 (elaborated in a still pagan milieu) to a purely ecclesiastical situation. Providence, now not concerned any more with weaning the heathen from gross idolatry, still seeks to accommodate human weakness. Therefore the material light and splendor of ecclesiastical decoration can serve as a temporary replacement for, and guidance toward, the νοητὸν καὶ ἄϋλον φῶς. Hypatius simply substituted the "simple" and "imperfect" in the church, who need such baubles as pictures, gorgeous vestments, and precious vessels if they are to feel religious awe, for the heathen of Deut. 4:19 who, lest they fall away to adoring the works of their own hands, were allowed to worship the sublime heavenly lights. The correspondence of the "material light" of the sun, moon, and stars with the πολὺ φῶς κατὰ τὰ ἱερὰ is striking; indeed, one can explain Hypatius' somewhat abrupt transition from pictures and carvings to the light of the sanctuaries by the fact that he could only imperfectly constrain a piece of traditional exegesis to serve his own purposes. The weak who need images are assimilated to the heathen, brought gradually to the true God; or, alternately, they are compared to the "fleshly" Israel which clings to material sacrifices.[30] Thus Hypatius' argu-

[29] *Contra Gentes*, c. 45: "Ὥσπερ γάρ, ἀναβλέψαντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ἰδόντες τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄστρων φῶς, ἔστιν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὸν ταῦτα διακοσμοῦντα Λόγον Θεοῦ, νοεῖν ἐστιν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τούτου Πατέρα Θεόν . . . *Sancti Athanasii Archiepiscopi Alexandriae Contra Gentes*. Introduzione - Testo Critico - Traduzione, a cura di Luigi Leone (Naples, 1965), p. 87, ll. 10-13. . . . ἃ ἀπένειμε κύριος ὁ Θεός σου πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ" ἀπένειμε δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὸ εἶναι θεοὺς αὐτοῖς αὐτά, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῇ τούτων ἐνεργείᾳ γινώσκωσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸν τῶν πάντων δημιουργὸν Θεόν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται. Leone, *op. cit.*, p. 89, ll. 4-8 (= P.G. 25, 89A, D).

[30] τὸν δὲ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπάγει μὲν θυσιῶν εἰδώλων ἐνδίσωσι δὲ ταύτας [sc. θυσίας]

ment can be explained, with some show of plausibility, as point by point echoing and transforming a traditional, accepted piece of patristic Old Testament exegesis.

τῷ θεῷ θύειν. Diekamp, *op. cit.*, p. 128, ll. 14-15. Alexander seems to have misinterpreted here Diekamp's remark, saying, "I see no reason to emend, with Diekamp, ταύτας to ταῦτα. It refers to θυσιῶν." (Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 180, n. 22). In fact, Diekamp's note for l. 14 "ταῦτα cod] ταύτας ?/" means that the MS reads ταῦτα, but the editor emended it to ταύτας, with some hesitation. The emendation is of course justified, to make the pronoun agree with the feminine antecedent θυσιῶν. But Diekamp felt his conjecture so uncertain that he retained the codex reading in his text. As another example of this, see p. 127, n. for line 27, "ταύτην cod[forte legendum τὴν αὐτήν"; Diekamp has ταύτην in the text. By contrast, see p. 127 n. for line 11, "φησι[φῆς cod," where Diekamp puts his conjecture φησι, instead of the MS reading φῆς, in the text. Diekamp's editorial practice is not entirely consistent, but it becomes clear when one realizes that "cod" always *follows* the MS reading. My own collation of the MS verified that the reading is in fact ταῦτα at this point. (I am indebted to Prof. Kitzinger for gaining ready access to a microfilm of the MS, *Paris. gr.* 1115.)

CONTEMPORARY ECCLESIASTICAL APPROACHES TO BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

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In a recent trenchant article Professor Morton Smith described the insidious effects in Old Testament criticism of what he chose to call "pseudorthodoxy." [1] In discussing various aspects of current Old Testament studies such as text, canon, lexicography and higher criticism, he sought to demonstrate that ". . .the traditional teachings of religious institutions are probably the largest single influence in OT criticism." [2] Without suggesting that his views of what constitute misrepresentation are generally acceptable,[3] I presume that Professor Smith could add equally incisive examples of the pseudorthodoxy prevailing in New Testament studies.

It may be instructive to turn the focus of Professor Smith's question around and examine the effects in ecclesiastical circles of prevailing views in Biblical scholarship. If the teachings of religious institutions are influential in shaping the critical views of Biblical scholars, one may ask whether the interior approach of ecclesiastical institutions to Biblical interpretation is affected by the prevailing opinions of Biblical scholarship. Are there tensions in the relationships between Biblical scholarship generally and ecclesiastical Biblical interpretation? If so, in what forms and over which issues? Critical areas of ecclesiastical concern would presumably include methods of Biblical exegesis, the role of historical criticism, and the significance of presuppositions in Biblical interpretation.[4] If the stream of influence flows in both directions, one may attempt to lay alongside of Professor Smith's observations

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[1] M. Smith, "The Present State of Old Testament Studies," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 88 (1969), 19-35.

[2] *Ibid.*, 20.

[3] See, e.g., the qualified response of W. W. Hallo, "Problems in Sumerian Hermeneutics," B. L. Sherwin, ed., *Perspectives in Jewish Learning*, V (Chicago: Spertus College of Judaica Press, 1973), 3f.

[4] J. M. Robinson, "A Critical Inquiry into the Scriptural Bases of Confessional Hermeneutics," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 3 (1966), 36-56.

a description of the effects in ecclesiastical Biblical interpretation produced by the importation of current forms of scholarly Biblical opinion.

Such a case study could be made by examining any of the major forms of Christianity or Judaism; this paper devotes itself to an examination of the question in the experience of the World Council of Churches (hereafter referred to as the WCC).[5] The question of Biblical interpretation within the Roman Catholic Church has been widely examined since the 1943 Encyclical, *Divino afflante Spiritu*, and the discussion surrounding and following the Second Vatican Council, with particular attention to the Council's Constitution, *De Divina Revelatione*.[6] In the case of Judaism, differences in institutional structure and forms of theological expression would alter the point of testing, but some indications are available to show how the relationships might occur.[7]

The selection of the WCC for such a case study is primarily based upon the explicit attempts which have been made in that ecumenical body to find a common basis in the principles of Biblical interpretation. The traditional role of the Bible as Scripture in the Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox Churches (with differences in the understanding of that role which contributed to subsequent controversy) suggested in the early days of the WCC that the unity of the churches would be advanced by agreement on principles of Biblical interpretation.[8] Insofar as a "return to the Bible" contributed to this attitude of the World Council in the late nineteen-forties, it should be noted that that view was con-

[5] H. E. Fey, ed., *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, vol. 2, 1948-1968 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970).

[6] Within an extensive literature see, e.g., R. E. Brown, "Rome and the Freedom of Catholic Biblical Studies," J. M. Myers et al., *Search the Scriptures* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), 129-150; J. Levie, *The Bible, Word of God in Words of Men* (London: Geoffrey Chapman Ltd., 1961), esp. 133-199; R. Murphy and C. Peter, "The Role of the Bible in Roman Catholic Theology," *Interpretation* 25 (1971), 78-94.

[7] See, e.g., the essay of N. Sarna and the response of W. Hallo in L. Jick, ed., *The Teaching of Judaica in American Universities* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1970), 35-40, 43-46.

[8] For overviews of the history of this question in the WCC see W. Schweitzer, "The Bible and the Church's Message to the World," *The Ecumenical Review* 2 (1949-1950), 123-132; H.-R. Weber, "The Bible in Today's Ecumenical Movement," *The Ecumenical Review* 23 (1971), 335-346; E. Flesseman-van Leer, "Biblical Interpretation in the World Council of Churches," *Study Encounter* 8 (1972), 1-8; J. Barr, *The Bible in the Modern World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), esp. 7f., 25-32.

sonant with views being expounded in the period by Protestant Biblical scholars. Between 1943 and 1951 professional scholars from the Protestant sector published books with titles such as *The Rediscovery of the Old Testament, The Unity of the New Testament, Eyes of Faith,* and *Rediscovering the Bible.* The writing of Old and New Testament theologies, the program of salvation-history, and the concern for hermeneutics — all these fed into the ways in which the WCC defined its understanding of the Bible in the first decade after World War II. At the same time it is clear in retrospect that when the WCC fostered what has been called "World Council of Churches biblical theology," it failed to perceive the possible dangers of "biblical imperialism" to its own goals.[9]

The first success in defining "Guiding Principles for the Interpretation of the Bible" was achieved at a 1949 Conference of the WCC Study Committee meeting at Wadham College, Oxford.[10] It is important to note that the context for this statement of principles was a desire to produce a symposium on the relationship between the Bible and contemporary social and political questions. A series of conferences in 1946, 1946, and 1948 had revealed that differing understandings of the relationship between the Bible and the churches' proclamation to the world were in any event complicated by a lack of agreement on the principles by which the Bible should be interpreted.[11]

The theological character of the Wadham College statement is its most patent characteristic and gives little hint of the controversy which would ensue in subsequent WCC discussions. The statement begins with a series of "necessary theological presuppositions," followed by rules for the interpretation of a specific passage and goes on to discuss the "discovery of the biblical teaching on a specific social or political issue" as well as "the application of the Biblical message to the modern world." The Christocentric and salvation-history language of the statement is explicit. Little concern is shown for historical criticism and its

[9] K. Stendahl, "The New Testament Background for the Doctrine of the Sacraments," *Oecumenica* (1970), 41f.

[10] For a statement of these principles see either *The Ecumenical Review* 2 (1949-1950), 81-86, or A. Richardson and W. Schweitzer, eds., *Biblical Authority for Today* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1951), 240-243.

[11] For reports on the 1946 London and 1947 Bossey conferences see *From the Bible to the Modern World* (Geneva: WCC, 1948).

consequences for Biblical interpretation, such issues being at best implicit in Part II of the statement. The contemporary report on the attitude of the Conference is revealing at this point:

> It was quite clear that none of the members of the Conference was willing to revert to a 'pre-critical' attitude towards the Bible. The Higher Criticism has affected our views, but it seems as if Christian scholars agree more and more that historical analysis cannot be our final goal in reading and studying the Scriptures.[12]

Despite the apparent success in reaching agreement on principles of Biblical interpretation, it must be noted that the statement was drafted and accepted in the relative absence of professional Biblical scholarship. An early participant in WCC discussions but a sharp critic of this aspect was G. Ernest Wright, who noted the failure of the WCC to involve more Biblical scholars in its work. Wright commented not only on the small number of participating Biblical scholars, but also on their failure in general to counterbalance the strong influence of theologians and pastors. The "gulf" between Biblical scholars and theologians which Wright perceived was to become ever more apparent as increasing numbers of Biblical specialists were enlisted in the study projects of the WCC relating to Biblical interpretation.[13]

The prevailing view of WCC Biblical interpretation during the nineteen-forties and fifties was generally in accord with the prevailing view of Biblical theology in scholarly circles. Scholars engaged in writing Old Testament or New Testament theologies agreed for the most part that the Bible was characterized by unity rather than diversity; disagreement occurred primarily over what constituted the unity.[14] Typical of the climate of the period was a WCC commitment to prepare three studies on the Biblical doctrine of work and vocation, man in society, and justice, each of which presupposed in its title that there was a unified Biblical view of the issue under review.

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[12] *The Ecumenical Review* 2 (1949-1950), 81.

[13] G. E. Wright, "The World Council of Churches and Biblical Interpretation," *Interpretation* 3 (1949), 50-61, esp. 52f. To compare the number and names of Biblical scholars in the conferences leading up to the Wadham College Conference with those participating in the report on "The Authority of the Bible," see the lists in *From the Bible to the Modern World*, 114-117 and in *Faith and Order, Louvain 1971* (Geneva: WCC, 1971), 243-246.

[14] See B. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970), esp. 32-50.

From the beginning of the search for common principles of Biblical interpretation everyone recognized the issue of the authority of the Bible as a central issue in ecumenical life. The constituent churches brought differing understandings of the exclusive claims of the Bible as Scripture. Needed was agreement on what constituted Tradition, the relation of Tradition to Bible, and related issues. Considerable effort was expended in this direction culminating in the report of Section II to the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order in Montreal in 1963 entitled, "Scripture, Tradition and Traditions." [15]

Any assumption that a common understanding of the role of Tradition would dissipate the problem of diversity in Biblical interpretation was removed at Montreal. Indeed several observers point to the effect produced at the Montreal conference by a lecture delivered by the Tübingen New Testament scholar, Ernst Käsemann.[16] His stress on the basic diversity of ecclesiological conceptions in the New Testament was viewed as a threat to ecumenical unity. One effect of the lecture, however, was to provide further support for the need of a study on Biblical hermeneutics as well as for related studies on the Church Fathers and the Councils of the Early Church.

The Faith and Order Commission of the WCC met in 1964 in Aarhus and authorized a study on the hermeneutical problem. Professor Erich Dinkler of the University of Heidelberg served as chairman for the entire study and inaugurated the work with a paper on "Biblical Hermeneutics and its Significance for the Ecumenical Movement." [17] The final report, "The Significance of the Hermeneutical Problem for the Ecumenical Movement," was accepted by the Faith and Order Commission in its 1967 meeting in Bristol.[18]

The beginning of the Bristol report is not a discussion of theological presuppositions, as in the Wadham College Conference statement, but an affirmation that Biblical scholarship depends

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[15] P. C. Rodger and L. Vischer, eds., *The Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order* (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1964), 50-61.

[16] E. Käsemann, "Unity and Diversity in New Testament Ecclesiology," *Novum Testamentum* 6 (1963), 290-297.

[17] *Minutes of the Faith and Order Commission and Working Committee*, August 1964, Faith and Order Paper Nr. 44.

[18] *New Directions in Faith and Order, Bristol 1967* (Geneva: WCC, 1968), 32-41. Hereafter referred to as the Bristol Report.

on recognizing the necessity of literary-critical and historical-critical methods.[19] A second section stresses the diversities and contradictions within the Bible and concludes that "The difficulties raised by this for systematic theology have not been solved by us." [20] The report cautions strongly against those who would speak about "the meaning" of a passage. It further emphasizes the significance for Biblical study of the participation of secular scholarship, stressing the "creative" and "constructive" detachment of secular studies. "Forms of knowledge other than the theological can be of much service in the study of the Bible." [21] Clearly those drafting the report intended to convey the importance for Biblical studies of such fields as philosophy and literature. There is little evidence in the report that they would have welcomed a secular Biblical scholarship such as Professor Smith recognizes when he praises Israeli Biblical scholarship.[22]

The influence of Bultmann and his followers is evident at many points in the Bristol report, especially in those sections dealing with "questions arising out of the text" and "questions put to the text." The most obvious imprint of Bultmann terminology is the section on "previous understanding," though it is confusing to have the terminology used imprecisely if the intent was to convey the force of Bultmann's notion of *Vorverständnis*. The need to clarify this confusion was noted in the discussion of the report at Bristol.[23]

The Bristol Report provides an excellent example of how far the discussion had moved from the early expectations of the WCC. The conclusion of the Report is stated clearly:

> ... the hope that the churches would find themselves to have in the near future the bases of a common understanding of the one biblical message has been fading, even to such an extent that in the eyes of some the new exegetical developments seem to undermine the raison d'être of the ecumenical movement.[24]

It was apparent to those participating in the hermeneutics study that a central issue rested with the view of the Bible's authority. For this reason a principal conclusion was the recommendation that there be "... a comprehensive study on

[19] *Ibid.*, 33.
[20] *Ibid.*, 34.
[21] *Ibid.*, 36.
[22] Smith, *op cit.*, 21.
[23] Bristol Report, 152.
[24] *Ibid.*, 41.

authority, especially on the authority of the Bible. Further topics proposed for study are: 'The historicity of the Bible and the historical character of the Christian faith' and 'From exegesis to proclamation.' " [25] In the discussion of this recommendation Father Florovsky, the Orthodox scholar, reminded the Commission that the authority of the Bible had already been studied in the WCC and a volume published under the editorship of Alan Richardson and Wolfgang Schweitzer.[26] The circularity and centrality ofthe issue across nearly twenty years was very apparent.

The recommendation at Bristol was adopted and a new study of Biblical authority was undertaken which culminated in the report on "The Authority of the Bible" presented to the Fifth World Conference on Faith and Order at Louvain in 1971.[27] That report begins by observing the difficulties which had occurred when the churches attempted to base their common statements and actions on the Bible. The consequence of such difficulties had been to "abandon the appeal to biblical grounds altogether." [28] Three factors are cited as providing the need for a WCC study on authority: "confessional differences"; "the influence of historical criticism"; and "historical remoteness." Though the first factor is more clearly a projection of ecclesiastical history, the second and third factors are some indication of the effect which Biblical scholarship was creating in WCC discussions. Unable to use certain traditional definitions of Biblical authority, the Louvain report sought to establish authority as a "relational concept" and noted that "authority is therefore a present reality only when men experience it as authority. . ." [29]

Clearly on the agenda of this study was the need to find a way of responding to the emphasis on diversity which had been voiced at Montreal in 1963 and Bristol in 1967. One way of responding might have been to seek a center within the Bible, a "canon within the canon," or a "material center." The report clearly excluded this

[25] Bristol Report, 59.

[26] *Ibid.*, 107.

[27] The report is contained in *Faith and Order, Louvain 1971*, 9-23 and is reprinted in *The Ecumenical Review* 23 (1971), 419-437. References to the report will use the pagination in *The Ecumenical Review*. An outline for the approach to the study of Biblical authority was prepared by Professor James Barr after a 1968 Consultation at Boldern, Switzerland, and is printed in *The Ecumenical Review* 21 (1969), 135-150. For a later indication of Barr's response to the report see Barr, *Bible in the Modern World*, 23-34.

[28] "The Authority of the Bible," *Ecumenical Review* 23 (1971), 421.

[29] "The Authority of the Bible," 427.

alternative: "We cannot . . . attribute permanent authority to an inner circle of biblical writings or biblical statements and interpret the rest in terms of an inner circle." [30] The report did look favorably, however, on a recommendation of one of the regional sub-groups engaged in the study which had suggested the notion of relational center (*Beziehungsmitte*) as a way of finding internal connections between diverse Biblical statements.[31] A different form of response to the dilemma of diversity was to view contemporary interpretation as "the prolongation of the interpretative process which is recognizable in the Bible. . ." [32] The contrast with the 1949 statement is very evident when a conclusion of the 1971 report can state that ". . .agreed methods of exegesis in no sense inevitably produce agreed findings." [33]

The recommendations of the Committee in 1971 included three further studies: 1) a study of "the unity in the diversity of interpretations within the New Testament"; 2) a study of "the relationships of Old and New Testaments and particularly the contemporary significance of the Old Testament"; and 3) a study of how the identity of the Gospel is maintained within the various interpretations which arise in differing historical situations.[34] In its 1973 meeting in Zagorsk the Commission on Faith and Order acknowledged that the Louvain meeting had recommended a continuation of the study on "The Authority of the Bible," especially with respect to the relationship between Old and New Testaments. "Lack of resources prevented the Secretariat to implement this recommendation." [35] A group of Dutch theologians had nevertheless undertaken the study, completed a report, and further discussion of that report was recommended for the Faith and Order Commission meeting in the summer of 1974.

The history of Biblical interpretation within the WCC from

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[30] *Ibid.*, 430. For an indication of the range of debate on the issue of canon see E. Käsemann, "The Canon of the New Testament and the Unity of the Church," *Essays on New Testament Themes* (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1964), 95-107 and the response of G. Ebeling, "The New Testament and the Multiplicity of Confessions," *The Word of God and Tradition* (London: Wm. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1968), 148-159.

[31] "The Authority of the Bible," 430f.

[32] "The Authority of the Bible," 431.

[33] *Ibid.*, 437.

[34] *Faith and Order, Louvain 1971*, 214f.

[35] *Minutes of the Faith and Order Commission and Working Committee*, August 1973, Faith and Order Paper Nr. 66, 21.

1946 to 1973 provides the basis for several observations on the relationship between Biblical scholarship generally and Biblical interpretation within the WCC:

1. The earlier years of the period were marked by the involvement of relatively few professional Biblical scholars and only a small number of these scholars had any impact on the climate of discussion surrounding Biblical interpretation. The dominant tone in WCC publications on Biblical questions was overtly theological, as in the Wadham College Conference statement, and little serious attention was paid to the implications of literary and historical criticism.[36]

2. The increasing involvement of professional Biblical scholarship, most evident in the Montreal, Bristol and Louvain Conferences, raised serious questions in WCC circles about the supportive character of Biblical scholarship for WCC goals. The force of this observation should be weighed carefully since those scholars invited to participate in WCC studies had identifiable ecclesiastical origins and would probably be viewed by Professor Smith as possible contributors to pseudorthodoxy in professional debates on questions of Biblical scholarship. It is perhaps a case of "relative pseudorthodoxy." If the views of these scholars are judged to be "pseudorthodox" in a secular setting, their views are "controrthodox" in an ecclesiastical setting.

The clearest resistance of the WCC to Biblical scholarship was in its response to the Bristol Report. The willingness of some participants in the discussion of that report to "restrict the freedom of a biblical scholar who was doing damage to the Church" and to assume the right of the Church "to expect pastoral responsibility of those who study the Bible" — these sentiments are indicative of the threat which Biblical scholarship posed for some segments of the WCC.[37]

3. The best example of a widespread concern in general Biblical scholarship which was imported into WCC Biblical discussions was the issue of hermeneutics. A review of the entries under hermeneutics in the *Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete* from 1950 to 1970 demonstrates the wide-

[36] See W. Schweitzer, *Schrift und Dogma in der Ökumene* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1953).

[37] Bristol Report, 106.

spread interest in hermeneutical issues, and not only by scholars with ecclesiastical commitments.

It is essential to note, however, the long history of ecclesiastical interest in hermeneutical questions and the degree to which that history contributed to a receptive attitude for such issues in WCC circles. At the same time it is also clear that the formulation of questions in this area in the Bristol Report was seriously affected by the way in which hermeneutics was being discussed in non-ecclesiastical settings. The extent to which the approach to hermeneutics was influenced by the contributions of Hans-Georg Gadamer [38] and Emilio Betti, [39] as well as by those of Rudolf Bultmann and Karl Barth, is indicative of the wide-ranging character of hermeneutical discussion.[40]

The emphases in the hermeneutics study of the WCC adopted at Bristol accentuated issues which could not be resolved by theological fiat: the roles of literary and historical criticism in Biblical interpretation; the diversity and contradictory character of Biblical traditions; the complexity of seeking "meaning" in a text; the role of secular scholarship in Biblical study; the role of the "canon" in the definition of Scripture. The variety of opinion generated by the discussion of these and related issues was abrasive to those who believed that Biblical studies had been, or should be, "domesticated" by the Church.[41]

4. Biblical scholars who participated in the last decade of WCC studies have demonstrated again the uncertain character of the bridge between Scripture and theology. The question is a persistent one in church history, but its presence in the recent WCC discussions is unmistakable. "Scripture and theology" is a symbolic label for a series of issues. It may signify the relation between exegesis and proclamation, a topic for study recommended by those who prepared the Bristol report on hermeneutics. It may signify an

[38] H.-G. Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1960).

[39] E. Betti, *Teoria Generale della Interpretazione*, 2 vols. (Milan: A. Giuffre, 1955).

[40] See J. M. Robinson, "Hermeneutic Since Barth," J. M. Robinson and J. B. Cobb, eds., *The New Hermeneutic* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 1-77; P. S. Minear, "The Influences of Ecumenical Developments on New Testament Teaching," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 8 (1971), 286-299; R. E. Murphy, "The Relevance of Old Testament Studies for Ecumenism," L. J. Swidler, ed., *Scripture and Ecumenism* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1965), 95-109.

[41] Minear, *op. cit.*, 288.

attempt to examine the nature and role of Scripture in the definition of the Church and the Church's doctrine.[42] It may also reflect the tension between the exegete's willingness to engage in the question, "what the text meant," and his uncertainties in discussing "what the text means." D. E. Nineham, a principal figure in the Bristol Report, poses the question acutely: "Am I then committed, as a Christian, to the view that biblical writers can never have been simply wrong for their own times and/or irrelevant for ours?" [43]

The question raised at the beginning of this paper was a query about the possible influence which professional Biblical scholarship had had on ecclesiastical discussions of Bible in the ecumenical context of the WCC. If the conclusion is that that influence has been slight and that the WCC has been shielded from the more radical dimensions of contemporary Biblical scholarship, it can nevertheless be said that a certain disquiet has emerged in the ecclesiastical use of Biblical scholarship.

If Gerhard Ebeling is right that church history is the history of Scriptural interpretation, then the contemporary churches, as reflected in the WCC, speak in a confusion of tongues and may find it difficult to speak at all through Scripture to the contemporary world. It may be that in its pursuit of Scriptural orthodoxy, the WCC will take some comfort from Professor Smith's contention: "The continuity of great institutions is maintained by inertia and depends on orthopraxy and orthology, not orthodoxy, so a great deal of variation in opinion has been tolerated." [44]

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[42] Among recent attempts to deal with this issue see, e.g., W. Pannenberg, "The Crisis of the Scripture Principle," *Basic Questions in Theology*, vol. I (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 1-14; D. H. Kelsey, "Appeals to Scripture in Theology," *Journal of Religion* 48 (1968), 1-21.

[43] D. E. Nineham, "The Use of the Bible in Modern Theology," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 52 (1969-1970), 182.

[44] Smith, *op. cit.*, 20.