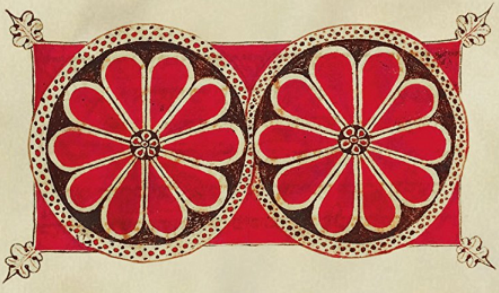
Studies in Matthew's Gospel

LITERARY DESIGN, INTERTEXTUALITY, AND SOCIAL SETTING



WIM J.C. WEREN

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Literary Design, Intertextuality, and Social Setting

By

Wim J.C. Weren

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Preface

Ever since I obtained my doctorate in theology with a PhD thesis on Matthew's eschatology (1979),[1] the First Gospel has had a special place within my academic research. Inspired by Old Testament scholar Wim Beuken and rabbi Yehuda Aschkenasy, I devoted myself, in the years in which I worked at the Catholic University of Theology Amsterdam, to an exegesis of texts from the New Testament within the framework of their relations with Old Testament texts and to the dynamic connection between textual units from Scripture and discussions in the oral Torah, which have been partly codified in early Jewish and rabbinic writings. I was able to give a new basis to these ideals by linking them to my interest in the concept of synchronic exegetic methods.[2]

This interest fitted in with the research profile of the Biblical Studies Department of the Tilburg Faculty of Theology, which I joined as professor of New Testament Exegesis in 1984. Much experience had already been gained at this Faculty with rhetorical analyses of Paul's letters and with applying semiotic reading models to the Gospels. These lines were further explored in later research programmes such as 'Bible: Meaning in Context' and 'Bible: Reinventing Identities in Texts and Contexts', in which methods from linguistics and literary criticism were developed and applied to biblical exegesis. I cherish very special memories of my cooperation with Old Testament colleagues Niek Poulssen, Jan Holman, Ellen van Wolde, the late Ron Pirson, Pierre Van Hecke and Miranda Vroon-van Vugt, with my New Testament colleagues the late Martin Rijkhoff, Huub van de Sandt, and Jürgen Zangenberg, and with young PhD researchers whom I had the honour to supervise: Jean Bastiaens, Vincent de Haas, Door Brouns-Wewerinke, Yvonne van den Akker-Savelsbergh, and Harm Jan Inkelaar.

Within our research programmes, I particularly devoted myself to operationalising the concept of 'intertextuality' for productive application in Biblical exegesis. In order to prevent that an intertextual study got bogged down in making subjective links, I do not conduct an i*nter*textual analysis until I have made an in-depth exploration, in the context of an *intra*textual analysis, in the patterns within each of the textual units that will play an important role

1 Wim Weren, *De broeders van de Mensenzoon: Matteüs 25,31–46 als toegang tot de eschatologie van Matteüs* (PhD thesis, Radboud University Nijmegen; Amsterdam: Ton Bolland, 1979).

2 One result of this interest is my book *Windows on Jesus: Methods in Gospel Exegesis* (London: SCM; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), that was also published in Italian (2001) and in Spanish (2003).

in the subsequent comparison. This approach is reflected in the structure of this book: a focus on the literary design in Part 1 (structural analysis and text semantics) is followed by intertextual studies in Part 2. Since words and texts not only refer to each other, but also to the extratextual reality, Part 3 contains a number of observations on the history and social setting of the Matthean communities.

For the sake of internal coherence, only studies on the Gospel of Matthew are included in this book. Thirteen of them are light or more in-depth revisions of articles that were published separately between 1996 and 2011 in scholarly journals and monographs. Now that they are united, they acquire a certain added value. Four chapters were incorporated into this book that have not been previously published.

In the autumn of 2012, I was working as a visiting professor at the Faculty of Catholic Theology of the University of Regensburg, where I taught a post-graduate course about 'Intertextuality in Matthew', which was attended by the following PhD students: Dimitris Apostolakis, Christian Bemmerl, Peter Frühmorgen, Matthias Geigenfeind, Thomas Hösl, Elisabeth Lorenz, Michael Sommer, and Veronika Ströher. I am greatly indebted to them for their constructive comments and critical questions.

I am grateful to Brill for the inclusion of this volume in the prestigious Biblical Interpretation Series and in particular I would like to thank Liesbeth Hugenholtz and Paige Sammartino for their help in preparing the manuscript.

Almost all studies collected here were translated into English by Mrs. Ineke Sijtsma, who has worked as a translator at Tilburg University for many years now. Our cooperation started in 1992. Over the years, we have become a very good team. I am very grateful to Ineke for the great effort she has made, in cooperation with native speakers, to enable these studies to play a role in international scholarly discussions.

In 1979, my PhD thesis was dedicated to my wife Wilma and our—then two-year-old—son Jonatan. In 1980, Sarah was born. Together we have always formed a closely-knit foursome, that is further expanding because our children now have children of their own: Merel, Isa, Valentijn, Fabian and Floris. To this new generation I dedicate this book; they are a true blessing to us.

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Chapter 1 is a slightly revised reprint of: Wim J.C. Weren, "The Macrostructure of Matthew's Gospel: A New Proposal," *Biblica* 87 (2006): 171–200.

Chapter 2 is a completely revised reprint of: Wim J.C. Weren, "Children in Matthew: A Semantic Study," *Concilium. International Journal of Theology* 32 /2 (1996): 53–63.

Chapter 4 is a thoroughly extended version of: Wim J.C. Weren, "Human Body and Life beyond Death in Matthew's Gospel," Pages 267–283 in *The Human Body in Death and Resurrection* (eds. Tobias Nicklas, Friedrich V. Reiterer, and Joseph Verheyden; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature: Yearbook 2009; Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 2009). See also: www.degruyter.com.

Chapter 6 is a slightly revised reprint of: Wim J.C. Weren, "The Five Women in Matthew's Genealogy," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 59 (1997): 288–305.

Chapter 7 is an improved and slightly extended reprint of: Wim J.C. Weren, "Quotations from Isaiah and Matthew's Christology (Mt 1,23 and 4,15–16)," Pages 447–465 in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A.M. Beuken* (eds. Jacques van Ruiten and Marc Vervenne; BETL 132; Leuven, University Press and Peeters, 1997).

Chapter 8 is an English translation of the completely revised version of: Wim J.C. Weren, "Ehe, Ehebruch und Ehescheidung: Interpretationen alttestamentlicher Texte in Matthäus 5,27–32 und 19,3–12," Pages 116–134 in *Für die Freiheit verantwortlich: Festschrift für Karl-Wilhelm Merks zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Jan Jans; Freiburg, CH: Academic Press / Fribourg: Paulus Verlag, 2004).

Chapter 9 is a slightly revised reprint of: Wim J.C. Weren, "Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem: Matthew 21,1–17 in the Light of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint," Pages 117–141 in *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (ed. Christopher M. Tuckett; BETL 131; Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 1997).

Chapter 10 is a slightly revised reprint of: Wim J.C. Weren, "The Use of Isaiah 5:1–7 in the Parable of the Tenants (Mark 12:1–12; Matthew 21:33–46)," *Biblica* 79 (1998): 1–26.

Chapter 11 is a reprint of: Wim J.C. Weren, "Matthew's View of Jesus' Resurrection: Transformation of a Current Eschatological Scenario," Pages 701–711 in T*he Gospel of Matthew at the Crossroads of Early Christianity* (ed. Donald Senior; BETL 243; Leuven etc.: Peeters, 2011).

Chapter 12 is a reprint of: Wim J.C. Weren, "The Ideal Community according to Matthew, James, and the Didache," Pages 177–200 in *Matthew, James, and Didache: Three Related Documents in Their Jewish and Christian Settings* (eds. Huub van de Sandt and Jürgen Zangenberg; SBLSymS 45; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008).

Chapter 13 is a slightly revised version of: Wim J.C. Weren, "The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community," Pages 51–62 in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (ed. Huub van de Sandt; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum / Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005).

Chapter 14 is an abridged version of: Wim J.C. Weren, "'His Disciples Stole Him Away' (Mt 28,13): A Rival Interpretation of Jesus' Resurrection," Pages 147–164 in *Resurrection in the New Testament: Festschrift Jan Lambrecht* (eds. Reimund Bieringer, Veronica Koperski, and Bianca Lataire; BETL 165; Leuven etc.: University Press and Peeters, 2002).

Chapter 15 is a slightly extended reprint of: Wim J.C. Weren, "From Q to Matthew 22,1–14: New Light on the Transmission and Meaning of the Parable of the Guests," Pages 661–679 in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 2001).

The layout of the previously published book chapters and articles has been adapted to fit the publisher's style sheet.

The Introduction, Chapters 3, 5, and the Final Observations are published here for the first time.

For permission to reprint previously published book chapters and articles appearing in this volume, I am grateful to: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Rome; SCM-Canterbury Press, Norwich, UK; Catholic Biblical Association, Washington, DC; Academic Press Fribourg, Fribourg, CH; Walter de Gruyter, Berlin; Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, GA.

Abbreviations

All abbreviations of series, handbooks and journals in this volume are according to: Patrick H. Alexander, John F. Kutsko, James D. Ernest and Shirley A. Decker–Lucke, eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody: MA.: Hendrickson, 1999). For the Books of the Bible and early Jewish or Christian works commonly accepted abbreviations were used. For American states the two-letter postal code state abbreviations were used.

Introduction

The Pantheon in Rome is a truly fascinating building. It is one of the best preserved ancient monuments.[1] The visitor enters through a beautiful portico with sixteen granite Corinthian columns. Bronze double doors give access to an impressive round space with a 43.30 metres diameter, topped by a concrete dome, the highest point of which is exactly 43.30 metres from the floor. The dome has a round opening, a so-called *oculus*. The building's name, in Greek Πάντειον (sc. ἱερόν) indicates that it originally functioned as a temple consecrated to all gods.

The history of the Pantheon's development is fascinating as well. In approximately the same place, Marcus Agrippa, the son-in-law of emperor Augustus, had a temple built, in 27 B.C.E., dedicated to all gods. His name is still high up on the front of the current building: M·AGRIPPA·L·F·COS·TERTIUM·FECIT. In full, it reads: *Marcus Agrippa Lucii Filius Consul Tertium Fecit* (= 'Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, made this when he was consul for the third time'). However, the existing building was not built by Agrippa, but was commissioned by emperor Hadrian, between 118 and 125 C.E., after the original temple went up in flames.

In 399, emperor Honorius discontinued the use of the Pantheon for pagan worship. In 609, the Byzantine emperor Phocas gave the building to Pope Boniface IV, who turned it into a Christian basilica, dedicated to St. Mary and the Martyrs. As a result, the original function has not been obliterated. Until today, the visitor experiences a certain tension: the many Roman gods are placed opposite to the one God of the Jews and the Christians; in the interior, original Roman decorations alternate with later Christian modifications. Furthermore, parts of the Pantheon have been removed and re-used elsewhere. Because they were given a place in a new whole, they became bearers of new meanings. For instance, the story goes that the bronze decorating the massive bronze girders from the portico were pillaged and melted down to be made into cannons for the Castel Sant'Angelo and for the pillars and the baldachin over St. Peter's tomb in St. Peter's basilica. This happened by order of Pope Urban VIII in 1626. His family name was Barberini and his deed was criticized with the sarcastic statement: *quod non fecerent barberi, fecerunt Barberini* (= 'what the barbarians did not do, the Barberini did').

1 Information on the Pantheon can be found in, e.g., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (eds. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth; Oxford / New York: University Press, 2003, rev. third ed.), 1107.

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Even though there is a world of difference between the Pantheon and the Gospel according to Matthew, I am still of the opinion that this Gospel can fascinate us for the same reasons why the Pantheon appeals to the imagination. Like the Pantheon, this Gospel went through a complicated development before it acquired its present form, somewhere between 80 and 90 C.E. Old oral and written traditions have been incorporated into it, which the author or final redactor[2] processed in his own way and incorporated into his writing. This Gospel was written down for a number of local Christian communities in northern Israel and southern Syria, mainly consisting of Jewish followers of Jesus that displayed an increasing openness to recruiting new members among non-Jews.

In Part 3 of this monograph, I will discuss three key moments in the development history of Matthew's Gospel and the social setting of this document. However, the focus of my book will be on the text of this Gospel as it has come down to us in its final form.[3] I will concentrate in particular on two remarkable phenomena. The first is that this Gospel, despite the fact that the material has heterogeneous origins, is a well structured and coherent semantic whole. As the Pantheon is characterised by beautiful architecture and may evoke disparate meanings, Matthew's book is likewise an ingenious unity, with various interwoven lines of meaning. This phenomenon I will explore in Part 1 of this book.

---

2 Since the second century C.E., the author has been identified as the tax collector mentioned in Matt 9:9, who belonged to the twelve apostles after his calling (see Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13). In this book, I will use the name 'Matthew' in two meanings: a) as the abbreviated title of the document that has circulated since the second century C.E. as the 'Gospel according to Matthew'; b) as the name of the alleged author or final redactor of this Gospel, but also to indicate the narrating voice or the narrator implied in the text. Whether 'Matthew' refers to the book or the narrator will be clear from the context.

3 Unless there are strong arguments to deviate from it, I take as a point of departure the Greek text from the critical edition by Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012, 28. Auflage). For the Septuagint, the Göttingen edition (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, Göttingen 1931–) has been used or Alfred Rahlfs' edition (*Septuaginta: Id Est Vetus Testamentum Graece Iuxta LXX Interpretes*, editio octava, 2 vols., Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1965; see also Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart, *Septuaginta*, editio altera, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006). The Hebrew Bible is quoted according to Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977). For the English translation of Bible texts, I use *The Holy Bible: New Revised Standard Version* (New York / Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). See also Chapter 5, section 5.

The second phenomenon is that the meaning and function of the Pantheon has been fundamentally transformed in the course of the centuries because it came to serve as a Christian basilica and as a burial place. In a similar way, Old Testament texts and early Jewish traditions were integrated into the Gospel of Matthew. To give shape to his story of Jesus and to articulate the meaning of his protagonist, the narrator has borrowed material from Old Testament texts. So in this context existing material was transformed to create something new. This process involved radical semantic shifts. Concrete examples of reinterpreted Old Testament texts in Matthew will be discussed in Part 2.

1 Research Questions and Methods

In this section, I will describe the research questions central to this book and the methods I employed to answer these questions.

Part 1 is entitled 'Literary Design'. A different title could have been 'Intratextuality'. This means that the focus here is on the relations *within* the text. In this Part, the point of departure is that Matthew's Gospel, in its final form, is a relatively independent unit, the structure, meaning, and function of which can be studied without taking into account texts from other writings. As a well-structured and coherent literary work, this Gospel lends itself for application of two synchronic research methods that complement each other: structural analysis and text semantics.

The first step involves exploring Matthew's macrostructure. I will develop a new proposal as an answer to two questions: a) what medium-sized textual units does this Gospel consist of,[4] and b) what are the relations between the book's composing parts and what is their place and function within the document as a whole? Since Matthew is primarily a continuous story about Jesus, I will expand the techniques used in structural analysis with insights from narrative analysis.

Semantic analysis refers to a systematic study of the way in which meaning is expressed in a particular text and in a particular language. Semantic research has long been unilaterally focused on the meaning of separate words, clauses, and sentences, and on the reconstruction of the original, determinate meaning of texts and parts of these texts, whereby the author's intention was considered

4 Textual units differ considerably as to size. There are text units at the micro level (pericopes), at the meso level (medium-sized textual units, such as the Sermon on the Mount), and at the macro level (a complete book or document).

to be a reliable benchmark.[5] In this monograph, a new course is set out. I will broaden the study by concentrating on the meaning of textual units and on the figures of speech, composition patterns, themes, and motifs they contain. In doing so, I will not limit myself to only focusing on the author's intention but go on the principle that meaning is the result of the interplay between a textual unit and such other factors as language, literary context, and cultural setting. Within this interplay, a text usually acquires a multi-layered meaning while the text is still a unit.[6]

In Part 2, entitled 'Intertextuality', the intertextual context is added. This term refers to both the phenomenon that texts are fundamentally interwoven and to the academic research into this phenomenon. Part 2 begins with an introduction to intertextuality and a discussion of the best way to conduct an intertextual analysis of Bible texts (Chapter 5).

At this point, I will confine myself to a few general remarks on this subject. In an intertextual analysis, the relations *between* texts from various books are central. I explored whether and to what extent the following hypothesis is valid: the meaning and function of textual units from Matthew's Gospel can be better understood when these textual units are related to other co-thematic or co-generic texts from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint (LXX) and are considered to be transformations of these 'pre-texts'.[7] The question is thus how this Gospel functions in the context of wider intertextual networks, including extra-Biblical texts from early Jewish and early Christian writings.

The emphasis will be on semantics. In that area, answers to the following three questions were explored:

a) What meaning or meanings do textual units from the Hebrew Bible and/or the LXX acquire when they are woven into Matthew's book?
b) What meaning do these textual units have within their own literary context? Put differently: what is their content, separate from the meanings they acquire as a result of their inclusion into Matthew's Gospel?

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5 Eric D. Hirsch's well-known book *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967) is based on three assumptions: a) a literary text has a single meaning; b) the meaning coincides with the intention of the author; c) the purpose of the scholarly interpretation is the reconstruction of the auctorial meaning of the text.

6 See the theoretical and methodological introduction in: Pierre Van Hecke, *A Functional and Cognitive Approach to Job 12–14* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 55; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2011), 261–294.

7 The term 'pre-text' is not a synonym of 'excuse' or 'pretence' but is used here to indicate a textual unit from a book, echoes or traces of which can be found in later texts in other books.

c) What are the relationships between the meanings that textual units acquire as a result of their reuse in Matthew's Gospel and the meanings they have within their own literary setting?

To prevent that separate elements from text A are arbitrarily linked to separate elements from text B in an intertextual comparison, the intertextual analysis is always preceded by an *intra*textual analysis of the textual units from the Old Testament and from Matthew that play an important role in the subsequent comparison. An intertextual analysis thus builds on the results of a thorough structural analysis and of text-semantic research of the constituting texts. The methods introduced in Part 1 also play a role in Part 2, but are combined there with intertextual observations.

In Part 3, an attempt is made to gain new insight into the history and social setting of the Matthean communities. Here we enter the field of *extra*textuality. Words and texts do not only refer to each other, but also to actual objects, persons, places, processes, and events in the reality outside the text. It is a difficult question to what extent reliable knowledge of the world outside the text can be obtained on the basis of the information that Matthew's Gospel itself has to offer and on the basis of intertextual relations between texts from this Gospel and other writings. It will be clear that not all information on the 'world' that is revealed in this book can be directly linked to phenomena in the world outside the book. The fact that texts from Matthew have layered and multifaceted meanings, that are closely interwoven and that are determined by the literary, intertextual, cultural, and historical context is incompatible with this idea. With 'historical context', I refer to the historical and geographical circumstances in which texts and their preliminary stages emerged and functioned.

In order to gain insight into this process, such literary-historical methods as source criticism and redaction criticism are indispensable. These methods do justice to the fact that a book like Matthew's is the result of a long and complicated process of development. Parts of that process go back to oral and written traditions and they have undoubtedly undergone redaction processing following, among other things, discussions with opponents from outside the communities and with dissidents within a community's own circle. Some examples of this complex development process and of such debates will be given in Part 3.

2 Contents of This Book: An Overview

Part 1 opens with a new proposal regarding the macrostructure of Matthew's Gospel. On the basis of the discovery that the various topographical data are clustered together by means of refrains, we can distinguish three patterns in

the travels undertaken by Jesus. This rather coarse structure is further refined on the basis of Frank Matera's and Warren Carter's distinction between kernels and satellites. A better name for kernels is 'hinge texts'. The following passages belong to this category: 4:12–17; 11:2–30; 16:13–28; 21:1–17; 26:1–16. Each passage marks a turning point in the plot and has a double function: a hinge text is elaborated in the subsequent pericopes and also refers to the preceding passage. Especially these 'hinge texts' underline the continuity of Matthew's narrative.

In Chapter 2, the text-semantic approach is applied to the word group/ child/ in Matthew, consisting of the following Greek lexemes: παιδίον, παῖς, τέκνον, νήπιος, and μικρός. This approach provides insight into various lines of meaning that run through the entire book. The /child/ word group concerns real children, presented as a vulnerable group within the community. Children can have positive characteristics, such as innocence and receptiveness, but Matthew is not blind to their negative qualities. This vulnerable group in particular can count on Jesus' sympathy and on the care of the heavenly Father. In Matt 2, Jesus himself is frequently referred to as 'child'. He is a special child, born "from the Holy Ghost" and enjoying God's protection. These aspects also resonate when 'child' is used metaphorically and is applied to some of Jesus' disciples.

In Chapter 3, secret or hidden knowledge and divine revelation in Matthew's Gospel are discussed. Who in this book function as bearers of divine revelation or of "the secrets of the kingdom"? To answer this question, the structure and meaning of four key texts are studied (11:25–30; 13:10–17; 16:13–28; 24:3–25:46). In 11:25–30, Jesus presents himself as the primary recipient of God's revelation, but he wants to share his knowledge of God with 'infants'. In 13:10–17, it becomes clear that the disciples are in a privileged position because they understand the secrets of the kingdom. Once they themselves have taken in all the necessary knowledge, they must disseminate it among all nations. The disciples' special position is explained in 16:13–28 with the figure of Peter as an example: he is capable of receiving divine revelation but simultaneously he is setting his mind on human things. In the Eschatological Discourse (24:3–25:46), the secret is revealed that, in the period preceding the eschaton, the Son of Man can be found where he is least expected, namely, among the poor and the homeless. Understanding the secrets of the kingdom must therefore result in solidarity with people in distress.

Chapter 4 is about the role of the human body in texts in Matthew on the resurrection. An analysis of the structure and meaning of the circle of stories in 27:55–28:20 shows how Matthew pits his own view of Jesus' resurrection against that of his opponents. In both views, the corporeal aspects of Jesus'

resurrection are clearly emphasized, but the views differ where the question of whether corporeality must merely be identified with flesh, bones, and blood is concerned. Matthew has a broader concept of corporeality than his opponents. This is borne out by his account of how "many bodies of the saints" were raised at the moment of Jesus' death. Texts on the eschatological fate of Jesus' disciples are less uniform on this point.

In Part 2, the emergence of the new concept of intertextuality is described in Chapter 5 and an analysis model is developed that can be applied to a study of the relations between two or more texts. Chapters 6 to 12 contain seven practical demonstrations of how this analysis model may be applied to textual units from Matthew's Gospel and their relations with pre-texts from the Hebrew Bible and/or the LXX, and with early Jewish and early Christian texts. Various forms of intertextuality will be discussed.

A special form of intertextuality is that a text contains proper names that are known from older texts. One example is Matthew's genealogy of Jesus (1:1–17). In Chapter 6, I look for answers to the question of why Matthew included five women in this list. My hypothesis is that Mary continues in a role which Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba already played in stories from the Hebrew Bible. Special attention will be given to the question of whether the four Old Testament women in the Hebrew Bible are presented in a negative light and did not develop into shining examples of morality until the LXX and early-Jewish and rabbinical literature. I will answer this question by exploring five elements that the stories on these women have in common with Matthew's description of Mary's role and position.

In Chapter 7, two quotations from Isaiah (7:14 and 8:23b–9:1) are studied that together frame the prologue to Matthew's book. These quotations are in Matt 1:23 and 4:14–16, where they function as a programmatic sketch of Jesus' identity and mission, presented by Matthew at the beginning of his book. The first quotation goes back to the LXX; the formulation of the second quotation was influenced by the LXX, whereas Matthew's interpretation of this text links up with the substance of the Hebrew version. The question of whether 'virgin' in the LXX version of Isa 7:14 has the same meaning as in Matt 1:23 will be discussed in detail. Chapter 7 elaborates on the analysis of Mary's role in Chapter 6.

For his disciples, Jesus is the only authoritative teacher (23:8). His teachings are presented in five long discourses, most notably in the Sermon on the Mount. He emphasizes certain features in his interpretation of the Torah. In Chapter 8, I elaborate on this on the basis of his teachings concerning marriage, adultery, and divorce. Given Matt 5:27–32 and 19:3–12, he seems to hold

radical points of view, but an intertextual analysis points out that his opinions link up with layers of meaning in Old Testament texts (Exod 20:13 and Deut 5:17; Deut 24:1–4; Gen 1:27 and 2:24) and with strict interpretations of these texts by some Jews of his time.

The story of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Matt 21:1–17) contains six explicit quotations. In Chapter 9, it is demonstrated that these quotations involve implicit references to the literary context from which the quotations originate. This shows that there is an intensive interaction between separate texts and that this interplay is a powerful source of new meanings. This process already started in the Old Testament and is continued in Matthew. I also discuss the phenomenon that the six quotations that are combined in Matthew shed light on each other in their new literary setting and thus provide a new perspective of Zion as the place where, after a period of crisis, God's people will have a new future.

In Chapter 10, Matthew's version of the parable of the tenants is discussed as well as Mark's. First I will show that the parable in Mark 12:1–12 has been constructed on the basis of the vineyard song in Isa 5:1–7 (there are connections with the Hebrew text as well as with the LXX version) and that the later exegesis of Isa 5:1–7 as it is found in the Targum and in 4Q500 has also left traces in the parable. I subsequently focus on the question of whether the connections with Isa 5:1–7 in Matt 21:33–46 are limited to the connections that can already be found in Mark. I will show that Matthew made additional links to Isa 5:1–7 which he did not derive from Mark.

Chapter 11—like Chapter 4—is devoted to the resurrection imagery in Matthew, but with the difference that this subject is now highlighted from an intertextual research perspective. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the point of departure in this Chapter is not the phenomenon that texts from Matthew elaborate on Old Testament pre-texts, but rather the striking parallels between Matthew's Gospel, an early Christian document, and *4 Ezra*, a Jewish apocalyptic book. These two writings are variants of each other in the sense that each text has its own elaboration of the idea that the eschatological resurrection is part of a broader eschatological scenario.

Chapter 12 explores what images of the ideal community are constructed in Matthew's Gospel, the Letter of James, and the Didache, and presents the results of a semantic analysis of three topics: a) the way in which the community is referred to; b) the community's relationship to God and Jesus; c) the concept of perfection. The following lexemes are central: ἐκκλησία, θεός, Ἰησοῦς, and τέλειος. It is shown that the three documents are closely related where the construction of ideals which the Christian community must meet is concerned, but the differences are likewise striking. Most differences can be

explained by the fact that the three documents do not belong to the same literary genre. The main difference is that the Didachist opens up the community to members who are not 'perfect'.

Part 3 is about the history and the social setting of the Matthean communities. In Chapter 12, images of the ideal community are mapped and, in Chapter 13, the real community is discussed. The topic of this Chapter is whether and to what extent the ways in which the religious communities are portrayed in Matthew's Gospel are related to 'real' persons and groups in different phases of their history. Departing from the tension between older and younger layers in Matthew's Gospel, I will distinguish three phases in the history of the Matthean communities. In the first phase (prior to 70 C.E.), Christian Jews considered themselves full members of the multi-form Jewish community. In the second phase (ca. 70–80), they became a minority group within the Jewish community and they came into conflict with the Pharisees, who tried to redefine the social and religious identity of Judaism. In the third phase (ca. 80–90), the Christian Jews gradually detached themselves from the Jewish community and came into contact with a broad multi-cultural network of Christian communities.

This schematic overview is made more concrete in Chapter 14 on the basis of the discussion on the reality of Jesus' resurrection between the Matthean communities and the leaders of Judaism. This Chapter links up with Chapter 4 in the sense that the intratextual analysis of Matt 27:55–28:20 provided there is extended with a literary-historical analysis of the relationship between the canonical Gospel of Matthew and the non-canonical *Gospel of Peter*. In both writings, the fear is expressed that Jesus' disciples will come and steal his body from the tomb. The study of the development of the two versions shows that, in these two writings, one and the same tradition is elaborated into two different directions.

Chapter 15 contains a literary-historical analysis aimed at the reconstruction of the wording and meaning of the source text (Q) used by Matthew in composing the parable of the guests in 22:1–14. I put forward the hypothesis that Matthew has incorporated a second Q parable in 22:1–14. Traces of this parable can also be found in Luke's parable of the pounds (19:11–27). Within this monograph as a whole, this Chapter reflects the differences between the method of literary-historical research of sources and redaction, and the intertextual approach developed in Part 2.

The book ends with some Final Observations in which the research questions are answered, the methods used are evaluated, and perspectives are formulated for the further development of the intertextual approach.

PART 1

Literary Design

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CHAPTER 1

The Macrostructure of Matthew's Gospel: A New Proposal

An important question in studying Matthew is how the book is structured. The results of studies of this issue vary considerably. The differences are so great that it is sometimes seriously doubted whether the first Gospel in fact has a clear basic structure.[1] The diversity of solutions can partly be explained by the complexity of the subject, and partly also by lack of agreement on the methods to be used. Such a study can be undertaken from a diachronic perspective but it is better to do so from a literary-synchronic perspective.[2] The task with which the exegete is faced in the latter case is described by David Bauer as follows: "a) to determine the major units and sub-units within the Gospel, and b) to identify the structural relationships within and between these units".[3]

1 Cf. Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on his Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982), 11: "the Gospel of Matthew is structurally mixed".

2 In the case of a diachronical approach, the attention is focused on the *Kompositionsgeschichte*: the question is then whether and to what extent Matthew, in writing his Gospel, was influenced by compositional characteristics of his sources. See, e.g., Benoit Standaert, "L'Évangile selon Matthieu: Composition et genre littéraire," Pages 1223–1250 in vol. 2 of *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (eds. Frans Van Segbroeck, Christopher M. Tuckett, Gilbert Van Belle, and Jozef Verheyden; BETL 100B; Leuven: Peeters, 1992); M. Eugene Boring, "The Convergence of Source Analysis, Social History and Literary Structure in the Gospel of Matthew," *Society of Biblical Literature: Seminar Papers* 33 (1994): 587–611 (598): "Reflections on the way Matthew put his narrative together might be expanded to include the composition history of the document, and not only the compositional features." According to Ulrich Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (*Mt 1–7*) (EKKNT I/1; Zürich: Benziger / Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985), 16–17, Matthew was so strongly bound to his sources, "daß man nicht bei der Strukturanalyse diachrone Fragen ausklammern kann" and therefore he formulates as a first methodical thesis: "Methodisch kontrollierbar fragen kann man allein nach der vom Evangelisten *bewußt beabsichtigten* Gliederung, nicht nach einer unabhängig davon auf der Textebene allein existierenden Struktur."

3 David R. Bauer, *The Structure of Matthew's Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* (JSNTSup 31; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 13. What literary and rhetorical techniques must be taken into account in a structural analysis is formulated by H.J. Bernard Combrink, "The Macrostructure of the Gospel of Matthew," *Neot* 16 (1982): 6–10. See also Sebastian Mullooparambil, *Macrostructure of Matthew's Gospel* (Bangalore: Dharmaram Publications, 2011).

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Through the differences in the chosen research perspective, the existing proposals for the structure of Matthew vary widely. I will not present a complete description of the *status quaestionis* here but will restrict myself to a number of representative examples (sections 1 and 2). In section 3, I will present a new proposal for the structure of Matthew.

1 Narrative Blocs and Discourses Alternate

According to Benjamin Bacon, Matthew has divided his Gospel, by analogy to the books of Moses, into five blocs, which are so independent of each other that they can be considered as five books.[4] He bases this idea on two phenomena. The first is that a discourse by Jesus is concluded five times with a stereotypical formula (καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν κτλ. in 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; 26:1); according to Bacon, this formula introduces a deep caesura in the text. The second phenomenon is that each discourse (D) is preceded by an introductory narrative section (N) that always forms a whole with the relevant discourse. In total, this pattern (N + D) occurs five times, so that Matthew consists of five books, of which the first begins in 3:1 and the last ends in 25:46. The five books are framed by a preamble (Matt 1–2) and an epilogue (Matt 26–28). In a scheme:

Preamble	1:1–2:23
Book 1	3:1–4:25 (N) and 5:1–7:27 (D); formula: 7:28–29
Book 2	8:1–9:35 (N) and 9:36–10:42 (D); formula: 11:1
Book 3	11:2–12:50 (N) and 13:1–52 (D); formula: 13:53
Book 4	13:54–17:20 (N) and 17:22–18:35 (D); formula: 19:1a
Book 5	19:1b–22:46 (N) and 23:1–25:46 (D); formula: 26:1
Epilogue	26:3–28:20

The view of Matthew's Gospel consisting of five books has been supported by literary analyses of Christopher Smith.[5] His two main arguments are: 1. the Gospel of Matthew alternates between narrative and discourse, and 2. each

4 Benjamin W. Bacon, "The Five Books of Matthew Against the Jews," *The Expositor* VIII, 85 (1918): 56–66; Id., *Studies in Matthew* (New York: Henry Holt, 1930). Largely followed by Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1997), 172.

5 Christopher R. Smith, "Literary Evidence of a Fivefold Structure in the Gospel of Matthew," *NTS* 43 (1997): 540–551.

narrative introduces a theme on which the following discourse subsequently expounds. The Gospel's underlying principle is constituted by five consecutive narrative-discourse pairs, in each of which a specific theme relating to the Kingdom is being elaborated.

Introduction	Genealogy (1:1–17)	
The foundations of the kingdom	First Narrative (1:18–4:25)	First Discourse (5:1–7:29)
The mission of the kingdom	Second Narrative (8:1–9:38)	Second Discourse (10:1–42)
The mystery of the kingdom	Third Narrative (11:1–13:9)	Third Discourse (13:10–53)
The family of the kingdom	Fourth Narrative (13:54–17:27)	Fourth Discourse (18:1–35)
The destiny of the kingdom	Fifth Narrative (19:1–23:39)	Fifth Discourse (24:1–25:46)
Conclusion	Passion Narrative (26:1–28:20)	

It is obvious that this proposal enriches Bacon's ideas with new elements. To this it ought to be remarked that the introduction is restricted to the genealogy, and that the third discourse does not begin until 13:10.

The placing of the formula shows where the discourses end, but not precisely where they begin.[6] Does the Sermon on the Mount begin in 4:23, in 4:25 or in 5:1? Does the Mission Discourse start in 10:5b, in 9:35 or in 9:36? Does the Community Discourse begin with the disciples' question in 18:1, with the dialogue between Jesus and Peter in 17:24–27 or with the passion prediction in 17:22? Does the discourse in Matt 23 in fact form a whole with the Eschatological Discourse in Matt 24–25? These questions already indicate that the strict distinction between N and D is rather artificial. This impression is strengthened when we include Matt 1–2 and 26–28 in the debate. Bacon labels these parts as the prologue and the epilogue, respectively, and therefore they do not form part of the five books that Matthew consists of. Especially for Matt 26–28, this is hardly convincing, since these chapters are indisputably the dramatic climax of Matthew's story of Jesus. Given the distinction between N and D, Matt 1–2 and 26–28 can also be categorised under N. Or in other words, the alternation

6 This issue is discussed by Terence J. Keegan, "Introductory Formulae for Matthean Discourses," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 415–430.

between N and D is not characteristic of 3:1–25:46 only, but of the entire book. This opinion is defended by Charles Lohr. According to him, Matthew consists of six narrative sections and five discourses (Matt 23–25 is seen as one discourse).

He argues for a concentric ordering with the Parable Discourse as the centre of the entire book:[7]

A											1–4	Narrative 1: Birth and beginnings
	B										5–7	Sermon I: Blessings, entering kingdom
		C									8–9	Narrative 2: Authority and invitation
			D								10	Sermon II: Mission Discourse
				E							11–12	Narrative 3: Rejection by this generation
					F						13	Sermon III: Parables of the kingdom
				E’							14–17	Narrative 4: Acknowledgment by disciples
			D’								18	Sermon IV: Community Discourse
		C’									19–22	Narrative 5: Authority and invitation
	B’										23–25	Sermon V: Woes, Coming of the kingdom
A’											26–28	Narrative 6: Death and rebirth

According to Bacon, each discourse is linked up with the narrative bloc that precedes it. This view is based on the fact that he attributes a concluding function to the stereotypical formula. This has been disputed by a number of authors. They point out that this formula does not so much have a concluding function but rather a linking one.[8] After all, it is important that this formula is always found in a subordinate clause introduced by ὅτε that is combined with a main clause relating to the continuation of the story. The consequences of this view for the segmentation of Matthew have been elaborated as follows by Philippe Rolland:[9]

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7 Charles H. Lohr, “Oral Techniques in the Gospel of Matthew,” *CBQ* 23 (1961): 403–435 (427). A concentric ordering has also been presented by Combrink, *Macrostructure*, 16: A: 1:1–4:17; B: 4:18–7:29; C: 8:1–9:35; D: 9:36–11:1; E: 11:2–12:50; F: 13:1–53; E’: 13:54–16:20; D’: 16:21–20:34; C’: 21:1–22:46; B’: 23:1–25:46; A’: 26:1–28:20. Similarly in Id., “The Structure of Matthew’s Gospel as Narrative,” *TynBul* 34 (1983): 61–90 (71). This segmentation of the text differs considerably from Lohr’s mainly in segments E’, D’ and C’.

8 This is formulated—slightly too strongly—as follows by Luz, *Evangelium nach Matthäus* (*Mt 1–7*), 19: “καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν etc. in 7,28; 11,1; 13,53; 19,1; 26,1 schließt syntaktisch nicht eine Rede ab, sondern leitet eine neue Etappe der Erzählung *ein*!”

9 Philippe Rolland, “From the Genesis to the End of the World: The Plan of Matthew’s Gospel,” *BTB* 2 (1972): 155–176 (156): “We deem it preferable to consider the transition formula five times repeated (…) as a connecting link, and to join to each discourse the narratives that

Prologue	1:1–4:16:	From the Old to the New Testament
	1.	Infancy narratives (1:1–2:23)
	2.	John the Baptist and Jesus (3:1–4:16)
First Part	4:17–9:34:	The Kingdom of God is at hand
	1.	Introduction and discourse (4:17–7:29)
	2.	Narrative section (8:1–9:34)
Second Part	9:35–12:50:	The lost sheep of the house of Israel
	1.	Introduction and discourse (9:35–10:42)
	2.	Narrative section (11:1–12:50)
Third Part	13:1–17:27:	I will build my church
	1.	Discourse (13:1–58)
	2.	Narrative section (14:1–17:27)
Fourth Part	18:1–23:39:	The true Israel
	1.	Discourse (18:1–35)
	2.	Narrative section (19:1–23:39)
Fifth Part	24:1–28:20:	The final victory
	1.	Discourse (24:1–25:46)
	2.	Narrative section (26:1–28:20)

The division into five parts is retained, but the five sections are different from Bacon's. They do not consist of N + D, but of D + N. The concluding chapters (26–28) are no longer in an isolated position. Furthermore, it is remarkable that Rolland detaches Matt 23 from the Eschatological Discourse, but his classifying this chapter as a narrative section testifies to an urge for regularisation.

After this reversion of the ordering (D + N instead of N + D), a compromise between the two views was bound to be emerge. This compromise was suggested by David Barr.[10] He argues that the discourses are not only connected to the narrative material that precedes them, but also to the narrative material by which they are followed (pattern: N ← D → N). Schematically, his proposal is as follows: Matt 1–4 (N) ← 5–7 (D) → 8–9 (N) ←10 (D) → 11–12 (N) ← 13:1–52 (D) → 13:53–17:27 (N) ← 18 (D) → 19–22 (N) ← 23–25 (D) → 26–28 (N).

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follow instead of those that precede." See also Werner Schmauch, "Die Komposition des Matthäus-Evangeliums in ihrer Bedeutung für seine Interpretation," Pages 64–87 in Id., *. . . zu achten aufs Wort: Ausgewählte Arbeiten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).

10 David L. Barr, "The Drama of Matthew's Gospel: A Reconsideration of Its Structure and Purpose," *TD* 24 (1976): 349–359 (352): "The discourses are not dividers, but connectors, linking two sections of narrative together."

These examples will suffice to illustrate the discussion on the structure of Matthew on the basis of the two phenomena signalled by Bacon: the stereotypical formula and the alternation of N and D. I will conclude this overview with a critical appraisal.

(1) The formula itself always concludes a discourse, but the complete sentence of which it forms a part also links up with what follows. It is not possible to gather from the formula where the discourse begins, nor does it show where the narrative that follows the discourse exactly ends. For the precise determination of these boundaries, other criteria must be applied.

(2) The subdivisions mentioned are based on "une distinction artificielle et rigide entre narration et discours".[11] That it would be advisable not to make this rigid distinction is apparent from the lack of unanimity on the precise demarcation of D and N. The clearest example of this is that Matt 23 is classified as D by one author and as N by another (and this notwithstanding the fact that we are dealing here with an uninterrupted monologue by Jesus!). Moreover, the sharp distinction between N and D suggest that the five long discourses are detached from the rest of Matthew's story of Jesus and that they always interrupt this story. This position is untenable for, as character text, the discourses are principally embedded in the narrator's text. Moreover it is remarkable that also narrative texts in Matthew have a discursive character.

(3) Furthermore, I would like to point out two other phenomena. Firstly, in the parts classified as N, Jesus also speaks frequently and sometimes at some length: apart from 11:2–3.7a, Matt 11 only consists of words spoken by Jesus; 12:25–45 contains a monologue by Jesus, that is only interrupted in 12:38–39a by a remark from his listeners; Matt 19–22 contains many statements by Jesus. Secondly, the reverse can also be observed: the parts that are labelled D contain some narrative sentences, which remind the reader that the character text is embedded in the narrator's text (13:10.36; 18:21–22).

2 A Story in Three Acts

A second proposal for the structure of Matthew, that continues to be influential, was developed by Edgar Krentz and was subsequently propagated by Jack Kingsbury and David Bauer.[12] Their point of departure is the parallelism

11 David W. Gooding, "Structure littéraire de Matthieu, XIII,53 à XVIII,35," *RB* 85 (1978): 227–252 (233).

12 Edgar Krentz, "The Extent of Matthew's Prologue: Toward the Structure of the First Gospel," *JBL* 83 (1964): 409–414; Jack D. Kingsbury, "The Structure of Matthew's Gospel

between 4:17 and 16:21. Both verses open with ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς, followed by an infinitive (κηρύσσειν καὶ λέγειν in 4:17; δεικνύειν in 16:21) and a brief summary of the content of Jesus' words. These verses would have a macrosyntactic function and serve as the captions of two long sections, the first (4:17–16:20) about Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom and the second (16:21–28:20) about his journey to Jerusalem and about his passion, death, and resurrection. These two sections are preceded by a long text (1:1–4:16) that functions as a prologue that informs the reader on Jesus' identity. This introductive part also has a caption that relates to the content of the entire part (βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ). In this perspective, the Gospel according to Matthew consists of three parts:

I	1:1–4:16	Jesus as a Person
II	4:17–16:20	His Proclamation
III	16:21–28:20	His Passion, Death, and Resurrection

In his book *Matthew as Story*, Kingsbury has elaborated this basic pattern further:[13]

I	1:1–4:16	The Presentation of Jesus	
II	4:17–16:20	The Ministry of Jesus to Israel and Israel's Repudiation of Jesus	
		1. 4:17–11:1	The Ministry of Jesus to Israel
		2. 11:2–16:20	Israel's Repudiation of Jesus
III	16:21–28:20	The Journey of Jesus to Jerusalem and His Suffering, Death, and Resurrection	
		1. 16:21–25:46	The Journey of Jesus to Jerusalem and His Activity in the Temple
		2. 26:1–28:20	The Betrayal, Condemnation, Crucifixion, and Resurrection of Jesus

Within this proposal, that does justice to the narrative character of the Gospel, the stereotypical formula following the Jesus' five discourses has a linking

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and His Concept of Salvation-History," *CBQ* 35 (1973): 451–474; Id., *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press / London: SPCK, 1975), 1–39; Bauer, *Structure*.

13 Jack D. Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1988²), 40–93. We encounter the same refinements in Bauer, *Structure*, 73–108.

rather than a dividing function. However, there are deep caesuras between 4:16 and 4:17 and between 16:20 and 16:21.

That part I (1:1–4:16) is a textual unit is clear, according to the authors of this option, by two phenomena: a) this long text fragment shows explicit interest in Jesus' identity; b) his vicissitudes are regularly presented as the fulfilment of statements from Scripture. We do not only encounter these two phenomena in 1:1–2:23 but also in 3:1–4:16. It is true that the Christological interest emerges strongest in Matt 1–2, where Jesus is referred to in various ways (1:1.16.23; 2:2.6.15.23), but this line culminates in 3:17 where God himself calls him his beloved Son. The four formula quotations in Matt 1–2 (1:22–23; 2:15.17–18.23) are also followed up in 4:14–16.

Kingsbury further emphasizes that there is only a slight caesura between Matt 2 and Matt 3: the particle δέ in 3:1 has a linking function, and ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις bridges a long period of time, also in Exod 2:11 (LXX), while the story continues.[14] There is not a deep caesura between 4:11 and 4:12 either since the name Jesus, last mentioned in 4:10, is not repeated in 4:12.

Matt 1:1 is interpreted as the caption covering the entire part I. To support this opinion, Kingsbury–in imitation of Krentz–points to Gen 2:4a and especially to Gen 5:1. In the LXX, βίβλος γενέσεως in Gen 5:1 introduces a textual unit (5:1–6:8), that consists of a genealogy and a subsequent narrative section. In Matthew, we also encounter a genealogy (1:1–17), followed by a long series of stories (1:18–4:16; so not merely 1:18–2:23). Within the entire book, part I has the function of a prologue; in preparation to the description of Jesus' ministry (from 4:17 onwards), the reader is informed, in 1:1–4:16, on Jesus' identity.

Parts II and III are both coherent text units. The caption of part II (4:17) is recapitulated in a number of summaries (4:23–25; 9:35; 11:1b).[15] Similarly, the caption of part III (16:21), the prediction of Jesus' suffering, death, and resurrection, is repeated in 17:22–23 and 20:17–19. This latter aspect was somewhat refined by Tommy Slater, who points out that 26:2 should also be included in the series mentioned by Kingsbury.[16]

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14 The time adjunct in Exod 2:11 in the LXX is not exactly the same as in Matt 3:1. The LXX has ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταὶς πολλαῖς ἐκείναις.

15 In order to express their function as foundation of the story, summaries are labelled as 'Basisberichte' by Klaus Berger, *Formen und Gattungen im Neuen Testament* (UTB 2532; Tübingen / Basel: A. Francke, 2005), 388–391.

16 Tommy B. Slater, "Notes on Matthew's Structure," *JBL* 99 (1980): 436: "As a mere corrective to Kingsbury, the three passion-predictions are 17:22–23, 20:17–19, and 26:2, with 16:21 being more a redactional statement than a prediction."

It is astonishing that this division into three is still so popular,[17] for it is some time ago now that Frans Neirynck's apposite criticism has accurately revealed the weak link in the entire construction.[18] He acknowledges the parallelism in the formulations of 4:17 and 16:21,[19] but he disputes the argument that ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο indicates the beginning of a new section. To this end, he calls attention to the fact that ἀπὸ τότε also occurs in Matt 26:16, where it refers to the preceding verses (26:14–15).

In 16:21 and 4:17, the time adjunct ἀπὸ τότε is also very closely connected with the event narrated immediately before. According to Neirynck, the sentences introduced by ἀπὸ τότε do belong to a passage that started earlier: 4:17 is an integral part of 4:12–17; 16:21 introduces a new turn in the conversation between Jesus and his disciples in the neighbourhood of Caesarea Philippi (16:13–28); 26:16 forms the conclusion of 26:3–16. Within the Gospel as a whole, these three pericopes occupy an important place: all three introduce a new phase in Jesus' ministry. Neirynck thus attributes a function to the three pericopes that is related to the function that Kingsbury gives to 4:17 and 16:21. Still, there is an important difference. Within Kingsbury's division, there is first a period in which Jesus proclaims the kingdom (4:17–16:20), and then a period in which his suffering, death, and resurrection are central (16:21–28:20). According to Neirynck, the different phases cannot be separated so rigidly. On the contrary, it can be said that they overlap—at least partly. Also after 16:20, Jesus speaks many times about the kingdom (in 26:29 for the last time); the reverse is also true: Jesus' death is touched upon before 16:21 (e.g., in 9:15 and 12:14.40). Interesting is also Neirynck's suggestion to include 26:3–16 in the series of passages that introduce a new phase. After this passage, the events that have been announced since 16:13–28 come to a head.

I will conclude this section with three critical remarks on details from Kingsbury's argument:

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17 See the divisions in: Joachim Gnilka, *Das Matthäusevangelium, 2. Teil* (HTKNT I/2; Freiburg: Herder, 1988), 524: Vorgeschichte: 1,1–4,16; 1. Hauptteil: 4,17–16,20; 2. Hauptteil: 16,21–25,46; Passion und Ostern: 26,1–28,20.

18 Frans Neirynck, "La rédaction matthéenne et la structure du premier évangile," *ETL* 43 (1967): 41–73; Id., "ΑΠΟ ΤΟΤΕ ΗΡΞΑΤΟ and the Structure of Matthew," *ETL* 64 (1988): 21–59.

19 Except for Matthew, ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, nor in the LXX. The time adjunct ἀπὸ τότε can be found elsewhere: Ezra 5:16; Ps 75:8; 92:2; Qoh 8:12; Matt 26:16; Luke 16:16.

(1) According to Kingsbury, the three parts of which Matthew consists each have their own caption (1:1; 4:17; 16:21), the content of which is elaborated in the section which they introduce. Much can be said against this. How can the content of 1:1 (Jesus is the son of David, the son of Abraham) be reconciled with Kingsbury's claim that part I culminates in 3:17 where Jesus is called the Son of God? There is also a certain tension between 4:17 and part II: in 4:17, only Jesus' proclamation is mentioned, while part II also focuses on his acts (see, e.g., 11:2). The caption in 16:21 anticipates events that are not extensively elaborated until the passion narrative and hardly covers the content of 16:21–25:46.

(2) The substantive correspondence between the caption of 4:17 and the summaries in part II (4:23–25; 9:35; 11:1b) is only relative. The summaries regularly have διδάσκειν and κηρύσσειν; however, 4:17 has κηρύσσειν and λέγειν. Furthermore, the summaries also mention Jesus' acts, especially his healings (θεραπεύω). Even more importantly, these summaries do not occur after 11:1b whereas part II does not end until 16:20. To a lesser degree, this same objection applies to the relation between the caption in 16:21 and the passion predictions in 17:22–23 and 20:17–19. If, following Slater, 26:2 is also added to this series, the passion predictions are more or less evenly spread over part III.

(3) Kingsbury describes 4:17–16:20 as "the ministry of Jesus to Israel and Israel's repudiation of Jesus". It bears witness to little feeling for nuance that Kingsbury lumps together the Jewish leaders and the people under the all-encompassing term 'Israel' and that he speaks of a negative reaction of the entire Jewish people to Jesus' words and deeds.

3 The Macrostructure of Matthew's Gospel: A New Solution

In this section, I will present a new proposal concerning the macrostructure of the Gospel according to Matthew, with the starting point that this Gospel is a narrative text, a *story* about Jesus. The narrator offers his main character ample opportunity to speak. These sections are to be considered as character's text and are as such embedded in the narrator's text. The same goes for the five discourses held by Jesus that the narrator, judging by his concluding formula, presents as textual units. We must do justice to these units when answering the question which sub-structures can be recognised in the book. Nonetheless, these do not themselves present us with the key to the determination of the macrostructure.

In this section, I will take a closer look at a number of textual phenomena that have a structuring function. I will begin by discussing a characteristic that the Gospel according to Matthew has in common with every other narrative

text: the events related take place in a certain temporal and spatial setting (3.1 and 3.2). Assuming the distinction between 'kernels' and 'satellites', I will step by step develop a new solution (3.3–3.7).

3.1 *Temporal Information*

The book of Matthew covers the period round the birth of Jesus up till his resurrection from the dead. This juncture is expanded further backward and forward by means of references to the past (retrospections) and to the future (anticipations). The farthest point in the past to be mentioned in Matthew is the creation of the world (19:4.8), and the furthest point in the future is the coming of the Son of Man (24:3.27.29.39) or the end of the age (13:39.40.49; 24:3; 28:20). Twice, the narrator indicates that, from a temporal point of view, he stands at great distance from the events that he narrates. In 27:8 and 28:15, he mentions two phenomena that originate in the period described in the book but that "to this day" are still well-known or influential.

There are a number of indications that give an idea of the temporal organisation of Matthew's story about Jesus. In 1:2–17, the history of Israel is reviewed, starting with Abraham and culminating in Jesus. The episodes in 1:18–2:23 take place towards the end of the rule of Herod the Great and at the beginning of Archelaus' administration. There is a long time-span between the establishment of the young Jesus in Nazareth (2:22–23) and the ministry of John the Baptist (3:1).[20] An unspecified period of time passes between the temptation of Jesus in the desert (4:1–11) and the time when he decides to go and live in Capernaum (4:12–17). The summaries in 4:23 and 9:35 characterize in a few strokes of the pen the activities of Jesus in Galilee during a long period of time. In 11:12–13, a review of the history that has been told so far is to be found; the retroversion formulated here refers back to John's ministry as narrated in 3:1–17 (ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερων Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ ἕως ἄρτι); together, John and Jesus have made the kingdom of heaven accessible, whilst "until John came" (ἕως Ἰωάννου) it was predicted by all the Prophets and the Torah.[21] In 11:25, we come across the time adjunct ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, that is then repeated twice (12:1 and 14:1). This formula indicates that the time has come when Jesus confronts those around him with the necessity to make decisive choices. In Jerusalem, Jesus debates with various adversaries for a whole day in the temple (see 21:18: "in

20 Gerd Häfner, "'Jene Tage' (Mt 3,1) und die Umfang des matthäischen 'Prologs'," *BZ* 37 (1993): 51, challenges the idea that there is a deep caesura between 2:23 and 3:1 and he considers the "in those days" used in 3:1 to be a "Verknüpfung von für den Evangelisten zeitlich zusammengehörenden Ereignissen".

21 In 11:12, ἀπό has an inclusive meaning and, in 11:13, ἕως has an exclusive one.

the morning"; 22:23: "the same day"; 22:46: "from that day"). Not until the passion narrative is the passage of time described with great precision.[22]

For the rest, the indications of time offer little to hold on to in the determination of the temporal organisation of the story. The concrete temporal details merely have a function within the pericope in which they are to be found,[23] or they make a connection with the previous passage.[24] As a rule, τότε, that appears 90 times, has a binding function. An exception to this are the cases of ἀπὸ τότε (4:17; 16:21; 26:16); this temporal notion marks a new phase in the work of Jesus. In 4:17 ἀπὸ τότε marks the beginning of the period in which Jesus proclaims the coming of the kingdom of heaven. As has already been mentioned, this period of time starts as soon as he goes to live in Capernaum and not just after, and continues right up till his suffering and death. Whilst Jesus continues to preach the gospel of the kingdom, he also begins, in 16:13–28, to speak with his disciples about his pending death and resurrection. This marks the beginning of a subperiod that covers his stay near Caesarea Philippi up till two days before Easter (26:16). In 26:17, a new sub-period begins (marked by ἀπὸ τότε in 26:16), when he is indeed handed over to his adversaries.

From this analysis of the temporal information in Matthew, I have come to the following conclusions. There is an interval of time between 2:23 and 3:1 and also between 4:11 and 4:12. Jesus begins his ministry in 4:12–17. The summaries in 4:23 and 9:35 indicate that Jesus is acting as a teacher and healer for a long period of time in Galilee. In 11:2–24, a review is to be found of the ministry of John and Jesus. A new and crucial phase starts in 11:25. In 16:13–28, Jesus, at that time in the region of Caesarea Philippi, begins to speak of his suffering, death, and resurrection. The events announced come to a head in the passion narrative. This scenario, predicted time and again, begins with Judas looking for the most appropriate time to deliver Jesus up.

3.2 *Topographical Information*

Most of the topographical details in Matthew are connected to Jesus. Although he lives in Nazareth (2:22) and Capernaum (4:13), respectively, he does not have a permanent place of abode (cf. 8:20) and moves restlessly from one place to another.

This is a pattern which started right back in 2:1–23: following Jesus' birth in Bethlehem in Judea, Joseph takes him firstly to Egypt, and then to Nazareth in Galilee. Once an adult, he travels from Galilee to the desert of Judea to be

22 See: 26:2.17.20.31.34.55; 27:1.19.45–46.53.57.62.63.64; 28:1.

23 See 8:13; 12:1; 14:15.23.25; 15:28.32.

24 See 13:1; 17:1; 18:1.

baptized by John and he is led into the desert to be tempted by the devil. The temptations bring with them imaginary journeys to the holy city of Jerusalem and to a very high mountain. Following this, there is a sequence (4:12–20:34) in which various places and regions are mentioned. That Matthew uses the same order here as Mark in situating his story firstly in Galilee (4:12–15:20), then in the surrounding area (15:21–18:35), and finally in Judea (19:1–20:34) is not entirely convincing.[25] Already in the part situated in Galilee (4:12–15:20), Jesus leaves Galilee and travels to the region of the Gadarenes (8:28–34); conversely, in 15:21–18:35 (that according to Willoughby Allen should be situated "in the surrounding area of Galilee"), it is mentioned that Jesus and his disciples are in Galilee (17:22), in Capernaum to be precise (17:24). It is only from Matt 21 onwards that there is an obvious unity of place. In 21:1–28:15, the events related take place in Jerusalem or in the surrounding area of this city. The book ends, however, in the region in which Jesus was active for a long period of time: in 28:16–20, the risen Lord appears to the eleven on a mountain in Galilee.

Thus, at first sight, few connections are to be found in the spatial setting of the events related. However, the impression given here evaporates when we note that various topographical data are clustered together by means of three refrains that are connected to one another.

The first refrain was discovered by Frans Breukelman and is to be found in 1:1–16:20.[26] It can be recognized by the verb ἀναχωρέω (= 'to withdraw'), that is used in seven cases to indicate a move to another place:

2:12–13	And having been warned in a dream not to return to Herod, they (= the wise men) left (ἀνεχώρησαν) for their own country by another road. Now after they had left (ἀναχώρησάντων) (…).
2:14	Then Joseph (…) went to (ἀνεχώρησεν) Egypt.
2:22–23	But when he heard that (…). And after being warned in a dream, he went away (ἀνεχώρησεν) to the district of Galilee. There he made his home in a town called Nazareth, (….)
4:12	Now when Jesus heard that John had been arrested, he withdrew (ἀνεχώρησεν) to Galilee.
12:15	When Jesus became aware of this, he departed (ἀνεχώρησεν).

25 This pattern is found in: Willoughby C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1947[3]), LXIII–LXIV.

26 Frans Breukelman, *Bijbelse theologie, deel III: De theologie van de evangelist Matteüs* (Kampen: Kok, 1984), 144–166. See also Deirdre Good, "The Verb ANAXΩPEΩ in Matthew's Gospel," *NovT* 32 (1990): 1–12.

14:13 Now when Jesus heard this, he withdrew (ἀνεχώρησεν) from there in a boat to a deserted place by himself.

15:21 Jesus left that place and went away (ἀνεχώρησεν) to the district of Tyre and Sidon.

That these sentences have the character of a refrain is clear from the fact that, apart from the verb ἀναχωρέω, they also have a number of other fixed elements: a) people close to Jesus or Jesus himself withdraw(s); b) they do this because they hear or perceive that Jesus is being threatened by his adversaries; c) this withdrawal brings him to a new location that is usually named explicitly; d) in four cases, the refrain is accompanied by a fulfilment quotation (2:15.23; 4:14–16; 12:18–21).

The whole series shows a certain amount of progression. Initially, the wise men and Joseph are the subject of ἀναχωρέω (2:12–13.14.22) but, from 4:12 onwards, this action is completed by Jesus himself. His life is threatened firstly by the local political leaders, Herod the Great (2:12–13.14) and his sons Archelaus (2:22) and Antipas (4:12; 14:13), but further on in the book, his circle of enemies is expanded with the Pharisees (12:14; 15:21), who are plotting his death. Progression can also be observed in the fact that Galilee, a region where initially Jesus is still safe (2:22; 4:12), is gradually becoming a hazardous area, as a result of which Jesus begins to avoid towns and villages, staying in uninhabited areas (14:13), and even venturing in the direction of the district of Tyre and Sidon, places inhabited by the Gentiles (15:31). Having turned his back on the Pharisees and the Sadduccees (16:4), he leaves for the region of Caesarea Philippi. These moves have the remarkable effect of increasing Jesus' radius of action: in fact, he meets large crowds even in uninhabited areas, and, although he knows that he has been sent only for the lost sheep of the house of Israel (15:24), he relents to a woman from the world of the Gentiles and has mercy on her, too.

The fulfilment quotations connected to this refrain make it clear that Jesus' wanderings take place according to a certain plan and that they have already been announced in texts of the Scripture that are presented by the narrator as God's own words. Thus, Jesus does not travel so restlessly through fear of his enemies, but in obedience to God.

The refrain discussed focuses the attention on the constant that Jesus distances himself from Jerusalem and Judea, his native soil. This movement ends in the region of Caesarea Philippi (16:13–28) and is altered by Jesus himself. As from this passage, we come across a new refrain that is expressed as follows.

16:21 From that time on, Jesus began to show his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem and undergo great suffering at the hands of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and on the third day be raised.

17:22–23 "The Son of Man is going to be betrayed into human hands, and they will kill him, and on the third day he will be raised."

20:18–19 "See, we are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be handed over to the chief priests and scribes, and they will condemn him to death; then they will hand him over to the Gentiles to be mocked and flogged and crucified; and on the third day he will be raised."

26:2 "You know that after two days the Passover is coming, and the Son of Man will be handed over to be crucified."

In 16:21 this refrain belongs to the narrator's text; in the three other cases, the narrator puts the words of the announcement into Jesus' mouth. The refrain can be recognized by the following fixed elements: a) Jesus travels purposefully and of his own free will; b) the journey takes him to Jerusalem (16:21; 20:17.18); c) he will be crucified there, but God will raise him up on the third day; d) the journey to Jerusalem is—just as those moves undertaken in 1:1–16:20—covered by the ordinance of God (see δεῖ in 16:21); e) the refrain anticipates the events related in 26:17–28:15.

At the time the events proclaimed are actually taking place in Jerusalem, a third and last refrain echoes:

26:32 "But after I am raised up, I will go ahead of you to Galilee."

28:7 "And indeed he is going ahead of you to Galilee; there you will see him."

28:10 "Go and tell my brothers to go to Galilee; there they will see me."

These sentences are spoken by Jesus (26:32; 28:10) and by an angel of the Lord (28:7) and contain the following fixed elements: a) the speaker anticipates the period following the resurrection of Jesus; b) mention is made of a future reunion between the resurrected Jesus and his disciples; c) the reunion will take place in Galilee.

In the five concluding verses of Matthew (28:16–20), the raised expectation is fulfilled on a mountain in Galilee. This location results in a certain contrast between 28:16–20 and the long section in which the place of action is

Jerusalem. In this case, Galilee is the base of operation for movement in every direction, the world over. From Galilee, Jesus sends his disciples to all nations with the promise that he will remain amongst them until the end of the age. Thus, in 28:16–20, the book ends with the beginning of a new journey, the starting point of which (Galilee), the range (all nations) and the duration (till the end of the age) are indicated, whilst concrete details on the stages of the journey are not mentioned at all.

These observations lead me to the conclusion that, on the basis of the topographical information that differs greatly in itself, we can distinguish three patterns:

pattern 1 Jesus flees from his enemies and thus expands his radius of action.
pattern 2 He voluntarily travels to Jerusalem, where he is to suffer and die and be raised up by God.
pattern 3 From Galilee, Jesus sends his disciples out to teach all nations until the end of the age.

These three patterns are connected to one another. Pattern 2 is partly a reversal of pattern 1, whilst pattern 3 is an extension of pattern 2. The three patterns are not separated from each other by rigid caesuras. Pattern 1 ends in the same textual unity (16:13–28) with which pattern 2 begins. In turn, pattern 2 reaches its peak in a textual unity (27:55–28:20), the last scene of which (28:16–20) touches on pattern 3.

3.3 *Kernels with Satellites or Pericopes with a Hinge Function?*

Having reached this point, I want to draw attention to a number of new insights in the structure of Matthew that are a result of a narrative analysis of this book. According to Frank Matera, a long and complex story such as that of Matthew is more than just a sum of individual incidents.[27] An important question is why the story that is being related passes in the way it does. This question concerns the plot or the intrigue of the book, that is to say, to the phenomenon that the individual incidents are arranged in a certain way in relation to one another by their mutual temporal *and* causal relations. Each individual episode does not weigh equally in the determination of the book's plot. Certain events initiate a turning point that influences the continuation of the story. Following Seymour

27 Frank J. Matera, "The Plot of Matthew's Gospel," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 233–253.

Chatman, Matera calls such events 'major events' or 'kernels'. They contribute to the fact that it becomes more and more likely that the story will end in a certain way and, in that sense, they are essential for the development of the plot of the book.

According to Matera, a turning point occurs as a rule in a relatively short passage that is followed by a series of sub-texts in which events are presented that are a consequence of the new step that has been taken in the kernel. Because these events ('minor events') do not themselves offer new moments of choice, but instead elaborate on the one already made, they are not entirely indispensable. They do, however, fill the void between one kernel and the next.

Matera uses these theoretical distinctions to find an answer to three questions: a) What is the plot in Matthew? b) Where are the 'kernels' within the plot of Matthew's Gospel? c) What kind of narrative blocks does Matthew consist of?

In answering the first question, Matera assumes that the salvation history is the most central notion in Matthew. After all, the book does extend all the way from Abraham (1:1) to the end of the age (28:20). Within this huge framework, it describes how Jesus, on the one hand, is (or: was) united with the people of Israel and, on the other, how he increasingly becomes accepted by Gentiles.

Matera sums up six passages in which there is a decisive turning point: 2:1a: the birth of Jesus; 4:12–17: the beginning of Jesus' ministry; 11:2–6: John's question; 16:13–28: the conversation in the district of Caesarea Philippi; 21:1–17: the cleansing of the temple; 28:16–20: the sending out of the disciples.

The first five kernels are accompanied by a number of satellites, together with which they form a narrative block; in the case of the last kernel, such satellites are absent:

'Kernels'	*Narrative blocks*	*Description*
2:1a	1:1–4:11	The coming of the Messiah
4:12–17	4:12–11:1	The Messiah's ministry to Israel of preaching, teaching, and healing
11:2–6	11:2–16:12	The crisis in the Messiah's ministry
16:13–28	16:13–20:34	The Messiah's journey to Jerusalem
21:1–17	21:1–28:15	The Messiah's death and resurrection
28:16–20	28:16–20	The great commission

An adapted form of Matera's hypothesis has been adopted by Warren Carter.[28] The following scheme shows what the modified plan of Matthew's Gospel looks like.

'Kernels'	*Narrative blocks*	*Description*
1:18–25	1:1–4:16	God is the origin of Jesus
4:17–25	4:17–11:1	Jesus manifests Gods saving presence in his preaching and healing
11:2–6	11:2–16:20	Jesus' actions reveal his identity as Gods commissioned agent, necessitating a response to the question of whether Israel will recognize him as God's Messiah
16:21–28	16:21–20:34	Jesus speaks to his disciples about his death and resurrection, an event that also shapes discipleship
21:1–27	21:1–27:66	In Jerusalem, Jesus is rejected by the Jewish leaders
28:1–10	28:1–20	The resurrected Jesus commissions his disciples to a worldwide mission

Both authors come to a total of six narrative blocks. All sorts of differences become apparent in their demarcation. Carter agrees with the caesuras recommended by Kingsbury between 4:16 and 4:17 and between 16:20 and 16:21. He also places a caesura between 27:66 and 28:1, which is hard to defend. With the exception of 11:2–6, the 'kernels' suggested by Matera are also revised. Major modifications include the replacement of 2:1a (merely a subordinate clause) by 1:18–25 and 28:16–20 is no longer considered as an isolated turning point in itself, but is given the status of a satellite of 28:1–10. The minor differences are that Matera's 'kernels' are demarcated differently in three cases (4:17–25 instead of 4:12–17; 16:21–28 instead of 16:13–28; 21:1–27 instead of 21:1–17).

Both studies make it clear that certain passages have a macro-syntactical function: they bring about a turning point in the plot, a turning point that is fleshed out in a large number of *the subsequent* pericopes. I agree with this principle, but also expand on it with the suggestion that such cardinal passages at the same time refer to the *preceding* block. With this double function in mind, I refer to them as hinge texts. In the following subsections, I will indicate

28 Warren Carter, "Kernels and Narrative Blocks: The Structure of Matthew's Gospel," *CBQ* 54 (1992): 463–481. See also: Id., *Matthew: Storyteller, Interpreter, Evangelist* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), 159–175.

which passages fulfil this double function and examine the scope of the narrative blocks that precede and follow these hinge texts.

3.4 *Matt 4:12–17 and 26:1–16 as Hinge Texts Within the Book as a Whole*

Partly on the basis of the above, I will gradually develop a new outlook on the macrostructure of Matthew. My first step is that the book consists of a *corpus* (4:18–25:46), in which a continuous story is presented of Jesus' ministry, and that this *corpus* is contained in an overture (1:1–4:11) and a finale (26:17–28:20). The overture is connected to the *corpus* by means of a hinge text (4:12–17), whilst there is also a hinge text to be found in the transition from *corpus* to finale (26:1–16). In a schematic overview:

overture 1:1–4:11	hinge 4:12–17	*corpus* 4:18–25:46	hinge 26:1–16	finale 26:17–28:20

The overture (1:1–4:11) is a textual unit, in which the narrator presents an image of the origin and identity of Jesus, and his future task. His origin is mentioned in Matt 1–2 (γένεσις in 1:1.18). Various descriptions clarify his identity: son of David, son of Abraham (1:1), Messiah (1:16), Emmanuel (1:23), king of the Jews (2:2), ruler or shepherd of the people of Israel (2:6), Nazorean (2:23), Son of God (2:15; 3:17). Jesus' future task is described twice: he will save his people from their sins (1:21) and he is to fulfil all righteousness (3:15). A disadvantage to the regularly applied term 'prologue' is that it gives the impression that 1:1–4:11 is a non-narrative introductory section, like the prologue in John 1:1–18. The term 'overture' does more justice to the fact that Matthew's story about Jesus already begins in 1:18. We can distinguish two sections within the overture as a whole (1:1–2:23 and 3:1–4:11).[29] The caesura between 4:11 and 4:12 is, however, much deeper than the one between 2:23 and 3:1; not until 4:12 does the public ministry of Jesus begin.

In the finale (26:17–28:20), Jesus' suffering and death and his resurrection are described. The term 'finale' has been chosen in order to express that the passion narrative is an integrated constituent that forms the climax of the entire book.

29 William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew:* vol. I (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 286–287, are of the opinion that there is a deep caesura between 2:23 and 3:1.

The overture and the finale are connected with one another in many respects. The stories about the beginning of Jesus' life and the preparations for his mission point towards the passion narrative, and conversely, the last part points back to the beginning again.[30]

The *corpus* covers the whole of Jesus' public ministry. That this lengthy piece is a literary unit is confirmed by the fact that the narrator has his main character hold five discourses that are arranged chiastically in relation to one another. The 'programme' discourse at the beginning, the Sermon on the Mount, has a counterpart in the Eschatological Discourse; the Missionary Discourse and the Community Discourse discuss the disciples' mission and their mutual relationships; the Parable Discourse has a central position and explains why the secrets of the kingdom are accessible to the disciples, whilst they are a mystery to outsiders.

The *corpus* of the book is connected to the overture and the finale by means of hinge texts (4:12–17 and 26:1–16). The first hinge text bridges 1:1–4:11 and 4:18–25:46. This can be clarified as follows. Jesus' move (4:12) is part of a continuous line that has begun in the overture (2:12–13.14.22) and that is later continued (12:15; 14:13; 15:21). The many places mentioned in 4:12–17 are a continuation of the accumulating topographical information in Matt 2, whereby the similarities between 4:12–16 and 2:22–23 draw particular attention. Matt 4:12–17 is also connected to the preceding text by the mention, in 4:12, of John the Baptist, who had already been introduced in 3:1, and by the parallels between John's and Jesus' message (3:2 = 4:17). Finally, there are several connections between 4:12–17 and the *corpus*: Capernaum, Jesus' new home town, functions as the starting point for his wanderings through Galilee, and the kingdom of heaven remains an important subject throughout of his entire ministry.

Matt 26:1–16 functions as a hinge between the heart of the book and the finale. There is strong indication of this in the subordinate clause in 26:1 that gives a review of Jesus' ministry and, in this context, focuses on the five discourses ("*all* these words"). In 26:2, Jesus repeats his earlier announcements of his death (16:21; 17:22–23; 20:18–19), but by adding that the events announced will occur within two days, his statement at the same time functions as a heading to the passion narrative. The passage that follows (26:3–16) also anticipates the events to take place: together with Judas, the adversaries make preparations for Jesus' arrest (26:3–5.14–16), whilst the tender gesture by an anonymous woman is connected to his funeral (26:6–13).

30 A detailed list of correspondences is to be found in: Wim Weren, *Matteüs* (Belichting van het bijbelboek; 's-Hertogenbosch / Brugge: Katholieke Bijbelstichting, 1994), 253–255.

3.5 *Matt 16:13–28 as a Hinge Within 4:18–25:46*

The next problem is the structure of the *corpus* (4:18–25:46). According to Matera, 16:13–28 is a textual unit. I support his criticism of the idea that this passage is split in two by ἀπὸ τότε on the grounds of the following considerations. This passage has a unity of place (in the district of Caesarea Philippi). Jesus is accompanied only by his disciples here. The text consists mainly of direct speech and regularly alternates between the parts where Jesus is talking to all the disciples (16:13–15.20–21.24–28), and the parts in which he is in dialogue with Peter (16:16–19.22–23), whereby we are struck by the contrast between what Jesus says to Peter in 16:17–18 and his statement in 16:23.[31] The passage as a whole is framed by the two references to the Son of Man (an *inclusio*).

What then is the function of 16:13–28? Matera sees this part as a 'kernel', in which, for the first time, the journey of the Messiah to Jerusalem is mentioned; this journey is entered into in more detail in the satellite texts that follow (17:1–20:34). In my opinion, 16:13–28 extends much further than this: this passage points ahead to 17:1–25:46, because it is not until 26:2 that there is a signal that the recurring announcement of Jesus' death actually becomes reality. Matera does not mention that 16:13–28 at the same time offers a recapitulation of the material from 4:18–16:12. As a result of this double direction of focus, I consider 16:13–28 not so much as a 'kernel', but as a hinge within the whole *corpus.* In a schematic overview:

4:18–25:46		
4:18–16:12	16:13–28 (hinge)	17:1–25:46

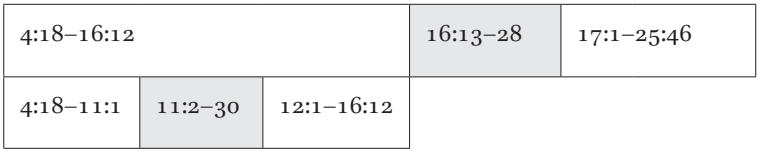
The hinge function of 16:13–28 appears from a number of textual phenomena. The first topographical pattern (to withdraw) ends in this passage, whilst the second pattern (to and in Jerusalem) starts in the very same part. Further, the connections with 4:18–16:12 are clearly obvious: the question put by Jesus to his disciples with regard to his identity is related to John's question of whether he is the one that was to come (11:2); that, according to some, he was John the Baptist is an echo of the opinion expressed in 14:2 by Herod Antipas; Peter's

31 First of all, Peter is praised as the receiver of God's revelation; then Jesus reproaches him for his thoughts not being those of God; first he is indicated as being a rock and then as a stumbling block.

answer ("you are the Messiah, the Son of the living God") links with the disciples' confession in 14:33; that the knowledge of Jesus' identity can only result from divine revelation is also expressed in 11:27. Apart from recapitulations of the preceding text, 16:13–28 also anticipates later parts: the word 'church' is also used in 18:17 (and is not further mentioned in Matthew); the role assigned to Peter (to bind and unbind) is linked with the role mentioned in 18:18 of the local church; the combination of an announcement of the passion with the instructions to the disciples on the implications of being followers (16:21–28) is repeated in 20:17–28.

3.6 *The Structure of 4:18–16:12*

The first part of the *corpus* (4:18–16:12) is again made up of two sections (4:18–11:1 and 12:1–16:12), that are connected to one another by means of a hinge text (11:2–30). In a schematic overview:



Matt 4:18–11:1 opens with the calling of four fishermen (4:18–22) and closes with the instructions given to the twelve apostles (9:36–10:42). Although these two passages rather vary in length, a certain thematic similarity cannot be denied. Central in both cases is that Jesus assigns particular followers a task that is the continuation of his own mission.

One of the next structuring phenomena are the summaries in 4:23 and 9:35, that are practically identically worded (similarities in italics):

> 4:23 *Καὶ περιῆγεν* ἐν ὅλῃ τῃ Γαλιλαίᾳ, *διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καί πᾶσαν μαλακίαν* ἐν τῷ λαῷ.
>
> 9:35 *Καὶ περιῆγεν* ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας, *διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καί πᾶσαν μαλακίαν*.

In each case, an *imperfectum iterativum* (περιῆγεν) is followed by three participles that shed light on the various facets of Jesus' ministry: to teach, to preach, and to heal. An echo of these summaries is heard in 11:1b: μετέβη ἐκεῖθεν τοῦ

διδάσκειν καὶ κηρύσσειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν. In this case, only Jesus' role as a teacher and preacher is mentioned, and not his role as a healer.

His role as a teacher is concretized in the Sermon on the Mount (4:24–8:1). Jesus' lengthy and uninterrupted monologue (5:3–7:27) is embedded in a narrative framework (4:24–5:2 and 7:28–8:1), in which a number of elements mentioned in the beginning are repeated at the end, but then in reverse order:

a	4:25	ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ
b	5:1	ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος
c	5:2	ἐδίδασκεν
c'	7:29	ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων
b'	8:1	καταβάντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους
a'	8:1	ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ

The role of Jesus as a healer is elaborated in 8:2–9:34, where he performs "deeds of power" (δυνάμεις), that are referred to in 11:20 as being "the deeds of the Messiah". That he is someone with authority is obvious from his words (7:29) as well as his deeds (8:9; 9:6.8).

Jesus' second sermon, the Missionary Discourse (10:5–42), is preceded by a narrative introduction (9:36–10:4) and ends in 11:1a with the stereotype formula already applied in 7:28. A number of elements from the narrative introduction to the Sermon on the Mount recur in 9:36–37:

5:1 ἰδων δέ τούς ὄχλους	9:36 ἰδων δέ τούς ὄχλους
οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ (…) ἐδίδασκεν αὐτους λέγων	9:37 τότε λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ

Matt 10:1 takes up the summarizing sketch of Jesus' work in 4:23 and 9:35: the twelve disciples are given the power to cast out unclean spirits and to cure every sickness and disease. Remarkably, they are not yet assigned the task of teaching; this does not happen until 28:20 (δίδασκοντες αὐτοὺς), when they have heard everything Jesus has to say to them. In 11:1b, the only thing we hear is that Jesus journeys from one town to another in order to teach and proclaim his message.

In the above, 11:2–30 is labelled as a textual unit with a hinge function. This standpoint deserves further explanation. First, I will enter into the proposed demarcation: is 11:2–30 indeed a textual unit?

Matt 11:2–30 is almost entirely made up of direct speech that, with the exception of 11:3, is spoken entirely by Jesus. His words are only interrupted by short narrative sentences (11:7a.20.25a), that indicate to whom the speaker is talking. The coherence within 11:2–30 is also obvious from other phenomena. That 11:2–6 and 11:7–19 belong together, is evident on the grounds of an *inclusio* (11:2: "the deeds of the Messiah"; 11:19: "the deeds of wisdom"). The command given to John's disciples (11:4: "Go . . .") is executed in 11:7 ("As they went away"). Following John's question about Jesus, Jesus himself begins to speak about John. The narrative introduction in 11:7 resembles that of 11:20 (ἤρξατο, followed by an infinitive: λέγειν and ὀνειδίζειν, respectively). The time adjunct in 11:25 links not only 12:1 but also the section preceding 11:25.

And now the query as to the function of 11:2–30. In my opinion, 11:2–30 does not have the character of a new episode in the story that is being related. Rather, the reader is given the impression that the story is momentarily interrupted here for an interim balance. My suggestion that this passage functions as a hinge is based on the presence in the text of retrospective and anticipating elements. First, I will mention a number of retrospective elements.

In 11:2–6, John's followers ask the question whether Jesus is indeed the eschatological bringer of salvation (σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος;). The term chosen reminds us of 3:11: ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος. John allows the question to be asked as a result of news about τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, a syntagm that is a recapitulation of the stories about Jesus' deeds in 8:2–9:34. "Hear" and "see" in 11:4 refer back to the Sermon on the Mount and the series of stories that follow in which Jesus proves in word and in deed that he really is the Messiah. The recital in 11:5 includes allusions to Isaiah (Isa 29:18–19; 35:5–6; 61:1) but, at the same time, it is a generalizing reproduction of individual cases that are described in 8:2–9:34.[32] The concluding beatitude in 11:6 reminds us of the beatitudes in 5:3–12. In short: in 11:2–6, Jesus gives an evaluative review of his own ministry in answer to a question presented by John.

In 11:7–19, Jesus in turn asks a question about John, that he answers himself and that he seizes upon for an evaluative review of the Baptist's ministry. The question put three times to the people as to why they went to the desert (11:7.8.9) refers to 3:5 in combination with 3:1. John is not a man dressed in fine clothes (11:8), which fits 3:4 where he is dressed in a cloak made of camel's hair. Jesus' description of John in 11:10 is similar to the way in which John is presented in 3:3 by the narrator (in each case: οὗτός ἐστιν, followed by a quotation from

32 "The blind receive their sight": cf. 9:27–31; "the lame walk": cf. 9:2–8; "the lepers are cleansed": cf. 8:2–4; "the deaf hear": cf. 9:32–34, where a mute begins to speak; "the dead are raised" cf. 9:18–19.23–26; "the good news is brought to the poor"; cf. "the poor" in 5:3 and "the good news" in 4:23 and 9:35.

the Scriptures). John's ministry is the last preparation for the coming of Jesus. According to 11:10, he comes ahead of Jesus (πρὸ προσώπου σου and ἔμπροσθέν σου); this corresponds with 3:11 in which it is said of Jesus that he will come after John (ὀπίσω μου). The past is further structured in 11:12–13. In these verses, an attempt is made to differentiate between prediction and fulfilment. The period of fulfilment has begun with the coming of John. Characteristic of this period is that the kingdom has a hard time of it (βιάζεται has a passive meaning: 'suffer violence') and that adversaries (βιασταί has a negative connotation) try to prevent its growth. The contemporaries of Jesus and John also react in a negative way towards them (11:16–19). Matt 11:20–24 also reviews the events told earlier. That Jesus' powerful deeds in the towns did not lead to conversion relates to the stories about his deeds in 8:2–9:34 and to his call for conversion in 4:17. Capernaum, Jesus' own town (4:13; 8:5; 9:1), will bear the brunt.

Anticipating elements are to be found in particular in 11:25–30. The time adjunct ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ is mentioned in 11:25 for the first time and is repeated in 12:1 and 14:1. That God is the origin of the revelation is confirmed in 16:17. Most important is that, in 11:25–27, there is for the first time a split between those who are impervious to the revelation, and those who are receptive to it. This distinction dominates the chapters to follow, where an explanation is given (e.g., 13:10–17).

The interim balance in 11:2–30 is followed by a lengthy sequence (12:1–16:12), in which the moves of Jesus form a repeatedly recurring refrain (12:15; 14:13; 15:21). In 4:18–11:1, he was especially active in the towns of Galilee (cf. the adjuncts of place in 4:23; 9:35; 11:1), whereas now he spends more and more of his time in uninhabited areas.[33]

Already in the first reading, it is apparent that the Parable Discourse is an individual subunit within this lengthy sequence (marked as such by the narrator in 13:53a). This discourse is flanked on two sides by narrative blocks (12:1–50 and 14:1–16:12), both of which start with ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ and which also show many other similarities: Jesus is forced to move due to his increasing conflicts with the Pharisees (mentioned in 12:2.14.24.38 and in 15:1.12; 16:1.6.11–12), whom he typifies as "a wicked and adulterous generation" (12:39.45 and 16:4). He is disturbed by their words (12:25–45), their traditions (15:1–20), and their teaching (16:1–12), and, at their request for a sign, he refers to the sign of Jonah (12:38–39 and 16:1–4); despite the opposition he tirelessly continues to heal the sick (12:9–14.15.22 and 14:14.35–36; 15:21–28.30–31).

33 Matt 12:1: "through the grain fields"; 12:15: to an unidentified place; 14:13: "to a deserted place"; 14:23: "up the mountain"; 14:25–26: "on the sea"; 15:29: "along the Sea of Galilee (…) up the mountain" (= "in the desert", cf. 15:33).

That 14:1–16:12 is a coherent unit is supported by three arguments: a) this section is strongly dominated by words that are related to food;[34] b) in this part, frequent mention is made of the crossing of the lake (14:13.22–34; 15:39; 16:5); c) there are two retrospections at the end of 16:1–12: 16:9 refers back to the feeding of the five thousand in 14:13–21, and 16:10 to the feeding of the four thousand in 15:29–39.

The sequence thus defined has a concentric structure. Its heart is the Parable Sermon (C), which is surrounded by two short scenes (B: 12:46–50; B': 13:53–58), that have in common that Jesus' mother and his brothers and sisters are mentioned. Around these are again two longer parts (A: 12:1–45; A=: 14:1–16:12), in which Jesus is in dispute with the Pharisees.

3.7 *The Structure of 17:1–25:46*

The second part of the *corpus* (17:1–25:46) exhibits roughly the same pattern as the first part. It also has two long sections (17:1–20:34 and 21:18–25:46), that are linked to one another by a hinge text (21:1–17). In a schematic overview:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">4:18–16:12</td><td>16:13–28
hinge</td><td colspan="3">17:1–25:46</td></tr>
<tr><td>4:18–
11:1</td><td>11:2–30
hinge</td><td>12:1–
16:12</td><td></td><td>17:1–
20:34</td><td>21:1–17
hinge</td><td>21:18–25:46</td></tr>
</table>

That 17:1–20:34 is a continuous sequence is determined especially by the new refrain that combines the various topographical information to form a long journey to Jerusalem. The refrain is introduced in 16:21 to return in its most complete form in 17:22–23 and 20:18–19; parts of it are also echoed in 17:9.12 and 20:28. In comparison with 4:18–16:12, Jesus now travels in the opposite direction. This impression is strengthened by the fact that stopping places are mentioned (a mountain, the lake at Capernaum, his house) that were also mentioned when he moved further away from Jerusalem and Judea. As from 19:1, he leaves Galilee and continues his journey through Judea, with Jericho being the last place he visits before arriving in Jerusalem. The journey to Jerusalem is thus divided into two routes (17:1–27 and 19:1–20:34). The first route brings him to Capernaum where he holds one of his lengthy discourses. Summarized:

34 Such words are of course unavoidable in the two feeding narratives (14:13–21; 15:29–39), but they can also be found in 15:1–20; 15:21–28; 16:1–12.

A	17:1–27	The first route: from the district of Caesarea Philippi to Capernaum
B	18:1–35	Discourse on the mutual relations within the community
A'	19:1–20:34	The second route: from Capernaum in Galilee to Jericho in Judea

The journey's destination is reached in 21:1–17. This part is a textual unit, because it has unity of time. In Matthew, the entry into Jerusalem and the cleansing of the temple both take place on the same day (in Mark, this covers two days). It is not until 21:17 that Jesus leaves the city to spend the night in Bethany.[35] The passage also has unity of place, because the adjuncts of place in 21:1.10.12.17 are a continuation of one another that together create the impression of continuous movement. In the first nine verses, Jesus is in the vicinity of Jerusalem, in 21:10 he enters the city, in 21:12 he enters the temple and in 21:17 he leaves the city.

As Jesus reaches his destination in 21:1–17, we could consider this passage to be part of the preceding text. However, because on arrival he immediately undertakes a number of controversial actions in the temple, thus becoming involved in a short debate with the chief priest and scribes, who cross his path again later, we can also consider this passage as an introduction to the sequel. The connection with the preceding block is also clear from the indication of Jesus as the Son of David (in 20:30–31 as well as 21:9). The crowd mentioned in 21:8–10 are not inhabitants of Jerusalem but people who have travelled with Jesus to Jerusalem. They announce to the "whole city" that the man entering Jerusalem is a prophet, that his name is Jesus, and that he comes from Nazareth in Galilee. All this is information from earlier passages in the book. The places named, "the Mount of Olives", "the temple", and "Bethany", show a connection with the sequel; all these locations, entered for the first time in 21:1–17, recur in subsequent passages. In view of all these connections with the preceding text and what follows, we can again typify this passage as a hinge text.

After his arrival in Jerusalem, Jesus continues with the work he had been doing up till then: he heals the sick, debates with his adversaries and instructs his disciples. This is clearly expressed in the discourse he holds on the Mount of Olives (cf. "the mountain" in 5:1), in the presence of his disciples. In the sequence on Jesus' activities in the city, we can discern a clear structure:

35 Cf. Gnilka, *Matthäusevangelium: 2. Teil*, 209: "Man könnte von einem Tag Jesu in Jerusalem sprechen, der durch Einzug und Tempelprotest gekennzeichnet ist."

21:18–25:46	Jesus is active in Jerusalem	
A	21:18–22	A fig tree withers
B	21:23–23:39	Debates with adversaries in the temple
A'	24:1–2	The temple shall be destroyed
C	24:3–25:46	Discourse: the coming of the Son of Man

Some explanation is necessary here. The whole block (21:18–25:46) takes place–just as 21:1–17–on one day (see 21:18; 22:23.46). It is the day after the entry into Jerusalem that is largely taken up with debates in the temple (21:23; 24:1). This lengthy part is framed by 21:18–22 and 24:1–2.

The link between these short scenes can be explained as follows. In 21:18–22, Jesus, who is on his way from Bethany to the temple, causes a fig tree to wither in the presence of his disciples. The tree is full of leaves but carries no fruit. The fig tree is an image of the temple (cf. the cleansing of the temple in 21:12–13 and the announcement of the destruction of the temple complex in 24:1–2).

Jesus culminates his activities in Jerusalem with the Eschatological Discourse. This takes place on the Mount of Olives, opposite the temple. The discourse is directed at his disciples and is about the long period between Jesus' resurrection and his parousia.

4 Conclusions and Final Remarks

The last step in my search is to combine the results in a scheme that renders a clear view of the macrostructure of Matthew, the various parts of which I will provide with headings. The result is printed at the end of this chapter.

What is new about this hypothesis is that it provides a layered image of the structure of Matthew's Gospel. At the first level, the structure is still coarse; at the second and third levels, the structure of the *corpus* (4:18–25:46) is presented gradually in more detail. What is also new is the insight that five passages function as hinges (4:12–17; 11:2–30; 16:13–28; 21:1–17; 26:1–16). Such a hinge text is linked with both the sequence that precedes it and the one that follows it. The size of these sequences is relatively large at the first level. At the second level, they are smaller and, at the third level, even smaller still.

These two new insights explain why earlier research on the macrostructure of Matthew has led to such diverse results. Too much attention has been paid to rigid caesuras, whilst a typical characteristic of the composition of Matthew is the relatively smooth flow of the story. The various sections of the book partly overlap. In the hinge texts, patterns that have already been set are repeatedly continued whilst, at the same time, new patterns are indicated that are then further developed.

Overview of the Macrostructure of Matthew's Gospel

1:1–4:11 Overture: Jesus' origin, identity, and mission	**4:12–17** Hinge: Jesus' mission begins in Capernaum	**4:18–25:46** *Corpus*: Ministry; five lengthy discourses							**26:1–16** Hinge: Jesus is anointed and will be handed over	**26:17–28:20** Finale: suffering, death, and resurrection; start of the disciples' mission to all nations
		4:18–16:12 Move away from Jerusalem and Judea			**16:13–28** Hinge: the Son of God is a suffering Messiah	**17:1–25:46** Journey to Jerusalem and work there				
		4:18–11:1 Calling of the four fishermen; Messiah in word and deed; sending out of the twelve	**11:2–30** Hinge: review of the work of John and Jesus	**12:1–16:12** The kingdom: hidden and revealed		**17:1–20:34** Journey to Jerusalem to suffer and die there	**21:1–17** Hinge: Arrival in Jerusalem and first confrontations in the temple	**21:18–25:46** Jesus is active in Jerusalem		

CHAPTER 2

Children in Matthew's Gospel: A Text-Semantic Analysis

1 Introduction

The Gospels are full of characters that are like people in our own world. It is therefore not surprising that children are often referred to in these texts. The best known story is the one in which Jesus, despite criticism from his disciples, emerges as a friend of children (Matt 19:13–15; Mark 10:13–16; Luke 18:15–17). This story is akin to another story in which Jesus uses a child as a model for his disciples when they are quarrelling over the question of which of them will be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven (Matt 18:1–5; Mark 9:33–37; Luke 9:46–48). However, this is far from a complete list. The Gospels contain a number of other texts about children.

How do these texts function in exegesis? They have often been investigated by means of diachronic methods.[1] Diachronic means: concerned with the way in which something has developed and evolved through time. Applied to texts, it means that the analysis is primarily aimed at the stages of development which a text has gone through before achieving its final form.[2] Other exegetes

1 E.g., Simon Légasse, *Jésus et l'enfant: "Enfants", "petits" et "simples" dans la tradition synoptique* (ÉBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1969); *Die Kinder im Evangelium* (ed. Gerhard Krause; Stuttgart / Göttingen: Klotz, 1973).

2 In the case of Mark 10:13–16, this approach has led to the following results. Following Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of Synoptic Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963), 32, it is generally assumed that 10:15 is secondary. At any rate this logion is in tension with the saying in 10:14. The rest of the passage (10:13.16) has the form of a biographical apophthegm which has been formed by the community, perhaps on the basis of memories of a striking event from Jesus' life or on the basis of an authentic saying of Jesus about the special relationship between children and the kingdom of God. That the tradition preserved here is a *Gemeindebildung* is evident from the fact that participation in the kingdom of God is put in the perspective of entering into a relationship with Jesus, and this points to a Christology which presumably developed only within the community. It is also important that the text speaks of a conflict between Jesus and his disciples. That conflict reflects a discussion in the community which could be resolved only with an appeal to Jesus. What specific question this discussion was about is not easy to determine because the word 'child' can be understood both literally and figuratively. If the discussion was about real children, it could be assumed that questions had arisen in the community at an early stage about whether young children could be admitted to baptism or to the catechumenate. See Andreas Lindemann, "Die Kinder und

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prefer to examine texts in their final redactional form. They increasingly make use of synchronic methods.[3] Synchronic means: concerned with something as it exists at one point in time. These exegetes are not so much interested in the development which the text has undergone but rather in the structures and lines of meaning which can be perceived within a particular text.

In this chapter, I have opted for the second approach and will apply it to texts from Matthew. His book is full of stories and texts about children. In Matthew, the word group /child/ consists of the following Greek lexemes: παιδίον, παῖς, τέκνον, νήπιος, and μικρός. I will develop some of the texts about children in a text-semantic analysis.[4] Not all these texts have a parallel in Mark or Luke, but even texts which Matthew has in common with Mark or Luke must primarily be read within their own literary context.

2 Children in Matt 2

The first child encountered by the reader of Matthew's Gospel is Jesus himself. In 2:1 he is called by the name which Joseph had given him on the instructions of an angel (1:21.25) and which in brief describes his lifework: he will save his people from their sins. In the rest of Matt 2, Jesus is constantly referred to as 'the child', nine times in all (2:8.9.11.13.14.20.21). It is striking that this child is exclusively associated with his mother. Although Joseph has meanwhile acknowledged Mary's child as his own (1:25), we constantly find the phrase "the child and his mother" (2:11.13.14.20.21). In this way, the reader is reminded of the special origin of Jesus, which is described at length in Matt 1:18–25. What is special about Jesus is that he is born of Mary and of the Holy Spirit. He is not a child like other children. This is further underlined by the quotation from Hos 11:1 which the narrator in 2:15

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die Gottesherrschaft: Markus 10,13–16 und die Stellung der Kinder in der späthellenistischer Gesellschaft und im Urchristentum," Pages 77–104 in *Wort und Dienst* (ed. Hans-Peter Stähli; Jahrbuch der kirchlichen Hochschule Bethel. Neue Folge 17; Bielefeld: Kirchliche Hochschule Bethel, 1983). This question is given a positive answer in our text with a reference to Jesus. If one opts for a figurative meaning of "the children" and relates the term to certain (adult) members of the community of faith, it could refer to itinerant prophets. See Gerhard Ringshausen, "Die Kinder der Weisheit: Zur Auslegung von Mk 10,13–16 par.," *ZNW* 77 (1986): 34–63. The text would then be a criticism of the inhospitable and intolerant attitude of certain local communities towards this group.

3 Peter Müller, *In der Mitte der Gemeinde: Kinder im Neuen Testament* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1992), applies both diachronic and synchronic methods; he also combines his exegesis with practical theology.

4 See Weren, *Windows on Jesus*, 89–110.

inserts into his own story and which is presented as a saying of God himself: "Out of Egypt I called my son" (see also 3:17; 12:18; 17:5).

That child himself plays a passive role in Matt 2, which accords with his age. In 2:16 it is stated that Jesus is two years old or under when Herod kills the children in and around Bethlehem. The course of action is completely dominated by other characters: by the magi, by Herod and Joseph, and above all by God, who is the real power behind the story related here. Even if he does not appear directly on the stage, God makes use of angels to influence the course of things: Joseph's dreams and the star which guides the magi cannot be detached from God's sphere of influence. The narrated story follows a particular scenario which is prefigured in Scripture. The fulfilment quotations emphasize that the story of Jesus is a recapitulation of what happened to Israel (2:15.17–18.23).[5]

It is evident from Scripture that the child is the leader who comes from Bethlehem, the shepherd of Israel, modelled on David. Later in Matthew, it will become clear that leaders of the community must model themselves on children. In 2:6, someone who is still a child is depicted as the future leader. The magi call him "the king of the Jews" (2:2), a term which Herod turns into "the Messiah" (2:4). Before Jesus himself is in action or has spoken a word, his life is threatened: king Herod is about to search for the child, to destroy him. However, here it already becomes clear that Jesus enjoys God's protection and that he will emerge victorious from the struggle.

Jesus is not the only child in Matt 2. The story also refers to other children, contemporaries of Jesus. Herod has them killed in cold blood in an action which is actually directed against his messianic rival. The narrator connects the massacre in Bethlehem with the sad fate of Rachel's children, who were deported to Babylon (Jer 31:15). Here too history repeats itself, but now in all its cruelty: children lose their lives in an orgy of violence. The fulfilment quotation is not introduced here with a final clause ("this was to fulfil"), but with a chronological note ("then was fulfilled"). The event described is in line with Scripture, but it is so terrible that the narrator does not formulate the connection with Scripture as he does elsewhere in his book (see also 27:9–10). Apparently he wants to indicate in this way that the violence of which the children of Bethlehem have become the victims is not the work of God but finds its origin in human action.

5 Cf. Joel Kennedy, *The Recapitulation of Israel: Use of Israel's History in Matthew 1:1–4:11* (WUNT, 2. Reihe, 257; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

3 Children as Recipients of Revelation

In Matt 11, Jesus twice compares his hearers with children, in 11:16–17 and in 11:25. In 11:16, he has negative characteristics of children in view: they quarrel with one another when playing in the market place. In 11:25, he speaks in positive terms about the smallest children: "I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and the intelligent and have revealed them to infants." The Greek here is νήπιοι. Given that small children still live on their mother's milk (Hebr 5:13), that they are far from being grown up (1 Cor 13:11), and that they have the same low position as slaves within the household (Gal 4:1), νήπιοι is used to denote adults who have recently been converted. Νήπιοι also has a figurative sense in Matt 11:25. There, children are recipients of God's revelation. Jesus is referring to his followers and contrasting them with the wise and the intelligent. In doing so, he picks up a characteristic of children which often emerges in texts from the ancient world:[6] children have not yet received any schooling; they still have to be initiated into the world of adults. The smallest of them are called by Jesus, who is Wisdom incarnate, to come to him (see also 19:14: "Let the little children come to me", and Sir 24:19–22) and learn from him. They are particularly suited for his interpretation of the Torah, while the wise and the intelligent are hampered by the knowledge that they already have. According to Werner Grimm, we can detect criticism of apocalyptic seers here who claim to have secret revelations of which the great mass of people know nothing.[7] However, it is precisely this last group which has been mobilized by Jesus. He promises them that they will find rest with him. The term 'rest' has apocalyptic colouring: eschatological salvation is often described as 'rest' (see Hebr 3:7–4:11).

In Matthew's Gospel, we find two texts which elaborate on 11:25. In the first (16:17), Jesus says that Peter does not owe to himself the insight that Jesus is the messiah, the son of God, but that God has revealed this to him. By this characterization, Peter, an adult, is given a place among the infants (11:25). It is interesting that the knowledge which people receive from God can again be eclipsed by people setting their minds not on divine things but on human things (16:23). Immediately after his confession, Peter shows himself to be an opponent of the idea that Jesus will have to suffer and die. In so doing, he reveals himself as the Satan who seeks to deter Jesus from his God-given task.

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6 See Lindemann, "Die Kinder," 81–88; Müller, *In der Mitte*, 81–164.

7 Werner Grimm, *Jesus und das Danielbuch: Band I: Jesu Einspruch gegen das Offenbarungssystem Daniels (Mt 11,25–27; Lk 17,20–21)* (ANTJ 6/1; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1984), 25–28. For criticism of Grimm's view, see Chapter 4 of this book.

Matt 21:14–17 is the second text which elaborates on 11:25. Shortly after his entry into Jerusalem, Jesus goes to the temple, where he denounces the commercial activities around the sacrificial cult and heals the blind and crippled. While he does this, small children are standing in the temple courts shouting: "Hosanna to the son of David" (21:9). The high priests and scribes become angry and address Jesus about the uproar which he has caused. Not without sarcasm, he asks his opponents whether they have ever read Scripture (see also 12:3.5; 19:4). He refers them to Ps 8:3: "Out of the mouth of infants and nurslings you furnished praise for yourself." The quotation is taken from the LXX version.[8] The Psalm begins and ends with the same sentence: "O Lord, our Lord, how admirable (θαυμαστόν) is your name in all the earth" (Ps 8:2.10 in the LXX). This sentence is echoed in Matt 21:15, which speaks of the marvellous things (θαυμάσια) that Jesus did. The Psalm claims that God has put praise in the mouth of children to put his enemies to shame. Matthew's story accurately reflects the relations of the Psalm: small children adore Jesus through the agency of God, while the temple aristocracy are hostile to him.

4 Children in Matt 18

Matt 18 contains a speech by Jesus to his disciples, triggered by their question of who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. What Jesus says to them is divided into two parts: 18:1–20 and 18:21–35. Between 18:20 and 18:21, there is a break, because Jesus is interrupted at this point by Peter, who puts a question to him about forgiving. Particularly the first part of Jesus' discourse is very interesting in connection with my theme. The structure of this part is as follows:[9]

A	18:1–4		Question of the disciples: "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?"
B	18:5–20		Tensions in the community
	X	18:5–9	Giving offence (negative)
	Y	18:10–14	Parable of the stray sheep
	X'	18:15–20	Reconciliation (positive).

8 See *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (eds. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright; New York / Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 550. In the NRSV, the Hebrew text (to be found in Ps 8:2) is translated as follows: "Out of the mouths of babes and infants you have founded a bulwark because of your foes, to silence the enemy and the avenger."

9 William G. Thompson, *Matthew's Advice to a Divided Community: Mt 17,22–18,35* (AnBib 44; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), 244.

Section A is framed by the question of the disciples (18:1) and Jesus' answer to it (18:4). The question and the answer are carefully balanced (18:1: "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?"; 18:4: "... is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven"). The coherence in 18:1–4 further emerges from the word 'child' or 'children' (παιδίον in 18:2.3.4). As a preparation to his answer to the disciples, Jesus puts a child in their midst (18:2). He follows up this action with two sayings, the first of which is put in a negative form (18:3) and the second in positive terms (18:4).

In favour of the demarcation of section B (18:5–20) is the fact that the name of Jesus is mentioned at the beginning and the end (18:5.20: "in my name"). These verses are also connected by Jesus' identification of himself in 18:5 with "one such child" and his assurance in 18:20 that he is present where two or three are gathered in his name. Two expressions, each of which occurs three times, function as keywords in section B: "one of these little ones" (18:6.10.14) and "my [or your] Father in heaven" (18:10.14.19).

Section B consists of three sub-units. Verses 5–9 form a cohesive unit because of the key word "cause to stumble" (18:6–9) and the correspondence between "one such child" (18:5) and "one of these little ones" (18:6). The second sub-unit (18:10–14) consists of the parable of the stray sheep (18:12–13) surrounded by two sentences which are chiastically structured:

18:10	A	one of these little ones
	B	my Father in heaven
18:14	B	your Father in heaven
	A'	one of these little ones

The third sub-unit (18:15–20) mentions an interaction between two or three community members (18:15, "when the two of you are alone"; 18:16, "take one or two others along with you (...) two or three witnesses"; 18:19–20, "two of you"; "two or three").

Let us now focus on the lines of meaning in 18:1–20. One of the threads which runs through the text can be shown as follows: child (18:2.3.4) → one such child (18:5) → one of these little ones (18:6.10.14). The elements of this series are interconnected but are not synonyms. I will examine them one by one.

In 18:2, Jesus performs a symbolic action. In order to make it clear what attitude he expects from his disciples, he puts a child in their midst. According to Jesus, that child is a living illustration of the ethical standards by which the disciples must act. Unless they become like children, they will never enter the kingdom of heaven, and whoever becomes humble (ταπεινώσει ἑαυτόν) is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven (cf. 23:12). What is expected of the disciples is not only

shown by the child that Jesus puts in their midst. According to 11:29, Jesus himself functions as an ethical paradigm: he is humble in heart (ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ). The disciples should be just like Jesus. Thus Jesus and the child both serve as living illustrations of the approach the disciples must adopt. They must break with prevailing patterns of behaviour and voluntarily take the lowest place in the community.

The question now is how 18:5, in which the word 'child' appears again, is connected with 18:1–4. This verse can be interpreted in two ways. It is arguable that the word 'child' still has a literal meaning, even in 18:5, and refers back to the child in 18:2 that is presented as a model for the disciples. In that case, 18:5 refers to children who depend on the help of others; the disciples must respond to their plight. Here we are to think above all of orphans. The care of this group is always a high priority in Scripture (see Exod 22:22–24; Deut 24:19–21; Isa 1:17; Ezek 22:7; Ps 68:6) and is thought so important by Jesus that he identifies completely with them ("Whoever welcomes one such child in my name welcomes me").

There is a second possible interpretation, and this can be indicated as follows. In 18:5, there is a subtle shift with important consequences for its meaning. After 18:4 ("this child"), 18:5 refers to "one such child", a phrase which need not necessarily be taken literally but can also be understood figuratively. In this case, the syntagm relates to followers of Jesus who put the words of 18:3–4 into practice. These disciples have become "as children" for the sake of the kingdom, in other words, they have chosen a vulnerable and marginal position in society. According to 18:5, they have to be supported by those around them. Their life choice is valued by Jesus to such an extent that he wholeheartedly supports them and considers good deeds done for this group as benefactions conferred upon himself.

I prefer this second interpretation. "One such child" makes a bridge between "child" in 18:2–4 and "one of these little ones" in 18:6.10.14. This idea of the meaning of 18:5 is confirmed by the contrasts between this verse and the next:

18:5	Whoever welcomes one such child in my name → positive sanction
18:6	If any of you puts a stumbling block before one of these little ones → negative sanction

Both these verses refer to a special group in the community and they draw attention to the way in which this group is treated by other members of the community. Whereas 18:5 mentions positive reactions of people around them, 18:6 is about negative actions of which this group is the target.

The next problem is the precise meaning of "one of these little ones" (εἷς τῶν μικρῶν τούτων). This combination of words occurs in 10:42 as well as in 18:6.10.14.

We find the superlative ("one of the least of these"; in Greek: εἷς τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων) in 25:40.45. The meaning of this combination of words does not have the same meaning everywhere; it depends on the context. In 10:42, "one of these little ones" serves as a description of the twelve disciples who have been sent out by Jesus: they are dependent on the hospitability of others, since they may not make any material provision for their travels. In 25:40.45, "the least of these" refers to someone who—for whatever reason—is hungry, thirsty or sick, has no clothes, is a stranger, or is in prison. The idea that the little ones do not have the material means to support themselves is not completely absent from 18:5–14 either (cf. 18:5) but this text provides a number of other elements for determining their identity.

To begin with, it is quite clear that the passage is about disciples of Jesus. This can be inferred from the description in 18:6, "one of these little ones who believe in me". However, there is no reason here to think only of the twelve apostles (as in 10:42) or to regard "one of these little ones" as referring to all disciples. Of course all disciples are called to put into practice the ideal formulated in 18:1–4. However, verses 5–13 show that only a limited group actually responds to this call and that these people are being hampered by people from their own circle who do not make the same choice. This view can be substantiated from the negative activities which are mentioned in the text. The little ones encounter a good deal of hostility: people try to put a stumbling block before them and hold them in contempt. The effect of this is that the little ones begin to distance themselves from the community and risk losing their way. The contempt in which they are held partly comes from their fellow-believers and is in sharp contrast to the respect that God has for them. The Father in heaven wants to prevent at all costs that one of them should be lost. His special care for the little ones must be a stimulus to the community to give them their rightful place again.

This description of the little ones is based on the following observations. The group is discussed not only in 18:6 but also in 18:10–14. The parable of the stray sheep (18:12–13) specifically refers to their situation. This emerges both from the sentences with which it is framed (18:10.14) and also from the emphasis in the parable on the fate of one stray sheep from a large flock (18:12: "one of them"; in Greek: ἕν ἐξ αὐτῶν). This one sheep is not lost (as it is in Luke 15:3–7) but it has gone astray. The term 'to go astray' (πλανάομαι) is used here three times and also occurs (though in the active sense, 'lead astray') when the appearance of false prophets and false messiahs is described in 24:4–5.11.24. There is a second connection with the Eschatological Discourse, namely, the phrase "to put a stumbling block" (18:6–9) or "fall away" (24:10). Both passages refer to divisions in the community. The malaise is caused by members in positions of leadership. They make victims in their own circle because they are too concerned with their own

position and do not realise that leadership implies service. In the Eschatological Discourse, it is the righteous (24:12) and even the chosen ones (24:24) who risk becoming the victims of internal tensions. In 18:5–14, it is precisely those members of the community who are committed to Jesus' ideal that are the ones who are in a difficult position.

5 Children in Matt 19:13–15

This well-known passage describes how children are being brought to Jesus in order that he may lay his hands on them. In the end, he does precisely what is expected of him, and indeed lays his hands on the children. We are not told who bring the children to Jesus. The disciples are scandalized by the children themselves and not by the adults who bring them into contact with Jesus. Thus, there are only three (groups of) characters: Jesus, the disciples and the children. The disciples are told that they must stop their opposition. This call is explained in the closing words of 19:14 ("for it is to such as these that the kingdom of heaven belongs"). In this context, the word 'children' has a figurative meaning. The phrase is 'such children' (or: 'such people') and not 'these children'.

Matt 19:13–15 must be read against the background of Gen 48, where Jacob on his deathbed pronounces his blessing over Ephraim and Manasseh, the two sons of Joseph.[10] The two texts have various elements in common: a) the children are brought to Jacob (Gen 48:10.13) and to Jesus (Matt 19:13), respectively; b) there is mention of the laying on of hands (Gen. 48:10; Mat. 19:13.15); c) this gesture is accompanied by a prayer (Gen 48:15–16; Matt 19:15). In Genesis, the natural hierarchy plays a major role. Joseph respects this hierarchy by putting Manasseh, the oldest, on the right hand of his father and Ephraim on his left. But Jacob blesses the pair with arms crossed, so that the youngest receives the blessing that was in fact intended for the firstborn. This reversal of existing relations is also echoed in Matt 19:13–15, in two respects: a) Jesus' solidarity with children (19:14a.15) is in tension with the view of his time that young children occupy the lowest place on the social ladder; b) by his figurative use of the term 'children' (19:14b), Jesus indicates that, for the sake of the kingdom, his disciples must break with the conventional hierarchy of values and must voluntarily choose a life characterized by vulnerability.

10 See J. Duncan M. Derrett, "Why Jesus Blessed the Children (Mk 10:13–16 par.)," *NovT* 25 (1983): 1–18.

6 Conclusion

What is the significance of the term 'child' in Matthew? This word is rendered by various terms in the Greek text (παιδίον, παῖς, τέκνον, νήπιος, and μικρός). In a number of texts, it denotes real children. They form a vulnerable group which is dependent on the care of parents (7:11). The downside of this is that they are affected by the miserable circumstances of their parents (18:25) or become the victims of negative choices made by adults (2:16–18; 27:24). They are exposed to sickness (8:5–13; 9:18–19.23–26; 15:21–28; 17:14–18), and suffer hunger (14:21; 15:38). Matthew also has an eye for the negative characteristics of children: they are fickle (11:16) and oppose their parents (10:21). Children can count on Jesus' sympathy (19:13–15) and he urges his followers to take great care of them (18:5). Half of the texts in which the term 'child' (παιδίον) occurs relate to Jesus himself. He is a special child, born "from the Holy Spirit" and protected by God from his assailants. From the outset, the narrative in Matt 2 gives the word 'child' a particular semantic colouring. Some aspects of this recur when 'child' is used in a figurative sense and is applied to (certain) followers of Jesus. They are the ones who receive God's blessing and are initiated into the Torah by Jesus (11:25–30). Emphasis is put on the fact that God shows a special concern for vulnerable members of the religious community, for "the little ones". In 10:42, this term relates to the twelve apostles in their missionary role, in 18:6–14 to believers who are treated with contempt by other members of the community—above all by its leaders—and therefore risk being alienated from the community. The statement that followers of Jesus must become like children does not suggest that children by definition have superior positive qualities (like innocence, receptiveness), though it cannot be denied that the positive statement in 18:4 ("whoever becomes humble like this child") supports such interpretations. Still, the primary meaning of this verse is different. It indicates that children occupy the lowest position in society and that it is evident that this position must also be characteristic of those who see the kingdom of heaven as their supreme goal.

CHAPTER 3

Secret Knowledge and Divine Revelation in Matthew's Gospel

In 1955, the Chicago-based Urantia Foundation published a hefty volume entitled *The Urantia Book*.[1] It was translated into many languages. The book counts more than 2000 pages. It describes what it purports to be knowledge on the complex connections between man, the world, and God. I mention this book because its publishers claim that its content reflects revelations by celestial beings and thus discloses a higher form of knowledge. *The Urantia Book* was claimed not to be the work of one or more human authors; "instead it is written as if directly presented by numerous celestial beings appointed to the task of providing an 'epochal' spiritual revelation to mankind".[2]

It is not a modern phenomenon that the source and genesis of particular writings are surrounded by mystery. In this way, *The Urantia Book* is similar to ancient holy writings from numerous religions, the authority of which has traditionally been explained by invoking their special origin: they are claimed to be the fruit of divine revelation to chosen and inspired human recipients. Sometimes these recipients must pass on the message as faithfully as possible to their fellow believers, sometimes they must record the message in books that are to be sealed and kept secret till further notice, or to be communicated only to a small, select group (e.g., Dan 12:4; *4 Ezra* 14:46).

Examples of this abound. There are writings that have achieved canonical status within an established tradition. However, also extra-canonical texts command authority by tracing back their origins to God or other celestial beings. Their number has increased following the discovery of ancient texts. In Jewish and Christian circles, the Dead Sea scrolls and the Nag Hammadi library have fired the imagination. Some years ago, shortly before Easter 2006, the content of the Gospel of Judas was made known to the world, a Gospel that, in the opening sentence, is presented as "the secret account of the revelation that Jesus spoke in conversation with Judas Iscariot". Judas, the disciple who turned Jesus in and who has become increasingly demonised in the course of the tradition, is described here as the bearer of special revelatory knowledge

1 *The Urantia Book* (Chicago, IL: Urantia Foundation, 1955).

2 This quotation is from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Urantia_Book (accessed on 11 September 2010).

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concerning the secrets of the kingdom. He is said to have received this knowledge directly from Jesus, whereas it was denied to the other apostles.

If a document from the distant past contains material that diverges from established religious views, it usually adds fuel to conspiracy theories like the ones found in Dan Brown's *Da Vinci Code*, among other fact-fiction books. It is suggested that secret societies are bent on hiding the facts of the matter at all costs to safeguard the orthodoxy of the church.

Within this great variety of divine revelations and esoteric knowledge, I will focus in this chapter on one text, the Gospel of Matthew. The point of departure will be the question of whether, also in this canonical book, revelation and secret knowledge play a central role and, if so, how these notions are semantically coloured and what function they fulfil in the communication with the targeted readers. I will split this problem into a number of subquestions.

- In Matthew's Gospel, does God reveal special knowledge to human recipients whom he has chosen?
- What is the nature and content of this secret knowledge?
- Who are in this Gospel the recipients of such revelations and what implications does their God-given position have for their relationship with God and for their position within the religious community?
- Are the revelations kept secret until the end of the age? Or are they uncovered in the meantime to people who are able to grasp their true meaning?
- Is possession of this knowledge necessary to inherit eternal life?

The way in which these questions are formulated expresses a particular interpretation of 'revelation'. It is not the ordinary, everyday usage, in which 'revelation' often means a surprising discovery. The focal point is on revelation as a theological or religious-scientific construct. The meaning of this more specific use of the term 'revelation' is that special truths are made known, that these truths are concerned to knowledge that people cannot discover themselves by means of their intellectual powers, and that they have to rely on God or celestial beings for this knowledge. Revelation thus refers to "the communication of knowledge to people by divine agency" or to "the unveiling by God of knowledge previously hidden from the world".[3]

3 These descriptions are derived from Frances Shaw, *Discernment of Revelation in the Gospel of Matthew* (Religions and Discourse 30; Oxford: Lang, 2007), 17–18. See also Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains, vol. 1* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989, 2d ed.), 338–340 and 412.

In finding answers to the questions formulated above, I will concentrate on a limited number of key texts from Matthew's book. In section 1, I will analyse Matt 11:25–30, in which Jesus presents himself as the recipient of God's revelation. Section 2 is devoted to Matt 13:10–17, in which Jesus typifies his disciples as people to whom it has been given to know the secrets of the kingdom of heaven, whereas outsiders are denied this knowledge. In the third section, Matt 16:13–28 will be dealt with; in this passage, Peter is called both a recipient of a divine revelation and a Satan who is guided by human considerations. In the fourth section, I will focus on the following question: according to Matt 24:3–25:46, what knowledge is there about the dawn of the eschaton or the parousia of the Son of Man and what consequences does this knowledge, or lack of it, have for people's attitudes? In the conclusion, I will try to explain the connection between these four key texts.

1 Jesus as a Recipient of God's Revelation (Matt 11:25–30)

1.1 *Structure and Meaning*

Matt 11:25–30 starts with a narrative introduction ("At that time Jesus said"). Jesus' subsequent words have the form of a poetic text consisting of three stanzas.[4]

A [25] I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth,
B because you have hidden these things from the wise and the intelligent
B' and have revealed them to infants;
A' [26] yes, Father, for such was your gracious will.

The first stanza contains many second person forms and pronouns and is formulated as a prayer of thanksgiving to God, who is addressed twice as "Father". The four lines of this stanza are in an ABB'A' pattern, whereby the second and

4 Davies and Allison, *Commentary: Matthew VIII–XVIII*, 271: "Mt 11.25 [sic!] is tripartite. It consists of three closely related strophes." Not 11:25 is referred to but 11:25–30. According to Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (*Mt 8–17*), 198, the narrative introduction in 11:25a is followed by, "zwei viergliedrige Sprüche" (vv. 25b–26 comprise the first saying; it is structured as an ABB'A' scheme; the second saying is in v. 27, where the pattern is slightly different: ABB'C) and "ein sechsgliedriger Spruch" (in vv. 28–30, the pattern here being different again: ABCDB'A'). I follow Luz, but present a different proposal for the structure of 11:28–30.

third lines show an antithetic parallelism: the revelation is not granted to the wise but to the simple.

A [27] All things have been handed over to me by my Father;
B and no one knows the Son except the Father,
B' and no one knows the Father except the Son
C and anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him.

The second stanza refers to the Father in the third person. This stanza too has four lines; in this case, the second and third lines contain a synthetic parallelism, while the fourth line adds information to the third. This stanza "declares the way by which the revelation comes–from the Father through the Son".[5] Jesus has a unique position here: "He is the Son, who alone knows the Father, and he is the mediator through whom alone this saving revelation of the Father comes to men".[6]

A [28] Come to me, all you that are weary and are carrying heavy burdens,
B and I will give you rest.
C [29] Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me; for I am gentle and humble in heart,
B' and you will find rest for your souls.
A' [30] For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.

The third stanza opens with a new form of address. While the first stanza has the character of a prayer giving thanks to God, the third stanza is an invitation to the weary and the burdened. This concluding stanza has five lines, the first and the second lines together with the fourth and fifth forming a chiasmus (ABB'A'). The central position is occupied by the third line (C), which indicates what Jesus teaches and why he is a source of rest and why his yoke is easy.

On the basis of these remarks on the structure of the text, it is now possible to indicate how revelation and knowledge have been semantically coloured in this passage. In his prayer of thanksgiving, Jesus claims that God's revelation is not intended for the wise and intelligent but for the infants. Then Jesus describes the role that he has to fulfil in God's plan of salvation. The first and second stanzas are connected to each other by the verb ἀποκαλύπτω.

5 Archibald M. Hunter, "Crux Criticorum: Matt. XI.25–30: A Re-appraisal," *NTS* 8 (1961–62): 241–249 (244).

6 Ibid., 246–247.

The reference to God as 'Father' and the title 'Lord of heaven and earth' are linked to Jesus' position in 11:27: he is the Son, and the Father has handed all things over to him. Given the context, πάντα ("all things") refers to the knowledge that God has granted him, and not to the full authority in heaven and on earth mentioned in 28:18. Only the Father and the Son know each other, and it is up to the Son to share his knowledge of God with others. In the third stanza, Jesus invites all those who are weary and burdened to come to him, take up his yoke, and to be taught by him. This stanza must be understood in the light of Matthew's polemic against the Pharisaic interpretation of the Torah. It is aimed at all those who prefer Jesus' interpretation of the Torah to the heavy burdens imposed upon them by the scribes and Pharisees (cf. 23:4). The way in which Jesus refers to himself here (πραΰς εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, cf. 21:5) links up with the characterisation of the recipients of God's revelation in 11:25 (νήπιοι).

Who does νήπιοι refer to? This term belongs to the same semantic field as the word παιδία in 11:16. While 11:16 is about the negative behaviour of real children bickering about their game in the market place, in 11:25, the word νήπιοι is used in a figurative sense. There, the term refers to a positive characteristic of adults, viz. receptivity to God's revelation and the ability to interpret the knowledge received correctly. We also come across this figurative use of νήπιοι in the New Testament letters. Given the fact that small children live on their mothers' milk (Heb 5:13), that they are not nearly grown up (1 Cor 13:11), and that they have the same low position within the household as slaves (Gal 4:1), this term is used there to refer to adults who have converted only recently. The figurative use of the term in Matt 11:25 also links up with a typical feature of children that is often used in texts from the ancient world: children have not yet received any schooling and must still be introduced into the world of the adults.[7] In Matthew, νήπιοι also occurs in 21:16, where it is part of a quotation from Ps 8:3 in the version of the LXX. Here, too, νήπιοι refers to people who follow Jesus and to whom the Father reveals the identity of his Son. It is also important that, in Ps 8:3, it is God himself who has put the song that the children sing into their mouths. What they state about Jesus is thus endorsed by the authority of God himself.

The narrative introduction in 11:25a is also important to identify the νήπιοι further. It is remarkable that there is no reference to the addressees. In the preceding passage, Jesus spoke to the crowd that had flocked to him (11:7) and addressed stern reproaches to the Galilean cities of Chorazin, Bethsaida and

7 See Lindemann, "Die Kinder," 77–104 (81–88); Müller, *In der Mitte*, 81–164: "Kinder in der Umwelt des Neues Testaments". See also Chapter 2 in this book.

Capernaum, which had not repented despite his mighty deeds. Given this context, it may be assumed that the crowds referred to in 11:7 are also his audience in 11:25–30, and the presence of his disciples may also be presumed. Within this company–given the addressees mentioned in 11:28–, Jesus especially addresses the people that are referred to elsewhere in Matthew as "the poor in spirit" (5:3), as "sheep without a shepherd, harassed and helpless" (9:36), as "the little ones" (10:42; 18:6.10.14), or as adults who, by humbling themselves, change and become like children (18:3–4). After the hard and reproachful tone in 11:7–24, the words with which Jesus tries to win the weary and the burdened over to his side are now surprisingly kind and mild.

1.2 *Intertextual Aspects*

Can the meaning of Matt 11:25–30 be further explained on the basis of the intertextual aspects of this passage? At first sight, this does not seem a useful exercise as the passage does not contain any explicit quotation, except εὑρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν in 11:29, which is based upon the Hebrew text of Jer 6:16; there, מרגוע, 'rest' or 'resting place') is mentioned, while the LXX opts for the term ἁγνισμός ('purification' or 'expiation'). This quotation fits perfectly in its new context. The reason why this is the case can best be explained on the basis of a short study by Blaine Charette.[8] As in the Pentateuch, the concept pair of 'yoke' and 'rest' plays an important role in Old Testament prophetic texts on the restoration of Israel as a nation. This restoration will occur when the yoke of oppression by foreign powers is broken and the exiles can return to their homeland, where they can find rest under JHWH's yoke. The fact that the people threw off JHWH's yoke caused a foreign yoke to be placed on their shoulders and robbed them of the rest that they had enjoyed in their own country. This pattern also forms the background of Matt 11:28–30. A new element is that the yoke referred to belongs to Jesus and not to God. If the addressees prefer his yoke (i.e., his interpretation of the law) to that of the Pharisees, they will find rest after their toil.

These same terms can also point to other texts and traditions. One important potential source for Jesus' words in Matt 11:28–30 are reflections on wisdom and knowledge in Ecclesiasticus or The Wisdom of Jesus Sirach. A passage often referred to in this context is Sir 51:13–30, a textual unit that seems to be

8 Blaine Charette, " 'To Proclaim Liberty to the Captives': Matthew 11:28–30 in the Light of OT Prophetic Expectation," *NTS* 38 (1992): 290–297. See also Grant Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (JSJSup 115; Leiden: Brill, 2007), esp. Chapter 4: The Gospel of Matthew, 115–195.

related to Matt 11:28–30 with regard to vocabulary and structure.[9] Some of the words are completely the same (πρός με, ζυγός, ψυχὴ ὑμῶν, κοπιάω, and ἀνάπαυσις), others are synonyms or equivalents (compare ἐγγίσατε in Sir 51:23 with δεῦτε in Matt 11:28; παιδεία in Sir 51:16.23.28 belongs to the same semantic field as μανθάνω in Matt 11:29, while the ἀπαίδευτοι in Sir 51:23 are basically the same as the νήπιοι in Matt 11:25).

These points of contact are thrown into even more relief when combined with the phenomenon that the two texts have the same basic pattern, consisting of three components: a) the I-figure says a prayer of thanksgiving; b) God passes on knowledge or wisdom to this I-figure; c) then an invitation follows to ignorant people to learn from the I-figure. According to April DeConick, this invitation also has a more or less fixed pattern: a) the invitation itself, usually in the form of an imperative; b) a depiction of the persons addressed; c) a description of the things which wisdom will have to offer them; d) a specification of the efforts which this will require from those invited; e) a renewed description of the things which wisdom will have to offer. Apart from 51:23.26, this basic scheme can also be found elsewhere (e.g., in Sir 6:19; 6:27–28; 24:19–20).[10] In Sir 51:23–26, other material (51:24–25) has been added to the scheme (51:23.26). The scheme in Matt 11:28–30 has also been added to, viz., with a description of Jesus as someone who is gentle and humble. It is precisely this addition in Matt 11:29 which shows a major semantic transformation compared to the text from Sirach. Jesus is represented here in a double role: on the one hand, he has taken the place of hypostasized wisdom and he is the pre-eminent embodiment of wisdom, and on the other hand, he is the only teacher and guide for the ignorant who wish to feed upon the knowledge which he has received from God.

Finally, I would like to point out a third intertextual connection, viz., that between Jesus' function as the bearer of God's revelation in Matt 11:25–27 and the role of the seers in apocalyptic texts. In an apocalypse, divine revelations by definition take up an important place. Writings belonging to this genre are usually about the revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) of truths that originate from God,

9 See the comparative studies in Celia M. Deutsch, *Hidden Wisdom and the Easy Yoke: Wisdom, Torah and Discipleship in Matthew 11.25–30* (JSNTSup 18; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 55–139; see also Celia M. Deutsch, *Lady Wisdom, Jesus, and the Sages: Metaphor and Social Context in Matthew's Gospel* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996); Huub van de Sandt, "Matthew 11,28–30: Compassionate Law Interpretation in Wisdom Language," Pages 313–337 in *The Gospel of Matthew at the Crossroads of Early Christianity* (ed. Donald Senior; BETL 243; Leuven: Peeters, 2011).

10 April D. DeConick, "The Yoke Saying in the Gospel of Thomas 90," *VC* 44 (1990): 20–294 (290).

that are mediated by an otherworldly being (an angel), and that are offered to a human recipient, who is the exponent of a small group, often a robust minority. The revelations relate to the imminent end of the age and the expected coming of a new supernatural world, God's 'world', heaven. The perspective of that time and space sheds a new light on the current situation and on the way in which people should act now.

According to Werner Grimm, the prayer of thanksgiving in Matt 11:25–27 should be understood against the background of Daniel's prayer in Dan 2:19–23, in which he praises God, who reveals deep mysteries, because "he gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who have discernment".[11] These 'wise' refers to seers who receive revelations in visions concerning the time of the coming of God's kingdom and who acquire knowledge of the periods into which history is divided. This time table shows how near the end of the age is. Where necessary, an *angelus interpres* provides explication and functions as a mediator between God and the human recipients of the knowledge regarding the end. The recipients of this special knowledge like to construe a contrast between themselves and the ignorant outsiders, who perpetrate injustice and will not share in the eschatological salvation.

According to Grimm, Daniel's prayer of thanksgiving shows a striking similarity with Matt 11:25–27: in both cases, there is a contrast between "the wise and those who have discernment" (see also Isa 29:14) and infants or the ignorant. However, although the terms used are the same or are related, their meaning is totally different. The Matthean Jesus completely twists them around: he speaks in negative terms about the wise and the intelligent whereas, in Daniel, the wise are the bearers of special knowledge, and he gives a preferential position to the infants whereas, in the apocalyptic writings, the ignorant are outside the privileged group who enjoy God's favour. Another difference is that Jesus, by presenting himself as the only mediator of God's revelation, leaves no room for an *angelus interpres* and, as a revealer, claims a completely unique and exclusive position for himself.

Serious criticism can be levelled at Grimm's view of the book of Daniel, the main lines of which were sketched above. I will limit myself to three remarks: a) without a thorough analysis of the meaning(s) of the terms חכימים and משׂכלים Grimm indicates the persons referred to here with the one term 'the wise' and, without sound reasons, he identifies them with apocalyptic seers; b) his sharp contrast between the wise and the ignorant has no basis in Daniel but is founded on a number of passages from other apocalyptic texts (e.g., *1 En.* 98:1–3; *2 Bar.* 44:12–15; 70:5); c) it is even more serious that Grimm pays

11 Grimm, *Jesus und das Danielbuch*, 25–28.

insufficient attention to the phenomenon that the Hebrew term פתאים and the Greek word νήπιοι in the Bible and in the Dead Sea scrolls do not only have negative connotations but have a positive meaning as well, so that Jesus' choice of the word νήπιοι is less original than Grimm wants us to believe.[12] This does not alter the fact, however, that apocalyptic-eschatological ideas also resonate in Matt 11:25–27. The knowledge of the Son and the Father about each other is linked to knowledge of the eschaton. Those to whom it is granted can find this eschatological knowledge in Jesus, who, in his person and ministry, reveals secrets that were hidden from the founding of the world and that relate to the end of the age.

2 The Disciples and the Secrets of the Kingdom (Matt 13:10–17)

The antithesis formulated in 11:25 between the wise and intelligent people and the infants is the prelude to the sketch of Jesus' further ministry, in which it becomes increasingly clear that his words and deeds lead to divergent reactions, to opposing opinions, and even to division. This phenomenon is the subject of the conversation between Jesus and his disciples in 13:10–17.

This talk is part of the Parable Discourse, the structure of which already reflects the above-mentioned division. In the first part (13:1–34), Jesus addresses a mixed company: he presents four parables to the crowds and his disciples (13:3–9.24–33), but only to the select group of his disciples does he explain why he speaks to the crowds in parables and what the parable of the sower means (13:10–23). In the second part (13:36–52), after the crowds have been sent away, the disciples receive further instruction in the privacy of a house. At the end, they indicate that they have fully understood all Jesus' words.

In first instance, the division seems to be caused by Jesus himself because, in speaking to the crowds, he brings up different matters than when he instructs his disciples in a secluded place. In 13:10, with their question of why Jesus spoke to the crowds in parables, the disciples focus on the speaker, not on the recipients. Still, it is not only the speaker who is important; so is the recipient. Furthermore, the nature or content of the message conveyed may be such that only certain recipients will be able to interpret it correctly.

12 For such nuances, see Jacques Dupont, "Les 'simples' (*petâyim*) dans la Bible et à Qumran: À propos des νήπιοι de Mt 11,25; Lc 10,21," in Jacques Dupont, *Études sur les évangiles synoptiques: Tome II* (BETL 70B; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1985), 583–591.

This complex interaction is echoed in Jesus' answer to his disciples' question. He mentions God as the source of revelation. God lets Jesus convey its content to a limited group of recipients (cf. 11:25–26), to whom it has been granted (the implication being: by God) to have knowledge of τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν (13:11).[13] This cryptic term does not refer to unsolvable mysteries but to knowledge that would not be known unless it was revealed.[14] In translation, the best term is 'secrets' rather than 'mysteries' because, in contemporary English, the latter word primarily refers to secrets that people have tried in vain to solve whereas, in 13:11, a successful transfer of secret knowledge to the disciples as suitable recipients is meant.

The call in 13:9 ("let anyone with ears listen"; see also 13:43) already shows that the recipient is not a passive and indifferent subject. The verb 'to hear' plays an important role in Jesus' answer to his disciples (13:10–17) and in his explanation of the parable of the sower (13:18–23). It is linked to 'seeing', but even together, they do not lead to the appropriate reception: this requires that hearing and seeing come together in 'understanding' and that correct understanding results in rich fruit, in other words: good deeds. Jesus thus links the parable to the communicative aspects of his proclamation of the word of God and places great emphasis on the active role of the listeners.

The division between disciples and outsiders (ἐκεῖνοι in 13:11) therefore originates with God, but it also depends on the characteristics of the listeners. In fact, this division is already present before Jesus begins to speak. He does not bring it about; in speaking in parables, he adapts to an already existing situation. The purpose of Jesus' speaking in parables is not the crowd's lack of understanding, but this ignorance is already there: it is the reason why Jesus opts for this way of communicating his message. This is shown by the clauses that express reasons in 13:13.16 and by the introduction in 13:14 to the fulfilment quotation from Isa 6:9–10.[15] Unlike what has mostly been the case so

13 The use of the Greek versions of Dan 2:2–29 in Matt 13:11 is discussed by Jonathan T. Pennington, "Refractions of Daniel in the Gospel of Matthew," Pages 65–86 in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality: Volume 1: Thematic Studies* (eds. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias; London: Continuum, 2009).

14 Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon, vol. 1*, 345: μυστήριον is "the content of that which has not been known before but which has been revealed to an in-group or restricted constituency". In my choice for 'secrets' as a translation of μυστήρια, I follow Louw and Nida's proposal. See also: Galen W. Wiley, "A Study of 'Mystery' in the New Testament," *Grace Theological Journal* 6 (1985): 349–360.

15 An analysis of the quotation of Isa 6:9–10 in Mark 4:10–12 and its parallels is to be found in Douglas S. McComiskey, "Exile and the Purpose of Jesus' Parables (Mark 4:10–12; Matt 13:10–17; Luke 8:9–10)," *JETS* 51 (2008): 59–85.

far, this quotation is not preceded by an ἵνα-sentence but by an observation ("With them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah"). It is also interesting that the quotation from Ps 78:2 in 13:35 equates speaking in parables with uttering (not: revealing) that which was hidden.

The fulfilment quotation refers to the situation of outsiders. For the disciples, the reverse is true of that which is argued in the quotation from Isaiah about the people. In 13:16–17, the disciples are called blessed because their eyes see and their ears hear. They differ from many prophets and righteous people from the past who had wished to see and hear what the disciples are seeing and hearing, but could not, because the time had not yet come. The object of this hearing and seeing is not explicitly mentioned but, because it is about something which was not yet there but is accessible now (for the disciples, at least), nothing else can be meant here than that the kingdom is beginning to unfold in Jesus' ministry (cf. 12:28).

This occurrence resists normal perception and, as yet, develops in secret. In 13:44, therefore, the kingdom is compared to a treasure hidden in a field which is hidden again by the finder. The parable of a merchant in search of fine pearls also suggests that the kingdom is secret. Verse 13:33, in which a woman mixes a little yeast with a large amount of flour, points in the same direction.

Given this information, it can be said that the early stages of the kingdom develop in secret and that God has only given it to the disciples to perceive in Jesus' ministry a parable of the imminent kingdom. The Parable Discourse, however, does not stop at the first unfoldings of the kingdom. The text suggests that the sowing time is already in the past, and gradually the future harvest, the approaching end of the age, is coming into focus. Many textual data relate to the period between sowing time and the time of the harvest. That is also the time in which Matthew's readers find themselves.

This intervening period is the subject of the parable of the weeds in the grain (13:24–30).[16] Linking up with the division between the disciples and the outsiders (13:10–17) and between people who understand the word of the kingdom and those who do not (13:18.23), this parable focuses on the current entanglement of weeds and wheat. When the crop begins to bear fruit, the slaves see that there is not only wheat in the field but also weeds. Surprised they ask their lord where these weeds came from. According to him, the weeds do not originate in the activities of the sower but in those of an enemy. The slaves are willing to immediately pull up the weeds, but their lord tells them to

16 See Luca Marulli, "The Parable of the Tares and Matthew's Strategy Vis-à-vis Extreme Sectarian Impulses From Within His Community," *AUSS* 47 (1963): 181–202.

patiently wait for the harvest: if they remove the weeds now, they might harm the wheat also.

The parable puts the finger on the phenomenon that the community is a *corpus mixtum*. In the explanation of the parable (13:36–43), the focus shifts from the coexistence of the good and the bad towards the division between the two groups at the end of the age. This division will not be the work of people but will be conducted on the order of the Son of Man by his angels. Therefore, the existing situation must not be confused with the eschatological fulfilment. Now the kingdom is still a hidden force and there is a division between those who understand and whose good deeds show that they consider the kingdom to be of great value and those who have no understanding. For the definitive division, ethical standards are decisive: the righteous will be rewarded while the worst punishment awaits those who bring others down and who perpetrate injustice. Matthew thus combines his diagnosis of the existing situation with a prognosis of the future. His description of the final judgement is not meant as a blueprint of the scenario at the end of the age, but has a parenetic purpose.[17]

3 Peter as a Recipient of God's Revelation (Matt 16:13–20)

Matt 16:13–28 is a textual unit.[18] The whole passage is situated in the area of Caesarea Phillipi (unity of place). Jesus is alone there, except for the company of his disciples. The statements on "the Son of Man" in 16:13.27–28 provide an inclusion. The temporal adjunct ἀπὸ τότε in 16:21 does not offer a caesura (nor does it in 4:17), on the contrary, it reinforces the internal coherence.[19]

17 The parable of the dragnet in 13:47–50 also shows that the community is a heterogeneous company (there are "fish of every kind"), and is followed by an explanation that again refers to the future eschatological division.

18 A study of discernment of revelation in relation to Peter is to be found in: Shaw, *Discernment*, 243–279. Peter's role in Matthew's Gospel is more generally discussed in Jack D. Kingsbury, "The Figure of Peter in Matthew's Gospel as a Theological Problem," *JBL* 98 (1979): 67–83; Kari Syreeni, "Peter as Character and Symbol in the Gospel of Matthew," Pages 106–152 in *Characterization in the Gospels: Reconceiving Narrative Criticism* (eds. David Roads and Kari Syreeni; JSNTSup 184; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Wim Weren, "Steenrots en struikelblok: Petrus als leerling en leider in het evangelie van Matteüs," Pages 100–119 in *Over leiden: Dynamiek en structuur van het religieus leiderschap* (eds. Herman L. Beck and Rein Nauta; Tilburg: Syntax Publishers, 1999).

19 See also Chapter 1 in this book; Neirynck, "ΑΠΟ ΤΟΤΕ," *ETL* 64 (1988): 21–59; contra Kingsbury, *Matthew*, 40–45.

When Jesus asks his disciples about his identity, Peter answers: "You are the Messiah, the Son of the living God." This statement is not new. In 14:33, "those in the boat" already exclaimed that Jesus was truly the Son of God. Whether Peter was part of this group is not clear but, in any case, he is not the only one who could uncover the riddle of Jesus' identity. In 16:16, Peter formulates a view that is shared by all Jesus' disciples.

Yet, Jesus addresses Peter personally in 16:17–19.[20] He commends Peter, not because of his personal achievement, for his confession is not based on his own insight, but because he is the recipient of divine revelation. As regards formulation, 16:17 is closely related to Gal 1:15–16, where Paul traces back his calling to a special experience. According to Paul, God revealed his Son to him. He derives his authority from God on this ground and does not deem himself dependent on human actors for his ministry among the Gentiles ("flesh and blood": Gal 1:16; cf. Matt 16:17).

Following his confession, Peter is given a new position, described by Jesus with a metaphor: Peter is a πέτρα,[21] the rock or foundation on which Jesus will build his church. It is less plausible that 'this rock' refers to Jesus' words here (cf. 7:24–25) or to Peter's confession that he is the Son of God. Furthermore, I note that the word ἐκκλησία has a universal meaning here. Jesus is the grammatical subject of the verbs οἰκοδομέω in 16:17 and δίδωμι in 16:19. This expresses that the church is his creation (he speaks about '*my* church') and that Peter has received his special commission from Jesus.

What can be said about the content of Peter's commission? In answering this question, 16:12 offers something to go on. There, Jesus advises his disciples to beware of the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees. The investiture of Peter as leader links up with this. He is the alternative to the old leaders, who failed to properly fulfil their role. Verse 16:19 in combination with 23:13 points in the same direction. According to 16:19, Jesus entrusts the keys of the kingdom of heaven to Peter. This promise is connected with the criticism in 23:13 of the scribes and Pharisees: they close off the kingdom for the people. In this context, the concept pair of δέω ('to bind') and λύω ('to unbind') is

20 Matt 16:17–19 consists of three stanzas of three lines each. In the first line, something is stated about Peter; in the second and third lines, which both show an antithetic parallelism, the reason for or the effect of the statement in the first line is described.

21 Authors disagree about whether an originally Aramaic statement was at the basis of this verse and how it was formulated; see, for example, Max Wilcox, "Peter and the Rock: A Fresh Look at Matthew XVI.17–19," *NTS* 22 (1976): 73–88.

important (16:19).[22] These terms relate to the authority to explain the Torah (cf. 5:17–19) and to elaborate it into halacha, into concrete rules of conduct that respond to the current situation of the community. What is at stake here is the authority to make decisions on what is prohibited and what is allowed. The decisions made by Peter on earth are ratified by heaven. Together, these pieces of information lead to the conclusion that Peter is given the position of scribe in Jesus' school (cf. 13:52): in looking for new ways into the future, he functions as a guarantee that the community stays faithful to Jesus' interpretation of the Torah. Peter's authority is supported by Jesus, but this will only be the case as long as he shows himself to be a true interpreter of his master's teachings.

Although he is given a special position, not everything that is said on or to Peter in 16:17–19 applies only to him. The macarism addressed to Peter in 16:17 parallels the beatitude about the disciples in 13:16. That understanding Jesus' identity is the fruit of divine revelation is also reflected in 11:25–27, that is about all true disciples of Jesus. It has often been argued that 'binding' and 'unbinding' in 16:19 refer to Peter's role, whereas these same verbs are used in 18:18 in connection with the competence of a local religious community (both in 16:18 and in 18:17–18, ἐκκλησία is referred to) to take disciplinary action against people who jeopardise the internal cohesion. These connections show that Peter does not operate separately from the other disciples but acts as their leader and representative.

Scarcely installed in his new role, however, Peter protests against the prospect, in 16:22–23, that Jesus will be killed in Jerusalem: "God forbid it, Lord! This must never happen to you." These words result in a sharp reprimand from Jesus: "Get behind me, Satan! You are a stumbling block (in Greek: σκάνδαλον) to me; for you are setting your mind not on divine things but on human things." The contrast between 16:17–19 and 16:22–23 could hardly be greater. Peter was supposed to be a rock, but he acts as a stumbling block. He has been hailed as the recipient of God's revelation, but now he turns out to be an instrument of Satan, even as Satan himself (cf. 4:10). Peter is an ambivalent figure, both as a recipient of divine revelation and in his role as a leader. He is a steady beacon within the community if he orients himself on God's revelation and on Jesus' interpretation of the Torah, but if he is led by human considerations and contradicts Jesus, he obstructs the programme that his master has in mind. After his mistake, he must take his proper place again, behind Jesus (16:23; cf. 4:19).

22 An analysis of these terms is to be found in Mark Allan Powell, "Binding and Loosing: A Paradigm for Ethical Discernment from the Gospel of Matthew," *CurTM* 30 (2003): 438–445.

Six days after this conversation in the area of Caesarea Phillipi, Peter, together with James and John, witnesses Jesus' transfiguration on a high mountain (17:1–9). According to Sigfred Pedersen, the transfiguration is not the central theme of this passage but "die Gottes-Stimme, die erklingt und Jesus als den eschatologischen Offenbarungsträger proklamiert, auf den man hören soll".[23] The focus is on the revelation that Jesus is the Son of God, and the impact this has on the disciples.

In this situation, too, Peter acts as the leader of the disciples. His role is rather positive: he addresses Jesus as "Lord"; Jesus' will ("if you wish") is his compass; although he also speaks on behalf of the other two disciples, he focuses the attention on his own activity ("*I* will make three dwellings"). All in all, Peter functions in this passage as an example for Jesus' other disciples. He deserves credit as a witness of Jesus' transfiguration, he acknowledges the continuing line which links Jesus to Moses and the prophets, and he belongs to the privileged recipients of the divine revelation that Jesus is the Son of God. Still, his interpretation of the vision on the mountain is not entirely correct. With his proposal to make three dwellings, he places Moses, Elijah, and Jesus on the same level. The voice from the cloud, however, proclaims one of the three, Jesus, as the only true eschatological bearer of the divine revelation, who must be heeded.[24]

4 The Hidden Presence of the Son of Man and the Messianic Pretences of His Opponents (Matt 24:3–25:46)

One last important text in connection with the subject of this contribution is the Eschatological Discourse in 24:3–25:46. This discourse is related to apocalyptic texts, that transfer special knowledge to a small but robust minority concerning the eschaton and the events that precede it, in which evil will spread like ink, further and further. This knowledge concerns, among other things, the question of how long the period of disaster will last and what attitude is called for in the period before the end.

According to 24:3–25:46, what knowledge is there about the dawn of the eschaton or the parousia of the Son of Man, and what consequences does this knowledge, or lack of it, have for people's attitudes? According to the Eschatological Discourse, it is crystal clear that the end (τὸ τέλος) will come.

23 Sigfred Pedersen, "Die Proklamation Jesu als des Eschatologischen Offenbarungsträgers (Mt. XVII 1–13)," *NovT* 17 (1975): 241–265 (242).

24 Ibid., 260–261.

This event is about to happen; it is so imminent that the current generation will live to see it (24:32–33). Still, it is crucial to be careful: the end must not be equalled with the many forms of disaster which will strike the community in the period before the end (24:6.8.14).

Although it is certain that the end will come, it is not known when exactly it will happen. Only God knows the day and the hour (24:36.50; 25:13; cf. Acts 1:7; 1 Thess 5:1–2). This knowledge has been revealed to no one, not even to the Son. This is at odds with the statement in 11:27, that the Father has handed over to the Son everything there is to know, also about the end of the age.

The uncertainty about the day and the hour is the basis for the call, repeated many times in 24:36–25:13, to be vigilant and to be prepared. In addition, there is the appeal to be enterprising and active, based on the fact that the judge at the final judgement will be hard (25:24.26), and that he will definitively separate the good from the bad on the grounds of ethical criteria.

At the beginning of the discourse, the disciples ask Jesus: "Tell us, when will this be, and what will be the sign of your coming and of the end of the age?" (24:3). The disciples do not get an exact answer. Towards the end of the discourse, the question of day and hour is asked again, this time by the two groups before the throne of the Son of Man. Their questions, however, are not about the time of the parousia but about the past ("when was it that we saw you?"). The questions that are put in that way do get answered: every time they did something for some of the least, or failed to do something—so the two groups are told—, they were confronted with the Son of Man.

On the one hand, the final passage of the Eschatological Discourse (25:31–46) contains many verbs in the future tense that focus the attention on the (ultimate) future, on the end of the age;[25] on the other hand, by means of verbs in the past tense, a retrospective view of preceding events is given from that ultimate moment in the future.[26] The text thus shows a shift from the future to the past, from the parousia to the long history that preceded it. This shift is accompanied by a number of striking contrasts: at the final judgement, the Son of Man appears in full glory, surrounded by all angels. In the time before the end, he has been present every day—without anybody knowing; in a hidden way, he sought the company of people in dire straits.

What does all this have to do with divine revelation and secret knowledge? At the level of the vocabulary used, there are no clear connections with these

25 See the use of the future tense in the narrative sentences in 25:31–34a.37a.40a.41a.44a.45a.46.

26 See the imperfect and aorist forms in the character text in 25:35–45, which is placed in the mouth of the Son of Man or of the two groups facing him.

themes, but at a deeper level, they do exist. This can be explained as follows. At the end of the age, a secret will be revealed that had been hidden in the long period between Jesus' resurrection and parousia, viz., that he was to be found where nobody expected him to be: with people in distress. This revelation, however, is recorded in Matthew's book and is thus available to his readers. Long before the eschaton, they know what they must do if they do not want to be found wanting at the final judgement.[27] The secret knowledge that has now been imparted to them does not concern theoretical information, nor is it the knowledge itself which has redeeming power. No, the Son of Man reveals that each person's behaviour is decisive. What truly matters are the works of mercy.

These works offer an alternative to the destructive effect of the teachings of false messiahs and false prophets who, in the turbulent times before the end, harass the community with false images of the parousia (24:4–5.11–12.23–27). Some pass themselves off as the Messiah or extol local figures as saviours; others proclaim that the Messiah can be found in the desert or in inner rooms. These messianic manifestations have in common that they only have regional scope. The Matthean Jesus speaks out against them by emphasizing that the parousia of the Son of Man will be a universally observable event (24:27), that will mobilise all humanity (24:30: "all the tribes of the earth"; 25:32: "all the nations").

Even more condemnatory is the criticism that the pseudo-prophets fail ethically. They distinguish themselves from others by their uncharitable way of life, they are guilty of immorality (7:23) and "because of the increase of lawlessness, the love of many will grow cold" (24:12). On this point, they represent the opposite of the ethical standards recommended by the Son of Man.

5 Conclusion

I will conclude this chapter by formulating an answer to the problem and the subquestions raised in the introduction. It was shown that revelation and secret knowledge occupy an important place in Matthew's Gospel. The revelation does not originate in God alone but also in Jesus, to whom God, according to 11:27, has imparted all knowledge. As the privileged bearer of divine revelations, Jesus has a special position in God's salvation plan. He thoroughly

27 A similar procedure can be found in 1 Cor 15:51, where Paul informs his readers of the way in which the dead will be raised at the end of the age, although it is a secret that will not be revealed until the eschaton. By communicating it already, this secret can start to influence the lives of his readers now.

knows God, as God thoroughly knows him. Knowledge of the eschaton has been bestowed upon him. As a result, he has the ability to reveal the deeper meaning of current events. Yet, according to 24:36, the Son knows neither the day nor the hour of the end. This may suggest that Jesus' eschatological knowledge is of a completely different nature from the apocalyptic speculations concerning the time of the end.

According to 13:11, the revelatory knowledge passed on by Jesus relates to "the secrets of the kingdom of heaven". One of these secrets is that the kingdom is secretly burgeoning in Jesus' ministry. This real but also delicate presence cannot be spoken about in objectifying language but only in parables with their many metaphors, the meaning of which can only be understood by recipients to whom this ability has been given by God. Matthew attributes this ability to the disciples, and not to the crowds. Thus, there is a division from the very start. The disciples are given supplementary instruction, extending the knowledge they already possess. In this way, they are prepared for their task to make disciples of all nations (28:19) throughout the world (24:14). This task implies that the above-mentioned division is not yet definitive and that the crowds will be given a new opportunity to embrace the gospel of the kingdom.

The disciples cannot carry out their task until they themselves know all there is to know. They will not propagate teachings of their own, but they will imprint upon all humanity to keep all that Jesus has bidden them. Because they are wise, they are able to faithfully pass on Jesus' interpretation of the Torah to others. The fact that, in addition to wheat, weeds also sprout on the field of the world is neither the fault of the message preached nor of the preachers. According to Matthew, it is the work of the devil, who penetrates into the kingdom of the Son of Man. This view must explain why the preaching does not always and everywhere lead to the same hoped-for result.

The disciples must not lock themselves up in their own circle and not allow the knowledge entrusted to them to degenerate into a secret doctrine that is only open to an insider elite. In principle, everyone who has the qualities attributed to the νήπιοι is able to hear Jesus' words and to put them into practice.

The special position of the disciples is explained by means of the figure of Peter, whom Jesus gives the task of keeping his teachings alive by continuously applying them to new situations. As a recipient of God's revelation, Peter is not immune to human rationalisations. This also goes for the other disciples: they are capable of receiving God's revelation in a faithful way, but this process can be negatively affected by human considerations.

The secrets of the kingdom are further disclosed in the Parable Discourse and in the Eschatological Discourse. It becomes clear that the co-existence of the good and the bad within the community will not be permanent. At the

final judgement, the Son of Man will make a definitive division between the two groups on the basis of ethical criteria. Knowing the secrets of the kingdom does not automatically guarantee salvation. In Matthew's perspective, true understanding must result in good deeds. In this context, he sets great store by the works of mercy. These are in themselves simple patterns of action but they are given special importance in the light of the revelation that the Son of Man shows his solidarity with people in distress.

CHAPTER 4

Human Body and Life beyond Death in Matthew's Gospel

In 2003, a voluminous book was published entitled *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, written by Tom Wright, who fervently defends the thesis that Jesus was bodily raised from the dead and that his resurrection is not merely a religious metaphor. No, his tomb was empty and his followers saw him several times, alive and well.[1] With these assertions he turns against what he calls "a broadly dominant paradigm for understanding Jesus' resurrection, a paradigm which, despite numerous dissenting voices, is widely accepted in the worlds both of scholarship and of many mainline churches".[2] According to Wright, that paradigm comprises among other things a view of Jesus' resurrection as a product of subjective visions and collective hallucinations[3] which imply that his resurrection must not be considered to be a corporeal reality but a highly symbolical image for the revival of his disciples after his shameful crucifixion.

That Jesus' body was involved in his resurrection has recently been called into question on the basis of an archaeological discovery that was already made in 1980. In that year, a large tomb containing ten ossuaries was found in the Talpiot neighbourhood five kilometres south of the Old City of Jerusalem.

1 Nicholas T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (Christian Origins and the Question of God 3; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2003), 3–31. A critical discussion of this book is offered by Larry W. Hurtado, "Jesus' Resurrection in the Early Christian Texts: An Engagement with N.T. Wright," *JSHJ* 3 (2005): 197–208.

2 Wright, *Resurrection*, 7.

3 This view is defended by Gerd Lüdemann, *The Resurrection of Christ: A Historical Inquiry* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2004), 153–187. See also Gerd Lüdemann, "The History and Nature of the Earliest Christian Belief in the Resurrection," Pages 413–419 in *The Historical Jesus in Recent Research* (eds. James D.G. Dunn and Scot McKnight; Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 10; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005); Gerd Lüdemann, *Die Auferstehung Jesu: Historie, Erfahrung, Theologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994). This book was critically discussed by Martin Rese, "Exegetische Anmerkungen zu G. Lüdemanns Deutung der Auferstehung Jesu," Pages 55–71 in *Resurrection in the New Testament: Festschrift J. Lambrecht* (eds. Reimund Bieringer, Veronica Koperski, and Bianca Lataire; BETL 165; Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 2002). An extensive discussion of Jesus' resurrection is to be found in Dale C. Allison, *Resurrecting Jesus: The Earliest Christian Tradition and Its Interpreters* (New York / London: T&T Clark, 2005), esp. 198–352.

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Many years later, in 2007, Simcha Jacobovici and Charles Pellegrino published a book in which they claimed that this is the tomb of Jesus and several of his family members.[4] Many Christians were shocked by this breaking news. But was there a reason to be stunned? Would it really be a devastating blow for the New Testament teaching regarding Jesus' resurrection if this was indeed the tomb of Jesus? Is the belief in his resurrection refuted when it can be proven that his remains were once put into the ossuary found in Talpiot with the name of Yeshua bar Yosef inscribed upon it?

In this chapter, these problems will not be discussed on the basis of all the available sources. I will restrict myself to just one biblical writing, Matthew's Gospel. What does this Gospel say about life beyond death, and is that life described as a bodily reality by Matthew?[5]

This chapter is structured as follows. In the first section, I will discuss Jesus' burial and resurrection by making a literary analysis of the lengthy narrative unit with which Matthew concludes his Gospel (27:55–28:20). In the second section, I will broaden the perspective by discussing the resurrection of many saints after Jesus' death and the eschatological fate of Jesus' followers: does Matthew expect that they too can hope for a life beyond death? In both sections, I will explicitly go into the question of whether resurrection is depicted as a reality in which also the human body is involved and, if it is, what Matthew means with corporeality and how we—in the light of present day assumptions—can interpret his statements about this subject.

1 Matthew's Stories of Jesus' Burial and Resurrection (27:55–28:20)

1.1 *Demarcation*

According to Charles Giblin, this narrative unit does not start until 27:57, the two verses on the women from Galilee (27:55–56) belonging to the preceding passage, in which Jesus' death is described (27:45–54).[6] He has two arguments for this: a) 27:57–28:20 often mentions Jesus' disciples; b) the text shows an

4 Simcha Jacobovici and Charles Pellegrino, *The Jesus Family Tomb: The Discovery That Will Change History Forever*, London: Harper Element, 2007).

5 Cf. Jaime Clark-Soles, *Death and Afterlife in the New Testament* (New York and London: T&T Clark, 2006), esp. 150–191 (Chapter 4: Death and Afterlife in Matthew).

6 Charles H. Giblin, "Structural and Thematic Correlations in the Matthean Burial-Resurrection Narrative (Matt. XXVII.57–XXVIII.20)," *NTS* 21 (1974–75): 406–420. This point of view is shared by Raymond E. Brown, "The Resurrection in Matthew (27:62–28:20)," *Worship* 64 (1990): 157–170, who perceives 27:62–28:20 as a textual unit, but who sees 27:57–61 ("the transitional episode of the burial") as an introduction to this unit. See also: Henk Bloem, *Die Ostererzählung des Matthäus : Aufbau und Aussage von Mt 27,57–28,20* (Excerpta ex dissertatione in Pontificio

inclusion through the use of the verb μαθητεύω (27:57; 28:19). To this I want to add that there are strong connections between 27:57–61 and 27:62–66: the request of Joseph of Arimathea to Pilate to give him Jesus' body is followed by a request of the chief priests and the Pharisees to the governor to secure the tomb; in both cases, Pilate functions as someone who gives orders (ἐκέλευσεν in 27:58; κέλευσον in 27:64).

Still, it seems better to opt for the earlier starting point: the finale of Matthew's book does not start in 27:57, but already in 27:55. The same choice can be found in John Heil, Keith Reeves and Frans Breukelman.[7] The first scene comprises 27:55–61. A decisive argument in favour of this is that 27:55–56 (A) and 27:61 (A') show strong parallels and form the frame of the intermediate passage (B: 27:57–60). The parallel elements can be represented as follows.

27:55–56	27:61
ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ many women, among them Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee	ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ two women from the group mentioned earlier: Mary Magdalene and the other Mary (= Mary the mother of James and Joseph)
ἀπὸ μακρόθεν θεωροῦσαι (adjunct of place + participle construction)	καθήμεναι ἀπέναντι τοῦ τάφου (participle construction + adjunct of place)

From 27:55 onwards, the women from Galilee play an important role in the story. They are introduced only after the male disciples have all fled (26:56). The reference to one of the women as the mother of the sons of Zebedee is an allusion to this group. In the end, only one man remains on the scene, Joseph of Arimathea, who had become a disciple of Jesus. Part B (27:57–60) successively

Instituto Biblico; Zeist, 1987); Pham H. Lai, "Production du sens par la foi: Autorités religieuses contestées / fondées; Analyse structurale de Matthieu 27,57–28,20," RSR 61 (1973): 65–96.

7 John P. Heil, *The Death and Resurrection of Jesus: A Narrative-Critical Reading of Matthew 26–28* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991); Id., "The Narrative Structure of Matthew 27:55–28:20," *JBL* 110 (1991): 419–438; Keith H. Reeves, *The Resurrection Narrative in Matthew: A Literary-Critical Examination* (Lewinston, NY etc.: Mellen, 1993); Frans Breukelman, *De finale van het evangelie naar Mattheüs*, Pages 64–115 in *Om het levende woord* (eds. Frans Breukelman, Ben Hemelsoet, and Tom Naastepad; serie 1, nummer 1, 1966).

describes that he came, what activities he undertook, and that he left again. This passage is framed by the sentences in A and A' in which (many) women are mentioned, who, in this phase of the story, are merely passive onlookers. After Joseph, too, has left, only the female followers remain; it will be their task to reunite the scattered group of disciples around Jesus.

1.2 *Structure and Meaning*

Matt 27:55–28:20 has a clear structure. The time adjuncts (27:57.62; 28:1) and the characters appearing in this story show that this long narrative unit consists of five scenes:

scene 1	27:55–61	Female followers witness Jesus' death and his burial by Joseph of Arimathea on the day of his crucifixion.
scene 2	27:62–66	The next day, the chief priests and the Pharisees gather before Pilate and arrange for guards to watch the tomb to prevent Jesus' disciples from stealing the body away.
scene 3	28:1–10	The day thereafter, an angel appears to two women, and also Jesus meets them; they are twice commissioned to tell his disciples that he will be going ahead of them to Galilee to meet them there.
scene 4	28:11–15	Meanwhile, the chief priests and the elders bribe the guards and instruct them to state that the disciples have stolen Jesus' body from the tomb in the night while the guards were asleep.
scene 5	28:16–20	Jesus appears to the eleven disciples on a mountain in Galilee and commissions them to go and teach all the nations everything that he has commanded them.

The two scenes about the guards (the numbers 2 and 4) have much in common: in both cases, the chief priests are acting (27:62; 28:11); Pilate is described as a figure of authority (27:62–65; 28:14); the Latinism κουστωδία occurs in both passages (27:65–66; 28:11); both times, the action of the disciples is referred to as 'stealing the body' (27:64; 28:13). According to Raymond Brown, "episodes 2 and 4 concern hostile Jewish authorities and the Roman guards they employ", while "episodes 1, 3 and 5 concern those favourable to Jesus".[8] The same obser-

8 Brown, "The Resurrection," *Worship* 64 (1990): 157–170 (159). See also Brown's book *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave*, vol. II (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994).

vation is made by Henk Bloem, who refers to the subject of scenes 1, 3 and 5 (the A scenes) as the 'Pro-Jesus Front' and to that of scenes 2 and 4 (the B scenes) as the 'Anti-Jesus Front'.[9] Given these two parties, it can be stated that the five scenes show an alternating pattern (A-B-A-B-A):

A 27:55–61	B 27:62–66	A 28:1–10	B 28:11–15	A 28:16–20

Each of the two B scenes is framed by an A scene (A-B-A):

A 27:55–61	B 27:62–66	A 28:1–10		
		A 28:1–10	B 28:11–15	A 28:16–20

The middle A scene (28:1–10) is flanked by the two B scenes (B-A-B):

B 27:62–66	A 28:1–10	B 28:11–15

These patterns show that in 27:55–28:20 two lines of meaning are interwoven that actually are at right angles to each other.[10] The first line of meaning is that Jesus has been raised from the dead and that this event has caused his followers to revive from their lethargy. The second line is that the belief in Jesus' resurrection is based on deceit: his followers have stolen him away and have spread the message that he is alive again.

Let us first take a closer look at the second line of meaning, which occurs in the two B scenes. According to the first B scene (27:62–66), a consultation is held on the day after Jesus' death in which the chief priests, the Pharisees and Pilate participate. The two Jewish groups succeed in convincing the Roman

9 Bloem, *Die Ostererzählung*, 3. This distinction is not completely valid: in two A scenes, a character from the hostile camp is mentioned (27:58: Pilate; 28:4: the guards) and in one of the B scenes, the two women appear for the last time (28:11).

10 Reeves, *The Resurrection Narrative*, 19, focuses on the use in this passage of the literary device of interchange and points out that this principle is often used to strengthen contrasts or comparisons or to build suspense.

prefect of the necessity to secure Jesus' tomb until the third day: otherwise his disciples may come and steal him away from his tomb, and tell the people (= Israel) that he has been raised from the dead. The Jewish leaders want to prevent this at any price.

The question is which statement the chief priests and the Pharisees have in mind when in 27:63 they render Jesus' words as follows: "After three days I will rise again." That they have in mind the predictions in 16:21; 17:9.23; 20:19; 26:2.32 is out of the question for two reasons: a) they are exclusively aimed at the disciples and not at the Jewish leaders; b) they consistently refer to τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ rather than μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας (this latter combination of words is to be found in Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34). Most likely, the high priests and Pharisees are referring to the announcement made by Jesus in 12:39–40 where in the presence of some scribes and Pharisees he says that for three days and three nights the Son of Man will be in the heart of the earth just as Jonah was in the belly of the sea monster for three days and three nights.[11]

In the second B scene (28:11–15), the chief priests tell the guards what message (dictated word for word) they must spread among the people: "His disciples stole him away". That story—as the narrator states—is still told among Jews "to this day". Here the narrator jumps over to his own days; around the year 80 C.E. Matthew and his communities are still confronted with an anti-gospel that must undermine the Gospel proclaimed by them.

The line sketched here is crossed, in the text, by the other line of meaning, which concerns Jesus' resurrection. It is remarkable that this line of meaning is introduced by the opponents. In 27:63, they sum up what Jesus said when he was still alive: "After three days I will rise again". In 27:64, they sum up what the disciples are going to tell the people of Israel: "He has been raised from the dead." What they fear, therefore, is continuity: now that Jesus is dead, the disciples might very well tell the people what Jesus himself had said when he was still living.

In 28:6, the angel repeats what the Jewish leaders have said earlier: Jesus had previously announced his resurrection. This is followed, in 28:7, by exactly the same clause as we found in 27:64: ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν. In 27:64, this clause reflects the content of the disciples' preaching; in 28:7 this clause is an important element of the message that the women are instructed to carry to the disciples.

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11 See Paul Hoffmann, "Die Auferweckung Jesu als Zeichen für Israel: Mt 12,39f und die matthäische Ostergeschichte," Pages 110–123 in *Christus bezeugen: Festschrift für W. Trilling* (eds. Karl Kertelge, Traugott Holtz, and Claus-Peter März; ETS; Leipzig: St. Benno Verlag, 1989); John Woodhouse, "Jesus and Jonah," *RTR* 43 (1984): 33–41.

Considering the above, we can state that there are various speakers that all declare exactly the same thing: Jesus himself, the angel, the women, and finally the disciples. The angel is the bearer of a heavenly revelation (cf. 28:2: ἐξ οὐρανοῦ); what he says has not been invented by people (cf. 21:25: ἐξ ἀνθρώπων). Jesus and the angel are forming the beginning of a tradition chain. The women function as the next link in this chain and, after the women, the disciples will go and spread the revelation received to the people of Israel (27:64), even to all nations (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in 28:19 includes Israel). Schematically:

> Jesus / angel → women → disciples → all nations

The two lines are each other's pendants as well as opposites in more than one sense. When we put them side by side, both parallels and contrasts emerge. The parallels are as follows: a) the angel indicates what the women are to tell the disciples (28:7); in the same way, the Jewish leaders dictate to the guards what to tell the people (28:13); b) the communicative acts of the women and the guards are described by means of the same verb (28:8.10.11: ἀπαγγέλλω); c) the guards are instructed by the Jewish leaders (in Greek: ἐδιδάχθησαν), whereas the disciples must instruct (διδάσκοντες) all nations to obey everything that Jesus has commanded his followers (28:20). The sharpest contrast is that the testimony of Jesus' followers is based on divine revelation, whereas the alternative story does not come from God but was invented by people. The message of the guards is aimed at refuting the validity of the message that Jesus had risen from the dead. With his assertion that the guards had been bribed by the Sanhedrin, Matthew tries to refute the allegation that the disciples had staged Jesus' resurrection.

My conclusion from this analysis is as follows. The alternating pattern in the structure of Matt 27:55–28:20 and the two lines of meaning in this narrative unit show how profoundly Matthew has interwoven his own view with that of the opposing party. How these literary phenomena are related to the religious and social situation of Matthew's community is formulated by Hildegard Gollinger as follows:[12]

> Die unmittelbare Anlaß für die Einfügung der Wächterperikope dürfte (…), wie heute nahezu einhellig angenommen, aus 28,13.15b zu

12 Hildegard Gollinger, "'… und diese Lehre verbreitete sich bei Juden bis heute': Mt 28,11–15 als Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Israel und Kirche," Pages 357–374 (363) in *Salz der Erde / Licht der Welt: Exegetische Studien zum Matthäusevangelium: Festschrift Anton Vögtle* (eds. Lorenz Oberlinner and Peter Fiedler; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1991).

> erschließen sein: Matthäus und seine Gemeinde scheinen mit einer "jüdischen Gegenpropaganda" konfrontiert zu sein, die die christliche Auferstehungsbotschaft durch die Hypothese vom Leichendiebstahl der Jünger "erklärt".

Here, Matthew's story about the guards is perceived as a reaction to propaganda brought forward by some Jews against the resurrection belief of Matthew's community.[13] This can also be put the other way around: it is also possible that the story about the stealing away of Jesus' body is a hostile response to the Christian claim that Jesus' resurrection is not merely a spiritual event but must also be a bodily reality.

1.3 *Bodily Resurrection?*

Is Matt 27:55–28:20 a reasoned defence of the bodily resurrection of Jesus? This long passage contains three indications that this question can be answered in an affirmative way.

(1) Firstly, we come across several verbs designating movements and the acts of seeing, speaking and hearing. After Jesus has been buried by Joseph of Arimathea on the day of Preparation, he is present again among his followers within three days: after the Sabbath, he meets two women in the vicinity of the grave, and thereafter he has a rendezvous with the eleven male disciples in Galilee. Apparently he can move again, and his followers are able to see and hear him just as before his death. The two Marys take hold of his feet and get in touch with him in a physical way. The phenomenon in some other appearance stories, that people seeing Jesus after his death do not immediately recognise him (Luke 24:16.31; 24:37.41; John 20:15; 21:4), is not explicitly mentioned in Matthew (see, however, 14:26: φάντασμα). Perhaps this element is implied, however, when the narrator states in 28:17 that some disciples doubted or even that all of them had their suspicions.

The narrator thus emphasizes that there is a clear continuity between the risen Lord and the earthly Jesus. Nevertheless, it is out of the question that Jesus had returned to his former existence or that his mortal life was continuing as before. The Jesus since his resurrection is different from the Jesus who died. The resurrection involved not just a coming back into a life identical to the previous one but a transformation. Jesus himself expresses this transformation as follows in 28:18: "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me." His post-mortem existence by far exceeds what the devil offered him

13 Παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις in 28:15 is often translated with an unnecessarily general term (cf. the NRSV: "among *the* Jews").

at the beginning of his ministry (4:9: "I will give you all the kingdoms of the world"). Jesus now transcends the material limitations of this world. Cosmic dominion has been bestowed on him by God. As Wendy Cotter has demonstrated, we can connect this new dignity of Jesus with Greco-Roman apotheosis traditions, but at the same time there are many differences:[14] Jesus has a much higher position than all other apotheosized heroes, because all authority has been given to him, in heaven and on earth, and his authorisation begins after the ending of his mortal life, whereas the authority of other heroes is confined to the earth and is taken over by their successors once they have died.

(2) The second indication supporting the idea that Jesus' resurrection is affecting his body can be described as follows. In 27:58.59, Jesus' body (σώμα) is spoken of twice. This neuter substantive is referred to twice by αὐτό ('it') in 27:59.60. It is remarkable that the Jewish leaders do introduce the male pronoun αὐτόν ('him') when they discuss the possibility of a theft of Jesus' body by his disciples. Apparently, here the body is inextricably bound up with the whole person, but we also can put this the other way around: the person cannot be separated from his or her body. Within the framework of this image, it is impossible that Jesus' body can still be found in the tomb after he has been raised up from the dead.

(3) The third indication is typical for Matthew's Gospel and is unparalleled in other writings. I am referring here to the phenomenon that, in Matthew's story, we find two rival parties and that both of them depart from the same supposition, namely that the tomb is empty and that Jesus' body is no longer in the place where he had been buried.[15] In the case of the opponents, this idea is already implied when they refer to Jesus' prediction that after three days he will rise again. From this announcement they deduce that something will happen with Jesus' body. The idea of resurrection is understood as referring to a bodily reality. Therefore they request Pilate to have the tomb made secure until the third day and to seal the stone that closes the door of the tomb (cf. Dan 6:17–18 in the version of the LXX). Jesus' adherents are sure as well that Jesus' body can no longer be found in the grave but, in their view, this remarkable fact is implied in their confession that the crucified Jesus has been raised from the dead. It may be clear, therefore, that the empty tomb is an ambiguous

14 Wendy J. Cotter, "Greco-Roman Apotheosis Traditions and the Resurrection Appearances in Matthew," Pages 127–153 (149–151) in *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Study: Studies in Memory of William G. Thompson* (ed. David E. Aune; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001).

15 James D.G. Dunn, *The Evidence for Jesus: The Impact of Scholarship on Our Understanding of How Christianity Began* (London: SCM, 1985), 67: "[T]he emptiness of the tomb was not a point of controversy, only the explanation of why it was empty."

phenomenon that may be accounted for by conflicting interpretations. To sum up this long discussion: the tomb of Jesus being empty cannot be brought forward as a decisive matter of proof, neither pro nor contra resurrection.

My conclusion from this analysis is that Matthew is very much interested in affirming that Jesus' renewed life is characterised by bodily aspects. In this respect, he was deeply influenced by texts from early Jewish writings in which resurrection is understood to be a corporeal reality.[16]

2 Life Beyond Death in Matthew's Gospel: Israel's Saints and Jesus' Followers

In this section, I will examine whether or not, according to Matthew, there is a perspective which reaches beyond death also for people other than Jesus and whether this life is portrayed as a realty in which also someone's corporeality is involved.

2.1 *The Resurrection of Many Saints*

In Matt 27:51–54 we are told that when Jesus dies a number of special events happen: the curtain of the temple is torn in two, the earth is shaken, rocks are split and rock tombs are opened, many bodies of the saints are raised from the dead and they are made visible to many in the holy city.[17] In these few verses we find six verbs in the passive voice. These are clear examples of divine passives indicating that the events after Jesus' death are effected by God who

16 See Claudia Setzer, *Resurrection of the Body in Early Judaism and Early Christianity: Doctrine, Community, and Self-Definition* (Boston / Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1–20 and 21–52; Daniel J. Harrington, "Afterlife Expectations in Pseudo-Philo, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch, and Their Implications for the New Testament," Pages 21–34 in *Resurrection in the New Testament*.

17 That Matthew speaks about the resurrection of many saints was probably influenced by Ezek 37:1–14 (compare Matt 27:52 with Ezek 37:12) and by Zech 14:4–5 in the version of the LXX (where as in Matt 27:52 we find the term ἅγιοι; see Davies and Allison, *Commentary: Matthew* XIX–XXVIII, 628–636). That Matthew's term 'the saints' is derived from *1 En.* 93:6 is argued by Ronald L. Troxel, "Matthew 27.51–4 Reconsidered: Its Role in the Passion Narrative, Meaning and Origin," *NTS* 48 (2002): 30–47. This connection demonstrates that Matthew saw the risen saints as Israel's departed people. That ἅγιοι in Matt 27:52 is a designation of righteous Jews from ancient times is further corroborated by the fact that the μνημεῖα in 27:52 remind the reader of the μνημεῖα τῶν δικαίων in 23:29. All the righteous bloodshed on earth reaches from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zechariah son of Barachiah (23:35).

vindicates his Son in this way. The events effected by God bring about a fundamental change in the way Jesus is perceived.[18] Before his death, his status as Son of God was made ridiculous by people who passed by (27:39–40), by the chief priests along with the scribes and elders (27:41–43) and by the bandits who were crucified with him (27:44); after his death and the spectacular events accompanying it, the centurion and those with him acknowledge him as Son of God when they experience the earthquake and the other phenomena taking place (the words of the centurion in 27:54 are almost identical to the confession of the disciples in 14:33).

There is still another function of 27:51–54 within the wider literary context. The strange story about the raising of the dead saints functions as a preparation for the story in 28:1–10 about Jesus' resurrection.[19] This other function can be deduced from several textual data: in both cases, there is an earthquake; the graves of the saints are opened by the force of that natural phenomenon, and the tomb of Jesus is opened by an angel who rolls back the stone; the opening of the graves reveals that they are empty; the dead bodies of the saints and Jesus' body are raised to life; the saints appear to many in the city of Jerusalem while Jesus is seen by his followers. From these similarities, it appears that the resurrection of Israel's saints prefigures the resurrection of Jesus. When Jesus dies, it is already beyond any doubt that his death is not the concluding part of Matthew's story and that the final truth will be revealed in a series of stories about events that occur after his death.

Sometimes, these stories from Matthew's Gospel are interpreted in the light of considerations made by Paul in Chapter 15 of his first letter to the Corinthians. There Paul presents Jesus' resurrection as an anticipation of the eschaton and as a condition that opens up the possibility of a resurrection for the believers. Many exegetes are of the opinion that Matthew's Gospel also teaches us that Jesus' death and resurrection are eschatological events heralding the beginning of the new age.[20] According to this view, his resurrection must logically and chronologically precede the resurrection of his followers.

18 See Troxel, "Matthew," 33–35.

19 Davies and Allison, *Commentary: Matthew XIX–XXVIII*, 640–641.

20 So Adelbert Denaux, "Matthew's Story of Jesus' Burial and Resurrection (Mt 27,57–28,20)," Pages 123–145 (133) in *Resurrection in the New Testament*: "Jesus' death and resurrection manifest, for Mt, an eschatological event that announces the beginning of a new aeon." Donald Senior, "The Death of Jesus and the Resurrection of the Holy Ones (Mt 27:51–53)," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 312–329 (325–326), goes one step further by asserting that Jesus' death must be interpreted as a turning point in the history of salvation and by describing this turning point as the transition from Israel to the church. This view is influenced by the wide spread theological idea of substitution.

Perhaps that is why the temporal adjunct "after his resurrection" is inserted in 27:54 creating the rather peculiar image that the saints who have been raised to life must still remain in their graves for three days before they can come out of their tombs and enter the holy city. However, some other details from 27:51–54 cannot easily be fitted into the scenario derived from Paul: in the case of Israel's saints, something already happens at the moment of Jesus' death which, in the case of Jesus himself, will not happen until the third day after his crucifixion; further, that the end of the age has already begun is at odds with the fact that elsewhere in Matthew the eschaton is a future reality, as is also suggested by the promise of the risen Lord that he will be with his disciples always, to the end of the age (28:20).

Finally a few words about the corporeal aspects of the resurrection of Israel's saints. In 27:52 their σώματα are explicitly mentioned, just as the expression τὸ σωμᾶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ in 27:58–59. According to Kenneth Waters, "Matthew's reference to 'many bodies of the saints that slept' shows that he expects a corporeal event in space-time, not just an occurrence in the spirit realm."[21] The lifeless skeletons of the saints are raised to life so that they can leave their tombs with bodies that are living again. Does this mean that they are again in the possession of their former physical bodies? In that case, what is referred to would be a return to earthly life, a life that, after some time, will inevitably be ended by physical death (as in 9:25; 10:8; 11:5). Or should preference be given to the idea of bodies that are changed into bodies that match a new way of existence, a life that reaches beyond death? This latter idea is found in 1 Cor 15:50–53. Matt 27:53 is much less explicit than Paul's assertions. Yet, his story seems to suggest that the bodies of the risen saints are different from the bodies they had before. This may be deduced from the divine passive ἐνεφανίσθησαν in 27:53 that has the following meaning: "they were made visible or known".[22] Because this making visible or making known would not have been necessary when the saints manifested themselves with their former physical bodies, the chosen passive

21 Kenneth L. Waters, "Matthew 27:52–53 as Apocalyptic Apostrophe: Temporal-Spatial Collapse in the Gospel of Matthew," *JBL* 122 (2003): 489–515 (508).

22 Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry S. Jones, and Roderick McKenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951), 549: 'to become visible, be manifested'; Walter Bauer, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988, 6th edition), col. 519: 'sichtbar machen, sichtbar werden, erscheinen'; Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon, vol. 1*, 279: 'to cause to make visible, to make visible'; ibid., 338–339: 'to make known'; in note 9 on page 339 it is said that there is "a shift from the sensory domain (…) to the cognitive domain". These lexical data are used by Stephanus P. Botha, "'n Opstanding met verheerlikte liggame in Matteus 27:51b–53? 'n Noukeurige lees van die teks," *HvTSt* 52 (1996): 270–284.

form allows us to conclude—as Stephanus Botha is stating[23]—that the saints appeared in a glorified body.

Waters has a position of his own within the debate about Matt 27:52–53.[24] In his judgment, these verses are a fragment of a pre-Matthean Christian tradition that is also preserved in the book of Revelation. The raising of the saints (the saints are not Jewish saints or heroes but Christian martyrs) should not be understood as an anticipation of the general resurrection at the end of the ages and "the holy city" is not a designation of the earthly but of the eschatological Jerusalem. According to Waters, all events mentioned in 27:52–53 are situated in the realm of the apocalyptic future. The use of aorist verbs in these verses is aimed at connecting this ultimate future with two events in Matthew's past: Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection. This interpretation impels Waters to assume that not only μετὰ τήν ἔγερσιν but also καὶ τὰ γενόμενα are editorial additions. This is not at all convincing and there is not enough evidence for Waters' idiosyncratic exegesis of this fragment from Matthew's Gospel.

2.2 *The Eschatological Fate of Jesus' Followers*

I will now discuss the future fate of Jesus' followers. Matthew's Gospel contains several short sayings about resurrection and corporeality. In his conversation with the Sadducees about resurrection (22:23–33), the Matthean Jesus makes a distinction between the question of whether there is a life beyond death and the question of what such a life would be like. According to him, claiming that there is no life beyond death indicates a too limited idea of the power of God, who unconditionally remains faithful to pious people who live their lives in accordance with God's Torah. Referring to Exod 3:6 Jesus illustrates this with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as examples: it is true that they died but it is also true that the God by whom they let themselves be guided throughout their lives is still their God, even now.

The second question is directly relevant for the subject of our study: how can life beyond death be depicted? By presenting a case about a woman who successively married seven brothers, the Sadducees—according to the narrator, they are people who claim that there is no resurrection—produce proof that they see life after death as an unbroken continuation of life as they know it. This appears from their assumption that after the resurrection there is still marriage and being given in marriage. Jesus denies that form of continuity by

23 Botha, "Opstanding," 279–281.

24 Waters, "Matthew 27:52–53". See also Kenneth L. Waters, "Matthew 28:1–6 as Temporally Conflated Text: Temporal-Spatial Collapse in the Gospel of Matthew," *ExpTim* 116 (2005): 295–301.

saying that the wife and her seven husbands will be like angels in heaven. He does not say that they will be transformed into angels, but that their future existence is comparable to that of angels. If that existence must be understood as being a bodily existence, then a body is meant that is different from the earthly and mortal body.

Now let us turn to the antithetically formulated sayings in 5:29–30 and their parallel in 18:8–9 (cf. Mark 9:42–47). According to these sayings, a person who is caused to sin by one of his limbs must not hesitate to get rid of that part of his or her body. The motivation to do so is that otherwise such a person will be thrown into hell at the last judgment. It is better to enter eternal life with a mutilated body than to go to hell with a whole body. The underlying reasoning is the rather primitive idea that the body is raised exactly as it was buried.[25]

There are a few other passages in which the human body is mentioned in connection with death and resurrection. Herod Antipas has the remarkable idea that John the Baptist has been raised from the dead and has returned to earthly life by assuming someone else's body (14:1–2). It cannot be taken for granted that Herod's ideas are Matthew's as well; rather, the evangelist seems to be making fun of Herod's understanding of life and death.

In 10:28, the Matthean Jesus advises his disciples not to fear those who can kill the body (σῶμα) but cannot kill the soul (ψυχή). Here we have a tension or even an anthropological dichotomy between body and soul, a view that is widespread in Greco-Roman culture. In Matthew, ψυχή mostly denotes physical life (see 2:20; 6:25; 10:39; 16:25–26; 20:28). Jesus' disciples must fear God, who can destroy soul and body in hell.

In Matthew, we come across the assumption that all people who have died will be resurrected (12:41–42; cf. 10:15). That does not happen immediately after their death but only at the end of the age, when Jesus comes as the Son of Man. Resurrection itself is not the salvation people are waiting for. Rather, resurrection is a necessary condition that makes it possible that everyone can be judged by Jesus at his parousia. His judgment is based on ethical criteria: those who have done the will of God will be rewarded with eternal life and those who did not will be punished in hell, the eternal fire, or will be thrown in the outer darkness.

From this overview, it can be concluded that the resurrection of believers and other people is not frequently mentioned in Matthew's Gospel and that this theme is strongly connected with the idea of the universal judgment

25 Cf. Davies and Allison, *Commentary: Matthew I–VII*, 525. However, see Clark-Soles, *Death*, 163: "Matthew is clearly not concerned here with the nature of the resurrection body. Rather, he is speaking metaphorically and hyperbolically, to emphasize an ethical point."

leading to a separation of mankind into two groups: the righteous and the wicked. There is not a fixed eschatological scenario in Matthew's Gospel. Instead of that, there are various concepts and ideas that have in common that they are used in order to strengthen the ethical demands as taught by Jesus. The most impressive text is the description of the final judgment in 25:31–46 where the question asked by the disciples in 24:3 ("when will you come?") is answered in a quite unexpected way: during the whole of history I was already present in the least of my brothers and sisters (25:40.45).

3 Human Body and Resurrection in Matthew: Conclusions and Evaluation

Summarising the main results of my analysis, the first result is that Matthew presents Jesus' resurrection as an event that really happened, although even the guards are not given the opportunity to see how he came out of his tomb. The angel does not roll back the stone in order to make it possible for Jesus to leave the tomb; no, he does so in order to convince the two Marys of the fact that Jesus is no longer there. Here it already appears that his body plays a part in his resurrection. This is further evidenced by the emphasis on corporeal aspects in the reports of his appearances to the two women and the eleven male disciples. Yet, the renewed life of Jesus is not a mere continuation of his earthly life. Now a new position has been bestowed upon him, as expressed by himself when he says that all authority in heaven and on earth has been given to him. What has happened with Jesus is described by Matthew as an act of God, who is supposed to be the subject of the passive verb forms ἠγέρθη (27:64; 28:6.7) and ἐδόθη (28:18).[26]

Matthew also assumes a bodily resurrection in the case of the saints who are raised to life at the moment of Jesus' death. Here it is told that their bodies are raised and that they come out of their tombs, two statements that are missing in other gospel stories about Jesus' resurrection, except for the *Gospel of Peter*, that offers many fantastic details.[27] In my analysis, I made the suggestion

26 Otfried Hofius, "'Am dritten Tage auferstanden von den Toten': Erwägungen zum Passiv ἐγείρεσθαι in christologischen Aussagen des Neuen Testaments, Pages 93–106 in *Resurrection in the New Testament*, claims that the passive interpretation of ἐγείρεσθαι which is to be found in many commentaries and modern translations is not at all certain.

27 Senior, "Death," 316, points out that the function of the heavenly figures in the *Gospel of Peter* is different from the function of the angel in Matthew's Gospel: "The role of the angel in GP is ultimately to open the tomb for the resurrection of Jesus (cf. GP 39). In

that the saints manifest themselves in a glorified body and not in their former physical body, but this view is only supported by a small detail in Matthew's text, namely the divine passive ἐνεφανίσθησαν.

While there are many similarities between the description of Jesus' resurrection and that of Israel's saints, there is no such close connection between the renewed life of Jesus and the future fate of his followers. It must be admitted that also in their case Matthew sometimes expects that they too will be raised, but this will only happen at the end of the age and that moment is still far in the future. Matthew's Gospel does not support the often defended idea that the new age already started at the moment of Jesus' death. The resurrection takes place at Jesus' parousia and does not lead to a new and eternal life but is only a step that must make it possible that all people will be judged by Jesus on the basis of ethical criteria. That the human body is also involved in this resurrection is not explicitly stated but perhaps this idea is implied by the images that are used to describe the blessings offered to the righteous and the punishment of the wicked. The ethical criteria used at the final judgment lend a parenetic function to the many references to the final judgment: they are meant to stimulate Jesus' followers in the present situation to improve the quality of their personal and social lives.

Matthew's Gospel as a whole does not have a coherent and systematic doctrine about bodily resurrection. Only elements of that doctrine are used, especially where Jesus and Israel's saints are concerned. In doing so, Matthew was influenced by concepts that in his days were current in some Jewish circles. According to Claudia Setzer, explicit references to bodily resurrection appear in texts like *1 En.* (51), 2 Macc., 4 Q521, and *Sib.Or.* 4. There are also texts in which two ideas are mixed: the concepts of bodily resurrection and immortality of the soul (*1 En.*103; 1 QH; *4 Ezra*; *2 Bar.*; *Ps.-Phoc.*).[28] This latter combination is found only very rarely in Matthew. The idea of bodily resurrection helps Matthew to emphasize that the resurrected Lord is the same person as the crucified Jesus. Resurrection must not be understood in a docetic way, leaving ample room for

Matthew, his function is part of the evangelist's effort to discredit a counter explanation of the resurrection (cf. Mt. 27:62ff.)."

28 Setzer, *Resurrection*, 18. See also Pieter van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy* (*300 BCE–700 CE*) (CBET 2; Kampen: Kok, 1991), 114–126 (117), who on the basis of epitaphs demonstrates that in the period of the New Testament the belief in a bodily post-mortal existence was only one of the options within Judaism and that "no clear picture arises of what the post-mortal existence (…) was thought to look like". Wright, *Resurrection*, 402, also confirms that in early Judaism belief in resurrection was "one topic among others, and not usually a major one".

the idea that Jesus did not really die on the cross. On the other hand, it must also be excluded that he was reanimated after he was taken from the cross. In that case there would be too much continuity. Further, an important element is that Jesus in Matthew's view must be able to stay in close contact with his disciples, and they in their turn are convinced that they experience his presence in their midst. Therefore it is required that bodily aspects play a part in Matthew's imagining of Jesus' renewed life beyond death.

How can we—in the light of present day assumptions—interpret his statements about this subject? Matthew does not urge his readers to believe that corporeality must merely be identified with flesh, bones, blood and so on or that resurrection means that something in a person—the soul—is immortal and cannot be destroyed by death. Admittedly, there are some traces of these ideas in his book, but generally speaking he is very close to the modern idea that a human body is a designation of the person itself and that the body is connected with a person's own identity as it is built up and maintained in the course of a person's life. We must avoid understanding this in a purely individualistic way. In Matthew's view, the body is strongly connected with communication and interaction in a living community. Also after his death Jesus is present in the circle of his followers. His renewed life is bestowed on him by God, who has called people into being and who has the creative power to let human beings rise up from dust and ashes.

PART 2

Intertextuality

CHAPTER 5

Intertextuality: Theories and Practices

In *The Name of the Rose* by Umberto Eco, numerous conversations occur on texts and books. In one of these conversations, William of Baskerville draws the attention of his companion, the young monk Adso, to an interesting phenomenon:[1]

> "It seemed to me, as I read this page, that I had read some of these words before, and some phrases that are almost the same, which I have seen elsewhere, return to my mind. It seems to me, indeed that this page speaks of something there has been talk about during these past days. But I cannot recall what. I must think it over. Perhaps I'll have to read other books."
> "Why? To know what one book says you must read others?"
> "At times this can be so. Often books speak about other books."

This thought had never occurred to Adso. William's words bring him to a new insight that he expresses as follows:

> Until then I had thought each book spoke of the things, human or divine, that lie outside books. Now I realized that not infrequently books speak of books; it is as if they spoke among themselves. In the light of this reflection, the library seemed all the more disturbing to me. It was then the place of a long, centuries-old murmuring, an imperceptible dialogue between one parchment and another (. . .).

1 What is Intertextuality?

The phenomenon William of Baskerville is referring to is known as intertextuality.[2] This word is derived from the Latin term *intertexĕre* (= 'interweave')

1 The first English translation of *Il nome della rose* was published in 1983. The following quotes are taken from a later edition: Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose* (London: Vintage Books, 2004), 277.

2 Useful introductions to intertextuality include: Paul Claes, *Het netwerk en de nevelvlek: Semiotische studies* (Leuven: Acco, 1979); *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische*

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and denotes the literary phenomenon of the fundamental interweaving of texts. It is interesting that the Latin word *textus* means 'texture, woven fabric'. Every text is like a texture, composed of many threads, and texts are interconnected by numerous links. They deal with issues that are also addressed in other texts. In reading a text, we compare its content with the content of other texts. Those who write texts do the same. In reading and writing, we are in dialogue with an immense network of other texts.

In the late 1960s, Julia Kristeva coined the term 'intertextuality', inspired by the work of the Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, who argued that dialogism is a constitutive element of all language. This term does not refer to dialogues between characters in a novel. Language always operates in specific social situations and is coloured by specific views and norms. Dialogism is the phenomenon that, in spoken language and in texts, many voices are interacting.[3] These voices reflect various ideological positions and social values. Dialogism also means that each word refers to the many ways in which it has been used before, and opens up new ways in which it can be used in other texts.

Kristeva's term 'intertextuality' is indebted to Bakhtin's view of society and communication but, at the same time, she transformed his vision. She introduced the concept of intertextuality to indicate that every text contains a mosaic of quotations and should be seen as the absorption and transformation

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Fallstudien (eds. Ulrich Broich and Manfred Pfister; Konzepte der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft 35; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985); Paul Claes, *De mot zit in de mythe: Hugo Claus en de Oudheid* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1985); Paul Claes, *Echo's echo's: De kunst van de allusie* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1988; Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2011, rev. ed.); *Intertextuality* (ed. Heinrich F. Plett; Research in Text Theory 15; Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 1991); *Intertextuality: Debates and Contexts* (ed. Danna Nolan Fewell; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992); Susanne Holthuis, *Intertextualität: Aspekte einer rezeptionsorientierten Konzeption* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1993); Peter Stocker, *Theorie der intertextuellen Lektüre: Modelle und Fallstudien* (Paderborn etc.: Schöningh, 1998); Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* (The New Critical Idiom; London / New York: Routledge, 2000; 2011, second edition); Mary Orr, *Intertextuality: Debates and Contexts* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003); Klaus Nelißen, "Eine neue Lesebrille für das Alte Testament: Intertextualität—Orientierungen für eine Lesart der Bibel in der Postmoderne," *Orientierung* 67 (2003): 195–200.206–210.223f.; Andreas Böhn, "Intertextualitätsanalyse," Pages 204–216 in *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft: Gegenstände—Konzepte—Institutionen: Band 2* (ed. Thomas Anz; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2007); Theodor Verweyen and Gunther Witting, *Einfache Formen der Intertextualität: Theoretische Überlegungen und historische Untersuchungen* (Paderborn: Mentis, 2010).

3 In the words of Allen, *Intertextuality*, 27, "language embodies an ongoing dialogical clash of ideologies, world-views, opinions and interpretations".

of other texts.[4] Every text is part of a gigantic universe which includes not only the total corpus of literary texts, but history, society, and culture are also considered to be 'Text'. Text is the total sum of literary texts, and Text is embedded in the General Text (Kristeva: 'texte général', i.e. the whole societal and cultural order, materialized in signs).[5] Together they form an almost interminable intertext. Or, in the words of the German scholar Manfred Pfister: "(J)eder Text [erscheint] als Teil eines universalen Intertexts, durch den er in allen seinen Aspekten bedingt wird".[6]

According to many theorists (including Gérard Genette[7] and Michael Rifaterre), Kristeva's definition is too broad.[8] They limited the concept to particular, plausible relations between concrete texts. Some went even further and reserved the term 'intertextuality' for connections deliberately made by authors when they wrote the text down or, in Pfister's words, "der Begriff der Intertextualität [wird] auf bewusste, intendierte und markierte Bezüge zwischen einem Text und vorliegenden Texten oder Textgruppen eingeengt".[9]

Kristeva's view is indeed not practicable in the analysis of concrete texts and non-literary art forms, such as painting, music and architecture. On the other hand, a too restricted conception of intertextuality is often no more than a new label for investigations which have long been performed in biblical exegesis. Is it possible to find a position between these two extremes?

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4 Julia Kristeva, Σημειοτική*: Recherche pour une sémanalyse* (Paris: Seuil, 1969), 146: "(T)oute texte se construit comme mosaïque de citations, tout texte est absorption et transformation d'un autre texte. A la place de la notion d'intersubjectivité s'installe celle d'intertextualité".

5 Also according to Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida, culture is a large text in which relations, patterns and meaning lines occur that are constantly in motion. For Derrida, this vision culminates in the idea that there is nothing outside the text. Jacques Derrida, *La vérité en peinture* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), 233: "Il n'y a rien hors du texte."

6 Broich and Pfister, *Intertextualität*, 25

7 Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), 8, sees intertextuality as one of the five sub forms of the overarching concept of 'transtextuality'. He defines 'intertextuality' as follows: "Je le définis pour ma part, d'une manière sans doute restrictive, par une relation de coprésence entre deux ou plusieurs textes, c'est-à-dire (…) par la présence effective d'un texte dans un autre." The four other sub forms are: paratextuality, metatextuality, hypertextuality, and architextuality.

8 On a number of points, the theories of Julia Kristeva and Roland Barthes linked up with post-structuralist and deconstructionist ways of thinking: e.g., 'text' is not restricted to written material; there is no unified meaning; there is no meaning apart from readers or recipients; the author is not in control of the meaning of the text. See the critical remarks by Thomas R. Hatina, "Intertextuality and Historical Criticism in New Testament Studies: Is There a Relationship?," *Biblical Interpretation* 7 (1999) 28–43.

9 Broich and Pfister, *Intertextualität*, 25.

2 The Profile of My Intertextual Studies

In this section, I will argue that the term 'intertextuality' not only refers to the phenomenon of the fundamental interweaving of texts but can also be used as a designation of theories and practical tools by which this phenomenon can be studied in a systematic and innovative way.

My definition of intertextuality is as follows.[10] Intertextuality is an overarching concept that enables us to identify and describe various types of relations between text A and one or more other texts or text groups from other books (whether or not from the same author), and to determine how these relations are constitutive for the meaning(s) and function(s) of the texts in question.[11] 'Other texts' refers to concrete previous texts. This implies that we must take account of the position of the texts on a chronological axis. A later text cannot influence the formulation of an earlier one.[12] The principle set out here entails that, to some degree, an intertextual study has a diachronic slant.

The previous texts are called 'pre-texts'. This neologism (in German: *Prä-texten*) does not have the same meaning as the English word 'pretext' (= excuse). A pre-text is a textual unit or a group of texts in which elements or structures occur that can also be found, sometimes transformed, in later textual units and contribute to the meaning of these later texts.

In my opinion, texts and pre-texts need to be textual units, at least of the size of a pericope. This choice implies that an intertextual study does not lose

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10 In this section, I rely on two of my books: *Intertextualiteit en Bijbel* (Kampen: Kok, 1993), and *Windows on Jesus*, esp. 197–215. A selection of further literature about intertextuality in biblical writings includes: *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel* (ed. Sipke Draisma; Kampen: Kok, 1989); Daniel Marguerat and Adrian H.W. Curtis, *Intertextualités: La Bible en échos* (Le Monde de la Bible 40; Genève : Labor et Fides, 2000); *Die Bibel im Dialog der Schriften: Konzepte intertextueller Bibellektüre* (eds. Stefan Alkier and Richard B. Hays; Neutestamentliche Entwürfe zur Theologie 10; Tübingen / Basel: Francke, 2005); *Intertextualität: Perspektiven auf ein interdisziplinäres Arbeitsfeld* (eds. Karin Herrmann and Sandra Hübenthal; Sprache und Kultur; Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2007); Stefan Alkier, "Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts," Pages 3–21, in *Reading the Bible Intertextually* (eds. Richard B. Hays, Stefan Alkier, and Leroy A. Huizenga; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009); *"What Does the Scripture Say?" Studies in the Function of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Volume 1: The Synoptic Gospels* (eds. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias; The Library of New Testament Studies 469; London / New York: T&T Clark, 2012; Chapters 1–6 deal with Matthew).

11 Allen, *Intertextuality*, 5, rightly points out that "intertextuality (. . .) foregrounds notions of relationality, interconnectedness and interdependence".

12 This does not preclude that readers read an ancient text from the perspective of younger texts.

itself in hypothetical reconstructions of written or oral precursors of the text under scrutiny. The comparison relates to existing texts, in their final redaction form. This is a fundamental difference with literary-historical studies, that are aimed at the reconstruction of the sources of a text, in the belief that understanding the origin of a text is necessary to correctly interpret it.

A text is a set of linguistic signs artfully arranged relative to each other. Through their interplay, these signs produce meanings and they evoke certain effects on the readers. A text is a smaller or larger coherent and well-rounded unit. I emphasize this because, in an intertextual comparison, not separate words but structures, lines of meaning, and effects on the readers are central. That an intertextual comparison relates to textual units is an innovative principle. If we adopt this approach, an intertextual study to some degree acquires a synchronic slant. In such a study, synchronic methods must play an important role.

An intertextual study deals with the differences rather than with the similarities between texts.[13] An intertextual relation is rather weak if there is only verbatim repetition. A connection is strong when two or more texts make different statements about something they are dealing with. This tension is the source of the phenomenon of intertextuality. A text makes a statement with the claim that this statement is true. As a result, such a text provokes a response which, in its turn, can be expressed in a new text that denies, qualifies, supplements, broadens, limits, or applies what is stated in earlier texts. If the new text only confirms old statements, there is little reason for its existence. Consequently, the term 'transformation' is a basic one in an intertextual study.

There is a distinction between specific and generic intertextuality.[14] In the case of specific intertextuality, relations are concerned between a text and one or more pre-texts. The point of departure are forms of literal repetition, excluding inevitable words like definite or indefinite articles. In a new text, sometimes genre conventions and plot structures from earlier texts are parodied. Broich and Pfister describe this type of intertextuality as *Einzeltextreferenz*.[15] In the case of generic intertextuality, relations between a text and a particular type

13 Similarity always implies difference. Even when two textual units contain precisely the same words, they have a different meaning and function in text A than in text B since, in both cases, they are also determined by the surrounding text.

14 Paul Claes, "Bijzondere en algemene intertextualiteitstheorie," *Spiegel der Letteren* 29 (1987): 7–15 (11).

15 Broich and Pfister, *Intertextualität*, 48–52.

of discourse are involved with which the text corresponds in terms of form or structure. Broich and Pfister call this *Systemreferenz*.[16]

An intertextual comparison deals with a) textual phenomena at text level (e.g., literary genre, figures of speech, and composition patterns); b) textual phenomena on the level of separate words and clauses (e.g., repetition or transformation of words, word combinations, phrases, or complete sentences). An example of category b) are quotations. They are characterized by the repetition of at least one word, but mostly parts of sentences or complete clauses are borrowed, not necessarily verbatim. Repetition may include transformation because the adopted lexemes are interwoven into a new literary context where they acquire a meaning they did not have before.

It is useful to distinguish between production-oriented intertextuality and reception-oriented intertextuality.[17] In the first type, the intention of the author is central; in the second type, the reader has an active role. Because reception-oriented intertextual analysis may engage in identifying relations between texts that are purely based on the reader's free association, Pfister prefers the first type. He wants to focus the intertextual analysis on the detection of explicit and compelling relations between texts that are intended by the author. Within the overall spectrum, this type of intertextuality is not very innovative. It corresponds to literary-historical research into sources and influences.

Paul Claes describes reception-oriented intertextuality, in which the reader plays an active part, as "the complex of relationships between texts to which a function can be assigned by a subject that recognizes them".[18] An essential element of this definition is that there is a reader who perceives relations and gives them a meaning and a function. Reception-oriented intertextuality involves implicit and free connections made by the reader, who can create relations which the author was not aware of.

16 Ibid., 52–58.

17 According to Moises Mayordomo, "Matthew 1–2 and the Problem of Intertextuality," Pages 260–265 in *Infancy Gospels: Stories and Identities* (eds. Claire Clivac et al.; WUNT 281; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), intertextuality can be studied from three perspectives: a) intertextuality from the author's perspective; b) intertextuality as a quality of texts; c) intertextuality from a reader's perspective.

18 In Dutch: "het geheel van relaties tussen teksten waaraan door een subject dat deze onderkent een functie kan worden toegekend". Claes, *Echo's echo's*, 50.

3 Context

In an intertextual analysis, different factors play a role: there is a complex interplay of text and pre-text, the language in which these texts are written, the author and the readers. Another important factor is the context. This concept has at least three meanings. (1) The first meaning is the literary context or co-text, i.e., the interplay of the text with the component parts in the whole of a text. (2) In its turn, every text operates within a set of texts belonging to the same intertext. Writers and readers connect a new text to other texts they already are acquainted with. These texts belong to the text's context.[19] (3) Finally, texts also refer to people, objects, and processes in the extra-textual reality, i.e., the text's historical, social, or cultural context.

The question now is whether and to what extent an intertextual analysis can unlock the access to the world outside the text. Should an intertextual study be limited to the 'world' that is unfolded within the network to which the text belongs? The following observations can be made. It is clear that the capacity of an intertextual analysis should not be overestimated. This approach does not have the same possibilities as the methods of historiography, archeology, and the social sciences, but in a certain way the world outside the text still plays an important role in an intertextual approach.

Every text is in some way connected to its socio-cultural environment. In Bakhtin's work, the interaction between literary texts and their socio-cultural environment takes an important place. To a certain extent, the socio-cultural context from which texts originate is accessible through the texts themselves. They are part of that context. In addition, the language in which they are written is the carrier of certain social norms and cultural conventions. Texts are determined by their cultural context but at the same time they can contribute to the further development of that culture.

Texts provide information on the historical and cultural context from which they originate. It is true in particular for texts from the distant past that the outside world they are referring to would largely have remained unknown

19 A good description is provided by Wolfgang Hallet, "Intertextualität als methodisches Konzept einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Literaturwissenschaft," Pages 53–70 (55), in *Kulturelles Wissen und Intertextualität: Theoriekonzeptionen und Fallstudien zur Kontextualisierung von Literatur* (eds. Marion Gymnich, Birgit Neumann, and Ansgar Nünning; ELK 22; Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2006). In his opinion, it concerns "eine Offenlegung, eine (Re-)Konstruktion und eine detaillierte Beschreibung der Beziehungen eines literarischen Textes zu den ihn umgebenden Texten und Diskursen mit dem Ziel, daraus Aufschluss über die Bedeutung einzelner Textelemente zu erlangen."

without these texts. Texts enhance the reader's knowledge of the world from which they originate and to which they refer, but at the same time this world can be changed by them.

The recipients or readers are expected to have relevant knowledge of the environment from which the text stems, and of other texts from the same environment. Otherwise, there can be no successful interaction between the text and the present-day reader. There are various forms of relevant knowledge: knowledge of the language in which the text is written, knowledge of literary genres and stylistic forms, and knowledge of pertinent political, geographical, social, or religious matters. This knowledge is needed to fill the so-called 'gaps' in the text in a correct way. The presence of these gaps shows that a reader is intended that is not a *tabula rasa*: he or she must have a multidimensional system of the knowledge at his/her disposal that is needed to decode the text.

The required knowledge is very heterogeneous so, according to Eco, the model reader must have an 'encyclopedic competence', i.e., knowledge of the culture that the text is part of.[20] Stefan Alkier gives some examples of this encyclopedic knowledge.[21] He points to the quotation in Matthew 1:22–23, which is introduced with the words: "All this took place to fulfill what had been spoken by the Lord through the prophet." The prophet's name is not mentioned, nor the fact that the quotation is from Isa 7:14. It is assumed that the readers know that Isaiah is referred to. In my opinion, it is also useful knowledge that it is Isa 7:14 in the version of the LXX and that the Greek text of the LXX forms a bridge between the Hebrew text of Isa 7:14 and the Greek text of Matt 1:23. Without this knowledge, the semantic effects of the intertextual reference cannot be grasped.

These reflections on the concept of 'context' demonstrate that the limited conception of intertextuality developed by literary theorists is compatible with a wider notion of intertextuality, in which the historical and cultural context takes a prominent place.

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20 Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington / London: Indiana University Press, 1979), 7. See also Paolo Desogus, "The Encyclopedia in Umberto Eco's Semiotics," *Semiotica: Journal of the International Association for Semiotic Studies*, Vol. 192 (2012): 501–521.

21 Alkier, "From Text to Intertext: Intertextuality as a Paradigm for Reading Matthew," *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 61/1–2 (2005): 1–18 (4).

4 Quotations in Matthew

Quotations represent a special form of intertextuality. In the practical demonstrations in Part Two of this monograph, I will often choose Old Testament quotations in Matthew's Gospel as my starting point.[22] In these cases, it is certain beforehand that an intertextual relation is at stake. This choice prevents that the analysis is merely based on free associations.

According to Heinrich Plett, "a quotation repeats a segment derived from a pre-text within a subsequent text".[23] A quotation can consist of a single word or of complete sentences. Quotations often occur in Matthew's Gospel, where their presence in a number of cases is marked by introductory formulas, which indicate minor and major differences. A special group are the well-known fulfilment quotations (1:22; 2:15.17–18; 4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13:14–15.35; 21:4–5; 27:9–10).

Sometimes a quotation is accompanied by the indication of the part of Scripture referred to ("Moses": 19:7.8; 22:24; "the Law": 12:5; "the Prophets" or "the prophet": 2:5; 3:3; 24:15). The introduction formulas can also be limited to the remark that the authority of Scripture is involved ("it is written": 4:4.6.7.10; 11:10; 21:13; "God has said": 15:4; "have you not read that . . .?": 12:5; 22:31). Some quotations in Matthew are not referred to as such. Then it is up to the readers to discover that a quotation is involved.

'Quotation' is a broad notion. Some quotations can be easily recognized as such (explicit quotations), others cannot (implicit quotations or allusions).[24] There is a sliding scale of transitional forms between these two extremes.

Explicit quotations function as a signal that parts of earlier texts have been integrated into Matthew's text. There is a good chance that other, more hidden

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22 Inquiries into intertextuality in Matthew include, among other studies: Ulrich Luz, "Intertexts in the Gospel of Matthew," *HTR* 97/2 (2004): 119–137; Alkier, "From Text to Intertext"; Richard B. Hays, "The Gospel of Matthew: Reconfigured Torah," *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 61 (2005): 165–190; doi: 10.4102/hts.v61i1/2.447; Leroy A. Huizenga, *The New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew* (NovTSup 131; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

23 Plett, *Intertextuality*, 9. Stefan Morawski, "The Basic Functions of Quotation," Pages 690–705 (691) in *Sign, Language, Culture* (eds. Algirdas J. Greimas et al.; The Hague / Paris: Mouton, 1970), offers a broader description: "Quotation is the literal reproduction of a verbal text of a certain length or of a set of images, notes, sounds, movements, or a combination of all or some of these elements within a verbal text, wherein what is reproduced forms an integral part of some work and can easily be detached from the new whole in which it is incorporated."

24 An example of an allusion is the reference to LXX Ps 129:8 in Matt 1:21.

references to the textual unit from which the quotation stems can be found in the new literary context of the quotation in Matthew. An important function of a quotation is that it sparks off interaction between the Old Testament text from which it is derived and the text in Matthew into which it is integrated. The old words take on a new meaning and function; a transformation of their original meaning takes place.

At the same time, the quotation preserves characteristics of the textual unit to which it originally belonged. A quotation makes a text polyphonic. Therefore, it is an important guideline for an intertextual analysis that we may not limit ourselves to paying attention to the meaning and function of a quotation in its new literary setting only. To get a clear view of the transformations that have come about, we must also investigate what the passage quoted meant in its own literary setting in the Old Testament.[25] In doing so, the following hypothesis can be tested: The meaning and function of textual units from Matthew's Gospel can be better understood if these textual units are related to other co-thematic or co-generic texts from the Hebrew Bible and/or the LXX and are considered to be transformations of these earlier texts from Scripture.

5 Text Forms

Do the Old Testament quotations in Matthew's Gospel go back to the Hebrew version or to the Greek Bible (LXX) and can we be sure that the Hebrew and Greek versions of Scripture known to Matthew (in the last decades of the first century C.E.) fully match the reconstructions in our contemporary critical editions? These questions have become very topical following the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other manuscripts found in the Judean Desert. In total, about 235 manuscripts of biblical fragments were found (in the case of Isaiah even an almost complete book: 1QIsa^a, dating from ca. 125 B.C.E.). From these findings, it appears that no standardized text of the Hebrew Bible existed at the beginning of the Common Era and that (apart from the Samaritan Pentateuch)

25 A similar approach can be found in: *Die Verheißung des Neuen Bundes: Wie alttestamentliche Texte im Neuen Testament fortwirken* (ed. Bernd Kollmann; Biblisch-theologische Schwerpunkte 35; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 15. According to Kollmann, the meaning of an Old Testament text or tradition must first be examined in its own context, and then its reception in early-Jewish texts. Against this background, it can be determined how this text or tradition has been appropriated in New Testament texts.

at least three different versions of the text were in circulation at that time.[26] Questions have also been raised regarding the Greek text of the LXX. On the basis of newly discovered texts, the hypothesis has been launched that, by the end of the first century C.E., scattered revisions of the LXX circulated.

What are the implications of these discoveries for an intertextual analysis which is based on textual units rather than on single words or phrases? Can we still draw on textual units from the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) and the Göttingen edition of the LXX?

Let us start with the text forms of the Hebrew Bible. One of the three versions that were in circulation around the beginning of the Common Era is referred to as the proto-Masoretic text, because this text form corresponds almost exactly to the Masoretic text that is printed in the BHS. The BHS is based on the Codex Leningradensis ($B19^A$) from 1008 C.E.[27] This codex is relatively young, especially given the fact that the youngest texts from the Hebrew Bible are at least 1100 years older than the Codex Leningradensis, and that the Torah and the Prophets are much older still. In all the centuries before the discovery of the ancient manuscripts from Qumran and other discoveries in the Judean Desert, it was impossible to determine whether the Masoretic text was entirely reliable. That the Masoretic text has been preserved so faithfully is thanks to the Masoretes, who, from the fifth to the tenth century, strove to pass on the consonantal text unchanged from generation to generation and therefore provided this text with vowels and accent signs and notes on the correct spelling.

Another important finding is that, in the period between the third century B.C.E. and the first century C.E., a standard text of the Hebrew Bible did not yet exist.[28] In addition to the proto-Masoretic text, three other text types were circulating:

a) It has long been known that the Samaritan Pentateuch developed separately from the other versions.
b) On the basis of the recent discoveries, it is also assumed that a Hebrew text must have been in circulation that better matched the LXX than the

26 A rich source of information is: Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press; 2012, third ed., revised and expanded). See also Emanuel Tov, "De Dode Zeerollen en de Bijbel," Pages 150–157 in *De Dode Zeerollen: Nieuw licht op de schatten van Qumran* (ed. Mladen Popović; Zwolle: WBooks, 2013).

27 The Aleppo Codex (dated to 930 C.E.) is also a very authoritative representative of the Masoretic tradition.

28 At that time, the Writings (the third section of the Hebrew Bible) were not yet available in their final form.

(proto-)Masoretic text but a continuous text of this presumed source of the LXX has not come down to us.

c) Furthermore, a third Hebrew text form was in circulation that is not consistent with any of the versions known to us. This third text form includes various Hebrew text fragments that differ greatly from each other.

In my intertextual studies on the interpretation of Old Testament texts in Matthew's Gospel, I will discuss the question of whether texts from this Gospel contain echoes of textual units from the Hebrew Bible. In answering this question, I will use the Masoretic text of the BHS. This choice is based on two arguments: a) this text is very old and goes back to the proto-Masoretic text that, at Matthew's time, enjoyed an increasing authority; b) not only fragments of this text version are known to us but we have a continuous text at our disposal. In Part Two of this monograph, I will investigate whether the Masoretic (or proto-Masoretic) text has left traces in the way in which Old Testament quotations are formulated in Matthew and I will map out how the structure, meanings, and functions of textual units in Matthew relate to their Hebrew counterparts. Where necessary and possible, other Hebrew text versions have been involved in the investigation.

Let us now continue with some comments on the text of the Greek Bible. According to Maarten Menken, there is enough evidence to assume that, in different Jewish circles in the last decades of the first century C.E. (when Matthew completed his Gospel), revisions circulated of the original text of the LXX, which had been established between the third and the first century B.C.E.[29] These later revisions had three goals: a) to adapt the Greek translation better to the Hebrew text, which gradually began to acquire the status of standard text; b) to improve the quality of the Greek; c) to incorporate certain exegetical traditions. In my opinion, it is doubtful whether there is indeed, as Menken says, "enough evidence" for the hypothesis that Matthew had at his disposal "a continuous Greek text whose textual form is best described as a 'revised LXX' ".[30] The evidence adduced is limited to a few manuscripts (such as the Naḥal Ḥever Scroll of the Minor Prophets and 4QLXXNumbers) and to the tendency in Theodotion (a Greek translation that probably dates to around the beginning of the Common Era) and in Aquila and Symmachus (two Greek translations from the second century C.E.) to achieve a translation that was

29 Maarten Menken, *Matthew´s Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* (BETL 173; Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 2004), 6–10 and 279–283.

30 Id., *Matthew's Bible*, 8 and 280.

closer to the current Hebrew text.[31] Further, the hypothesis that a revised LXX must have circulated can hardly serve as a basis for an intertextual study that focuses on actually existing textual units rather than on reconstructions of a hypothetical text form. Therefore I follow the 'unrevised' LXX texts when I compare texts from Matthew with pre-texts from the Greek Bible, but of course I will do so with the necessary restraint.

A final question is whether it is useful, in an intertextual analysis, to compare texts from the 'unrevised' LXX with the Masoretic text. Such a comparison cannot be defended by arguing that the LXX is an old translation of the proto-Masoretic text version. As I mentioned above, the LXX shows significant deviations from the proto-Masoretic text and seems to be based on a different Hebrew text form. Nevertheless, a comparison may be useful if it is focused on the similarities and differences between the Masoretic text and the LXX. This would yield a deeper insight into the semantic characteristics of both versions. It will be clear that this choice is legitimate within that type of intertextuality which focuses on the reception by the (current) reader, rather than within production-oriented intertextuality.

6 Intertextuality Compared to Some Cognate Approaches

6.1 *Literary-Historical Methods*

Until recently, the study of Old Testament quotations in the New Testament has been dominated by a diachronic approach,[32] i.e., scholars tried to trace the source from which a quotation originated. Generally this type of research can be characterized as follows. In order to determine the precise limits of the quotation, it is necessary to make a sharp distinction between the quoted words or sentences and the New Testament text into which they have been incorporated. Thus isolated, the formulation is compared with the phrasing in the Hebrew text, the LXX, the other *versiones* and in early Jewish and early Christian texts. The verbal similarities are decisive for the question concerning the origin of the quotation. In the comparison with the source text(s), scholars also focus on exactly those elements that are quoted in the New Testament.

31 More information on revisions of the LXX can be found in Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 141–147.

32 According to Steve Moyise, "Intertextuality and Historical Approaches to the Use of Scripture in the New Testament," *Verbum et Ecclesia* 26 (2005): 447–458, historical criticism and theories of intertextuality can be "used together, (…) to complement one another".

This means that, at that particular level, those elements are also disconnected from the surrounding textual data.

In literary-historical studies, both the present and the original literary context have often been neglected. This changed with the emergence of redaction criticism. This approach focuses on the question of whether the differences between the phrasing of the quotation and its original formulation might be attributed to the redactor, who after all may have adapted the quotation to the text into which he has woven it and to the function he wants it to fulfil in that text. Conversely it is also possible that he has adapted his surrounding text to fit the formulation of the quotation. The connections between the quotation and its literary context now enter the spotlight, but the emphasis here is on those elements which can almost certainly be attributed to the redactor.

The correlation of quotations with their new context is also central in intertextual studies of quotations. Moreover, theorists of intertextuality advocate also studying the *original* context of the quoted words and sentences. Many New Testament scholars do not support this suggestion, arguing that New Testament writers consciously isolated the quotations from their context.[33] Nevertheless, I would like to argue that the text from which a quotation is derived should be included in the analysis. My argument for doing so is based on two remarkable features of explicit citations. The first feature is that explicit citations function as a powerful signal that the text must be read in the light of an earlier text. This is the case *a fortiori* when a text contains more than one explicit citation from the same pre-text. Moreover, the presence of an explicit citation raises the question of whether the text contains other, more implicit, references to the text from which the quoted segment originates. We can trace these more hidden connections by closely comparing the New Testament text in which we find the quotation with the Old Testament pre-text from which it is taken. In this comparison, we must be aware of the possibility that elements from the pre-text may turn up in a later text in a strongly transformed fashion. An explicit quotation initiates interaction between (at least) two texts. The quotation acquires a new meaning and a new function within the text into which it is integrated, but it will nonetheless continue to refer back to the inherent semantic configuration of the original text.

33 This suggestion was already supported by Charles H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet, 1952), 126: "(I)n the fundamental passages it is the *total context* that is in view, and is the basis of the argument".

6.2 *Canonical Exegesis*

The project of so-called canonical exegesis was developed in the United States.[34] In a document of the Pontifical Biblical Commission from 1993, this method was described as an approach in which the Bible is perceived as an organic whole of testimonies from one large tradition.[35] This view is also reflected in Article 12 of the Constitution on Divine Revelation of the Second Vatican Council.[36] The key principle of the canonical reading is that separate texts must not be interpreted in their historical context but in the context in which they were placed by the religious community of later centuries. This context is the canon, the *corpus* of authoritative writings accepted by the religious community that are decisive for its belief and life. Canonical exegesis reads the Bible and the Gospels therefore as a cohesive unit that has an intrinsically consistent message, despite all its historical stratifications. The separate writings are interpreted from the broader total framework of the canon. That framework did not yet exist when these texts were written down but gradually emerged as a result of later decisions.

Intertextual research resembles canonical exegesis in that separate texts are also interpreted in the light of other texts from Scripture and the meaning of a text is perceived as a product of its reading in relation to other texts. Although their affinity cannot be denied, I would like to point out two differences between these two approaches:

(1) Canonical exegesis perceives Scripture primarily as an organic whole within which the separate texts are bearers of one and the same message.

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34 See Robert W. Wall, "Reading the New Testament in Canonical Context," Pages 370–393 in *Hearing the New Testament: Strategies for Interpretation* (ed. Joel B. Green; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans; Carlisle, PA: Paternoster Press, 1995). Robert W. Wall, "Canonical Criticism," Pages 291–312 in *Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; New Testament Tools and Studies, 25; Leiden etc.: Brill, 1997).

35 Pontifical Biblical Commission, "The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," English translation in *Interpretations of the Bible in the Church* (ed. James L. Houlden; London: SCM Press, 1995).

36 In Article 12 of the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation—Dei Verbum, two different statements are made: "The interpreter must investigate what meaning the sacred writer intended to express and actually expressed in particular circumstances by using contemporary literary forms in accordance with the situation of his own time and culture." On the other hand, we read here: "But, since Holy Scripture must be read and interpreted in the sacred spirit in which it was written, no less serious attention must be given to the content and unity of the whole of Scripture (…). The living tradition of the whole Church must be taken into account".

Intertextuality, however, is not based on the same well-defined text corpus; it focuses first and foremost on the differences and perceives a later text as a transformation of one or more earlier texts.[37]

(2) Canonical exegesis easily transfers meanings from text A to text B, even if text A is younger than text B. In this way, Old Testament texts are read from a New Testament perspective. In fact, the distinction between earlier and later is abandoned here; the Bible emerges as one big, coherent system, within which the boundaries between the separate parts become blurred. The concept of 'intertextuality', too, can be applied in such a way that the meanings from one text flow into other ones, irrespective of their position on the timeline. However, exegetes generally reject this uninhibited use of the concept and focus on traceable transformation processes which allow chronology to be observed and anachronisms to be avoided as much as possible.

37 Alkier, "Intertextuality and the Semiotics," 11–12, shows that canonical exegesis creates its own form of intertextuality: "The biblical canon sets the individual writings in new relationships, and it is precisely this intertextual connection that alters the meaning potential of the individual writings." More far-reaching is his statement that, "through the intertextual connection of the canon, it is hermeneutically justifiable to read and interpret every biblical writing in light of every other biblical writing." In my view, he leaves too much room for making arbitrary and subjective links.

CHAPTER 6

The Five Women in Matthew's Genealogy as Paragons of Virtue

The Gospel according to Matthew begins with a list of Jesus' ancestors in which the names of five women occur among those of forty-two men.[1] Mention of Mary is not surprising, because she is Jesus' mother, but why does the author include four other women: Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and the wife of Uriah (Bathsheba)?

There are various answers to this question. Usually the exegetes look for something which the four Old Testament women have in common,[2] while Mary is not taken into consideration. One explanation that used to be popular is that the four women are sinners who indulge in dubious sexual activities, and that they were included in the family tree in order to make clear that Jesus was born to liberate people from their sins (1:21).[3] This interpretation is a classical example of an androcentric exegesis which associates women with sexuality, connects sexuality with sin, and shuts eyes to the far from irreproachable conduct of many men in the genealogy.

1 A different list can be found in Luke 3:23–38. In this chapter, I will not go into the similarities and differences between Matthew's and Luke's list, nor will I concentrate on genealogies in the Old Testament. Studies on genealogies in the Old Testament include: Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies: With Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Thomas Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis* (Herders biblische Studien 39; Freiburg im Breisgau / New York: Herder, 2003); Raik Heckl, "Der biblische Begründungsrahmen für die Jungfrauengeburt bei Matthäus: Zur Reception von Gen 5,1–6,4 in Mt 1," *ZNW* 95 (2004): 161–180.

2 John P. Heil, "The Narrative Roles of the Women in Matthew's Genealogy," *Bib* 72 (1991): 538–545 (544), asks the opposite question; he notes that "previous attempts to explain the roles of the women in Matthew's genealogy have overestimated what they have in common and underestimated their differences". See also the recent study by Jason B. Hood, *The Messiah, His Brothers and the Nations: Matthew 1.1–17* (Library of New Testament Studies 114; London: T&T Clark, 2011), esp. 88–118.

3 An example of this interpretation is to be found in Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans; Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1992), 23: "Three of the four are of morally dubious reputation. Matthew is surely saying that the gospel is for all people, not Jews only, and that the gospel is for sinners."

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A different explanation, still current, is that the four women are all foreigners.[4] Ruth is Moabite, Rahab is from Canaanite Jericho, and Bathsheba's husband, Uriah, is Hittite. That Tamar is also of foreign origin is deduced from the meagre indications in early Jewish literature.[5] The presence of these non-Jewish people points in a universalistic direction: Jesus has foreign blood in his veins. He has indeed sprung from the people of Israel, but Matthew makes it clear at the very beginning of his book that Jesus is also important for the Gentiles. This view has the drawback that it applies to Tamar and Bathsheba an attribute which in the Hebrew Bible is applied explicitly only to Ruth and Rahab.

These two interpretations ignore Mary, since she is not a Gentile, and the exegetes who emphasize that the Old Testament foursome were sinners do not go as far as to accuse Mary of sinful behaviour. The two explanations referred to are sensitive only to the contrast between Mary and the four other women.

In this chapter I wish to defend a different view. In my opinion, we should search for a correspondence, rather than a contrast, between Mary and the four other women. Many answers have already been given to the question whether the five women possibly have something in common. The answers sometimes remain extremely abstract. Brown speaks of "something extraordinary or irregular in their union with their partners," a deviation from the current pattern; the five women are outside the normal course of events and serve to show that precisely through these eccentric individuals God effects the fulfilment of Israel's history.[6] Franz Schnider and Werner Stenger allude to "eine Zeugung

4 For example Luz, *Evangelium nach Matthäus* (*Mt 1–7*), 93–95; John C. Hutchinson, "Women, Gentiles, and the Messianic Mission in Matthew's Genealogy," *BSac* 158 (2001): 152–164.

5 Gen 38 does not give a clue about Tamar's ancestry. That she was Canaanite (so, e.g., Gundry, *Matthew*, 14), is contradicted by *T. Judah* 10 and *Jub.* 41:1–7. According to these texts, Er hated her because his mother was from the daughters of Canaan, whereas Tamar was a daughter of Aram, and consequently came from Mesopotamia, the homeland of Abraham, Rebekah, Leah and Rachel (cf. Heil, "Narrative Roles," 539). For more information see Richard Bauckham, "Tamars Ancestry and Rahab's Marriage: Two Problems in the Matthean Genealogy," *NovT* 37 (1995): 313–329.

6 Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 73. See also Krister Stendahl, "Quis et Unde? An Analysis of Matthew 1–2," Pages 69–80 (74) in *The Interpretation of Matthew* (ed. Graham Stanton; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995, 2d ed.): "The common denominator for these four women [Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba] is found in that they all represent an 'irregularity' in the Davidic line, an irregularity which is not only overcome by God's recognition of them as mothers of Davidic descendants: exactly by the irregularity the action of God and his Spirit is made manifest."

durch einen dritten Handlungsträger im Bereich eines anderen": Tamar and Bathsheba have a child by someone who is not their husband, Rahab and Ruth become mothers by entering into a bond with someone belonging to a foreign people, and Mary's child is not the physical descendant of Joseph, although he is explicitly mentioned as her husband.[7] According to Jane Schaberg, what the four Old Testament women in Matt 1:1–17 have in common is that all of them have for some time occupied a position outside the context of the patriarchal family: each of them became the mother of a child that can easily be suspected of having sprung from an illicit affair.[8] Mary's pregnancy in Matt 1:18–25 should likewise be understood in this light. Matthew takes a stand against attacks on early Christianity based on the suspicion that Jesus had been begotten not by Joseph but by another man.[9]

My theory is that Mary continues in a role which Tamar, Rahab, Ruth and Bathsheba already played in the stories from the Hebrew Bible.[10] In my first section I will present an analysis of Matt 1:1–17 and 1:18–25. In these two passages, both dealing with Jesus' genesis, Mary's position is more fully described than the position of the four other women. What is told here about Mary is also of importance in dealing with the question why Matthew has included four more women in his list of Jesus' ancestors. In my second section I will briefly discuss some frequently forgotten elements from the Old Testament stories about Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba. The way in which the four women are figuring there sheds in turn some more light on Mary's position. I will argue that those stories reveal how Israel's history would have been cut short

7 Franz Schnider and Werner Stenger, "Die Frauen im Stammbaum Jesu nach Mattäus: Strukturale Beobachtungen zu Mt 1,1–17," *BZ* 23 (1979):187–196 (195).

8 Jane Schaberg, *The Illegitimacy of Jesus: A Feminist Theological Interpretation of the Infancy Narratives* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 32–33. According to Schaberg, the common elements in the stories about the four Old Testament women are that all four (1) "find themselves outside patriarchal family structures," (2) "are wronged or thwarted by the male world," (3) in their sexual activity "risk damage to the social order and their own condemnations" and (4) have their situations "righted by the actions of men who acknowledge guilt [or] accept responsibility for them, drawing them under patriarchal protection, giving them an identity and future within the patriarchal structure, legitimating them and their children-to-be." For more nuances see: Elaine M. Wainwright, *Towards a Feminist Critical Reading of the Gospel according to Matthew* (BZNW 60; Berlin / New York: De Gruyter, 1991) 59–69.155–176.

9 See Edwin D. Freed, "The Women in Matthew's Genealogy," *JSNT* 29 (1987): 3–19 (3): "Matthew included the names of the women to counter the Jewish accusation that Jesus was the illegitimate son of Mary."

10 For a similar approach, see Mayordomo, "Matthew 1–2," 257–279.

prematurely had these women not seen it as their task to map out alternative pathways to the future. The first chapter of Matthew tallies with this idea. He sees Jesus as the purpose of Israel's history, but this history has achieved its aim not by the effort of men but by the extraordinary concerted action of female forces. In my third section I will try to find a common pattern in the stories about the five women.

1 Jesus' Origin According to Matthew

1.1 *Matt 1:1–17*

The Gospel of Matthew begins with a condensed description of Israel's history in the form of a genealogy (1:1–17) which the writer indicates as βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ. The word γενέσις not only involves the mere fact of somebody's birth but also indicates his genesis, his descent or his origin.[11] Here the origin of Jesus Christ is involved.

The family tree is framed by two metanarrative sentences (1:1 and 1:17), in which the narrator comments on the lineage. In 1:1, he mentions the three key figures in the ancestry: Jesus, David, and Abraham. The trio of 1:1 reappear in reversed order in 1:17: Abraham, David, the Messiah. This concluding verse has the same function as 1:1. Together they give structure to the genealogy. According to 1:17, the genealogical table consists of three clusters of fourteen generations: the starting point is with Abraham, and fourteen generations later the lineage reaches a high point in David; fourteen generations still later the exile is a low point, and after another fourteen generations the history of Israel achieves its climax in Jesus.

The genealogy mentions a string of male persons who are threaded together by the word ἐγέννησεν, repeated thirty-nine times. The repetition suggests continuity, a line that proceeds uninterrupted. In most cases (thirty-five times) we encounter the following formula: A (a man) ἐγέννησεν B (also a man). In that enumeration of fathers and sons, mothers and daughters remain unmentioned. Each time ἐγέννησεν refers to a male activity. This is not self-evident, for γεννάω has a wider meaning appearing from texts elsewhere in the New Testament (Luke 1:13.57; 23:29; John 16:21; Gal 4:24) and in the LXX (Exod 6:20; 1 Chr 2:17.46.48; 1 Esd 4:15; Zech 13:3; 4 Macc 10:2), where γεννάω refers to the role of women in procreation.

The monotonous lilt is unexpectedly interrupted: four times the formula is expanded with the mentioning of a woman:

11 Jesus' birth is referred to only in two subordinate clauses (1:25 and 2:1).

1:3 Ἰούδας δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Φάρες καὶ τὸν Ζάρα ἐκ τῆς Θαμάρ
1:5 Σαλμὼν δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Βόες ἐκ τῆς Ῥαχάβ
1:5 Βόες δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωβὴδ ἐκ τῆς Ῥούθ
1:6 Δαυὶδ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Σολομῶνα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου

The four women are not themselves the subject of γεννάω. They are connected with the verb by means of the preposition ἐκ.[12] The women are not mentioned until the end of the sentence; first the fathers and their sons are mentioned, and only then the mothers.[13]

With the introduction of the four women an entirely new pattern emerges to interrupt the old one. However, in 1:16, this new pattern is interrupted in its turn. Here Jesus is mentioned, the person whom this is all about. The text reads: τόν Ἰωσὴφ τόν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς. All of a sudden the focus switches from Joseph to Mary. The active verb form (ἐγέννησεν) is replaced by a passive form of the same verb (ἐγεννήθη). Whereas with most of Abraham's descendants only the father is mentioned, and with just four of them a mother as well as a father as is mentioned, the last in line is descended from a mother who, indeed, has a husband, but a husband who is not Jesus' physical father.

The special position occupied by Mary and Jesus according to 1:16, has been prepared for by the fourfold allusion to women from the Old Testament. They forge a link between the thirty-five children of whom only the father is explicitly mentioned and the child introduced in 1:16 of whom only the mother is mentioned. The last of the four especially, "the wife of Uriah," paves the way for the introduction of Mary. Just as Solomon was not the child of Uriah, Bathsheba's husband, but was born of another man, King David, so too Jesus is not the physical son of Joseph, Mary's husband, but the son of—well, of whom exactly? The reader, who has got used to the male subjects of the verb γεννάω, a verb that also occurs in 1:16, eagerly asks himself who then the father of Jesus *is*. One should not prematurely silence that question by reading ἐγεννήθη as a *passivum divinum*, "meaning that in the place of a human father, God begot Jesus."[14]

12 This connection of γεννάω with ἐκ can also to be found in Matt 19:12; John 1:13; 3:5–6.8; 8:41; Gal 4:23; 1 John 2:29; 3:9; 4:7; 5:1.4.18. And in the LXX: 1 Chr 8:9.11; 2 Esd 10:44; Tob 1:9.

13 In 1 Chr 8:9.11; 2 Esd 10:44; Tob 1:9 first the father and the mother are mentioned, and then their children.

14 See Schaberg, *Illegitimacy*, 36. See also Andries van Aarde, *Fatherless in Galilee: Jesus as a Child of God* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001), who emphasizes that being fatherless was foundational in Jesus' life and ministry.

1.2 *Matt 1:18–25*

Matthew's genealogy has not entirely explained Jesus' origin. This subject reappears in 1:18–25. That this paragraph elaborates on the genealogical table can be deduced from the fact that both paragraphs have a partly similar heading:

1:1 βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (etc.)
1:18a Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γένεσις οὕτως ἦν.

The correlation is also expressed by the reappearance in verse 1:20 of the passive form of γεννάω, familiar to us from verse 1:16, and from the renewed use of the preposition ἐκ (cf. 1:3.5.6.16) in 1:18.20:

1:16 τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς
1:18 εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου
1:20 τὸ γάρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου

What is the meaning of ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου?[15] Is the Holy Spirit the father of Jesus by any chance?[16] Is he the suppressed subject of the passive verb form of 1:16? We must not draw that conclusion too hastily. The Holy Spirit does not fulfil the role of the father; he is on the side of the mother.[17] This can be deduced from the fact that ἐκ reoccurs in 1:18.20, but there it is combined with the Holy Spirit. His role is described in the same terms as the role of Mary and the other four women. He is not Jesus' father, but Jesus is begotten from Mary (1:16) and from the Holy Spirit (1:18.20).

The series of characters who are introduced by means of ἐκ, is thus followed up in 1:18.20. These two verses explain *a posteriori* that the motherhood of Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba was also special. The preposition used in 1:18.20 in fact refers back, through Mary (1:16), to her four spiritual sisters in 1:3.5.6. In their deportment, too, the Holy Spirit manifests itself. However, there is also a remarkable difference. The four women are flanked by men, who are the physical fathers of their children. In Mary's case this point in particular is

15 In this paragraph, I subscribe to the views of René Laurentin, "Approche structurale de Matthieu 1–2," Pages 382–416 (esp. 395–399) in *De la Tôrah au Messie: Mélanges Henri Cazelles* (eds. Maurice Carrez, Joseph Doré, and Pierre Grelot; Paris: Desclée, 1981).

16 See Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, c. 311, who says of Matt 1:20 that the male factor is inserted with ἐκ.

17 For Brown (*Birth of the Messiah*, 124), "there is never a suggestion in Matthew or in Luke that the Holy Spirit is the male element in a union with Mary, supplying the husband's role in begetting". Laurentin ("Approche structurale" 398) says that "le rôle de l'Esprit Saint est signifié de *la même manière que celui des femmes*, par l'emploi de la préposition EK marquant l'origine. (. . .) En tout cas, l'Esprit Saint n'est nullement situé en position de père" (emphasis his).

suppressed. This new aspect is addressed on two different levels: a) it is communicated to Joseph by an angel (1:19–21), who draws the appropriate conclusion from this announcement (1:24–25); b) it is referred to by the narrator in sentences that function exclusively in his communication with the readers (1:18.22–23).

Let us first consider Joseph. In this story he plays an important role; the story is also told from his point of view. Mary, on the other hand, is not portrayed in the text as an individual acting independently. She is only the subject of the conversation; the text does not give us any definite information about what Mary knows, thinks, or does. This type of narration links up with 1:1–17, a text in which the attention paid to the active role of men in the course of Israel's history is likewise disproportionate. When Joseph enters the stage in 1:19, he is struggling with the problem of what *he*, the male partner must do, now that he has discovered that his wife is pregnant. He can account for Mary's pregnancy only by presuming that the child has been sired by another man. His wife still lives in her parents' house, and he sees her pregnancy, which he has nothing whatsoever to do with, as a reason for not taking her into his own house. Must he publicly repudiate her, or, on the basis of a less strict halakah, shall he privately terminate the relationship that has already been sealed juridically? In solving this problem Joseph is aided by an angel who draws his attention to the creative role of the Holy Spirit. Joseph, convinced by the words of the angel, takes Mary into his house. By giving the child the name mentioned by the angel he embraces fatherhood in a juridical sense and acknowledges Mary's child as his. Through Joseph, who himself is also a son of David (1:20), Jesus can be considered a legitimate descendent of David.

The readers are supplied with more information. They clearly have an advantage. On the basis of the genealogy, they already know that history is not determined solely by men but that women succeeded time and again in mapping out alternative routes to the future. Even before the readers learn anything about Joseph's mental struggle they learn from the narrator the answer to the question that arose in verse 1:16. As early as verse 1:18 the narrator informs the readers that Mary is going to have a child through the Holy Spirit. His view, confirmed in verse 1:20 through the words of the angel of the Lord, is thus corroborated by a double authority, so that the readers must have very good reasons not to adopt this view.

In 1:22–23 the narrator interrupts his tale for a closer reflection on the story he is telling. These two verses function exclusively as part of the communication between the narrator and his readers.[18] The readers are provided with

18 Davies and Allison, *Commentary: Matthew I–VII*, 211, find it difficult to decide whether Matthew intended the angel's speech to extend as far as 1:22–23, but they think that the

information which is withheld from Joseph. They learn that they must understand Jesus' γένεσις in the light of Isa 7:14, a text which also speaks of a woman. Readers who are aware of the differences between the Hebrew text and the LXX version of Isa 7:14 will be surprised again. The Hebrew says: הנה העלמה הרה וילדת בן וקרת שמו עמנו אל. The LXX reads: ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ. Matt 1:23 reads: ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ. By interweaving Isaiah's text with his own story Matthew shifts the original meaning of the sentence he is quoting.[19] The LXX speaks of a young girl who is a virgin (unmarried) at the moment when Ahaz receives a sign from God, and who in the near future will know a man and bear a son. Matthew applies this text to Mary, but she is a woman who is already engaged to be married. The quoted text must make clear that Mary's pregnancy came about *after* she was pledged to Joseph; moreover, the quotation must prove that her pregnancy was *not* caused by a man, not by Joseph, nor by another man.

The assumption that Jesus is a special child is now sustained by Scripture also; even more, it is confirmed by the words of God himself, for in Matthew's Gospel the utterance from Isa 7:14 is from God ("what the Lord declared," Matt 1:22). A little further on the same voice will be heard again. In Matt 2:15, God talks about Jesus as his son: "Out of Egypt I have called my son" (see Hos 11:1); in Matt 3:17, a voice from heaven says: "This is my beloved son, in whom I take delight."

At this point, all riddles which puzzled the readers when they were first confronted with 1:16 are solved. Jesus is not Joseph's physical son, yet he can be called "son of David" justly and rightly (1:1), because Joseph, a legitimate descendant of David, has acknowledged Mary's child as his own. It is not necessary for the reader to conclude from 1:16 that Jesus is an illegitimate child. It was this idea that initially troubled Joseph's mind, but the narrator disproves this idea by all available means. First, he places his own authority in position (1:18); next, he has his announcement repeated by an angel of the Lord (1:20); finally, he refers to the Scriptures to demonstrate that Jesus is the incarnation of God's presence among us (Emmanuel, 1:23), and what is more, that he is the son of God (2:15; 3:17). Only then is Jesus' origin fully explained.

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parallel in 21:4–5 as well as in other fulfilment quotations, "which are obviously to be read as editorial remarks," suggests that the angel's speech in 1:20–21 does not extend as far as 1:23.

19 The quotation is firmly interwoven in its new literary context: the verb ἔχω makes a connection with ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα in 1:18, τέξεται υἱόν corresponds literally to 1:21 (cf. ἔτεκεν υἱόν in 1:25), and we also find the syntagm καλεῖν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ in 1:21.25.

What insights does this analysis yield for the role of Mary and the four other women? The reader might wonder about the fact that in Matt 1:1–17 men are given such a large share of attention. They are many, and they are mentioned by name. The women are far in the minority, and one of them, Uriah's wife, is not even referred to by her own name. Men, it seems, are the principal protagonists of Israel's history, and women function only as a means by which their male counterparts secure their futures. Yet it is precisely this idea that is being undermined by the text. The narrator mentions five women, linking them to one another by means of the preposition ἐκ. Thus, he interrupts the continuity that would have existed. If it had not been for the five women, Israel's history would not have reached its goal. Furthermore, the narrator adds the Holy Spirit to the company of the five women. This divine force is also introduced by means of the preposition ἐκ. This implies that the five women do not act of their own accord, but are activated by the Spirit of God.

In Mary, this idea culminates in a rather astonishing event: she will be a mother, even while remaining a virgin. This piece of information really shakes the assumption that men are the only or principal protagonists of history.[20] Here the readers are confronted with a world which completely differs from their own. Even men and women who have not been raised in a patriarchal society, will wonder about a child that does not have a physical father. The text does not make a secret of this obstacle. The obstacle is gradually removed. In 1:16 the possibility of Jesus' being begotten by a man is still left open, although Joseph cannot be taken into consideration. Immediately afterwards, however, the narrator relegates this solution to the realm of fantasy in every possible way. Step by step he makes clear that Jesus springs from God himself. Joseph is the first person who comes to this conclusion. The readers must follow his example.

20 If a man who is to be considered Jesus' physical father is smuggled in through the backdoor, the text is robbed of its subversive connotations. This is what happens in Schaberg's interpretation. She argues that Origen's apologia *Contra Celsum*, in which he incorporated quotations from Celsus' book *Alethes Logos*, written in approximately 175 C.E. but unfortunately lost, contains echoes of the old Jewish tradition that Jesus is an illegitimate child, the son of Mary and a Roman soldier named Pantera (*C. Cels.* 1.28–39.69–70). Furthermore she points out that, in a number of rabbinical texts from the Tannaitic period, Jesus is called 'ben Pantera' (son of Panthera). According to her, the text of Matthew is a *reaction* to the previously existing Jewish tradition that Jesus was reputedly an illegitimate child. In my view, the relations are exactly the reverse: Matthew's highly peculiar story of the extraordinary origin of Jesus soon gave birth to the negative counterstory of Mary's pregnancy caused by another man.

2 Old Testament Stories

In this section I will try to answer the question whether Mary's role is already prefigured in the Old Testament stories about Tamar (Gen 38), Rahab (Josh 2 and 6), Ruth (the book of Ruth), and Bathsheba (2 Sam 11–12; 1 Kgs 1–2). In Matthew, each of these women is presented only in her role as mother. The Old Testament stories are much broader, and they also illustrate those women's creative contribution to the development of the house of Israel in other ways. In my presentation of the relevant data I must necessarily restrict myself to some main lines of argument.

2.1 *Tamar*

In Gen 38, Judah leaves his native country and settles in Adullam where he marries a Canaanite woman. The couple have three sons: Er, Onan, and Shelah. Judah marries his eldest son to Tamar and, after his untimely death (a punishment by God, according the narrator) he lets Onan take Er's place. The idea is that Onan will beget children for his brother, but he shirks this duty which he has to fulfil according to the custom of levirate marriage (Deut 25:5–10). Therefore, God takes his life, too. Judah then sends Tamar back to her father's house; he no longer wishes to be reminded of the claims of the levirate law, because he suspects Tamar to be the cause of his two children's death.[21]

Nobody except Tamar actively exerts himself or herself to ensure the law's purpose will be fulfilled after all. To ensure that Er has a descendant, Tamar veils herself and goes to sit by the roadside. There she is spotted by Judah, her father-in-law, who thinks she is a prostitute and who makes love to her. When Tamar's pregnancy becomes visible, she is charged with adultery and sentenced to the stake by Judah, who suddenly regards her a member of his family once more. Tamar confronts her father-in-law with the conclusive evidence that it is he himself who has slept with her. Judah then admits that she has a case against him ("She is more in the right than I, since I did not give her to my son Shelah", Gen 38:26). The birth of Perez and Zerah brings Gen 38 to an end. In Matt 1:1–17 and in various other genealogies, Tamar's two children are considered Judah's offspring. They are assimilated into the patriarchal family clan, while Tamar spends the remainder of her life as an unmarried mother.

Tamar's role can be summarised thus: by making creative use of the possibilities offered by the levirate law, she manages to keep the history of Israel from coming to an end with Judah.

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21 According to *Jub.* 41:7, Bedsuel, Judah's wife, did not permit Selah, her son, to marry. As a Canaanite woman, she resented the fact that her children were married off to a daughter of Aram.

2.2 *Ruth*

From Tamar I continue with Ruth, because in Ruth 4:12 Tamar is explicitly mentioned as the woman who bore Perez to Judah. According to Ruth 4:18–22, Perez is David's progenitor. The ten names in the genealogy that forms the conclusion of the book of Ruth, recur in Matt 1:1–17. The reference to Tamar in Ruth 4:12 is one of several connections between the Book of Ruth and the story of Tamar.[22] The story of Ruth is even more bizarre than the story of Tamar. Ruth is a Moabite who experiences the early death of her husband, a man from Judah. Like Tamar, she remains behind, childless, but while Tamar could have recourse to the levirate law, this is out of the question for Ruth. Her only brother-in-law, Chilion, and her father-in-law, Elimelech, have both died. The family cannot be continued through Naomi, Ruth's mother-in-law, since Naomi is getting on in years. It will require a great deal of resourcefulness to overcome this predicament.

Naomi and Ruth succeed through united effort. Together they leave Moab and return to Bethlehem. This is possible only because Ruth resolutely takes sides with her mother-in-law, Naomi, with Naomi's people and with Naomi's God. In Bethlehem the two women are outside the social order. They endeavour to change this situation. The initiative initially lies with Ruth: she goes gleaning and manages to attract Boaz' attention. Naomi takes her cue from this and sends Ruth to the threshing floor where Boaz will be spending the night. This scene is sometimes used to blacken Ruth's reputation. She is supposed to have let Boaz make love to her on the threshing floor, catching him in her nets by this unfair ruse. The text itself is not clear on this point: as the story progresses it suggests that Ruth and Boaz did not have intercourse until after their relationship had been legally sealed. However, Ruth succeeds in getting Boaz to act as redeemer (גאל). Actually, he has that duty only with regard to Naomi. An additional problem is that there is a nearer kinsman who precedes Boaz in the obligation to fulfil that duty. That kinsman, however, withdraws when Boaz informs him that he not only has to redeem Naomi's family property but has to marry the young Moabite woman besides. This man backs out because Boaz has confused him by mixing up two women (4:5). A similar confusion occurs later on: when Ruth has a baby, the child, Obed, is regarded as a son of Naomi (4:17), so Obed is in fact a child of two mothers.

This story, too, shows women taking risky steps to build the house of Israel. The peculiar aspect of this story is the powerful joint effort made by a Moabite

22 Ellen van Wolde, *Ruth and Naomi* (London: SCM Press, 1997), has pointed out a number of interesting similarities between the two stories. See also Ellen van Wolde, "Texts in Dialogue with Texts: Intertextuality in the Ruth and Tamar Narratives," *Biblical Interpretation* 5 (1997): 1–28. In this section, I am indebted to Van Wolde's publications.

woman and a woman of Judah. Together they manage to earn themselves a position in the social upper class of Bethlehem. Thanks to this duo Obed is born, the progenitor of David.

2.3 *Rahab*

According to Matt 1:5, Rahab is the wife of Salmon and the mother of Boaz. Nothing can be found in the Old Testament to substantiate this claim; the stories about Rahab in Josh 2 and 6 speak neither of her marriage nor of her motherhood.[23] What is more, she lived at the time of the entry into the promised land, while Boaz lived at the time of the judges (Ruth 1:1). The name Rahab is spelled differently in Matthew (Ῥαχάβ) and in the LXX (Ῥααβ).[24] Still, it is almost certain that Matt 1:5 speaks of Rahab of Jericho, not of anybody else. Matthew portrays Rahab as a mother. He is not the only one to do so. In the Talmud and other early Jewish texts her motherhood is also mentioned.[25] In these Jewish texts as well as in Matt 1:5, Rahab is held in high esteem. Positive reports about her are also to be found in Heb 11:31 and Jas 2:25, where she is praised for having hidden the two spies in her house and for having saved their lives.[26]

In Josh 2 and 6 Rahab is a Canaanite woman who works as a prostitute in Jericho, where she lives detached from her clan, in a house of her own against the city wall. At the risk of her life, she takes the two Israelite spies into her house. She ignores the king's command to give the two men up and makes sure that they get away safely. Her motives for this brave action are broadly enlarged upon. The accounts of Israel's adventures in the desert have convinced her of the uniqueness of the God of Israel. In 2:9 she repeats the words that were previously spoken by God himself. In 1:2.6.11.13.15, God has proclaimed that he, true to his promise, will give the land to Israel. Rahab's claim in 2:9 that God has given the land to Israel is in keeping with the belief of the author of the book. Later on in the story this same view is expressed by the spies and by Joshua (2:14.24; 6:16). Thus, Rahab, a Canaanite woman, reveals herself as someone

23 Matthew's view of Boaz as Salmon's son is in accordance with Ruth 4:21 and 1 Chr 2:11.

24 Josh 2:1.3; 6:17.23.25; cf. Heb 11:31; Jas 2:25; *1 Clem.* 12:1–3.

25 See Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, Band I: Das Evangelium nach Matthäus, erläutert aus Talmud und Midrasch* (München: Oskar Beck, 1922), 20–23. In *b.Meg.* 14b–15a Rahab is Joshua's wife and an ancestor of eight prophets.

26 Cf. A.T. Hanson, "Rahab the Harlot in Early Christian Theology," *JSNT* 1 (1978) 53–60. See also Ps 86:9, "Among those who know me I mention Rahab (. . .)."

who has adopted the religion of Israel. Small wonder that in later texts she is considered a proselyte.

The two men who owe their lives to Rahab promise in turn to spare her and her entire family when Jericho is destroyed. In Joshua 6 they redeem their promise and save Rahab and her family. According to the narrator her family "dwells in Israel even unto this day" (6:25). This proves that at the time, the country still had a mixed population of Israelites and Canaanites. The narrator has his own view of this historical fact. For him, it is on Rahab's merits that the Canaanites have been able to retain their place in the country dominated by Israel. We encounter this 'coexistence' again in Matthew's genealogy, where we meet Rahab as a link in Israel's family history.

2.4 *Bathsheba*

The three women I have discussed so far played a highly active role in Israel's history and found God on their side. Does this apply also to Bathsheba?

Stories about Bathsheba are to be found in 2 Sam 11–12 and 1 Kgs 1–2. Bathsheba is the daughter of Eliam and she probably belongs to Jerusalem's aristocratic upper class. She is married to the Hittite Uriah, who occupies a prominent position in David's army. The stories about Bathsheba picture her rise to the center of power at the royal court. Whether she was bent on acquiring this position from the start, however, is not so clear. In the stories of 2 Sam 11–12, the initiative is explicitly David's. While the army is in the field, he casts a favourable eye on her as she cleanses herself after her monthly period. This detail is not communicated to us until after David has had her brought to his palace and has had intercourse with her there. All these events indisputably establish that the pregnancy of which she sends word to David some time later cannot have been caused by Uriah. Since she can easily be charged now, she is in a very vulnerable position: although she is still married to Uriah, she is expecting the king's child. Some exegetes presume that she took a bath in order to attract the king's attention, but this conclusion goes far beyond what the story tells us. The narrator just does not give us any hint of her feelings, of her thoughts, or of the motives she may have had. He tells the story from David's perspective. The king is the only one acting.

After that, David slips even further: he contrives that Uriah, who may have got wind of what has happened through stories picked up from the king's guard,[27] will perish in battle. As soon as Bathsheba is out of mourning, David

27 See Moshe Garsiel, "The Story of David and Bathsheba: A Different Approach," *CBQ* 55 (1993) 244–262 (here 257); Jan Fokkelman, *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel: King David (II Sam 9–20 & I Kings 1–2)* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981).

takes her into his harem. Not until then does the narrator disclose God's displeasure in what has happened: "What David had done was wrong in the eyes of the Lord" (11:27; cf. Gen 38:10). This concluding sentence of chapter 11 is preliminary to the next chapter, in which God sends Nathan the prophet to censure David. It is abundantly clear that the guilty one is not Bathsheba but David. She is a victim, not an offender. David is the sole offender. He has interfered with somebody else's ewe lamb. That is exactly why Bathsheba is always referred to as "the wife of Uriah" (12:9.10.15; cf. 11:3.26), a description we also find in Matt 1:6.[28]

David's adultery with Bathsheba and the murder of Uriah form the beginning of the decline of his kingship. God lets the child born of the sexual union of David and Bathsheba die. After the child's death of the child, David and Bathsheba have intercourse again, and she gives birth to Solomon. The narrator asserts that God loved this child.

As has already been stated, 2 Sam 11–12 does not give us any idea of Bathsheba's feelings. The conjecture that already in this phase she is planning to place her child on the throne is never substantiated. That changes in 1 Kgs 1–2. At that point David is dying, and Adonijah, one of his children from another relationship (2 Sam 3:4), proclaims himself king. However, Nathan and Bathsheba succeed in persuading David to appoint Solomon as his successor. Somewhat later, Bathsheba is involved in another palace intrigue. She manages to induce Solomon to have Adonijah dispatched, since his half brother continues to covet the throne. In these two chapters, Bathsheba plays an important role in the turbulent period of the succession. It is partly thanks to her that David's kingship is eventually passed on to Solomon.[29]

3 In Search of a Common Pattern

The concrete details from the stories about Mary and the four Old Testament women differ greatly. All the same, it is not difficult to discover some elements which these stories have in common. In this section I would like to pay attention to five elements which are closely bound up with one another.[30]

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28 Matthew's designation of Bathsheba as ἡ τοῦ Οὐρίου is very strange, because (as Wainwright, *Towards*, 168, rightly remarks) "it is not as wife of Uriah but as legal wife of David that Bathsheba becomes the mother of Solomon".

29 Bathsheba's active role in 1 Kgs 1–2 has been described convincingly by Trevor Dennis, *Sarah Laughed: Women's Voices in the Old Testament* (London: SPCK, 1994) 140–175.

30 In this section, I subscribe to some views of Schaberg, *Illegitimacy*.

3.1 *Five Common Elements*

1. The first element. All stories about these women include explicit statements dealing with provisions of the law, or if these statements are missing, the narrator assumes that his readers are familiar with these provisions of the law. The provisions refer to the sexual intercourse between men and women, or to the conditions that have to be fulfilled whenever a person wants to share the rights and benefits connected with membership of a certain family, clan or nation.

In Gen 38 and in the Book of Ruth, the levirate law plays a significant role (see Deut 25:5–10). According to this law a brother or a near kinsmen of a man who died childless must marry the widow and raise up a child for the dead man. Gen 38 also presumes that the reader is familiar with the rule that a man is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his daughter-in-law (Lev 18:15). Judah trespasses against this instruction unwittingly: he supposes the woman sitting at the side of the road near Timna to be a prostitute. In the stories about Tamar and Rahab, the attitude of men towards prostitution is somewhat ambivalent: on the one hand, they tolerate prostitution as an ordinary phenomenon in society; on the other hand, a prostitute is treated with contempt (see Lev 19:29; Deut 23:17a). In 2 Sam 11, David trespasses against several of the Ten Commandments: he covets his neighbour's wife (against Exod 20:17), he commits adultery (against Exod 20:14), and he kills Uriah (against Exod 20:13). In Matt 1:18–25 a certain knowledge of contemporary rules and customs relating to marriage is likewise presupposed. Because Mary is already engaged to Joseph, she is forbidden to enter into a relationship with another man (Deut 22:23–24). The reader is also fully aware of the fact that the rape of a virgin who is already engaged to be married will be severely punished (Deut 22:25–27).

2. The second element. All stories start from the women's protected position within their family, clan, or nation in accordance with legal provisions or with customary law.

Tamar becomes Er's wife and subsequently Onan's wife, and so she is included in Judah's family. Naomi is married to Elimelech, a member of a prominent clan in Bethlehem, that of the Efrathites. Ruth is married to Mahlon, Naomi's son. Bathsheba is the wife of Uriah the Hittite, who occupies an important post in David's army. Mary is engaged to Joseph, a descendant of King David.

At first sight this second element is missing in the stories about Rahab, who is unmarried. However, this does not alter that she too occupies a trusted position within her own clan. She no longer lives in her parents' house (Josh 2:18) but has a house of her own, on the outer side of the city wall, where she is in frequent contact with her fellow-citizens as well as foreigners. She enjoys the

confidence of the inhabitants of Jericho: neither her messages to the king of Jericho nor her messages to the men pursuing the two Israelites are met with distrust.

3. The third element. In all the stories, the initial balance is destroyed almost at the beginning by a special event or unusual coincidence critically jeopardizing the position which these women occupy in a certain family, clan, or people. The situation in which the women consequently find themselves is precarious for one of the following reasons: they can be accused of violating the laws supposed to guarantee the integrity of a family, clan, or people, or they no longer enjoy the protection of the law, or they incur the risk of forfeiting their previous protected position altogether if the law is exercised—even the risk of being put to death on the basis of the law.

After the deaths of Er and Onan, Tamar finds herself deprived of the rights and benefits provided for by the levirate law. She is sent back to her father's house, but when she appears to be pregnant, Judah orders that she be burnt. When Rahab hears the reports of the peculiar adventures of the people of Israel (Josh 2:10–11), she develops deep sympathy for that people and for their God. She receives the two spies in her home and hides them, enabling them to elude their enemies. If it comes to light that she did so, she undoubtly will be accused of treason, and her life will no longer be safe. Naomi and Ruth are two childless widows. Because of Naomi's respectable age the levirate law does not help her. To Ruth, who is much younger, this law does not apply, since she is a Moabite. By leaving Moab and choosing the people and the god of her mother-in-law Ruth faces a highly insecure future. Bathsheba expects a child, begotten by David while her husband is still alive. In this situation she can easily be charged with premeditated adultery. And Mary, because of her pregnancy after her engagement to Joseph, may easily fall victim to rumors that she has mixed with another man, or that she has been raped.

4. The fourth element. The new situations which the women face reveal hidden possibilities enabling them to contribute to the development of the house of Israel. Israel's history would have been cut short prematurely, or would have been completely different, had these women not mapped out alternative paths to the future. Some of the women cleverly take advantage of ambiguities and lacunas in the legal order, and they meet support as well as resistance from male persons who surround them.

Tamar exerts herself to ensure that Er has a descendant after all; she achieves her goal by taking advantage of the sexual desires of her father-in-law, who had

recently become a widower himself. Rahab knows that it is useless to resist the Israelites because God himself will give them the land of Canaan. She cleverly uses the two spies' willingness to spare her and her family in exchange for protection. Ruth prefers an uncertain life at Naomi's side in Bethlehem to the security of life in the midst of her own people. Naomi, stimulated by her daughter-in-law's remarkable step, is roused from her lethargy; through concerted action, the two women succeed in persuading Boaz to meet his obligations with regard to Elimelech, Naomi's deceased husband. In Bathsheba's case, it is uncertain whether she was playing an active part from the outset. The assumption that she deliberately aspired to be David's wife is contrary to the development of the story in 2 Sam 11. In her young days she was the object of David's sexual desires, and it is only much later, when David is on his deathbed, that she persuades him to name her son Solomon his successor. Mary is not as active as the other women. Matthew does not mention any activity of hers to win a better position. While the other women play an active role in improving their position, in Mary's case this role is assumed by an angel of the Lord who prevents Joseph from executing his plan of dismissing his wife quietly. But there is no doubt whatsoever that Mary too is of crucial importance to the development of the house of Israel. Jesus, who is born of her, is depicted as the culmination and fulfilment of Israel's history (Matt 1:1–17).

In the stories under discussion, the attitude of some male actors towards the law is quite different from that of their female partners. Onan and Judah assume a lax attitude and refuse to do what they should do according to the levirate law. Naomi's next of kin displays similar behaviour: he is willing to acquire the parcel of land that belonged to Elimelech, but he shrinks from marrying Ruth to maintain the dead man's name. David tries to cover up the traces of his adultery by calling Uriah back to Jerusalem and exhorting him to go to his home and lie with his wife. When David's plan fails, he arranges for Uriah to be killed by the sword of the Ammonites.

Yet we also meet men who dedicate themselves faithfully to maintenance of the law. When Judah has received the message of Tamar's pregnancy, he condemns her to the stake. In 2 Sam 12 Nathan makes it clear to David that he has trespassed against the law by eliciting the king's judgment of the case proposed in the parable. In 1 Kings, Nathan resolutely takes his stand with Bathsheba, and together they prevail upon David to choose Solomon as his successor. Boaz and Joseph also belong to the line of men who are actuated by noble intentions. Joseph is a righteous man (Matt 1:19). He wants the law to be observed. He is willing to have disciplinary measures taken because his wife has conceived without his involvement. His law-abiding nature acquires a

special dimension when he refuses to denounce Mary publicly. The fact that he carries out the angel's instruction exactly shows that God's will is at the basis of his actions.

5. The fifth element. The stories about the five women all turn out well. Eventually, each woman is taken into their family again, or at the end of the story she obtains a position within a society to which she did not belong before. Retrospectively, it becomes clear that the women were fully within their rights, and in their adventures a power is revealed that neither men nor women are themselves able to manifest: the power of the Most High, or the power of his Spirit.

Tamar gives birth to Perez and Zerah, and her two children are considered Judah's legitimate offspring. Rahab succeeds in saving her own life and the lives of her parents and her family, when Jericho is destroyed by Joshua. According to the narrator, "her family has lived in Israel ever since" (Josh 6:25). It is impossible to find fault with her choice to be loyal to the Israelites, because God himself promised the land of Canaan to Israel. The Book of Ruth shows how a Moabite woman and a woman from Judah earn themselves a position in the aristocratic upper class of Bethlehem to which Naomi originally belonged. At the beginning of the First Book of Kings, Bathsheba has become an influential woman in the royal court. And against all expectation, Joseph takes Mary as his wife, and acknowledges her child as his own.

3.2 *History Accomplished through the Efforts of Women*

In early-Jewish and rabbinical literature, Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba have developed into shining examples of morality.[31] Perhaps those traditions were already circulating in Matthew's time. What is often forgotten, though, is that these women already play a heroic role in the Hebrew Bible itself. According to Matthew, Mary plays a role already played before by Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba. For the notion that the history of Israel can be accomplished only through the efforts of women he does not have to consult later traditions. The Hebrew Bible itself offers sufficient material in support of this idea.

31 Many examples are offered by Freed, "The Women". According to Freed (page 4), the four women are still seen in unfavorable light in the Hebrew Bible and it is only in postbiblical literature that they are "regarded as distinguished women because each had done something beneficial to the Jewish people."

CHAPTER 7

Two Quotations from Isaiah and Matthew's Christology (Matt 1:23 and 4:15–16)

In this chapter, I will study two quotations from Isaiah, which within the New Testament only occur in Matthew. The first quotation is taken from Isa 7:14 and can be found in Matt 1:23, the second is taken from Isa 8:23b–9:1 and is quoted in Matt 4:15–16.[1] Both quotations belong to the category of the so-called formula quotations to which a great number of studies have already been dedicated.[2] My intertextual analysis of quotations is based on two assumptions. The first is that in a study on traces of the Old Testament in the New, the Hebrew text and the version of the Septuagint (LXX) deserve equal attention. The second is that an explicit quotation continues to refer to the textual unit from which it originates, while simultaneously it is interwoven into a new literary context.

In this chapter I will illustrate this approach on the basis of the two quotations from Isaiah in Matt 1:23 and 4:15–16.[3] In both cases, I will try to first specify the origin of the quotation. Next, I will focus on the level of semantics and will search for an answer to the following questions. What meaning do the quoted words and sentences have within the textual unit from which they were taken? Which semantic transformations result from the translation of the

1 An interesting intertextual analysis of these two quotations from Isaiah is: Warren Carter, "Evoking Isaiah: Matthean Soteriology and an Intertextual Reading of Isaiah 7–9 and Matthew 1:23 and 4:15–16," *JBL* 119 (2000): 503–520.

2 See especially: Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (ASNU 20; Lund: Gleerup, 1967, 2d ed.); Robert H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel* (NovTSup 18; Leiden: Brill, 1967); Wilhelm Rothfuchs, *Die Erfüllungszitate des Matthäus-Evangeliums: Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung* (BWANT 88; Stuttgart etc.: Kohlhammer, 1969); George M. Soares Prabhu, *The Formula Quotations in the Infancy Narrative of Matthew: An Inquiry into the Tradition History of Mt 1–2* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976). For a recent study on quotations in Matthew see: Menken, *Matthew's Bible*; see also S. Moyise, "Matthew's Bible in the Infancy Narrative," Pages 11–24 in *The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (eds. Bart J. Koet, Steve Moyise, and Joseph Verheyden; NovTSup 148; Leiden: Brill, 2013).

3 I co-authored an article with Sijbolt Noorda on two other formula quotations in Matthew that were taken from Isaiah: "Christelijke schriftgeleerdheid: De vervullingscitaten in Matt 8:17 en 12:17–21," Pages 81–101 in *Jodendom en vroeg-christendom: Continuïteit en discontinuïteit* (eds. Tjitze Baarda, Henk Jan de Jonge, and Maarten Menken; Kampen: Kok, 1991).

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Hebrew text into Greek? What meaning do these quotations acquire through their insertion into Matthew's stories about Jesus and which special accents do they introduce into his Christology?

1 Matthew's Interpretation of Isa 7:14

1.1 *The Origin of the Quotation*

The formulation of the quotation from Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:23 is almost exactly the same as in the LXX. There is only one marked difference: in the LXX καλέσεις is mentioned whereas here Matthew uses the third person plural (καλέσουσιν). This difference can be explained from the context. Two verses earlier the angel has told Joseph that he must give Mary's child the name Jesus (1:21: καλέσεις). In order to avoid unnecessary misinterpretation Matthew is forced to avoid the use of καλέσεις in his quotation of Isa 7:14.

The version from the LXX differs from the Hebrew text on a number of points. These differences are interesting because they explain why Matthew preferred the formulation from the LXX to that of the Hebrew text. For the sake of clarity I quote the three versions parallel to each other:

Hebrew text Isa 7:14	הנה העלמה הרה וילדת בן וקרת שׁמו עמנו אל
LXX Isa 7:14	ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Εμμανουηλ.
Matt 1:23	ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ.

The Hebrew text successively contains a feminine adjective meaning 'pregnant' (הרה),[4] a participle (ילדת) and a finite verb (קרת). Within this sentence structure the emphasis is on the special name the woman will give her child. The adjective and the participle describe the situation of the woman in question: at the moment the statement is made, she is already pregnant and in fact on the point of giving birth. In the LXX the sentence is constructed differently. There, three coordinate verbs are used, all of them in the future tense (ἕξει καὶ τέξεται . . . καὶ καλέσεις). Here too, the sentence refers to the near future; this is clear from the words which follow the prophet's statement. The formulation of the LXX is particularly suitable for the purpose with which Matthew cites

4 In Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 242, הרה in Isa 7:14 is listed as an adjective.

Isa 7:14. In his view this verse heralds events which are to take place centuries later: the statement made in the past is fulfilled with the birth of Jesus.

Another phenomenon which requires our attention is that העלמה ('the young woman') has been replaced by ἡ παρθένος in the LXX. There are three reasons why the selection of this word is not at all obvious: a) except for in Isa 7:14, παρθένος as a translation of עלמה only occurs in Gen 24:43, where it refers to Rebekah; b) elsewhere in the LXX, παρθένος is usually the translation of בתולה ('virgin'); c) a more common rendering of עלמה would have been νεᾶνις.[5] In Matt 1:23 we encounter the same term as the one opted for in the LXX. This confirms that this quotation was taken from the LXX and not from the Hebrew text. In this case too, the formulation of the LXX fits admirably into the context into which Matthew incorporates the quotation, for the statement in Isaiah is to emphasize that Mary's pregnancy was not caused by a man, but is the result of a mysterious union between her and the Holy Spirit (literally: 'a ghost that is holy').

In the Hebrew text it is the woman herself who names the child Immanuel, at least when the Masoretic vocalisation is taken as a point of departure (קָרְאת 3 fem. sg.). Another vocalisation is possible (קָרָאתָ 2 masc. sg.). The fact that the Hebrew corpus of consonants permits various interpretations is also perceptible in the multiform nature of the Greek versions of the text. The form καλέσεις in LXX^{BA} and in Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion presupposes a Hebrew text with the above-mentioned alternative vocalisation, while καλέσει in LXX^{א} corresponds with the Masoretic vocalisation.[6] In this situation it is not surprising that Matthew again makes a selection of his own (καλέσουσιν), in contrast to the various possibilities which we find in the manuscripts of the LXX.[7]

That the adjective הרה is translated as ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχειν is not exceptional: elsewhere in the LXX this adjective is rendered in the same way.[8] However, it is interesting that the LXX usually opts for ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνειν when the Hebrew text does not have the adjective הרה but the corresponding verb. Clearer even than the Hebrew root words, the Greek terms express a subtle difference in

5 See in the LXX Exod 2:8; Ps 67:25; Cant 1:3; 6:7. It is also notable that Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in their representation of Isa 7:14 opt for νεᾶνις.

6 In addition there is the reading of καλέσετε in LXX^{OL}, which adapts the subject of the verb to correspond to the previously used second person plural (δωσει . . . ὑμῖν), assuming that the child is given its name by a plural subject.

7 A vague parallel to the καλέσουσιν in Matt 1:23 can be found in 1 QIsa^{a}: וקרא שׁמו עמנו אל. According to Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament*, 90, the verb form used in 1 QIsa^{a} can be read as a *pual perf.* ('he shall be called') or as a *qal perf.* ('one shall call him'). Some manuscripts (D pc bo^{mss}; Or Eus) adapt Matt 1:23 to conform to the LXX and read καλέσεις.

8 See Gen 16:11; 38:24–25; Exod 21:22; Judg 13:5.7; 2 Sam 11:5; 2 Kgs 15:16; Amos 1:13.

meaning: ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχειν indicates that a woman is expecting a baby, whereas ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνειν emphasizes the conception as being the beginning of the pregnancy. In the Hebrew text as well as in the LXX version of Isa 7:14 the moment of conception is not in the speaker's perspective.[9] No, the speaker focuses the attention on the condition of the expectant mother without speaking of the role of the father. In Matt 1:23, the fact that the role of the father remains undiscussed is seized upon as an argument in favour of the assertion that Jesus has no biological father.

The question as to the origin of the quotation from Isa 7:14 can also be answered in another way. Matt 1:23 contains a second quotation, likewise taken from Isaiah (Isa 8:8; see also 8:10): μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. This second quotation is added because the first contains an element that requires further explanation: Ἐμμανουήλ. The meaning of that term is not immediately clear to Greek readers since the word is merely a transcription from the Hebrew עמנו אל. This same transcription can be found in the LXX version of Isa 7:14. In the Hebrew text of Isa 8:8.10 again עמנו אל is used, but here the LXX does not opt for a transcription but chooses to present a translation in Greek (μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός), which is reproduced by Matthew. This further confirms that in verse 1:23 Matthew goes back to the LXX.

1.2 *Isa 7:14 in Its Literary Context in the Septuagint*

A quotation triggers an interaction between two or more texts. It is woven into a new literary framework, but since it stems from another text, it continues to refer to its previous literary context. For a better understanding of that interaction, I will first discuss the meaning of Isa 7:14 in its literary context in the LXX to be able to assess the meaning this statement has acquired through its integration into the first chapter of Matthew. Because the quotation goes back to the LXX-version of Isa 7:14 the focus is on the literary context in the Greek Bible.[10]

Isa 7:14 is embedded in a textual unit (Isa 7:1–25), which refers to a turbulent period in the history of the southern kingdom, known as the Syro-Ephraimite war (735–732 B.C.E.) and also described in 2 Kgs 16:1–20 and 2 Chr 28:1–8. During that war, Ahaz is king of Judah. In the LXX, he is called Achaz. The northern kingdom (Israel) and Aram (Syria) have united under the pressure of the Assyrian urge for expansion and are trying by military means to

9 LXX^{BLC} has λήμψεται instead of ἕξει (LXX$^{\aleph AQ}$); Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion have ἐν γαστρὶ (om. Symm.) συλλαμβάνει.

10 In this section, I make use of: N*ew English Translation* (eds. Pietersma and Wright), 830–831.

force the southern kingdom into participating in their coalition. The enemy's armed forces are already at the gates of Jerusalem. This political-military fact evokes mixed reactions in Jerusalem. From Isa 7:17 we gather that there are three parties: king Achaz, the other members of the house of David, and the people. The people have confidence in a coalition with Aram and Israel (see Isa 8:6). The members of the royal family, however, fear that this coalition will weaken their position, since Aram and Israel want a political kindred spirit on the throne of Judah who is not of the house of David, namely the son of Tabeel (7:6). Therefore they intend to call on the help of Assyria. The text suggests that Achaz himself has not yet made a clear choice between the two alternatives. He is busy inspecting the water systems, which are of vital importance in case of a siege. This indicates that he has no intention of teaming up with Aram and Israel. According to 2 Kgs 16:1–20 and 2 Chr 18:1–8 he reportedly took political steps to secure Assyrian support, but this information is lacking in Isaiah.

In 7:1–25 Achaz functions as the prophet's (in the LXX called Esaias) direct discussion partner. Esaias also aims his words beyond Achaz at the other members of the royal family ("the house of David"). This can be inferred from the alternate use of the second person singular (7:11.16–17) and the second person plural (7:9.13–15).

Let us now concentrate on the structure and line of thought of Isa 7:1–25. This textual unit opens with an introduction (vv. 1–2) which briefly describes the critical situation in and around Jerusalem. The rest of the text is in direct speech, introduced by brief narrative sentences (vv. 3.10.12.13), which together paint a rather complex picture of the communicative situation. In verses 3 and 10 the Lord is mentioned as the speaker. In verse 3 he addresses the prophet Esaias, and in verse 10 Achaz. However, the formulation of this latter verse ("the Lord spoke further to Achaz") suggests that the message which the prophet is to convey to Achaz (v. 4: "you will say to him") is simultaneously being listened to by the king. In fact in verses 4–9 the dialogue between Esaias and Achaz is already in full swing. The mission which God has ordered the prophet to carry out fades into the execution of that mission without the transition being clearly marked. All this implies that the prophet merely functions as God's instrument and that the words of Esaias come from God himself.

God orders the prophet to tell Achaz that he need not fear the two kings who have laid siege to Jerusalem. "These two logs of smoking firebrands" will soon disappear from the political stage. God is even prepared to give a sign in order to convince the king of this hopeful perspective. Achaz replies that he does not want to accept this offer of a sign. Who the next words (vv. 13–17) are aimed at cannot be inferred from the narrative statement with which they are introduced ("he said": no addressee is mentioned here). The designation

"house of David" and the use of the plural in verses 13.14a indicate that the prophet now aims his words beyond Achaz, at the other members of the royal family. Verses 16–17, however, revert to the singular and the focus switches back to Achaz. The members of the royal family are reproached, not only for provoking the people, but also God. Their attitude is contrasted with that of Achaz, who after all does not want to put God to the test. To the members of the royal family God gives a sign of his own accord. This sign differs from the sign that Achaz was pledged since he could ask for one that was outside the usual pattern of things ("in depth or in height"), whereas the sign that is given to the house of David consists of a series of events which occur within everyday reality. The description of the sign begins in verse 14 but continues into the next few verses. The sign embodies a number of consecutive events which together show that within the next few years there will be a positive change in the situation of the southern kingdom which is presently so sorely beset. The separate elements of this description are not equally clear. The name of the virgin who shall be with child and bear a son is not mentioned. The article ('*the* virgin') suggests that the prophet speaks about someone who is known to the listeners. In view of the addressees we may assume that a lady of the royal household is meant. The emphasis is not on the pregnancy or birth but on the events which are to follow. Achaz will call the child Emmanouel. This name gives voice to the belief that the favourable transformation of Judah's fate is effected by God himself. Verses 15 and 16 further qualify this change. When the child is weaned, he shall eat butter and honey. This is evidence not of scarcity but of abundance. That in his early youth the child will know nothing but prosperity, is connected with the fact that Israel and Aram will by then have vanished from the political arena. In verse 17, God announces the dawning of "such days as have not yet come since the day that he took Ephraim away from Judah". Does this mean that the glorious times of David and Solomon which preceded the division between the northern and the southern kingdom, will be revived? This interpretation is cut off by Esaias. He does this by introducing another tyrant at the close of verse 17: the king of the Assyrians. In effect a period of even greater tribulation will arrive. Aram and Israel will indeed have faded from the scene, but their downfall is attended by the rise of an even more formidable enemy.

Verses 18–25 with their repetitive refrain of "on that day" (vv. 18.20.21.23) take up the subject of the days to come according to verse 17. Esaias intimates that the king of Assyria, who will overrun Aram and Syria, also poses a serious threat to Judah. Ironically it is exactly this superpower which the royal family considers to be a strong ally. The prophet is of a totally different opinion:

according to him a pro-Assyrian policy will lead to a total catastrophe. In verse 22 again butter and honey are mentioned. These words now refer to the food of the small number of people who will survive the coming disaster. The sentences in question betray a mixture of hope and fear. Still, even here butter and honey are a symbol of abundance. The imminent catastrophe will be so great that only few will survive that dark period.

1.3 *The Meaning of Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:18–25*

In what way is the quotation from Isa 7:14 integrated into Matt 1:18–25? What function does it have within this passage and how does the meaning of the words from Isaiah in their new context relate to their meaning in their own literary setting?

Matt 1:18–25 is ingeniously composed. It opens with the angel's mission to Joseph (A: vv. 18–21) and ends with a report which shows that Joseph carries out the angel's instructions to the letter (A': vv. 24–25).[11] These two segments enfold verses 22–23 (B) in which we find quotations from Isa 7:14 and 8:8.10, preceded by an introductory formula.

The quotation from Isa 7:14 is splendidly integrated into the whole. This is demonstrated by the numerous connections between the quotation and the surrounding verses:[12]

Matt 1:23 (Isa 7:14)	**Matt 1:18–21.24–25**
ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει	ἐν γαστρί ἔχουσα (v. 18)
καὶ τέξεται υἱόν	τέξεται δὲ υἱόν (v. 21) and ἔτεκεν υἱόν (v. 25)
καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ	καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν (v. 21)
Ἐμμανουήλ	and καὶ ἐκαλέσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν (v. 25).

11 See Rudolf Pesch, "Eine alttestamentliche Ausführungsformel im Matthäus-Evangelium," *BZ* 10 (1966): 220–245, and 11 (1967): 79–95. A similar composition can be found in Matt 21:1–9: there the formula quotation (vv. 4–5) occupies a central place between Jesus' instructions to two disciples (vv. 1–3) and the discharge of that order (vv. 6–9).

12 This arrangement is taken from Donald Hagner, *Matthew 1–13* (WBC 33A; Dallas: Word Books, 1993), 15, who in this context makes the following remark: "Matthew deliberately constructs his narrative around the quotation in midrashic fashion so that the wording of the quotation is reflected in the angelic revelation and in the fact of fulfilment."

These connections leave no doubt that the quotation relates to the entire narrative which surrounds it, not only to the verses which precede it.[13] This is confirmed by the words τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον from the introductory formula. The links between the quotation and the verses surrounding it are so strong that one wonders whether perhaps the story from Matt 1:18–25 was not constructed partly on the basis of Isa 7:14. The story revolves around three crucial moments (pregnancy, birth and name giving) which are discussed in Isa 7:14. All these critical moments are covered by the γένεσις of Jesus (v. 18).

Matt 1:18–25 in turn is closely linked up with 1:1–17, where likewise an answer is sought to the question of Jesus' origin or ancestry (γένεσις: 1:1.18). In the genealogy, Jesus' ancestry is traced back to David and Abraham. However, in verse 16 the regular succession of the various generations is interrupted by the announcement that Joseph is indeed Mary's husband but not Jesus' biological father. In 1:18–25 the evangelist offers more information into the origin of Jesus, expressed by two non-human authorities: by the angel and by God himself. The words of the angel (vv. 20–21) are addressed to Joseph. The words of God (τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου: v. 22) can be found in the quotation from Isa 7:14 and function exclusively within the communication between the evangelist and his readers.

Thus the text distinguishes between two communicative levels. The angel tells Joseph not to be afraid to take Mary into his home, since the child conceived in her is from the Holy Spirit. Joseph is convinced by the angel and in verses 24–25 he does exactly as he has been told. In verses 22–23 the narrator informs his readers that the story he is telling is the fulfilling of the Scripture.

The readers are given more information than Joseph. They not only learn what the angel tells Joseph, but through the quotation from Isa 7:14 they are also provided with additional knowledge. This additional information concerns two elements. The first is that the possible suspicion that Mary's pregnancy was caused by sexual intercourse with another man is entirely unfounded. That Joseph considered casting her off might suggest that he was inclined to believe that his wife's pregnancy could be explained as the result of adultery or rape. The readers are handed an extra key to interpret her special position: she is the virgin (ἡ παρθένος) who is mentioned in the LXX version of Isa 7:14. The second element is the name Immanuel. This name does not correspond to the name that Joseph is to give to the child. The difference is enhanced by the fact that in the quotation (contrary to the LXX!) καλέσουσιν is mentioned whereas

13 In contrast with Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 57: "Die Anführung von Js 7,14 bezieht sich auf das Vorhergehende (v 20f) und setzt v 24f keineswegs voraus, obwohl diese Verse selbstverständlich mitgemeint sind."

the angel in verse 21 tells Joseph: "you are to name him Jesus" (καλέσεις). The plural form καλέσουσιν might indicate that God is the subject of the action described here,[14] but in view of the communicative function of verses 22–23 it is more obvious to consider the plural form as an invitation to Matthew's readers:[15] they must see Jesus as a sign of God's presence in their midst.

1.4 *Semantic Transformations*

In what way does the meaning which Isa 7:14 acquires through its integration into Matt 1:18–25 relate to the meaning of this verse in the literary context from which it originates? There is some continuity in that the words from Isa 7:14, both in their original and in their new context, are attributed to God. In Isa 7:1–25 the prophet functions as the voice of God (see especially 7:3.10). The words in 7:14 which he aims at the house of David, are God's own words. The additional information which Matthew imparts to his readers, is explicitly asserted to come from God. The fact that God himself is the source of the statement from Isa 7:14 has a rhetorical function: a person has to come up with very strong arguments to be able to ignore this statement, for it would mean going against God who is the highest imaginable authority.

Another aspect indicating continuity is that Isa 7:14 deals with the birth of a child that will be a living symbol of God's presence among his people. We discover this in Matthew: Jesus' disciples give him the name of Emmanuel because in him they see the embodiment of God's proximity to his people. It is also interesting to note that Matthew is familiar with the original literary context of Isa 7:14. The fact that the evangelist connects distant verses (Isa 7:14 en 8:8.10) indicates this. The original context has left more traces in Matthew: the mention in Isa 7:1 of the father (Ioatham) and grandfather (Ozias) of king Achaz corresponds to the register in Matt 1:9 (Ozias / Ioatham / Achaz);[16] further on, in Isa 7:2.13 the house of David is mentioned, while in Matt 1 both Jesus (1:1) and Joseph (1:20) are called "son of David".

Matthew's rendering of Isa 7:14 is also characterized by semantic transformations, indicating discontinuity. In Isa 7:1–25 the announcement concerns the imminent birth of a child who will grow up in a period in which the people

14 Cf. Walter Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (THKNT I; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1968), 70.

15 Cf. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (*Mt 1–7*), 100.

16 The usual reference to 1 Chr 3:12–13 is less accurate where Matt 1:9 is concerned. The names from Matt 1:9 (Ὀζίας, Ἰωαθάμ and Ἀχάζ) correspond with Isa 7:1 and differ from 1 Chr 3:12–13 where Uzziah, both in the Hebrew text and in the LXX, is called Azariah (as עזריה and Ἀζαρία respectively).

of Judah will be liberated by the hand of God from the political pressure which is weighing them down. In Matt 1:18–25 the child from Isa 7:14 is identified with Jesus, a figure who is not to appear until centuries later. His birth too is placed in the perspective of an approaching liberation; in this case, however, liberation of the people from their sins is meant (1:21). The political trouble is translated into moral guilt. Furthermore, Jesus is to play an active role in the liberation process. It is he who has come to save his people from their sins and he achieves this by giving his life as a ransom for many (20:28).

A second transformation is realised through the substitution of העלמה in the Hebrew text of Isa 7:14 by ἡ παρθένος in Matt 1:23. It is not easy to specify the exact nature of this transformation. The Hebrew text mentions a young woman who is pregnant. Text-critically, it is indisputable that Jes 7:14 contains the term העלמה and not the word בתולה. This means that there is a considerable difference on this point between the Hebrew text and the LXX, since the word παρθένος, used in the LXX version of Jes 7: 14, is usually a translation of Hebrew בתולה. Only in Jes 7:14 and in Gen 24:43, παρθένος is a translation of עלמה. According to the lexica, παρθένος has the following meanings in the LXX: girl, maiden, young woman, a girl of marriageable age, virgin.[17] The exact semantic colour is codetermined by the literary context. This can be aptly illustrated on the basis of Gen 24, in which the youthful Rebekah is invariably referred to as παρθένος. The meaning of this term is explained there by the statement in 24:16 that 'no man had known her'. She is therefore a young woman who is still a virgin. The question of whether this meaning is also applicable in Jes 7:14 is answered as follows by Gerhard Delling: "Vom Gesamtbild des Sprachgebrauchs in LXX her ist nicht mehr gefordert als die Bdtg *von einem Manne bis zur Empfängnis* (des Immanuel) *unberührt*." However, on the basis of the language used in the LXX, he simultaneously leaves open the possibility "dass der Übersetzer von Js 7,14 sich eine ungeschlechtliche Entstehung des Jungfrausohnes vorgestellt hat."[18]

These conflicting statements are less than convincing. A close reading of Isa 7:14 opens the way to a more nuanced view, which can be described as

17 See Liddell, Scott, Jones, McKenzie, *Lexicon*, 1339: maiden, girl, virgin; Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Part II* K-Ω (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1996); 359: 'virgin', 'young woman', 'a girl of marriageable age'.

18 Gerhard Delling, "παρθένος", *TWNT* 5:831.

follows.[19] In opting for the term ἡ παρθένος, the LXX emphasizes the fact that at the moment Isaiah addresses the house of David, the woman is still single and has not yet had sexual intercourse with a man. Her pregnancy and confinement are events which are to take place in the near future (note the use of the future tense!). The fact that ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει is chosen to describe her pregnancy, an expression which leaves the role of the man unmentioned, cannot be used for the idea that she will become pregnant without having begun a relationship with a man. The term ἡ παρθένος however does imply that the child to be born will be her first-born.

In Matt 1:23 the term used in the LXX is repeated. But even when two texts contain the same word, it may mean one thing in one text and something completely different in the other. This rule applies here. The term παρθένος, which in the LXX applies to a woman who is as yet unmarried, undergoes a semantic transformation in Matthew, for there the word pertains to Mary, a woman who is already betrothed. Her husband plays an important role in the story; in fact the entire story is narrated from his point of view. From the moment at which Mary is betrothed, she is juridically considered to be Joseph's wife (1:20.24) and Joseph is considered to be her lawful husband (1:16.19). Shortly after she has been given in marriage, it turns out that she is pregnant. This discovery is made before she has left her parental home and has moved in with Joseph. The fact that Joseph wants to break off his relationship with his wife is evidence that he does not consider himself to be the biological father of her child. The obvious question of whether perhaps someone else qualifies for that role, is not answered by the angel, nor by the words from Isaiah, which are attributed to God. These two non-human speakers focus the attention on something completely different: on Jesus' heavenly origin. Their statements are of a theological nature, not of a biological nature. The angel announces that Jesus is a special child, whose life will from the very beginning be marked by God's Spirit and will thus be able to save his people from their sins. The quotation from Isa 7:14 defines the special position of Jesus' mother by means of the term παρθένος from the LXX. Through its use in this particular story this term acquires the specific meaning 'virgin', and thus serves to strengthen the idea that Jesus' origin is an unfathomable mystery.

19 I concur with the view of Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*), 149: "[A]ll that the LXX translator may have meant by 'the virgin will conceive' is that a woman who is now a virgin will (by natural means, once she is united to her husband) conceive the child Emmanuel."

2 Matthew's Interpretation of Isa 8:23–9:1

2.1 *The Quotation from Isa 8:23b–9:1 in Matt 4:15–16*

In Matt 4:15–16 we find a lengthy quotation from Isa 8:23b–9:1. For the sake of clarity, I will first present the texts involved in my analysis:

Isa 8:23–9:1 in the Hebrew text and the LXX

כעת הראשון הקל ארצה זבלון וארצה נפתלי והאחרון הכביד דרך הים עבר הירדן גליל הגוים: העם ההלכים בחשך ראו אור גדול ישבי בארץ צלמות אור נגה עליהם:

Τοῦτο πρῶτον ποίει, ταχὺ ποίει, χώρα Ζαβουλων, ἡ γῆ Νεφθαλιμ ὁδὸν θαλάσσης καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τὴν παραλίαν κατοικοῦντες καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου, Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν, τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰουδαίας. ὁ λαὸς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐν σκότει, ἴδετε φῶς μέγα· οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου, φῶς λάμψει ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς.

Matt 4:15–16

γῆ Ζαβουλὼν καὶ γῆ Νεφθαλίμ, ὁδὸν θαλάσσης, πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου, Γαλιλαία τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκότει φῶς εἶδεν μέγα, καὶ τοῖς καθημένοις ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου φῶς ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῖς.

The origin of the quotation from Isa 8:23–9:1 in Matt 4:15–16 cannot be determined unequivocally. The wording partly links up with the LXX and partly with the Hebrew text. Moreover, the formulation in the LXX differing on a number of points from the Hebrew text is a complicating factor. The numerous discrepancies are related to the fact that Isa 8:23b–9:1 in the Hebrew text is in the third person, whereas the second person is used in the LXX. In this respect Matt 4:15–16 corresponds to the Hebrew text.

In Matthew, Isa 8:23b is strongly condensed. Only five geographical names have been retained. First the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali are mentioned; subsequently further details about their position are given: by or in the direction of the sea[20] and beyond Jordan; and finally the two regions

20 The expression ὁδὸν θαλάσσης can be interpreted in two ways. It can apply to the trade route which led from Damascus to the Mediterranean ("on the road to the sea"; in

together are referred to as the "Galilee of the Gentiles". This enumeration corresponds to the geographical names in the narrative clauses which precede the quotation (4:12–13: Galilee / by the sea (the lake) / the district of Zebulun and Naphtali).[21] In Matthew both Zebulun and Naphtali are referred to as γῆ. This corresponds with the Hebrew text (twice ארצה) and deviates from the LXX (χώρα / γῆ). There is a minor correspondence with the LXX in the spelling of Naphtali (Νεφθαλίμ with a final μ versus נפתלי). In the use of דרך הים Matthew links up with the choice in the LXX: in both cases we find the hardly elegant Greek expression ὁδὸν θαλάσσης. As does the LXX, Matthew refers to Γαλιλαία, a proper name instead of the less definite גליל ('district').

In Matt 4:16 the parallelism is expressed by the twofold use of the participle form of κάθημαι (the Hebrew text and the LXX have two different verbs here) and by the two aorists εἶδεν and ἀνέτειλεν. The use of this last mentioned grammatical category corresponds to the Hebrew text (twice a *qal* form) rather than with the LXX, where we encounter first an imperative (ἴδετε) and then a future tense (λάμψει). The selection of the aorists is extremely functional. In this way Matthew emphasizes that the future event of which the LXX version speaks, has become reality with Jesus' ministry. Also remarkable is the prominent, initial position of φῶς in Matt 4:16a, contrary to both the Hebrew text and the LXX. This phenomenon too contributes to the parallelism between 4:16a and 4:16b. As regards the hendiadys ἐν χώρᾳ καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου ("in the dark land of death") the versions of Matthew and of the LXX are similar, while at this point both differ from the Hebrew text. The final word of the quotation (αὐτοῖς) is rather redundant after the dative used previously, and it diverges from the prepositional expression in the Hebrew text (עלהים) and the LXX (ἐφ' ὑμᾶς).

This sums up the principal similarities and differences. The data which have been collected do not permit a clear conclusion as to the origin of the

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that case θαλάσσης is a genitive of direction, cf. Matt 10:5: εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν). However, this interpretation offers no explanation for the accusative ὁδόν in the middle of a series of nominatives. The second solution is to understand ὁδόν by analogy with the Hebrew דרך (cf. 1 Kgs 8:48) as a preposition (see ὁδόν in the LXX, e.g., Deut 1:19; 11:30): the two regions are opposite the sea or by the sea (see Friedrich Blass and Albert Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (bearbeitet von Friedrich Rehkopf; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979, 15. Auflage), par. 161.1; Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, col. 1123. The sea then refers to the Sea of Galilee, not to the Mediterranean. I prefer the second option, which also fits best in the context: ὁδόν corresponds with the preposition πέραν, and ὁδὸν θαλάσσης with παραθαλασσίος in 4:13.

21 George H.P. Thompson, "Called-Proved-Obedient: A Study in the Baptism and Temptation Narratives of Matthew and Luke," *JTS* 11 (1960): 1–11, points out that the place indications in Matt 4:12–13 and 4:15 have been ordered chiastically.

quotation. The author of the first Gospel allows himself great freedom in his rendering of the words from Isaiah. It is interesting that Matthew is not the first to do so. Also the LXX offers a free translation of the Hebrew text. This diversity can be explained by the obscurity of the Hebrew text, a phenomenon which is partly to blame for the fact that the text of Isa 8:23b–9:1 has long circulated in various versions. It is possible that for his presentation of Isa 8:23b–9:1 Matthew goes back to a text, the origin of which we can no longer exactly trace. However, this explanation is strongly hypothetical. A more obvious explanation is that Matthew was familiar with the Hebrew as well as with the Greek version and that he revised the quotation thoroughly with a view to fitting it into his story about Jesus.[22]

2.2 *Matthew's Interpretation of Isa 8:23b–9:1*

In the previous section we saw that there are considerable differences between the Hebrew text and the LXX version of Isa 8:23b–9:1 and that Matthew has strongly condensed this text. Let us first form an idea of the meaning of the Hebrew text of Isa 8:23–9:1 in its own literary context.

Isa 8:23b in particular is far from clear in the Hebrew text. This verse consists of two parallel segments: הראשׁון corresponds to האחרון, and the *hifil* הקל with the *hifil* הכביד.[23] The first pair of concepts could be a time adjunct ('in the past' / 'in the future'), but they could also be conceived as ordinals ('the first [aggressor]' / 'the last'). The two verbs are ambiguous as well: the *hifil* form of קלל means 'to belittle', the *hifil* form of כבד here means either 'to oppress' or 'to glorify'.[24]

Combining these possibilities we can develop two different interpretations. (1) The first is that 8:23b describes the escalating disaster overtaking the northern kingdom (Israel): the first Assyrian invasion (under Tiglath-Pileser III in 733–732) is soon followed by a second, even more disastrous than the first (under Shalmaneser V in 722). The verse links up remarkably well with Isaiah's theological analysis of the political situation in the period of the Syro-Ephraimite war (7:1–8:20). The fall of the northern kingdom marks the

22 See Davies and Allison, *Commentary: Matthew I–VII*, 380: "What we probably have before us is an independent rendering of the Hebrew with influence from the LXX." According to Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 32, "the Greek translation of Isa 8,23–9,1 presented in Matthew (. . .) is a revised LXX. The revision was meant to make the Greek agree more closely with the Hebrew".

23 In 2 Sam 6:22 we come across the same verbs, except that they are in the *niphal*.

24 The first option can be found in the *King James Version* ("[he] did more grievously afflict her"), the second option in the *New Revised Standard Version* ("he will make glorious").

beginning of a period of peace for Judah, that is to say, for the nation that now wanders in darkness and that will soon see a great light (9:1). The text contains a sharp contrast between the situation of Israel (8:23b) and the situation of Judah (9:1). Verses 9:5–6 illustrate that this hoped-for turning point coincides with the birth of a new scion at the royal palace. When he ascends the throne of David, the southern kingdom will enter a period of peace.

(2) The second interpretation likewise suggests that the text contains an antithesis, but it does not assume the contrast to exist between 8:23b and 9:1, but within 8:23b itself. The first clause of 8:23b pictures the tribulation, brought over the northern districts by an unspecified subject (God or the king of Assyria); the second clause, in contrast, heralds the dawning of a hopeful future for these regions. For the people of the northern kingdom, overrun by the Assyrian armies, a glorious future is in store: the people who now wander in darkness will see a great light.

The translators of the LXX have abandoned the distinction between Israel and Judah and interpreted Isa 8:23b–9:1 as a description of the whole population of the Jewish land. This is particularly illustrated by the insertion of τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Thus the text no longer merely refers to the political situation in the eighth century but is given a wider implication. This is also evident from the fact that, through the use of vocatives and of the second person plural, the two verses have been formulated as an appeal.

The question now arises which selection Matthew makes from this wide spectrum. He does not side with the LXX translators, for Jesus leaves Judea, where John was active (3:1) and takes refuge in Galilee. The topographical names in Matt 4:15 link up with the list in the Hebrew text. The ambiguity of that text is straightened out by Matthew and solved in one particular direction. He opts for the second above-mentioned interpretation. Isa 8:23b–9:1 proclaims that the northern regions which were the first to be overwhelmed by a foreign superpower, will also be the first to share in the salvation. The temporal meaning of the pair of concepts הראשון / האחרון ('in the past' versus 'in the future') fits in excellently with Matthew's interpretation: the future that is heralded in Isaiah, has in his opinion come about when in Galilee Jesus starts to preach of the kingdom of heaven.

In what way has Matthew woven the quotation into the story he narrates? The quotation is woven into the narrated history in three different ways. Firstly, the quotation forms a scriptural basis for the statement that Jesus withdraws to Galilee (4:12–13). The introductory formula (4:14) indicates that his departure for that district and his selection of Capernaum as his home is a deliberate choice: he acts in this way in order to fulfil what was prophesied in the Scriptures. Secondly, the quotation suggests that Jesus' proclamation

of the imminence of the kingdom can be represented as the rise of a great light. Thirdly, since the quotation is embedded in a passage (4:12–17) which forms a hinge between the prologue of the book (1:1–4:11) and the description of Jesus' activities in Galilee (4:18–16:12), and takes up important themes from the prologue and also anticipates themes which later on in the book will play an important role, it highlights matters which according to Matthew are characteristic of Jesus' ministry.

In Galilee, Capernaum becomes Jesus' new home base. The stories from Matt 8:2–9:34 are largely set in this town. It is also the last place which Jesus visits before he leaves Galilee to go to Judea (19:1); shortly before his departure he has a long interview with his disciples (17:24–18:35). In view of the more or less fixed connection between Capernaum and other topographical data (the house, the lake, the mountain) it is plausible that also a number of lengthy passages in which Capernaum is not explicitly mentioned, are also set in that town or its immediate vicinity (5:2–7:28 en 13:1–52). Capernaum is not mentioned anywhere in the Old Testament. The link with Isa 8:23b–9:1 is made on the basis of Naphtali, the region in which the town is situated.

In his new sphere of activity Jesus comes into contact with "the people (ὁ λαός) who sit in darkness". The term λαός is used twice in the prologue in connection with the description of Jesus' future ministry: he will save his people from their sins (1:21) and he will be the shepherd of the people of Israel (2:7). At the start of his ministry in Galilee, faithful to his mission, he focuses his attention on his people, on the lost sheep of the house of Israel (10:6; cf. 9:36; 15:24). To them he is a great light, and the people see that light (4:16), like the Magi saw the rising star (2:2.9). Through the appearance of the star, the Magi went on a journey, to the newborn king of the Jews. The people on the other hand are immobile: twice it is said that they are sitting in a dark and deadly region. The light itself sets itself in motion and comes to them: the light has dawned on them.[25] In continuation of 1:21 "sitting in darkness" refers to being trapped in sin, but this formulation also links up with 9:36 where the multitudes are described as sheep having no shepherd. In Jesus they find a new leader, one who enables them to leave the darkness and to become the light of the world themselves (5:14–16); whoever does not choose this road, will be thrown into "the outer darkness" (8:12; 22:13; 25:30). Jesus' new work area—in continuation of the LXX—is referred to as the Galilee of the Gentiles. This description recalls the fact that this region repeatedly used to be overrun by foreign superpowers. As a result, Galilee had a mixed population. Although Jesus was sent to the

25 Shortly before Jesus' death a darkness fell over the whole land, which lasted three hours (27:45).

lost sheep of the house of Israel, he also meets non-Jews in his wanderings through Galilee and in the neighbouring districts (e.g., 8:5–13; 8:28–34; 15:21–28). By means of a quotation from Isa 42:1–4, Matt 12:18–21 emphasizes that the Gentiles, too, look forward to his coming. All this forms the preparation of the final scene of the book, in which the risen Jesus sends out his disciples to all nations. All these connections serve to indicate that the quotation from Isa 8:23b–9:1 contains the main lines of the entire Gospel in a nutshell.

3 The Two Quotations and the Christology of Matthew

After this analysis of the two quotations from Isaiah the question arises of how they are connected and what they contribute to Matthew's Christology.

The connection can be clarified as follows. First of all there is a close connection between the two texts from Isaiah in their own literary setting. Within Isaiah they can be read in the light of the many references to the Syro-Ephraimite war and the disastrous aftermath of that military operation. The turning point in Judah's uncertain fate is constantly related to the birth of a royal child that will guarantee the continuity of the house of David. Also in Matthew, their new literary context, the two texts from Isaiah remain closely connected. They are both applied to the redeeming ministry of Jesus, the son of David, in whom the history of Israel is fulfilled. We have observed that the semantic energy of the two quotations is considerably enhanced when in our analysis we do not limit ourselves to the version of the LXX, but also give our full attention to the Hebrew text. Against that broader background it becomes clear that Matthew's interpretation of the two texts from Isaiah forms a new step in the ever colourful history of interpretation. As regards our first example, its development can best be visualised as a linear process: the representation of Isa 7:14 in the LXX forms a link between the Hebrew text and Matt 1:23. The second example does not lend itself very well to such a linear image. The formulation of Matt 4:15–16 has been influenced by the LXX, but in his interpretation of Isa 8:23b–9:1 Matthew links up with one of the two possible readings hidden in the Hebrew text.

In which respect do the texts from Isaiah form an enhancement for the Christology of Matthew? In answering this question I choose the name Emmanuel as my point of departure. This is not the name of Mary's child. By order of the angel the child is given the name Jesus. Emmanuel is a description typical of his later ministry (cf. Isa 8:10: "God is with us"): its nature is to make God's presence among his people perceptible. This presence is further elaborated in the second quotation which I discussed in this chapter. It shows that

Jesus is actively concerned with his people, who are in a crisis situation: they are bowed down by sin, afflicted by illness and abandoned by their leaders. From this nation he forges a new community that is also open to the Gentiles.

Still, this does not round up the argument. The programmatic announcement that God will be present in Jesus, is followed later on in the book by statements of Jesus himself to his disciples in which he declares to be present in their midst when they overcome the tensions within their community and become reconciled (18:20: εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν) and wherever in the world they preach what he taught them (28:20: ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι). In these statements Jesus himself assumes the position which in Isa 7:14 and 8:10 was reserved for God (μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός). His community can be assured of his presence unto the end of the world (28:20), but when that moment has come, it will be revealed that this presence has taken a totally unexpected form: Jesus is present in the shape of a person who is hungry or thirsty, naked, or a stranger, ill or in prison (25:31–46). That Jesus is God-with-us, thus becomes an ethical imperative which inspires the disciples to show solidarity with people in distress just as Jesus himself did.[26]

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26 See Weren, *De broeders van de Mensenzoon*, 188–194.

CHAPTER 8

Marriage, Adultery, and Divorce: Interpretations of Old Testament Texts in Matt 5:27–32 and 19:3–12

The Sermon on the Mount contains a number of statements by the Matthean Jesus on marriage, adultery, and divorce (Matt 5:27–32). These subjects are also discussed in 19:3–12. In this chapter, I will analyse these two passages, the contents of which are difficult to understand, not only for the average Bible reader but also for exegetes. In explaining these texts, I will pay attention to their intertextual aspects. After all, one special characteristic of these passages is that they further elaborate statements from the Old Testament: in Matt 5:27, we come across an explicit quotation from the Decalogue (Exod 20:13 or Deut 5:17); Matt 5:31–32 and 19:7 refer back to words and sentences from Deut 24:1–4 and, in Matt 19:4–5, the Matthean Jesus invokes Gen 1:27 and 2:24 to endorse his plea for the indissolubility of marriage. In this chapter, I will explore the meaning of these Old Testament texts in their own literary context, and the meaning they acquired when they were introduced into a new literary setting in the Gospel of Matthew. My intertextual analysis leads to concluding remarks in which I will present the texts from Matthew as moments in a broader interpretative history.

1 Do Not Commit Adultery (Matt 5:27–32)

In the *New Revised Standard Version*, the text of Matt 5:27–32 is as follows:

> 27 You have heard that it was said, "You shall not commit adultery." 28 But I say to you that everyone who looks at a woman with lust has already committed adultery with her in his heart. 29 If your right eye causes you to sin, tear it out and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body to be thrown into hell. 30 And if your right hand causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body to go into hell. It was also said, "Whoever divorces his wife, let him give her a certificate of divorce." 32 But I say to you that anyone who divorces his wife, except on the ground of unchastity, causes her to commit adultery; and whoever marries a divorced woman commits adultery.

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In Nestle-Aland's critical text edition and in most translations, 5:27–30 and 5:31–32 are conceived as two parts of a larger unit consisting of six so-called antitheses, all of them structured more or less in the same way. Within this series, 5:27–30 and 5:31–32 are the second and third antitheses, but there is a close link between them, as is reflected by the word μοιχεύω or μοιχάω ('commit adultery'), that functions as a keyword. This term is introduced in 5:27 by means of an explicit quotation from the Decalogue in the LXX version (οὐ μοιχεύσεις: Exod 20:13 and Deut 5:17).[1] Subsequently, 'commit adultery' occurs twice (5:28.32). This indicates that the whole passage is devoted to this subject. I will try to show that this also goes for verses 29 and 30, which do not seem to have anything to do with adultery at first sight.

1.1 *Adultery in the Decalogue*

In the Hebrew text, the statement from the Decalogue is in the second person masculine singular (לא תנאף).[2] The man is given a warning here, but the exact meaning of 'commit adultery' (נאף) is not elaborated on in the Decalogue. For that purpose, we must consult other passages, which give a picture of the 'encyclopedic' knowledge which the readers of these texts should have at their disposal if they want to understand its meaning. Examples include Lev 20:10 ("If a man commits adultery with the wife of his neighbor, [. . .]") and Deut 22:22 ("If a man is caught lying with the wife of another man[. . .]"). Here, adultery refers to "sexual intercourse between a married or betrothed woman and any man other than her husband".[3] In the context of this offence, Jer 5:8 refers to "well-fed lusty stallions, each neighing for his neighbor's wife".

An essential element of the description is that it concerns sex with someone else's wife. However, sexual intercourse of a married man with an *unmarried* woman is not considered to be adultery, but is referred to as unchastity (זנות) and as an offence against her father. The prohibition from the Decalogue therefore states that a man may not have sexual relations with a woman who is married or engaged to another man. The husband has the exclusive right to sexual intercourse with his wife. Adultery is the crime that violates this exclu-

1 This quotation can also be found in Matt 19:18; Mark 10:19; Luke 18:20; Rom 13:9; Jas 2:11.

2 A detailed sketch of opinions on sexuality in the Jewish and Hellenistic Greek-Roman world around the beginning of the Common Era can be found in: William Loader, *The New Testament on Sexuality* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2012), 3–108.

3 Elaine Adler Goodfriend, "Adultery," *ABD* 1: 82–86 (82). Adultery was punishable by death; see Wim Weren, "The Use of Violence in Punishing Adultery in Biblical Texts (Deuteronomy 22:13–29 and John 7:53–8:11)," Pages 133–150 in *Coping with Violence in the New Testament* (eds. Pieter G.R. de Villiers and Jan Willem van Henten; Studies in Theology and Religion 16; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012).

sive right. "Adultery was a sin of theft against another male".[4] If the male perpetrator is also married, his extramarital intercourse will not break his own marriage, but only the marriage of the woman's husband. However, a married woman does break her marriage if she is unfaithful. She must be unconditionally faithful to her husband. Infidelity of a married man is an abomination and should not occur in Israel, but it is less disastrous than an extramarital affair of a wife and it does not carry severe penalties (see Prov 5:18–20 and Mal 2:13–16).

From the perspective of modern Western culture, in which gender equality is greatly valued, the double moral standard of the Old Testament texts referred to is conspicuous: "Women must practice marital fidelity and premarital chastity but men were free to engage sexually with other women".[5] This is applying a double standard instead of using one and the same ethical rule applying equally to both sexes.

In addition to the contemporary patriarchal power relationships, these double standards have to do with religious and economic considerations.[6] According to the early-Jewish exegesis of the creation stories in Gen 1:1–2:4a and 2:4b–24, marriage is a sacred institution established by God himself in the beginning. This opinion is also reflected in Jesus' explanation of these texts in Matt 19:4–6. Marriage and family formed the cornerstone of contemporary society. The high respect for the family resonates in the commandment in the Decalogue that (adult) children must respect their father and mother (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16). This means that they have a duty to care for their parents when they become infirm and require help in their old age. As a rule, different generations lived together in extended or multi-generation families, that consisted of at least grand-parents, parents, and children. The prohibition of adultery therefore also has an economic background: it must be prevented that the family property should ultimately fall into the hands of illegitimate heirs, of children whose parentage is doubtful. This may be the reason why the sexual freedom of the married woman was so restricted.

1.2 *Jesus' Comment*

In Matt 5:28, Jesus gives his view of the prohibition of adultery in the Decalogue:

> ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτὴν ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

4 William Loader, *Sexuality and the Jesus Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2005), 47.

5 Ibid., 47, note 96.

6 Goodfriend, "Adultery," 82.

In the NRSV, this Greek sentence has been rendered as follows: "But I say to you that everyone who looks at a woman with lust has already committed adultery with her in his heart." Two remarks can be made about this translation: a) the meaning of πρὸς τό + infinitive is 'for the purpose of' or 'with a view to' here; the NRSV translation renders this as 'with lust', which is extremely vague; b) rendering γυνή as 'a woman' is not wrong,[7] but given the term 'commit adultery', translating it as 'a married woman' would be preferable.[8]

Similarly to the Hebrew text of Exod 20:14 and Deut 5:18, in which the second person masculine singular is used, it is the man who is perceived by Jesus as the source of the evil; it is he who commits adultery, when he disrespectfully intrudes into an existing marriage relationship. According to Jesus, if a man looks at another man's wife for the purpose of coveting her, he has already committed adultery. The words chosen here (coveting somebody's wife) go back to another provision from the Decalogue. In the Greek, the text of Exod 20:17 and Deut 5:21 reads: "You shall not covet your neighbor's wife" (οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου).[9] In Matt 5:27–28, two provisions from the Decalogue are combined. One provision is explained using the other. As a result of the term 'to covet', the focus shifts from the physical act to the step of desiring or lusting that precedes it. The evil is rooted in desire; adultery begins in a person's heart, which, in the contemporary anthropology, was not primarily the seat of this person's feelings but of thoughts or intentions.

Jesus' comment considerably tightens the prohibition of adultery. His stricter interpretation corresponds with the early-Jewish exegesis, in which the two provisions from the Decalogue were also frequently combined.[10] There are also numerous parallels of the opinion expressed in Matt 5:28 that adultery already begins with someone's desires or intentions: see Job 31:9–12; Prov 6:25 (here a wife tries to seduce another man by making eyes at him); Sir 9:8; 26:21; 41:20–21; *T. Reu.* 3:10; 4:1; 6:1; *T. Iss.* 4:1–4; *Lev. Rab.* 23:12; *b. Ber.* 16a; 11 QT[a] 59:14.[11] The earlier view, that Jesus gives a totally new interpretation of the Torah in

7 See Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, col. 335–336: γυνή = 1. d. Frau; 2. d. Ehefrau.

8 Loader, *Sexuality and the Jesus Tradition*, 15. See also page 18: "The focus is on the response to someone's wife, as in adultery, not to any woman."

9 In the LXX, ἐπιθυμήσεις is the translation of תחמד in Exod 20:17 and of תתאוה in Deut 5:21.

10 Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (*Mt 1–7*), 261: "bereits im Judentum [sind] das 6. Gebot und das Verbot, die Frau des Nächsten zu begehren (10. Gebot), zusammengekommen."

11 A more detailed list can be found in Loader, *New Testament*, 133, note 85, and in Amy-Jill Levine and Marc Z. Brettler, eds., *The Jewish Annotated New Testament* (Oxford: University Press, 2011), 11. A number of passages contain warnings against women who seduce men in combination with a negative image of women.

the Sermon on the Mount, is no longer tenable with the rapidly developing knowledge of contemporary Judaism.[12]

In Matt 5:29–30, Jesus gives some dramatic advice, that is meant as a preventive warning:

> If your right eye causes you to sin, tear it out and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body to be thrown into hell. And if your right hand causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away; it is better for you to lose one of your members than for your whole body to go into hell.

First the right eye is mentioned, then the right hand. This order is remarkable because, in 18:8–9, the hand or foot is mentioned first, and then the eye. The order used in 5:29–30 suggests a direct link with the statement that adultery already begins if a man looks at a married woman with desire. Given the context, it is likely that the statement on the right hand also has sexual connotations. It may suggest that watching greedily will soon give way to touching. That 5:29–30 may refer to sexual immorality could also be inferred from the fact that, in the Bible, the terms 'eye', 'hand', and 'foot' (this threesome can also be found in Mark 9:43–48) often have sexual connotations (Exod 4:25; Deut 28:56; Isa 6:2; 7:20; Ruth 3:4.7.8.14).[13]

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12 Wim Weren, "Bergrede en halacha," Pages 46–71 in *Bij de put van Jakob: Exegetische opstellen* (eds. Wim Weren and Niek Poulssen; TFT-Studies 5; Tilburg: Tilburg University Press, 1986).

13 According to Will Deming, "Mark 9.42–10.12, Matthew 5.27–32 and *b.Nid.* 13b: A First Century Discussion of Male Sexuality," *NTS* 36 (1990): 130–141, the fact that the hand is mentioned indicates arousing sexual feelings through masturbation. He argues that what we have here is a strict form of sexual ethics that was allegedly in effect in the middle of the first century C.E. in certain Jewish and Christian circles. In support of this view, he refers not only to Mark 9:42–10:12 but also to *b.Nid.* 13b, where, in a comment on *m.Nid.* 2.1, masturbation is described as adultery by the hand. Cf. the translation of *b.Nid.* 13b in Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar: Band* I, 295–296: "Es soll bei dir nicht Ehebruch sein, sei es mit der Hand, sei es mit dem Fuß." Deming's claim is based on a limited number of sources, while one of them, *b.Nid.*, in its current form is of a much later date than the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. It is an interesting hypothesis that the three texts go back to an old common tradition, but no compelling evidence to this effect has been provided as yet.

2 Divorce (Matt 5:31–32)

The term 'to commit adultery' turns up again in Matt 5,31–32 within a discussion on divorce:

> It was also said, "Whoever divorces his wife, let him give her a certificate of divorce." But I say to you that anyone who divorces his wife, except on the ground of unchastity, causes her to commit adultery; and whoever marries a divorced woman commits adultery.

2.1 *The Meaning of Deut 24:1–4*

Matt 5:31–32 begins with a summary of Deut 24:1–4. However, it will be useful to quote Deut 24:1–4 as a whole. This passage consists of one long, complicated sentence, which runs as follows in the Masoretic text:

1 כי־יקח איש אשה ובעלה והיה אם־לא תמצא־חן בעיניו כי־מצא בה ערות דבר וכתב לה
ספר כריתת ונתן בידה ושלחה מביתו׃
2 ויצאה מביתו והלכה והיתה לאיש־אחר׃
3 ושנאה האיש האחרון וכתב לה ספר כריתת ונתן בידה ושלחה מביתו או כי ימות האיש
האחרון אשר־לקחה לו לאשה׃
4 לא־יוכל בעלה הראשון אשר־שלחה לשוב לקחתה להיות לו לאשה אחרי אשר הטמאה
כי־תועבה הוא לפני יהוה ולא תחטיא את־הארץ אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך נחלה׃

In the NRSV, this sentence is translated as follows:

> [1] Suppose a man enters into marriage with a woman, but she does not please him because he finds something objectionable about her, and so he writes her a certificate of divorce, puts it in her hand, and sends her out of his house; [2] she then leaves his house and goes off to become another man's wife. [3] Then suppose the second man dislikes her, writes her a bill of divorce, puts it in her hand, and sends her out of his house (or the second man who married her dies); [4] her first husband, who sent her away, is not permitted to take her again to be his wife after she has been defiled; for that would be abhorrent to the LORD, and you shall not bring guilt on the land that the LORD your God is giving you as a possession.

Reinhard Neudecker has devoted an interesting article to the syntactic structure of this long sentence.[14] In his opinion, 24:1–3 contains a series of sub-

14 Reinhard Neudecker, "Das 'Ehescheidungsgesetz' von Dtn 24,1–4 nach altjüdischer Auslegung: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der neutestamentlichen Aussagen zur

clauses summing up four conditions which have to be met before the legal rule, which does not emerge until the main sentence in 24:4, can be applied. This rule, which states that a man cannot remarry his former wife, only becomes effective when all four conditions listed in the subclauses are met:

a) there must have been a marriage;
b) followed by a divorce;
c) the woman has subsequently married another man;
d) which marriage is also terminated, either by divorce or by the death of the male partner.

These conditions suggest that the provision in 24:4 in fact reflects a rather exceptional case, which will have occurred very seldom in practice, referring to the question of whether a man may remarry a woman he has divorced and who in the meantime has been married to another man.

One of the conditions is that there must have been a divorce. Divorce required a special procedure, described twice (24:1.3), consisting of three steps:

a) a man writes a certificate of divorce;
b) he gives it to his wife;
c) he sends her out of his house.

Owing to the detailed formulation, this procedure was already perceived as an independent legal provision in the LXX. In this Greek translation, Deut 24:1–4 runs as follows:

> 1 Ἐὰν δὲ τις λάβῃ γυναῖκα καὶ συνοικήσῃ αὐτῃ, καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν μὴ εὕρῃ χάριν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα, καὶ γράψει αὐτῇ βιβλίον ἀποστασίου καὶ δώσει εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξαποστελεῖ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, 2 καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἑτερῳ, 3 καὶ μισήσῃ αὐτὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔσχατος καὶ γράψει αὐτῇ βιβλίον ἀποστασίου καὶ δώσει εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξαποστελεῖ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, ἢ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἔσχατος, ὃς ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα, 4 οὐ δυνήσεται ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ πρότερος ὁ ἐξαποστείλας αὐτὴν ἐπαναστρέψας λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα μετὰ τὸ μιανθῆναι αὐτήν, ὅτι βδέλυγμά ἐστιν ἐναντί κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου· καὶ οὐ μιανεῖτε τὴν γῆν, ἣν κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι ἐν κλήρῳ.

Ehescheiding," *Bib* 75 (1994): 350–387. Neudecker also shows how Deut 24:1–4 was explained in the LXX, by Philo and Flavius Josephus, and in the schools of Shammai and Hillel.

According to Neudecker, the end of 24:1 must be understood as a main clause in the LXX—not in the Hebrew text.[15] He infers from this that the emphasis is thus shifted from the exceptional case referred to in 24:4 to the relatively common phenomenon of divorce.

Once Deut 24:1 was interpreted as a rule that was always applicable in the event of divorce, the question arose whether these verses contained an obligation (a man *must* act in such and such a way) or as a permission (a man *may* act in such and such a way). The latter is most likely the case: the text states that a marriage *may* be ended.

On what basis is this allowed? The *cause* or basis of the divorce is referred to as follows in 24:1: the man has discovered "something objectionable" (Hebrew text: ערות דבר / LXX: ἀσχημον πρᾶγμα) in his wife. The *effect* is also mentioned in this verse: his wife no longer finds favour in his eyes.[16]

2.2 *Jesus' Comment*

Let us apply this information to Matt 5:31 (Ἐρρέθη δέ· ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ δότω αὐτῇ ἀποστάσιον). This verse contains only two of the three steps listed in Deut 24:1.3: 'whoever divorces his wife, let him give her a certificate of divorce'. The first step in the procedure, the writing of the divorce letter, is not mentioned. Only the word ἀποστάσιον (in the LXX: βιβλίον ἀποστασίου) is a reference to the first step.

Matt 5:31 consists of a subclause and a main clause. The subclause corresponds to the subclause introduced with אם in Deut 24:1b (אם plus *yiktōl*; in the LXX, ἐάν is followed by a conjunctive). In Matthew, the fact that the man can give his wife a certificate of divorce is expressed in the main clause. This shows that handing over a certificate of divorce is interpreted as an independent legal provision here. As in Deut 24:1–4, the man takes the initiative. The certificate of divorce probably states that the husband no longer considers the woman to

15 Neudecker's point of view is based on the shift in 24:1 from verbs in the aorist conjunctive (in the subclauses) to verbs in the future indicative (in the main clause). Andrew Warren has a different opinion ("Did Moses Permit Divorce? Modal *wĕqātal* as Key to New Testament Readings of Deuteronomy 24:1–4," *TynBul* 49 (1998): 39–56). On the basis of a text-linguistic analysis, he argues that Deut 24:1b, in which the divorce procedure is described, already had the character of a main clause in the Hebrew text, that followed the subclause introduced by אם. His translation of Deut 24:1 runs as follows (page 45): "When a man takes a woman and marries her: If she doesn't find favour in his eyes, because he's found some indecency in her, then he may/must write her a certificate of divorce, put it in her hand, and send her from his house."

16 Mal 2:14–16 criticises people who choose to divorce for no good reason.

be his wife and that she can enter into a relationship with another man. The formulation of Matt 5:31 (ὃς ἂν . . .) shows that a general rule about divorce is derived from Deut 24:1–4 here that is far removed from the special case which this text was originally about.

Jesus' comment is stated in Matt 5:32 (ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι, καὶ ὃς ἐὰν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ, μοιχᾶται). On a syntactic level, Matt 5:32a and 5:32b correspond to 5:31. In both cases, a subclause is followed by a main clause. Matt 19:9 shows the same pattern. Including this verse in our observations results in the following picture:

a) a man who divorces his wife causes her to commit adultery (5:32a);
b) a man who marries a divorced woman commits adultery (5:32b);
c) a man who, after his divorce, marries another woman, commits adultery (19:9).

The texts under a) and c) both include an exception clause, omitted here, which I will come back to later in this chapter. First I want to observe that Jesus' comments in Matt 5:32 and Matt 19:9 both refer to Deut 24:1–4. In 5:32, Jesus refers to Deut 24:1–2, which is about divorce followed by the divorced woman's marriage to another man. Matt 19:9 goes back to Deut 24:4. In both texts, remarriage by a divorced man is concerned, but a striking difference is that Deut 24:4 prohibits a divorced man to remarry his original wife, whereas Matt 19:9 prohibits the marriage of a divorced man with any woman.

A new element in comparison to Deut 24:1–4 is that the procedure outlined in the subclauses of Matt 5:32ab and 19:9 is denounced in the following main clause as a form of adultery. The denunciation is aimed at the earlier or new male partner. In Matt 5:32a, the man who divorces his wife is blamed because he causes her to commit adultery. He is culpable, if only indirectly. It is probably suggested here that, after her divorce, the woman enters into a new marriage relationship and thus definitively breaks her earlier marriage. In 5:32b, the woman's new partner is also accused of adultery: by marrying a divorced woman, he breaks the marriage of the woman with her first husband. Finally, in 19:9, the divorced husband is said to commit adultery by entering into a new marriage. With these statements, Jesus provides a new interpretation of Deut 24:1–4 that is shocking because he labels divorce as adultery.[17]

17 It is more or less generally accepted that the historical Jesus fiercely defended the sanctity of marriage and radically rejected divorce. This choice was inspired by his concern for the

I have not yet mentioned one detail from Matt 5:32. This verse contains an exception clause. Divorce is prohibited in all cases and is equated with adultery, except in the case of "unchastity" (παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας).[18] The inappropriate preposition παρεκτὸς meaning 'besides' or 'except for'[19] occurs only here in Matthew and in the rest of the New Testament only in Acts 26:29 and 2 Cor 11:28. Also λόγος in the sense of 'matter' or 'case' is relatively unusual in this Gospel. Finally, πορνεία is not very frequently used either; in Matthew, this word only occurs in the divorce texts (5:32; 19:9) and in 15:19.

Matthew has probably incorporated an exception clause here that was used in his community in certain cases. Its formulation was influenced by the Hebrew text of Deut 24:1. The Greek words λόγος πορνείας are a reversed *status constructus* ערות דבר.[20] The *nomen rectum* דבר is changed into a *nomen regens*.

In the NRSV, ערות דבר has been translated as "something objectionable".[21] That is rather vague, whereas these terms should in fact indicate the objective ground why a man would want to divorce his wife. After all, he gives her a certificate of divorce because he has found "something objectionable" in her.

In the period in which Matthew wrote his Gospel, many opinions probably circulated on the question of what exactly was meant here. The Mishnah (*m.Git.* 9:10; compare *b.Git.* 90a and its parallel in *Sifre Deut.* 269) contains a discussion on the question of when divorce is allowed. The English translation of the Mishnah text runs as follows:[22]

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vulnerable position of women in contemporary society. With his prohibition of divorce, he denounced the personal whims of the male partner. See, for example, John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, vol. 3 (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 504: "The historical Jesus held that marriage was to be monogamous and indissoluble and that any divorce (with remarriage understood as the natural consequence) was equivalent to adultery (Mark 10:2–12; Mt 5:32 // Luke 16:18; cf. 1 Cor 7:10–11)."

18 In Matt 19:9, the exception is formulated differently: μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ.

19 Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie, *Lexicon*, 1334.

20 The word choice in Matt 5:32 does not link up with the LXX version of Deut 24:1, where ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα is mentioned.

21 Revidierte Lutherbibel: "etwas Schändliches"; King James Version: "some uncleanness"; The Revised English Bible: "something offensive"; Knox Translation of the New Testament: "setting aside the matter of unfaithfulness"; Traduction Oecuménique de la Bible: "quelque chose qui lui fait honte"; La Bible de Jérusalem: "une tare à lui imputer"; Einheitsübersetzung: "etwas Anstößiges"; Loader, *Sexuality and the Jesus Tradition*, 62: "except regarding a matter of sexual immorality", but in fact he limits this broad concept to adultery.

22 *The Mishnah* (translated by Herbert Danby; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), 321. Neudecker, "Das Ehescheidungsgesetz," 362, has the following German translation: "Bet-Schammai sagt: [A] Der Mann darf seine Frau nur dann verstoßen, wenn er an ihr ערוה gefunden hat; denn es heißt: (. . .) 'weil er an ihr ערות דבר gefunden hat' (24,1b). Bet-Hillel

> The School of Shammai say: A man may not divorce his wife unless he has found unchastity in her, for it is written, *Because he hath found in her* indecency *in anything*. And the School of Hillel say: [He may divorce her] even if she spoiled a dish for him, for it is written, *Because he hath found in her indecency* in anything. R. Akiba says: Even if he found another fairer than she, for it is written, *And it shall be if she finds no favour in his eyes* . . .

This Mishnah text reflects three different points of view, all of them legitimised on the basis of Deut 24:1. The School of Shammai holds the strictest view. According to this Jewish group, ערות דבר is one single concept and, in that case, divorce is only allowed in the event of 'unchastity'. This probably refers to an offence of a sexual nature. The School of Hillel, however, reads ערות דבר as two words: ערוה (i.e., 'unchastity') and דבר (i.e., 'another matter, something else') and concludes that there are two different grounds for divorce. These may include childlessness, cultic offences, and negligence in performing household duties. Finally, Rabbi Akiba bases his opinion on a different phrase from Deut 24:1: the wife no longer finds favour in her husband's eyes. This phrase originally described the *effect* of the fact that the husband had discovered something objectionable. Rabbi Akiba, however, does not interpret this phrase as describing the *effect*, but as describing the *cause*. He considers divorce acceptable if the man prefers a different woman because he finds her more suitable.

Where is Matthew's Jesus in this debate? He is in the camp of the strict interpretation of the School of Shammai. Divorce is inacceptable except in the event of πορνεία. The question is now what is meant by πορνεία in Matthew 5:32 and 19:9. This question is not easy to answer. The only other time the term is used in Matthew is in 15:19, where the plural πορνεῖαι follows the plural μοιχεῖαι, which indicates that these two words are not synonyms. In the LXX, πορνεία is not the translation of ערוה ('nakedness, pudenda [of both sexes]'),[23] but of זנונים, זנות, זנה or תזנות. These terms have broad meanings and refer to all kinds of sexual aberrations and debauchery. Catholic exegetes have frequently argued that the exception clause referred to a marriage with a blood relative.[24] Such an incestuous relation would not be covered by Jesus' prohibition of divorce.

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aber sagt: [B] [Er darf es,] auch wenn sie seine Speise anbrennen ließ; denn es heißt: דבר (24,1b). Rabbi Akiva sagt: [C] Auch wenn er eine andere, schöner als sie, gefunden hat; denn es heißt: 'Es wird so sein, wenn sie keine Gunst in seinen Augen findet' (24,1b)."

23 Koehler and Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, 734.

24 For example, Joseph Bonsirven, *Le divorce dans le Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Desclée, 1948), 38–60. The Dutch *Nieuwe Bijbel Vertaling*, which was published in 2004, remarkably renders this passage as "unless it is a matter of an unlawful relationship".

Still, the question is whether Matthew had this specific issue in mind. It seems better to interpret πορνεία in its literary context. Both 5:32 and 19:9 are about adultery by a married woman, i.e., πορνεία refers to a married woman having sexual intercourse with someone other than her own husband.[25]

How can it be explained that Matthew tones down Jesus' strict prohibition of divorce? Raymond Collins[26] argues that, at a certain point in time, Matthew's community experienced an influx of new members from the Jewish community or from the Greek-Roman world, some of whom had ended their marriage on the basis of Jewish and Roman laws stating that adultery was a compelling reason for divorce.[27] Adding the exception clause to the statement by Jesus was meant to prevent that these aspiring Christians would have to be convicted for adultery.[28]

If we now combine the various data, the following picture emerges. Divorce is as reprehensible as adultery. There is only one exception to the rule that divorce is prohibited, namely, in the event of 'unchastity'. The emphasis is still on the sexual behaviour of the woman, but Matt 5:32 expresses that the man is certainly not guiltless from an ethical point of view if a marriage is broken.

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25 See David Janzen, "The Meaning of *Porneia* in Matthew 5.32 and 19.9: An Approach from the Study of Ancient Near Eastern Culture," *JSNT* 80 (2000): 66–80. See also the reference to Matt 1:18–25 in Davies and Allison, *Commentary: Matthew I–VII*, 531.

26 Raymond F. Collins, *Divorce in the New Testament* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), 211: "In the limited case of *porneia*, when both Jewish practice and Roman law sometimes required a man to leave his wife, a man was not to be judged adulterous if he divorced the wife from whom he was required to separate."

27 According to the *Lex Julia de adulteriis* (from the year 18 B.C.E.), adultery is a public crime. For men, the punishment was deportation to an island and forfeiture of half their property; for women: deportation and forfeiture of one third of their property and half of their dowry.

28 A different explanation is suggested by John Kampen, "A Reexamination of the Relationship between Matthew 5:21–48 and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *SBL 1990 Seminar Papers* 29 (1990): 34–59. He sees Matthew's community as a sectarian group that—like the community of Qumran—tried to maintain its own identity by following strict rules regarding the purity of its members. He argues that πορνεία in Matt 5:32 and 19:9 refers to the violation of such rules. Such a crime was so serious that it could lead to expulsion from the sect and to divorce from the marriage partner if he or she did not feel bound to the sectarian rules. See also John Kampen, "The Matthean Divorce Texts Reexamined," Pages 149–167 in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies* (eds. George J. Brooke and Florentino García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

3 Matthew 19:3–12

Let us continue our explorations with a second passage from Matthew: the long discussion on marriage in 19:3–12. In the NRSV, the text runs as follows:

> 3 Some Pharisees came to him, and to test him they asked, "Is it lawful
> for a man to divorce his wife for any cause?" 4 He answered, "Have you
> not read that the one who made them at the beginning 'made them male
> and female', 5 and said, 'For this reason a man shall leave his father and
> mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh'? 6
> So they are no longer two, but one flesh. Therefore what God has joined
> together, let no one separate." 7 They said to him, "Why then did Moses
> command us to give a certificate of dismissal and to divorce her?" 8
> He said to them, "It was because you were so hard-hearted that Moses
> allowed you to divorce your wives, but at the beginning it was not so. 9
> And I say to you, whoever divorces his wife, except for unchastity, and
> marries another commits adultery."10 His disciples said to him, "If such
> is the case of a man with his wife, it is better not to marry." 11 But he said
> to them, "Not everyone can accept this teaching, but only those to whom
> it is given. 12 For there are eunuchs who have been so from birth, and
> there are eunuchs who have been made eunuchs by others, and there are
> eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom
> of heaven. Let anyone accept this who can."

This text has a clear structure. It has the form of a theological debate on the basis of texts from Scripture. In the first part (19:3–9), Jesus has a discussion with a number of Pharisees. The conversation goes back and forth. In both cases, the dialogue is opened by the Pharisees. They ask Jesus a question (19:3.7), which he answers (19:4–6.8–9).

In the second part (19:10–12), the conversation is continued, without any change in time or place. The disciples, who have apparently witnessed the discussion between the Pharisees and Jesus, draw the conclusion, from what they have heard Jesus say about the relationship between husband and wife, that it is better not to marry.

In my analysis of the first part of the pericope, I will concentrate on the quotations from Genesis in Matt 19:4–5 and on the reference to Deuteronomy in Matt 19:7. When the Pharisees ask him whether a man may repudiate his wife for no matter what reason, Jesus reacts with a question in return, introduced by the words "Have you not read?". He subsequently explains his view of the relationship between husband and wife by citing two texts from Genesis; in verse 4, he refers back to Gen 1:27 and in verse 5 to Gen 2:24.

First, we need to focus on the meaning which these two sentences have in Genesis itself, apart from the way in which they are interpreted in Matthew. In Genesis, the two sentences quoted are wide apart and both are in their own literary contexts. Gen 1:27 is closely linked to Gen 1:26. In the *King James Version* from 1611, these verses are rendered rather literally:

> 26 And God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." 27 So God created man in his *own* image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.

In the Hebrew, אדם ('human being') rather than the plural 'human beings' is mentioned in 1:26 and in 1:27. There is a remarkable shift from the singular to the plural in 1:26 and 1:27:

	singular	**plural**
1:26	man / human being (אדם)	Let them have dominion (. . .)
1:27	God created man / human being (את האדם) God created him (אתו)	(. . .) created he them (אתם)

In this context, Ulrich Luz points out "die sowohl bei Philo als auch bei den Rabbinern bezeugte jüdische Vorstellung, daß Gott den Urmenschen von Genesis 1 androgyn geschaffen habe".[29] He does not comment on whether this idea influenced the formulation of Gen 1:26–27 or whether this idea is based on the Genesis text. In my opinion, the latter is more likely than the former. Whatever the case may be, Gen 1:26–27 does not mention marriage as an institution that was established when God created man, but is about the fundamental fact that man is a sexually differentiated creature.[30] Man (that is to

29 Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (*Mt 18–25*), 93.

30 Piet Farla, "'The Two Shall Be One Flesh': Gen. 1.27 and 2.24 in the New Testament Marriage Texts," Pages 67–82 (67) in *Intertextuality in Biblical Writings: Essays in Honour of Bas van Iersel* (ed. S. Draisma; Kampen: Kok, 1989).

say, the species) only exists in two *genera*: a human being is either a man or a woman. Together they are blessed by God and together they are given the task to be fruitful and multiply, and to fill the earth and subdue it. The point of departure in this text is the fundamental equality of man and woman. It is not possible to assess what it means to be a human being by looking only at the man or only at the woman. Both man and woman are human beings in the full sense of the word, each in his/her own right.[31]

The second quotation, Gen 2:24, is a part of the section that starts in Gen 2:18, with its own literary context. After the repeated phrase in Gen 1 that "God saw that it was good", we now read that it is *not good* that the man should be alone. The man, in Hebrew אדם, is a sexually undifferentiated being, whom God has formed out of the dust (אדמה) and into whose nostrils he then breathed life. The animals and the birds are not "a helper as his partner" for the man. Then follows the famous scene in which God, while the man sleeps, forms a woman from one of the man's ribs. When he presents the result of his work, the man is delighted and responds with the words in 2:23:

> This at last is bone of my bones
> and flesh of my flesh;
> this one shall be called Woman,
> for out of Man this one was taken.

The solitary man (אדם) from the earlier part of the story is changed here into a man (איש) and a woman (אשה), in solidarity. There is only a man when there is a woman, and there is only a woman when there is a man. They are relational creatures to the very core of their being.[32]

The narrator adds an aside (2:24) that functions within his communication with his own readers. With this sentence, the narrator explains that his story about the beginning explains the well-known phenomenon that the two sexes are so much attracted to each other: they long for a unity that they can only achieve together. The narrator and his original readers lived in a time in which the relationship between men and women was experienced differently than

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31 In the LXX, Hebrew אדם has in some cases been translated as ἄνθρωπος (Gen 1:26.27; 2:5.7(*bis*).8.15.18). However, the same word is used in Gen 2:24 as a translation of איש. This already shows that 'the human being' is equated with 'the man'. This is even reinforced by the fact that אדם in the LXX version of Gen 2–3 is often understood as the proper noun Ἀδάμ (Gen 2:16.19(*bis*).20.21.22(*bis*). 23; 3:8.9(*bis*).12.17.20.21.22.24).

32 Cf. Ellen van Wolde, *Words become Worlds: Semantic Studies of Genesis 1–11* (Biblical Interpretation Series 6; Leiden etc.: Brill, 1994), esp. 13–31.

is articulated in 2:23.[33] The woman was perceived as subordinate to the man. This is expressed in Gen 3:16, where it is stated that the woman's desire will be for her husband and that he will rule over her. However, the narrator challenges this familiar pattern by means of his narrative in 2:18–25, in which man and woman are each other's equals as partners.

In Matt 19:4–5, the two statements from Genesis are in close proximity. The two quotations are only separated by καὶ εἶπεν. In all probability, God is the subject of this small clause.[34] This means that Gen 2:24 is presented by the Matthean Jesus as a statement by God himself. That is a radical change compared to the story in Genesis since there 2:24 has the character of an aside by the narrator. This transformation paves the way for the conclusion which Jesus draws from the two Genesis texts: "So they are no longer two, but one flesh. Therefore what God has joined together, let no one separate." 'Join together' (συζεύγνυμι) is one of the terms used in Hellenistic Greek for marriage. Given the interpretation that was current in his time, Matthew's Jesus reads in Genesis that God has linked man and woman in marriage in the Garden of Eden. Therefore, the union between man and woman cannot be broken. With this point of view, he criticises the androcentric and patriarchal presupposition of the Pharisees that the man calls the tune in the marriage relationship. This attitude is revealed by their question of whether an ἄνθρωπος (i.e., a man) is free to repudiate his wife. Jesus challenges the power relationship between man and woman assumed by the Pharisees. For him, unity, solidarity, and equality are the values that ultimately determine the relationship between men and women. He does not adopt an androcentric but a theocentric perspective: the crucial issue is not what the man wants, but what God wants.

However, the Pharisees are not yet convinced that Jesus is in the right. In 19:7, they ask another question, this time invoking Deut 24:1–4. With their question, they want to dismantle Jesus' explanation of the texts from Genesis and maintain that a man may send his wife away. They wonder how Deut 24:1 (a text they qualify as a command by Moses) relates to the texts put forward by Jesus as regards the indissolubility of marriage. In his answer, Jesus states that Moses in Deut 24:1 did not *order* the men to repudiate their wives but merely *permitted* them to do so because they were hard-hearted.[35] As I indicated earlier, Deuteronomy can be interpreted in both an obligatory and in a permissive

33 Cf. Raymond F. Collins, *Christian Morality: Biblical Foundations* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 161: "The Jahwist's account in Gen 3 presents a description of the perversion of sexual life from its primitive integrity."

34 That καὶ εἶπεν is a narrative clause with Jesus as the grammatical subject is highly unlikely.

35 In Greek: σκληροκαρδία. In Matthew, this word only occurs here. In the LXX (Deut 10:16 and Jer 4:4), this word refers to Israel's refusal to obey God.

sense. This is an instance of these two interpretations. The Pharisees talk about a commandment, an order; Jesus, on the other hand, argues that it is purely a concession, which finally became a necessity on account of the wickedness that had arisen. With respect to principle, however, the rule from Deuteronomy is far from the original ideal. According to Jesus, the situation discussed in Deut 24 must be assessed in the light of the statements from Genesis on the relationship between men and women, and not vice versa. We see here how texts from the past are retrospectively placed in a certain hierarchical relation to each other; the authority of the one text is defeated by the authority of another. The basic assumption in this context is that Genesis is older than Deuteronomy.[36]

The discussion with the Pharisees is concluded by 19:9 ("And I say to you, whoever divorces his wife, except for unchastity, and marries another commits adultery"). Because the exception clause is located between two verbs here (ἀπολύσῃ and γαμήσῃ), this statement can be interpreted in two different ways. The first possibility is that the provision only refers to divorce. In that case, a man who has sent his wife away on account of 'unchastity' cannot enter into a new relationship. If this interpretation is correct, Jesus defends the ideal of the indissolubility of marriage here as well. The second possibility is that the exception clause does not only open the way for divorce but also to a new marriage.[37] The formulation of 19:9 does not allow a decisive choice to be made as to the interpretation. The first option seems to be the more likely one. This appears from the comparison of 19:9 with 5:31, where the same provision occurs, be it in a different formulation. The latter verse precludes a new marriage by a divorced woman. The statement in 19:9 seems to follow this idea, but the difference here is that the man whose marriage failed as a result of 'unchastity' is prohibited from entering into a new marriage relationship.

Many exegetes are of the opinion that, after the discussion with the Pharisees on marriage and divorce, the disciples turn the conversation to the unmarried state, or celibacy. Their remark that it is better not to get married at all elicits Jesus' statement on the voluntary choice for celibacy for the sake of the kingdom of heaven (19:12). That only few people will be able to achieve this ideal is underlined by the two statements introducing and concluding 19:12: "Not everyone can accept this teaching, but only those to whom it is given" and

36 Luz, *Evangelium nach Matthäus* (*Mt 18–25*), 95: "Das Alte hat grundsätzlich einen Wahrheitsvorsprung vor dem Jüngeren."

37 According to Frans Neirynck, "De echtscheidingslogia in de evangeliën," *Academiae Analecta—Letteren* 58 (1996): 21–42 (36, note 46), divorce and remarriage have to be read as one issue in Matt 19:9 and this is what the exception clause refers to, even though it precedes καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην. See also Gordon J. Wenham, "The Syntax of Matthew 19.9," *JSNT* 28 (1986): 17–23.

"Let anyone accept this who can." The voluntary choice for the unmarried state is not a flight from marriage; this choice is suggested by a higher motive, namely, the all-surpassing value of the kingdom of heaven.

I prefer a different interpretation.[38] In my view, the conversation with the disciples in 19:10–12 links up seamlessly with the discussion with the Pharisees in 19:3–9. The disciples have witnessed the dispute and now give their own evaluation of Jesus' principles: "If such is the case of a man with his wife, it is better not to marry." This statement shows that they are very much aware of the stringent requirements for marriage that Jesus lays down. In 19:11, Jesus confirms their appraisal: it is true that "this teaching" (i.e., his statement from 19:9) is not accepted by everyone; his prohibition of remarriage is only observed by people who understand it. The Pharisees represent the people who are lacking in understanding, whereas the disciples show, with their remark in 19:10, that they have listened well to Jesus' instructions.[39]

4 Conclusions

The two texts from Matthew on marriage and divorce are highly intertextual; they are punctuated with references to the Old Testament. In this Chapter, I have tried to uncover the intrinsic meaning of the statements from the Decalogue and from Genesis and Deuteronomy which Jesus and the Pharisees refer back to in their discussion on marriage, adultery, and divorce. Traditionally, marriage had been subject to all kinds of laws in order to protect the relationship between men and women and also to protect the socio-economic aspects of the marriage relationship. The specific meaning of the prohibition of adultery in the Decalogue is only revealed in detailed provisions in other texts, which generally allow more freedom to the husband. Jesus denounces this inequality in the Sermon on the Mount. His statements represent a substantial limitation of the male partner's sexual freedom. Jesus also emphasizes the

38 Cf. Jacques Dupont, *Mariage et divorce dans l'évangile: Matthieu 19,3–12 et parallèles* (Bruges: Abbaye de Saint-André, 1959); Farla, "The Two Shall Become One Flesh," 70–72. See also Carmen Bernabé, "Of Eunuchs and Predators: Matthew 19:1–12 in a Cultural Context," *BTB* 33 (2003): 128–134.

39 The third groups of 'eunuchs' in 19:12 would then refer to Jesus' disciples who decide not to remarry after they had seen their marriage break down on account of unchastity. Warren Carter, *Households and Discipleship: A Study of Matthew 19–20* (JSNTSup 103), Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 71, comes to the conclusion that 19:12 "refers in the context of 19.9 to obedient disciples who after divorce accept the prohibition on remarriage."

husband's responsibility for the breakdown of the marriage. With this radical choice in favour of the indissolubility of marriage, Jesus equates divorce with adultery. This opinion is at odds with the relatively tolerant laws on divorce prevalent in Israel at the time. Although the texts documenting this tolerant practice have traditionally also included Deut 24:1–4, this does not do justice to this passage. This text has only gradually been interpreted as a rule relating to divorce. At an older stage, this text was about a rather exceptional situation of a man who wanted to remarry his former wife, who, after the divorce, had belonged to another man. The description of the divorce procedure included in this text shows that, also according to Deuteronomy, divorce is not a matter of personal discretion but is subject to specific rules. Deut 24:1–4, which forms the background to the Pharisees' question in Matt 19:3, is interpreted in a liberal way by the School of Hillel. Invoking Gen 1:27 and 2:24, Jesus firmly rejects this liberal interpretation. He applies the Genesis texts to marriage, as was usual in his time, although, at an older stage, they referred to the fundamental fact that man is a sexually differentiated creature and that the two sexes are strongly attracted to each other. Jesus deduces from these sentences from Genesis that equality and mutual respect should be fundamental values in the marriage relationship. This interpretation is less obvious than it might seem at first sight, because those same sentences from Genesis are also used in the New Testament in combination with other statements from Gen 1–3 to argue that the woman is subject to the man (for example, in 1 Cor 11:2–16 and 1 Tim 2:8–15). Jesus draws the conclusion from Genesis that marriage is an institution established by God, and that the commitment between the spouses cannot be broken. In Matthew, this opinion is toned down since divorce in case of 'unchastity' is considered to be acceptable, but even then a second marriage is prohibited.

Changes in society have an impact on the way marriage is perceived. We can see this in the Bible as well as in our own time. Therefore it is not very useful to consider one institutional form as an unchangeable norm for all eras. In developing their views on marriage, Jesus and his first disciples are constantly in discussion with the views and traditions from the Old Testament and with the interpretation of these traditions in the Judaism of their own time. They enrich the tradition by emphasizing certain aspects. By his emphasis on respect, mutuality, equality, and solidarity, Jesus sees marriage as an indissoluble bond. These values must be the compass for his disciples, even if the institutional form of marriage should drastically change. The exception clause in Matt 5:32 and 19:9 shows that there is scope for new developments. That is also important for Jesus' later disciples. The New Testament encourages them to find suitable solutions to new situations.

CHAPTER 9

Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem: Matt 21:1–17 in the Light of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint

Matt 21:1–17 is rich in citations from the Old Testament. This text is therefore very suitable as the subject for a study of the use of Scripture of the first evangelist. This chapter is aimed at testing the hypothesis that the citations which we find in Matt 21:1–17 must also be understood in the light of the texts from the Hebrew Bible and the LXX from which the quoted words and sentences originate.

This contribution is structured as follows. In the first section I argue that Matt 21:1–17 must be understood as a textual unit. Subsequently I will concentrate on the explicit citations which this text contains. In section two I will examine these citations by means of a literary-historical analysis which is to enable us to determine their textual form. Next, I will broaden my methodological perspective by linking up with the theory of intertextuality. In sections 3–6, the separate citations from Matt 21:1–17 will also be explored in the light of this theory. I will conclude this chapter with some reflections on the way in which the various citations are connected (section 7).

1 Matt 21:1–17: A Textual Unit

In the synopsis by Aland Matt 21:1–17 is cut in two.[1] The first part (21:1–9) is about Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, the second (21:10–17) about his actions in the temple. This division was inspired by the parallel text in Mark. In that text, the arrival in Jerusalem and the cleansing of the temple take place on two separate days. In Matthew this is not the case. Not until v. 17 does Jesus leave the city to spend the night in Bethany. One could therefore agree with Joachim Gnilka when he writes: "Man könnte von einem Tag Jesu in Jerusalem sprechen, der durch Einzug und Tempelprotest gekennzeichnet ist."[2]

1 Kurt Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1985, editio tertia decima revisa), 365–371: Nr. 269: "Der Einzug in Jerusalem"; Nr. 271: "Jesus in Jerusalem (Tempelreinigung), Rückkehr nach Bethanien".

2 Gnilka, *Matthäusevangelium: 2. Teil*, 209. The statement in Mark 11,11a (καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν) is divided into two separate events in Matthew: καὶ εἰσελθόντος

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The locations mentioned in 21:1.10.12.17, which are all in line with one another and which together present a continuous movement, also argue in favour of the unity of Matt 21:1–17. In the first nine verses Jesus is near Jerusalem, in v. 10 he enters the city, in v. 12 he enters the temple precincts and in v. 17 he leaves the city to re-enter it the next day. Furthermore I would like to point out that the text contains a number of repetitions. The first example of this is the combination of κράζω and λέγω, followed by the exclamation "Hosanna to the Son of David" (21:9.15). In v. 9 this exclamation is uttered by the crowd that accompanies Jesus on the road to the city; in v. 15 we learn that the children of Jerusalem have adopted this cry of joy and let it resound among the temple walls. Together these pieces of information suggest that the cries of Hosanna continue uninterrupted. There is another repetition in the text. I refer to the fact that verses 10–11 contain a pattern that reappears with a number of variations in vv. 15–16. The hosanna of the crowd causes a question to arise among the inhabitants of Jerusalem and it is answered by the multitudes. Similarly, the jubilation of the children in the temple causes a question to arise among the high priests and scribes and the answer is supplied by Jesus.

I can be brief about the structure of the passage. The text is a kind of diptych. The first part is comprised of 21:1–9, the second is comprised of 21:12–17, verses 10–11 functioning as a hinge. In a chart:

I	21:1–9	Jesus approaches Jerusalem
Hinge	21:10–11	Arrival in the city
II	21:12–17	Jesus in the temple

2 The Textual Form of the Citations in Matt 21:1–17

Matt 21:1–17 contains a number of explicit citations from the Old Testament, regularly scattered through the entire text:

αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα (21:10) and καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν (21:12). We encounter the reverse in Matt 21:17 (ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εἰς Βηθανίαν): this verse shows a combination of elements from Mark 11:11b (ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν) and Mark 11:19 (ἔξω τῆς πόλεως). See Norbert Lohfink, "Der Messiaskönig und seine Armen kommen zum Zion: Beobachtungen zu Matt 21,1–17," Pages 294–314 in *Studien zum Matthäusevangelium: Festschrift W. Pesch* (ed. Ludger Schenke; SBS; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988), 183, note 10. Also published in Norbert Lohfink, *Studien zur biblischen Theologie* (SBAB 16; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1993), 294–314.

21:4–5 The narrator comments on the narrated history by means of citations from Isa 62:11 and Zech 9:9.
21:9 The crowd uses words from Ps 118:25–26.
21:13 Jesus illustrates his actions in the temple by means of citations from Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11.
21:15 The children repeat part of the words of the crowd (Ps 118:25).
21:16 Jesus answers the question of his opponents with a citation from Ps 8:3.

With the exception of the quotations from Ps 118, all these citations are preceded by an introductory formula. In v. 4 we find the formula that is characteristic for the formula quotations by Matthew; the citations from v. 13 are introduced by γέγραπται; the citation from Ps 8:3 is preceded by the question οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε.

Of the mentioned quotations Matthew shares a number with Mark, namely the citation from Ps 118:25–26 (see Mark 11:9–10) and the mixed citation from Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11 (see Mark 11:17). In his representation of these quotations, the first evangelist relies on Mark's version. In both Gospels, Ps 118:26a is represented in the formulation of the LXX: εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου. It is remarkable that Matthew repeats this sentence in 23:39 (cf. Luke 13:35), thus creating an *inclusio* framing the long passage of the story set in the temple (Matt 21–23). By using the joyful cry ὡσαννά the evangelists deviate from the psalm in a similar way. In order to intensify the Christological orientation of the crowd's exclamation, Matthew has combined this word with the dative τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ, which is clearly based on the reference in Mark 11:10a to the coming kingdom of David. Also in the formulation of the mixed citation from Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11 Matthew corresponds to Mark, the only difference being that the reference to "all the nations" is omitted. Also in this case, the formulation in Mark goes back to the LXX.

Matt 21:1–17 also contains a number of citations which cannot be found in Mark. In 21:15, Matthew repeats the ὡσαννά τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ created in 21:9; thus he recalls to mind the quotation from Ps 118. In 21:16 he inserts a quotation from Ps 8:3. This is the only place in the New Testament where this psalm verse (in the formulation of the LXX) can be found. The origin of the formula quotation in Matt 21:5 is disputed. The first line (εἴπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιών) literally links up with the LXX version of Isa 62:11 (which here closely follows the Hebrew text). In Mark this reference to Isaiah is missing. Matt 21:5 continues with a quotation from Zech 9:9 which can also be found in John 12:15. Mark's version does not contain this quotation; however, the possibility that Matthew has inserted the citation from Zech 9:9 into his story on the basis of reminiscences of this

text in Mark cannot be entirely ruled out. After all, in Mark 11:2 a πῶλος is mentioned, a term which also occurs in the LXX version of Zech 9:9. In addition, the LXX mentions a πῶλος νέος at this point. This reference may have inspired the description in Mark: "a colt which no one has yet ridden".[3] Still, the question concerning the origin of the citation from Zech 9:9 in Matt 21:5 has not been conclusively answered, for the formulation offered there initially runs parallel to that of the LXX, but toward the end this is no longer the case. In Matthew it is the king of Zion who mounts ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου.[4] This formulation shows three similarities with the Hebrew text (על־חמור ועל־עיר בן־אתנות): a) ὄνος is a correct translation of חמור; b) υἱὸν corresponds to בן; c) the twofold ἐπί is an accurate rendering of על, which is used twice. The LXX differs on all these points (ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον).

Are these sufficient reasons to assume a direct link with the Hebrew text? A number of authors do not think so.[5] They prefer the hypothesis that at the end of 21:5 Matthew reverts to a Greek translation, already in existence in his time, which differs from the LXX and must be seen as a precursor of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion and the Quinta. Their hypothesis is based on the fact that also in those later *versiones* חמור is translated as ὄνος and בן as υἱός.[6] Another relevant point is that the singular ὑποζύγίου from Matt 21:5 differs from the plural form in the Hebrew text (אתנות) and corresponds to the singular form in the LXX, Symmachus, Theodotion and the Targum.[7]

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3 John D. Crossan, "Redaction and Citation in Mark 11:9–10 and 11:17," *BR* 17 (1972): 33–50, offers an explanation of the reminiscences in Mark 11:1–11 of Zech 9:9 which is hardly convincing. Originally the text would have contained an explicit citation from Zech 9:9, later to be deleted by the redactor (Mark), while Matthew, who was also familiar with the tradition handed down to Mark, is supposed to have put it back in again.

4 The omission of the second ἐπί in a number of manuscripts indicates adaptation to the LXX.

5 Max Wilcox, "Text Form," Pages 193–204 in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars* (eds. Donald A. Carson and Hugh G.M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Maarten Menken, "The Quotations from Zech 9,9 in Mt 21,5 and in Jn 12,15," Pages 571–578 (574) in *John and the Synoptics* (ed. Adelbert Denaux; BETL 101; Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 1992). See also: Maarten Menken, "Do Not Fear, Daughter Zion . . .: John 12:15," Pages 79–97 in Id., *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form* (CBET 15; Kampen: Kok, 1996).

6 Cf. Rothfuchs, *Erfüllungszitate*, 80, note 84. His presentation of the *versiones* must, in the light of *Duodecim Prophetae* (ed. Joseph Ziegler; Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967[2]), 310–311, be corrected as follows:

Aquila: ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπί ὄνου καὶ πῶλου υἱοῦ ὀνάδων
Symmachus: ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπί ὄνον καὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὀναδός
Theodotion: ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπί ὄνον καὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὄνου.

7 Aquila (υἱοῦ ὀνάδων) and the Quinta (υἱὸν ὄνων) follow the plural from the Hebrew text.

Still, I do not support this hypothesis. Why resort to a postulated Greek textual form that is supposed to have circulated in the first century when the above-mentioned phenomena can adequately be explained on the basis of the correspondence with the Hebrew text? Furthermore, this hypothesis does not offer a solution for the twofold ἐπί. This latter point cannot be explained in any other way than as an accurate translation of the words from the Hebrew text. Therefore I consider it more accurate to argue that the conclusion of the citation is a literal translation of the Hebrew text.

On the basis of these observations about the textual form I draw the following conclusion. Most citations in Matt 21:1–17 are formulated in correspondence with the LXX. In a number of cases Matthew explicitly draws on the phrasing of the citations in Mark, but also when he inserts citations which do not occur in Mark (21:15 and specifically 21:17), he uses the formulation known to us from the LXX. The citation from Zech 9:9 forms the only exception to this rule. This citation is linked to both the LXX and the Hebrew text.

3 The Citations From Isa 62:11 and Zech 9:9 in Matt 21:5

In my analysis of the citations in Matt 21:1–17, I will not restrict myself to the relations between separate words or sentences. I will broaden the study by relating the cited elements to the entire text of Matt 21:1–17 and to the texts from the Old Testament. The explicit citations in Matt 21:1–17 form the point of departure in the choice of those OT texts.[8] The scheme presented below specifies which texts are involved:

Matt 21:1–17	**explicit citations**	**texts from the OT**
Matt 21:5	Isa 62:11	Isa 62:1–11
	Zech 9:9	Zech 9:1–10
Matt 21:9	Ps 118:25–26	Ps 118
Matt 21:15	Ps 118:25	Ps 118
Matt 21:13	Isa 56:7	Isa 56:1–8
	Jer 7:11	Jer 7:1–15
Matt 21:16	Ps 8:3	Ps 8

8 See Sandra Hübenthal, "'Wer ist dieser?': Mt 21,1–17 in intertextueller Lektüre," Pages 261–277 in *Der Bibelkanon in der Bibelauslegung: Methodenreflexionen und Beispielexegesen* (eds. Egbert Ballhorn and Georg Steins; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007).

An important question is which version of those Old Testament texts should be used in the analysis. In the case of the citation from Zech 9:9 it is natural, in view of my observations about the textual form of this citation, to assume a kind of delta connection, within which the Hebrew text, the version of the LXX and Matt 21:1–17 occupy equivalent positions. In the case of the other citations, a comparison of Matt 21:1–17 with the LXX version of the above-mentioned Old Testament texts will suffice, since Matthew—via Mark or otherwise—goes back to this version. Still, even in this case, a comparison of the LXX version with the Hebrew text is useful because this comparison can shed more light on peculiarities in the LXX version.

On the basis of these methodological observations I will be guided in this analysis by the following questions: a) which meaning do the quoted words and sentences have within the Old Testament text from which they originate? b) what semantic differences exist between the Hebrew text and the LXX? c) which meaning do the quotations acquire as a result of their incorporation into the whole of Matt 21:1–17?

3.1 *The Combination of Isa 62:11 and Zech 9:9*

Isa 62:11 in the Hebrew text and the LXX
אמרו לבת־ציון הנה ישׁעך בא הנה שׂכרו אתו ופעלתו לפניו׃
Εἴπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιων Ἰδού σοι ὁ σωτὴρ παραγίνεται ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μισθὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ.

Zech 9:9 in the Hebrew text and the LXX
גילי מאד בת־ציון הריעי בת ירושׁלם הנה מלכך יבוא לך צדיק ונושׁע הוא עני ורכב על־חמור ועל־עיר בן־אתנות׃
Χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιων· κήρυσσε, θύγατερ Ιερουσαλημ· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἔρχεταί σοι, δίκαιος καὶ σῴζων αὐτός, πραΰς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον.

Matt 21:5
εἴπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιών· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἔρχεταί σοι πραΰς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου.

Verses 4–5 of Matt 21 do not belong to the direct speech that is pronounced by Jesus (character text) but to the narrator's text. This is characteristic of all formula quotations in Matthew: they function as a comment of the narrator

on the narrated history. It is remarkable that this comment is not presented at the end of the episode but is placed exactly between the description of Jesus' order to his two disciples (21:1–3) and the subsequent execution of his order (21:6–9).[9]

Matt 21:5 opens with the order to speak to the daughter of Zion; after that the words to be addressed to Zion are stated. This order is carried out in vv. 10–11 by the crowd, which informs "the whole city" that the man who is entering Jerusalem is a prophet, that his name is Jesus and that he comes from Nazareth in Galilee. In v. 9 the same crowd was introduced as speaker. Also in the words they speak there they carry out the order of v. 5. 'The crowd' does not refer to the citizens of Jerusalem, but to the people who have travelled with Jesus from Galilee. This is clear from the division of roles in vv. 10–11.

The order of Matt 21:4 is formulated with words taken from Isa 62:11: "Tell the daughter of Zion". The continuation of this verse contains a citation from Zech 9:9. It is remarkable that the opening of Zech 9:9 ("Rejoice greatly, O daughter Zion! Shout aloud, O daughter Jerusalem!")[10] is not quoted in Matt 21:5. This part of Zech 9:9 (Zion must joyfully welcome the messianic king) is substituted with a citation from Isa 62:11 (a plural subject must speak to Zion). The reason for that replacement is revealed in the continuation of the story. There it becomes clear that it is not Zion that rejoices at the coming of Jesus. No, it is the crowd from Galilee that sets up the jubilant cry. Jerusalem's reaction is of a much less positive nature: according to Matt 21:10 the whole city was in turmoil.[11]

However, is it correct to state that the opening of Zech 9:9 in Matt 21:5 has been substituted by Isa 62:11? Is not the relation between the two citations exactly the other way around? Would not it rather be the case that the original continuation of Isa 62:11 has here been replaced by the quoted words from Zech 9:9? This second option deserves preference to the first. This can be confirmed in the following way. Isa 62:11 (including the continuation of this verse that is not cited in Matt 21:5) consists of two segments: a) the order to speak to Zion; b) the content of the joyful message that Zion receives. This pattern also

9 A similar composition can be found in Matt 1:18–23, where the formula quotation from Isa 7:14 is flanked by the order of the angel to Joseph and the execution of that order. The equivalence of the order and its execution is emphasized in Matt 21:1–9 by πορεύεσθε (v. 2) and πορευθέντες (v. 6).

10 In the LXX, הריעי ('rejoice') is replaced by κήρυσσε ('tell').

11 This detail recalls the stir in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 1:41.45) when Solomon rode to Gihon on David's (female) mule (פרדה: 1 Kgs 1:33.38.44) to be anointed king there.

recurs frequently in other parts of Isaiah (e.g., 12:6; 40:9–10; 41:27; 52:1–2.6–8). The continuation of Isa 62:11 that is not quoted in Matt 21:5 runs as follows: "See, your salvation (in the LXX: "saviour")[12] comes; his reward is with him, and his recompense before him". The 'reward' and 'recompense' refer to the exiles God will take with him when he returns to Zion. This part of Isa 62:11 is a citation from Isa 40:10: the message to Zion in Isa 62:11 corresponds to the message which in Isa 40:10 Zion itself must pass on to the cities of Judah. There is also a difference between the two texts: that which is announced in Isa 40:10 is fulfilled in Isa 62:11.[13] The pattern described can also be found in Isa 52:1–2.6–8. Here, too, Zion is addressed (indeed by God himself: vv. 1–2); the content of the message is that God is king and that he will return to Zion. The words chosen here bring Isa 40:9–10 to mind. In view of all this one could say that Isa 62:11 forms a link in a chain of texts from Isaiah, which have two constant elements in common: a) speaking to Zion, and b) the joyful tidings that God will return to Zion to become king over his people.

It is this complex of associations that is evoked in Matt 21:5 by the incomplete citation from Isa 62:11. In this setting, however, we only encounter the first part of the well-known bipartite Isaian scheme. The second part is replaced by a partial citation from Zech 9:9.[14] This substitution implies that the announcement from Isa 62:11 is rewritten in the light of the statement in Zech 9:9: God's kingship in Zion (Isa 62:11) is realised when the messianic king, who will rule in God's name, enters the city (Zech 9:9).[15] Because of this interpretative modification the combined citations can be applied to Jesus to particularly good effect.

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12 Through the substitution of ישׁעך by ὁ σωτήρ the LXX provides the pronouns ἑαυτοῦ and αὐτοῦ with an antecedent. In the Hebrew text, the pronouns refer to God (four times the suffix ו-), who is mentioned at the beginning of v. 11.

13 Cf. Wim Beuken, *Jesaja: Deel III A* (POut; Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1989), 239: "Een ombuiging vindt wel in deze zin plaats dat de komst van YHWH in 40:10 futurisch is geformuleerd, de komst van het heil hier (i.e. in 62:11, WW) perfectisch. TJ ensceneert hier de voltooiing van wat daar is beloofd."

14 Because of their correspondences, it is understandable that Isa 62:11 and Zech 9:9 have been combined in Matthew. In both texts the 'daughter of Zion' is mentioned. The similarity between the two passages increases when we also note the non-quoted continuation of Isa 62:11. The following parallels can then be observed: הנה / ἰδού, בא / ἔρχομαι (Zech 9:9) or παραγίνομαι (Isa 62:11). Menken, "The Quotations," 571, note 2. Also consider the possessive suffixes in the Hebrew text: מלכך (Zech 9:9) and ישׁעך (Isa 62:11).

15 A similar interpretative adaptation is revealed when comparing Zech 2:10 (in the Hebrew text: Zech 2:14) with Zech 9:9.

Must the modification described above be attributed to Matthew himself or is it conceivable that he discovered it in the tradition handed down to him? The latter possibility is not an unlikely one. The fact that we also find a combined citation in John 12:15 is already an indication. The beginning of the citation (μὴ φοβοῦ) might derive from various texts (Isa 35:4; 40:9; 41:10; 44:2; Zeph 3:16). It is interesting that in this series there is a passage (Isa 40:10) that forms part of the Isaian association complex described above. In this framework a number of lines from Zech 9:9 are also quoted in John 12:15. Perhaps here again we come across the already described intertextual procedure: the second part of the Isaian pattern has been replaced by words from Zech 9:9. If this is correct, chances are that in their presentation of the mixed citation from Isa 62:11 and Zech 9:9, Matthew as well as John are drawing on tradition.

3.2 *Interpretations of Zech 9:9*

We have already observed that Zech 9:9 is only partly quoted in Matt 21:5. The following verse (Zech 9:10) is missing in Matthew. This is remarkable, for the two verses in Zechariah are inextricably bound up with each other. Together they form a song that in total covers six lines. In English, these two verses read as follows:

1 Rejoice greatly, O daughter Zion!
Shout aloud, O daughter Jerusalem!
2 Lo, your king comes to you;
triumphant and victorious is he,
3 humble and riding on a donkey,
on a colt, pure of race.
4 I will cut off the chariots from Ephraim
and the war horses from Jerusalem
5 and the battle bow shall be cut off,
and he shall command peace to the nations;
6 his dominion shall be from sea to sea,
and from the River to the ends of the earth.

Each line contains two hemistichs, which reveal a *parallellismus membrorum*.[16] The song is structured concentrically.[17] In the first line "Zion" or "Jerusalem" is mentioned, in the last line "the ends of the earth". According to the second line the new future is heralded by the arrival of the messianic king; in line 5 it

16 See Adam S. van der Woude, *Zacharia* (POut; Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1984), 173.

17 See André Lacocque, *Zacharie 9–14* (CAT 11c; Genève: Labor et Fides, 1988²), 156.

is said that he shall command peace to the nations. The third and fourth lines are concerned with the contrast between the donkey and the horses: by riding a donkey, the mount used in times of peace, the king shows his love of peace, whereas the horses together with the chariots and other weaponry stand for the war material that has been dominating matters in Jerusalem and Ephraim up till then. The line of thought in the text is that the former Northern and Southern kingdom will be reunited and that the peace which is to be realised in the new kingdom, will spread over all the earth.

The Hebrew text of Zech 9:1–10 makes a clear distinction between the role of God and of the messianic king. It is up to God to break the existing tyranny: according to 9:1–8 he will destroy the military strongholds that surround Israel and his victory march will finally lead him to Jerusalem, which he will purify of the implements of war to be found there. The messianic king will only enter the scene after that battle has been fought. He will spread the peace that has been achieved to the nations and his dominion will extend to the ends of the earth. That peace is accomplished by the work of God, and the messianic king also experiences the positive results of this work of God. This can be concluded from צדיק ונושע. The king is a just person because he is subject to God's justice. The *participium niphal* נושע points in the same direction; it has a passive meaning and expresses that the king is not himself the saviour but that he has been saved by God and that he can enter Jerusalem with God's help.[18]

This clear distinction of roles has been abandoned in the LXX. There the *participium activum* σῳζων is used: the king himself is a saviour or liberator, he fulfils the same role that in the Hebrew text is God's due (cf. Isa 45:21–25). A transformation at the beginning of v. 10 is along the same line. At this point in the Hebrew text we come across a sudden change of subject by the introduction of a first-person character: I (that is God) will wipe out the chariots and war horses. The LXX here opts for the third person (ἐξολεθρεύσει) to link up with v. 9, thus making the above-mentioned action an activity of the messianic king.

Now we are sufficiently equipped for a closer analysis of the changes undergone by Zech 9:9 through its integration into Matt 21:1–17. The statement that the king is just and is a saviour (or: has been saved), is missing in Matt 21:5. This is surprising since this assertion would have fitted very well into the portrait

18 Wilhelm Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi* (KAT 13/4), Gütersloh: Mohn, 1976), 177, translates this part of Zech 9:9 as follows: "begnadet und reich an erfahrener Hilfe ist er".

of Jesus as painted by Matthew.[19] Since this clause is missing, the emphasis is entirely on the assertion that the king of Zion is gentle (πραΰς), that he is a humble figure who is on the side of the needy. I also observe that the sharp allocation of activities between God and the messianic king, which was already under pressure in the LXX, has left no traces in Matthew's text. The various activities displayed by God in Zech 9 are now transferred to Jesus. In Zech 9:1–10 God undertakes a victory march which ends in Jerusalem; in Matthew this role has been transferred to Jesus, who has come travelling from Galilee to Jerusalem. In Zechariah God cleanses Jerusalem of the available implements of war; in Matthew Jesus throws the buyers and sellers out of the temple.[20]

3.3 *Two Donkeys*

In Zech 9:9 the king is riding על־חמור ועל־עיר בן־אתנות. He is therefore riding on a donkey, which is a royal mount, indicating the dignity of its rider.[21] Both חמור and עיר are masculine. An apposition follows (בן־אתנות), in which אתנות serves as a plural of kind, which indicates that the animal is pure-bred, a noble thoroughbred and not a mule, born from crossbreeding a donkey and a mare.[22] The three descriptions apply to one and the same animal. The *waw* in על־חמור ועל־עיר בן־אתנות is not a *waw-copulativum* but a *waw-explicativum*. Zech 9:9 is probably best translated as: "on a donkey, on a colt, the foal of a donkey (or: pure of race / a noble thoroughbred)."

A study by Shemaryahu Talmon shows that an interesting parallel of the *waw-explicativum* in Zech 9:9 can be found in Gen 15:9.[23] There too an animal is presented that is referred to in two different ways. Gen 15:9 describes the sacrifice that Abram must offer. It consists of three animals (a heifer, a female goat, and a ram), all three years old, and of a fourth sacrificial animal that is referred to as תר וגוזל. According to Talmon this is a case of a hendiadys, in which the second noun supplies a further description of the first. This part of Gen 15:9 is to be translated as follows: "a pigeon, namely a young pigeon".

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19 See Stendahl, 119: "the omission of the adjectives δίκαιος καὶ σώζων is surprising since these words (. . .) would constitute the very epitome of Matthew's Christology".

20 Cecil Roth, "The Cleansing of the Temple and Zechariah XIV.21," *NovT* 4 (1960): 174–181, sees a relation between the last sentence of the book of Zechariah and the activities of Jesus as described in Matt 21:12.

21 See George Hanfmann, "The Donkey and the King," *HTR* 78 (1985): 421–426.

22 See Van der Woude, *Zacharia*, 175.

23 Shemaryahu Talmon, "'400 Jahre' oder 'vier Generationen' (Gen 15,13–15): Geschichtliche Zeitangaben oder literarische Motive?," Pages 13–25 in *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff* (eds. Erhard Blum, Christian Macholz, and Ekkehard W. Stegemann; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990).

Already in the LXX this one sacrificial animal has been doubled: τρυγόντα καὶ περιστεράν ("a turtledove and a young dove"; cf. the Vulgate: *turturum quoque et columbam*). Talmon is of the opinion that his interpretation is confirmed by Gen 15:10. There we find a singular צפור (in the LXX and the Vulgate there is a plural at this point: τὰ δὲ ὄρνεα and *aves* respectively). The term צפור refers back to the bird mentioned in 15:9. This bird—contrary to the three other sacrificial animals—is not to be divided in two. In Gen 15:9–10, therefore, not two different sorts of pigeons are concerned but only one single pigeon.

Matt 21:5	**Zech 9:9 (Hebrew text)**	**Zech 9:9 (LXX)**
ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου	רכב על־חמור ועל־עיר בן־אתנות	ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον

When comparing the Hebrew text of Zech 9:9 with Matt 21:5, we see that חמור is represented as ὄνος and עיר as πῶλος. Also in the LXX these two Hebrew words are usually translated like this. Although ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον is a correct translation of the Hebrew text (על־חמור ועל־עיר), an ambiguity arises nonetheless as a result of the transition from Hebrew to Greek. This is caused by the fact that חמור can only apply to a male animal (she-ass = אתון), while the anarthrous ὄνος can apply to both a male and a female animal.[24] The quotation can therefore be read in two ways. The first option is that it expresses exactly the same as the Hebrew text: one animal is concerned, described in three different ways (καί then has the function of a *καί-epexegeticum*):[25] a (male) donkey, in fact a colt, the foal of a beast of burden.[26] The second option is that ὄνος applies to a she-ass and πῶλος to its foal. In that case two animals are concerned. The synonymous parallelism in the Hebrew text and the LXX version of Zech 9:9 is then replaced by a synthetic parallelism.

24 Koehler and Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, 310; Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, c. 1163. In the LXX ὄνος is used to translate both חמור and אתון.

25 Blass and Debrunner, *Grammatik*, par. 442$_{18}$: "Mt 21,5 (= Sach 9,9) ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ('und zwar') ἐπὶ πῶλον." What is said about Matt 21:5 here, is more likely to apply to the LXX version of Zech 9:9. It is highly unlikely that the LXX should speak about two animals in view of the single use of ἐπί.

26 On the basis of a choice of arguments, Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament*, 197–199, opts for this interpretation.

The quotation itself therefore leaves much to be desired as far as clarity is concerned. This is not the case with the direct context into which it has been incorporated. There, obviously two animals are concerned. In 21:2 Jesus speaks about "a donkey tied, and a colt with her" (δεδεμένηνη . . . μετ' αὐτῆς: always the feminine; cf. also the plural pronouns αὐτῶν and αὐτούς in v. 3). Also in v. 7 two animals are concerned. The two disciples put covers (saddle gear) ἐπ' αὐτῶν, i.e. on the two animals, and then Jesus mounts ἐπάνω αὐτῶν. These latter words can again be understood in two ways. One can read that Jesus rides two animals at the same time, but also that he sits on the saddle cloths, in which case it remains unclear whether he sits on the mother or on the foal.[27]

Must we therefore conclude that the quotation and the surrounding verses are not in complete harmony with each other? If we adopt this assumption we must also accept that ὄνος in the quotation refers to a male animal and that the same term in vv. 2.7 refers to a she-ass. The quotation then gives a threefold description of one and the same animal. In addition, verses 2–3 and 7 inform us that during the entry into Jerusalem this (male) mount is accompanied by the she-ass. This proposal is rather awkward. It not only assumes that the one term ὄνος is used for both animals, it also ignores the remarkable phenomenon that the she-ass in vv. 2.7 is always mentioned first. These complications are removed when the terms ὄνος and πῶλος from the citation are read in the light of vv. 2–3.7. The author must also have had two animals in mind in 21:5. This view is also to be preferred since the word ἐπί is mentioned twice in the citation and because the narrator attaches a great deal of importance to words of Scripture literally being fulfilled in Jesus' activities.

In mentioning two animals Matthew not only differs from the Hebrew and the Greek text of Zech 9:9 but also from the tradition that is embodied in the other Gospels (Mark 11:1–10; Luke 19:29–36; John 12:14–15). How is his unusual choice to be explained? Many solutions to this problem have been offered: a) according to Jerome the two animals have an allegorical significance: the she-ass (*asina*) stands for Israel and the young foal (*pullus asinae*) for the Gentiles;[28] b) Matthew has a predilection for pairs (cf. the two blind men in 20:29–34 and the two demoniacs in 8:28–34); c) the problem can be solved from a diachronic perspective: apart from Mark, the redactor has also used a pre-Mark tradition

27 Some exegetes think that Jesus sits on the foal (this is the case in Mark) and that the she-ass stays close to its young to put it at ease (see for instance Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament*, 197–199). Others are of the opinion that Jesus must have preferred the adult animal to the unbroken foal. See for example Poul Nepper-Christensen, *Das Matthäusevangelium ein judenchristliches Evangelium?* (ATDan 1; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1958), 147. In both cases information is used that is not in the text.

28 Hieronymus, *Commentaria in Evangelium S. Matthaei* 3,21 (*PL* 26,147).

that has retained the historical fact that Jesus used two donkeys during his entry into Jerusalem.[29]

These explanations are somewhat unsatisfactory. It is even more unsatisfactory that Matthew should have overlooked the synonymous parallelism in Zech 9:9.[30] This is very difficult to reconcile with the fact that it is exactly in this part of the citation that he so consciously seeks to link up with the Hebrew text. In order to resolve this quandary we could consider the possibility that Matthew read Zech 9:9 in the light of a different text from the Scripture in which two donkeys are explicitly mentioned. Maarten Menken seeks a solution to the problem in that direction.[31] Given the fact that the crowd typifies Jesus as the Son of David (21:9 diff. Mark 11:10), he refers to 2 Sam 16:1–4. Because of the rebellion of Absalom, David must leave the city. Near the top of the Mount of Olives (2 Sam 15:30) Ziba provides him with a pair of saddled donkeys. This story corresponds with Matt 21:1–9 on a number of points: in both texts two donkeys are referred to, both animals are saddled, they are described as beasts of burden (ὑποζυγία: 2 Kgdms 16:2), and the scene is set on the Mount of Olives.[32]

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29 According to Stendahl, *The School*, 119–120, Matthew was familiar with a tradition in which there were two donkeys; he was to have brought the citation from Zech 9:9 into agreement with this tradition. Also Nepper-Christensen, *Das Matthäusevangelium*; Gundry, *Matthew*, 409, and Roman Bartnicki, "Das Zitat von Zach 9,9–10 und die Tiere im Bericht von Matthäus über den Einzug Jesu in Jerusalem," *NovT* 18 (1976): 161–166, are of the opinion that the redactor used a tradition that is older than the tradition that is at the basis of the versions of Mark, Luke and John. This solution fails on the grounds that there is no further evidence in the text that, apart from Mark, Matthew also drew on another source. It is also problematic that none of the authors who support this solution makes any attempt to textually border off the tradition material. See Claus-Peter März, *"Siehe, dein König kommt zu Dir": Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Einzugsperikope* (EThSt 43; Leipzig: St. Benno-Verlag, 1981), 4–8. According to Anthony Le Donne, "Diarchic Symbolism in Matthews Procession Narrative: A Dead Sea Scrolls Perspective," Pages 87–95 in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality, vol. 1: Thematic Studies* (eds. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias; London and New York: Continuum, 2009), Zecharia played a crucial role in influencing the Qumran community's expectation of a messianic diarchy, and Matthew portrayed Jesus riding two animals to address this diarchic expectation.

30 Erich Klostermann, *Das Matthäusevangelium* (HNT 4; Tübingen: Mohr, 1971[4]), 165; Julius Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (NTD 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968[12]), 212.

31 See Menken, "The Quotations," 574–575.

32 In the Old Testament, the Mount of Olives is only mentioned in 2 Sam 15:30 and in Zech 14:4.

A weak point is that 2 Sam 16:1–4 has no evident connection with Zech 9:9. Are there any texts in which such a connection is manifest? This is indeed the case. In 1961 Joseph Blenkinsopp showed that already in the early Jewish literature, Zech 9:9 was associated with the oracle of Judah in Gen 49:8–12.[33] Of Judah it is said in verse 11 that he will tether his (male) ass (עיר) to the vine and the colt of his ass or his noble thoroughbred (בני אתנו) to the grapevine. These two lines reveal a synonymous parallelism. The similarities with Zech 9:9 are striking. In addition מלכך יבוא from Zech 9:9 is a (clarifying) reflection of the cryptic phrase from Gen 49:10 (עד כי־יבא שילה) According to Blenkinsopp Zech 9:9 is a later messianic interpretation of the oracle of Judah. In this context he points out that in the LXX, the sceptre and the staff mentioned in the Hebrew text of Gen 49:10 have been replaced by a person who is referred to as an ἄρχων and a ἡγούμενος respectively, and that in the Targum the phrase "until Silo comes" is replaced with "until the king comes" (an allusion to David) or "until the Messiah comes". Matthew was probably also familiar with the traditional connection between Gen 49:10–11 and Zech 9:9. An indication is that δεδεμένην in Matt 21:2 (cf. Mark 11:2) corresponds with "tethering" in Gen 49:11. It is also interesting that the LXX in Gen 49:11a speaks of τὸν πῶλον αὐτοῦ and in 49:11b of τὸν πῶλον τῆς ὄνου αὐτοῦ: the same distinction between a colt and its mother as is made in Matt 21:2.7!

This intertextual network becomes even more intriguing when we also consider the fact that in Gen 49:14–15 Issachar is compared to a bony donkey (חמור) that must carry heavy burdens. In the LXX and in early Jewish texts a positive interpretation is given to this statement: Issachar has desired good things and he shoulders the Torah.[34] In the Hebrew text Gen 49:11 and 49:14 together contain precisely the three words which are also used in Zech 9:9 to describe the messianic king's mount. However, in the tradition a correlation was made between Zech 9:9 and the oracle of Judah, not with the oracle of Issachar. As I said, there are sufficient reasons to suppose that *that* correlation was also known to Matthew. I do not consider it impossible that on the basis of that existing association he made a similar connection with the blessing of Issachar. Indicative of this is the fact that he has modified the ending of Zech 9:9 (בן־אתנות) to read υἱόν ὑποζυγίου, in other words: he describes the mother, the she-ass, as a beast of burden. In this way a connection is made between Zech 9:9 and Gen 49:14–15 where Issachar (at least in the Hebrew text) is compared to such an animal.

33 Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Oracle of Judah and the Messianic Entry," *JBL* 80 (1961): 55–64.

34 J. Duncan M. Derrett, "Law in the New Testament: The Palm Sunday Colt," *NovT* 13 (1971): 241–258, esp. 255–258.

By linking Zech 9:9 to both Gen 49:8–12 and Gen 49:14–15, Matthew shows that Jesus, the messianic king in the sense of Zechariah, also unites the qualities associated with Judah and Issachar in himself. As king he is of the line of Judah and David, but his kingship is coloured in a very special way by the references to Issachar. Like Issachar, Jesus is someone who takes the burdens of others upon himself (cf. Matt 8:17). In this situation he is particularly concerned about the fate of the little ones and of the needy; accordingly, after his arrival in the temple we see that he especially gathers these groups around him, while rejecting the other groups.[35]

I will wind up this section with the following conclusion. The scene of Jesus' entry contains implicit citations from Gen 49:8–12.14, and these, in turn, influence the formulation and meaning of the explicit citation from Zech 9:9. Also, they prepare the reader for 21:9 where Jesus is explicitly called the Son of David.

4 The Citation From Ps 118:25–26 in Matt 21:9.15

Ps 118:25–26 in Hebrew text and Ψ 117:25–26 in the LXX
25 אנא יהוה הושׁיעה נא אנא יהוה הצליחה נא׃
26 ברוך הבא בשׁם יהוה ברכנוכם מבית יהוה׃
25 ὦ κύριε, σῶσον δή,
ὦ κύριε, εὐόδωσον δή.
26 εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου·
εὐλογήκαμεν ὑμᾶς ἐξ οἴκου κυρίου.

Matt 21:9
ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ·
εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου·
ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

35 According to David E. Garland, *Reading Matthew: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the First Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1993), 210–211, the two donkeys serve to illustrate two aspects of Jesus' identity: "Mounted on a donkey, a coronation animal, Jesus enters Jerusalem as the royal son of David, the messiah. Mounted on the son of a pack animal, he comes as the meek, suffering servant who will take away our weakness and bear our diseases (12:19). The king messiah of Israel will rule by virtue of his humble suffering and death."

The crowd's jubilation in Matt 21:9 consists of three lines, the first of which is repeated in v. 15. The hosanna in line 1 refers to Jesus, the Son of David and in line 3 it refers to God or to the angels in the highest heaven. The second line is derived from Ps 118:26 and corresponds to the LXX in formulation. This blessing is flanked by ὡσαννά, repeated twice; through the Aramaic הושׁיע נא it can be considered as a phonetic citation from Ps 118:25 (הושׁיעה נא). Such a citation of sound is a phonetic repetition of a segment from an earlier text in a later one without repeating the meaning.[36] In Ps 118:25, הושׁיעה נא functions as a prayer for help addressed to God (cf. the LXX: σῶσον δή). In the Gospels (Matt 21:9.15; Mark 11:9–10; John 12:13) this prayer is converted into a salutation. This can be gathered from the use of the dative in Matt 21:9.15 (see also Did 10:6: ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυίδ). This transformation may have developed in early Judaism, but when or where this happened cannot be established.[37]

That the original context of the citation is conveyed in the new text into which it has been woven, can be illustrated very appropriately by means of the quotation in Matt 21:9.[38] Ps 118 offers a description of a festive procession to the temple. The last part of the psalm is situated there. In v. 19 "the gates of righteousness" are mentioned, in v. 20 "the gate of the LORD" and in v. 26 "the house of the LORD". The temple is God's domain and may only be entered by the righteous. The group that enters through the gates, is welcomed by the priests with the words: "Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the LORD. We bless you (plural!) from the house of the LORD". The arrival in the temple is followed by the offering of a sacrifice, while at the same time people dance about with green twigs in their hands.

In view of these data it is easy to ascertain that the psalm has left many more traces in Matthew's text than just the citation of v. 9. People cutting twigs

36 Claes, *Echo's echo's*, 55.57.207.

37 See Eduard Lohse, "Hosianna," *NovT* 6 (1963): 113–119; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Evidence Affecting the Interpretation of Hosanna in the New Testament," Pages 110–118 in *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of E.Earle Ellis* (eds. Gerald F. Hawthorne and Otto Betz; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987). One might argue that the shout of joy ὡσαννά was created by Greek-speaking pilgrims trying to pronounce the Aramaic הושׁיע נא. We cannot be certain about this because we come across 'hosanna' for the first time in the Greek text of the Gospels.

38 See also James A. Sanders, "A New Testament Hermeneutic Fabric: Psalm 118 in the Entrance Narrative," Pages 177–190 in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William H. Brownlee* (eds. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring; Homage Series 10; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).

from the trees and spreading them along the path is reminiscent of Ps 118:27.[39] Another parallel with Ps 118 is that in Matthew there is a continuous movement that ends only after the temple has been entered, where Jesus is confronted with the commercial activities associated with the sacrifice cult. I also want to point out that the entry into the temple, both in Ps 118:19 (LXX) and in Matt 21:10.12 is expressed by the verb εἰσέρχομαι.

Focusing on the original context of the citation, we see that in Matthew also a number of elements from the psalm have been rather drastically changed. In Ps 118 the officiating priests welcome the crowd at the temple gates; they pronounce the words from v. 26. In Matthew, however, this blessing is uttered by the crowd and refers to Jesus. The high priests are not mentioned until after Jesus has entered the temple. They and the scribes become agitated when they learn that the jubilation of the crowd has spread to the children of Jerusalem. Another discrepancy is that in the psalm the entry into the temple leads to a sacrifice being offered, whereas in Matthew Jesus displays activities which totally disrupt the religious sacrifice.

I will conclude these observations with some remarks on the citation itself. In the Hebrew text the priests bless the people who take part in the religious festival, invoking the name of God (cf. Num 6:22–27). In the LXX "in the name of the LORD" more unequivocally refers to "come". This is also the case in Matthew. Here Jesus is praised by the crowd as someone who comes in the name of, as the representative of, God. The ὁ ἐρχόμενος used here is also used in John's question in Matt 11:3. In his answer to that question Jesus draws from Isa 35. Interestingly, it is exactly this chapter that speaks about the coming of God (Isa 35:4: "He will come and save you") and about the curing of the blind and the lame (Isa 35:5–6), the same groups that are mentioned in our text (Matt 21:14). "He who comes" therefore refers to someone who makes available God's eschatological salvation.

5 The Citations From Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11 in Matt 21:13

The mixed citation in Matt 21:13 is a combination of a positive and a negative statement. The positive statement is an abbreviated formulation of Isa 56:7;

39 See also Lev 23:40 or 2 Macc 10:7. This latter text is about the purification of the temple on the 25th kislev of the year 164. Verse 7 reads: "Therefore, carrying ivy-wreathed wands and beautiful branches and also fronds of palm, they offered hymns of thanksgiving to him who had given success to the purifying of his own holy place."

the negative statement contains two words from Jer 7:11. In both cases therefore, only a partial representation of the original is concerned. In an overview:

Isa 56:7b and Jer 7:11 in the Hebrew text and the LXX

כי ביתי בית־תפלה יקרא לכל־העמים Isa 56:7b
ὁ γὰρ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν

המערת פרצים היה הבית הזה אשר־נקרא־שמי עליו בעיניכם Jer 7:11a
μὴ σπήλαιον λῃστῶν ὁ οἶκός μου, οὗ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ, ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν;

Matt 21:13
ὁ οἶκός μου οἶκος προσευχῆς κληθήσεται, ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ποιεῖτε σπήλαιον λῃστῶν

The clause from Isa 56:7 in the original context runs as follows: "Truly, my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples." The text is in the prologue of the Trito-Isaiah and speaks of the time shortly after the Babylonian captivity. God announces that his house, the temple, must have a new purpose, expressed in a new name: house of prayer for all peoples. The emphasis is on "for all peoples", rather than on "a house of prayer"[40]. The peoples will gather on Zion together with Israel, so that a new cult community will arise. This promise forms the conclusion of 56:4–7 in which God ensures that eunuchs and foreigners, two groups with a position in the margin of Israel's society, will positively have access to worship, at least if they are righteous. On the same condition Gentiles or proselytes too can share in God's salvation.

In Matt 21:13 "for all peoples" is omitted (diff. Mark 11:17). The effect is that this verse formulates a pure contrast between "a house of prayer" and "a den of robbers". Now the emphasis is on "a house of prayer". What this description involves becomes clear as a result of Jesus' activities. He chases all traders and buyers away and overturns the tables of the money-changers and the seats of the pigeon dealers. In this way he disrupts the commercial activities necessary for the continuity of the cult. He turns himself against the usual function of the temple as a cult centre and he brings about a situation in which the

40 See Beuken, *Jesaja: Deel III A*, 33.

temple can no longer fulfil that function. Thus a distinction exists between the temple as a house of prayer and the temple as a cult centre. This differentiation is not made in Isaiah. There, "a house of prayer" is not meant to diminish the importance of sacrificial observances; on the contrary, in 56:7 God states that especially sacrifices and burnt offerings of the fringe groups shall be acceptable to him.[41]

The citation in Matt 21:13 functions primarily as a justification of Jesus' activities mentioned in verse 12. Given the original context of the Isaiah citation, this quotation can also be applied to verse 14, where Jesus cures the blind and the lame and gives them a position as full members in a community of which he himself is the centre. The blind and the lame are indeed substitutes for the eunuchs and the foreigners in Isaiah. Matthew's text and Isa 56 share the feature that the fringe groups acquire a full place as members of the community.[42]

The reference to Jer 7:11 is based on two words: σπήλαιον λῃστῶν. In Jeremiah, the sentence in which these words occur is formulated as an interrogative sentence: "Has this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your sight?" In Matthew the interrogative is transformed into a positive assertion: "you are making it a den of robbers". Opting for the use of the present tense (ποιεῖτε) emphatically underlines that the text from Jeremiah is still very relevant many centuries later. The syntagm σπήλαιον λῃστῶν, drawn from the LXX, has metaphoric significance: Jeremiah compares the temple with a hiding place where people imagine they are safe, and he characterises the inhabitants of Jerusalem as thieves who commit crimes and are not afraid to use violence (cf. Jer 7:6.9). In Matthew this prophetic censure is aimed specifically at those who are responsible for the management of the temple. The priesthood also belong to that category (cf. "the high priests" in 21:15). The religious system as perpetuated by them requires considerable financial sacrifices from the templegoers. By curing the blind and the lame in the temple, Jesus performs an activity which indicates in which direction the alternative is to be found for the practices he condemns. His act forms a beautiful illustration of the motto from Hos 6:6: "I desire mercy and not sacrifice" (cf. 9:13; 12:7).

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41 Richard C. Bauckham, "Jesus' Demonstration in the Temple," Pages 72–89 (83) in *Law and Religion: Essays on the Place of the Law in Israel and Early Christianity* (ed. Barnabas Lindars; Cambridge: James Clarke, 1988): "Isa 56:7 clearly uses the term 'house of prayer' to describe the temple precisely as a place of sacrifice."

42 Matt 21:14 implies that the Son of David will break with the tradition that the blind and the lame were not allowed to enter the house of God, a custom which the LXX dates back to David's time (2 Sam 5:8). See also: Dietfried Gewalt, "Die Heilung Blinder und Lahmer im Tempel (Matthäus 21,14)," *DBAT* 23 (1986): 156–173 (167).

6 The Citation From Ps 8:3 in Matt 21:16

Ps 8:3 in the Hebrew text and in the LXX
מפי עוללים וינקים יסדת עז למען צורריך להשׁבית אויב ומתנקם׃
ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον ἕνεκα τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου τοῦ καταλῦσαι ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητήν.

Matt 21:16
ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον.

The citation from Ps 8:3 corresponds literally to the version of the LXX. This is especially clear from the term αἶνος ('hymn of praise'). The Hebrew text has עז ('bulwark') at this point, although this word too may have to do with a hymn of praise (cf. Ps 29:1; 96:7).The first part of Ps 8 describes God's dominion over the monsters of chaos which form a constant threat to his creation. This is expressed most eloquently in the Hebrew text; in verse 3 it does not speak of a song of praise but of a bulwark, raised by God to keep the monsters under control. This bulwark also serves as God's throne. The second part is a meditative reflection on the position of man. God has put everything under his feet. Verses 8–9 explain that this especially refers to man's care for the animal-world. In his dominion over the animals, man resembles God, who dominates the monsters of chaos.[43] In the New Testament this second part is frequently applied to Jesus, pre-eminently the man to whom everything is submitted (1 Cor 15:27; Eph 1:22; Heb 2:6–8a; 1 Pet 3:22).

The remarkable thing about Matt 21:16 is that here also the first part of the psalm is applied to Jesus. In that interpretation process Matthew lets Jesus take the initiative. In his answer to the question of the high priests and the scribes, Jesus repeats the words from Ps 8:3 in the formulation of the LXX, and their meaning is changed by his quoting them. In the psalm itself, the song of the babes and infants is addressed to God, but Jesus declares that *he* is the object of that song. As a result of this provocative interpretation, other elements from the psalm likewise acquire a new meaning. The νήπιοι are taken figuratively to refer to Jesus' disciples to whom the Father reveals the identity of his Son

43 This exegesis is inspired by Jan Holman, "A Gentleman's Psalm: Genesis 1,26 naar het beeld van Psalm 8," Pages 75–86 in *Stromen uit Eden: Festschrift N. Poulssen* (eds. Kees Verdegaal and Wim Weren; Boxtel and Brugge: Katholieke Bijbelstichting, 1992).

(cf. 11:25). It is God himself who has caused the children to sing. In the psalm the song is meant to stay the destructive power of the monsters of chaos. This dubious position is now applied to the high priests and the scribes. With this citation Jesus effectively shuts them up.

The story of Matthew thus very accurately reflects the constellation in the first part of the psalm. On the other hand, a transformation occurs: the struggle between God and the monsters of chaos is transposed to the bitter conflict between Jesus and the Jewish leaders in Jerusalem.[44]

7 Conclusions

The hypothesis that an explicit citation generates interaction between the text from which it originates and the text into which it is incorporated, has proved to be particularly productive. We have repeatedly been able to observe that the original context of the citations reverberates in Matt 21:1–17. In their new setting the quoted words and sentences continue to refer to contextual data with which they were originally associated. These original connections are not merely repeated as to form or content, nor are they completely erased in the process; they usually reappear transformed. It also appears that the explicit citations are strongly integrated into their new literary setting, even to such an extent that one could ask whether the course of events in the story is not at least co-determined by the course of events in the Old Testament texts that have been assimilated in Matt 21:1–17.

For the sake of convenience I have discussed the citations one after another. In the process it sometimes appeared that they are strongly interconnected. In his story Matthew has used parts of various Old Testament texts and as a result those texts, in their new setting in Matthew, mutually illuminate each other. Now I will go a little further into this phenomenon.

The Old Testament citations in Matt 21:1–17 have been partially attuned to each other. The connection between Isa 62:11 and Zech 9:9 is based on literal

44 I fully agree with Hans Klein when he writes: "Wahrscheinlich ist (. . .), dass Mt das angeführte Zitat in seinem unmittelbaren Kontext ernst nahm: 'wegen deiner Feinde, um zum Schweigen zu bringen Feind und Widersacher'. Dieser Abschnitt wird zwar nicht zitiert, aber es geschieht ihm entsprechend: Das Lob der Kinder und der Hinweis auf die Schrift, macht die Feinde Jesu zunächst mundtot." See Hans Klein, "Zur Wirkungsgeschichte von Ps 8," Pages 183–198 (197) in *Konsequente Traditionsgeschichte: Festschrift Klaus Baltzer* (eds. Rüdiger Bartelmus, Thomas Krüger, and Helmut Utzschneider; OBO 126; Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

and substantive similarities between the two texts. The verb ἔρχομαι from Zech 9:9 reappears in the quotation from Ps 118:25–26. This latter quotation is repeated in an abbreviated form in 21:15. In the LXX, the two citations in Matt 21:13 are linked by the syntagm ὁ οἰκός μου (in the Hebrew text of Isa 56:7 ביתי occurs and in Jer 7:11 הבית הזה is used). The term 'praise' in Ps 8:3 refers to the acclamation of the children and the crowd, itself in its turn taken from Ps 118. Ps 8 is flanked by the sentence: "O Lord, our Sovereign, how majestic is your name in all the earth!" This sentence establishes a connection with Ps 118:26: in both contexts the name of the Lord is mentioned. From a substantive point of view it is important that the majority of the quoted passages already referred to Jerusalem or the temple in their Old Testament setting.[45] This becomes even more significant when we realise that in 21:1–17 Matthew shows his preference for texts from Trito-Isaiah and for other texts that refer to the time shortly after the captivity, which show that after a time of terrible misfortune God will again—and now definitively—settle in Zion and will establish a new community there. The composition of this new community is heterogeneous: it is formed by returning deportees who ally themselves to persons and groups who remained behind in the wrecked city; also, the new community is open to righteous people from among the Gentiles. The new future acquires a concrete form in salvation figures such as the servant from Deutero-Isaiah, the servants from Trito-Isaiah or the king of Zion from Zechariah.

Like the salvation figures from the post-exilic texts, Jesus is the leader or the centre of the new community which is going to develop in Jerusalem. The many citations also emphasize Jesus' bond with God: elements which in the Old Testament refer to God, are applied to Jesus as a result of their re-use in Matthew.

It is also interesting what the citations are saying about Jerusalem. At the beginning of Matt 21:1–17 Zion is a rather undifferentiated entity: the joyful message of 21:5 is meant for all the inhabitants of the city; in 21:10–11 it is said that "the whole city" is in turmoil. Subsequently the initially undifferentiated city is arranged into two groups. The one group is formed by the merchants and their clients, the money-changers and the pigeon sellers, the scribes and the high priests. They are depicted as Jesus' antipodes. The other group consists of the enthusiastic crowd, the blind and the lame, and the children of

45 Renate Brandscheidt, "Messias und Tempel: Die alttestamentliche Zitate in Mt 21,1–17," *TTZ* 99 (1990): 36–48 (37), quite rightly observes that the citations "im Rahmen der alttestamentlichen Offenbarung Zeugnisse (sind) für Jahwehs Heilshandeln auf Zion, das ja nicht einfach die Stadt Jerusalem meint, sondern den Ort des Tempels als den Ort einer besonderen Offenbarungsgegenwart Gottes."

Jerusalem. The crowd and the children give voice to the response which actually one might have expected of all Jerusalem. Now that Jesus enters Jerusalem, a new community develops, just as it did in the time after the captivity, but now that community is formed around his person.[46]

A final point of connection between Matthew and the post-exilic texts is that in both cases there is earnest meditation on the position of the temple. The rebuilding of the temple after the captivity gave renewed energy to innovative insights concerning the participation in public worship of members of fringe groups in Israel's society and of righteous people from all the inhabited world. It is significant that in Matthew, Jesus' journey to Jerusalem culminates in his action in the temple. I emphasized that his activities there in fact cause a disruption of the sacrificial practices. Little justice is done to the text in asserting that Jesus is only concerned about restoring the purity of the cult. Nor is opening Israel's worship to the nations within the scope of the text: the omission of the reference to "all nations" is incompatible with this interpretation. By expelling all (!) buyers and merchants from the temple, Jesus demonstrates that the role of the temple as a cult centre is a thing of the past. Note, however, that especially in Matthew's version Jesus' actions in the temple are twofold: immediately after his negative action in verse 12, Jesus gives the temple a new purpose by making it a place where the blind and the lame are healed and where through God, children become acquainted with the true identity of Jesus.[47]

In the exegesis of Matthew's Gospel it is commonplace to say that in Jesus the history of Israel is revived. This revival also involves certain corrections or is accompanied by transformations. However, the new meanings which result, are not the patent of Matthew or of the New Testament. The re-evaluation has already begun in the Scripture itself. The post-exilic texts are an eloquent example. By integrating those texts into his book, Matthew revives an important period from the history of Israel.

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46 As a result of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, a dichotomy arises, but perhaps it is only of a temporary nature; at the end of Matt 23 the hope is voiced that a moment will come when Jesus' opponents too will fall in with the song of praise from Ps 118.

47 See also Thomas Söding, "Die Tempelaktion Jesu: Redaktionskritik—Überlieferungsgeschichte—historische Rückfrage (Mk 11,15–19; Mt 21,12–17; Lk 19,45–48; Joh 2,13–22)," *TTZ* 101 (1992): 36–64 (41–43).

CHAPTER 10

The Use of Isa 5:1–7 in the Parable of the Tenants (Mark 12:1–12; Matt 21:33–46)

In the past few decades our scientific knowledge of Isaiah's song of the vineyard (Isa 5:1–7) has expanded in two ways. Firstly, the literary and rhetorical aspects of the Hebrew text have been closely studied. The result was an almost general consensus as regards the literary genre of this text: Isa 5:1–7 is an example of a juridical parable.[1] Secondly, the publication of 4Q500 has filled up a gap in our knowledge of the interpretation history of Isa 5:1–7. For information on this subject we previously had to rely on the corresponding text in the LXX, the Targum Jonathan and a number of rabbinic texts. On the basis of this material it was not possible to determine with full certainty how Isa 5:1–7 was interpreted in first century Palestine. The publication of 4Q500 changed this. In all probability the first fragment of this papyrus manuscript contains an exegesis of Isaiah's song of the vineyard.[2]

In this chapter I will investigate whether the new insights concerning Isa 5:1–7 and early-Jewish interpretations of this text shed new light on the use of Isa 5:1–7 in the parable of the tenants (Mark 12:1–12; Matt 21:33–46). I will begin with a discussion of the literary and rhetorical aspects of the Hebrew text of Isa 5:1–7. Subsequently, I will map the traces which the Hebrew text and the version of the LXX, the Targum and 4Q500 have left in Mark's version of the parable of the tenants. After that I will try to find out whether Matthew's version contains points of contact with Isa 5:1–7 which *cannot* have been derived from Mark. If there are such points, we may presume that the colourful gamut of interpretations that sprang from the Hebrew text of Isa 5:1–7 not only influenced the genesis of Mark 12:1–12 but also the way in which the parable was adapted by Matthew at a later phase of the tradition.

1 See the literature listed in note 14.

2 See: Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4 III* (*4Q482–4Q520*) (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 78–79; Joseph M. Baumgarten, "4Q500 and the Ancient Conception of the Lord's Vineyard," *JJS* 40 (1989): 1–6; George J. Brooke, "4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard," *DSD* 2 (1995): 268–294.

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1 Literary and Rhetorical Aspects of Isa 5:1–7 (Hebrew Text)

Isa 5:1–7 is a textual unit, at least on a redactional level.[3] This poetic text consists of three stanzas: A: vv. 1–2; B: vv. 3–6; C: v. 7.[4] The main argument for this tripartition is the frequent change of subject: v. 1a is in the first person ('I') and vv. 1b–2 are in the third person ('he'); verses 3–6 revert to the first person ('I') and in v. 7 it is again the third person ('he').[5]

It is characteristic of this passage that the identity of the various speakers is not immediately clear. Only after repeated reading it appears that the speaker of vv. 1b–2 and in v. 7 is the same. This speaker calls the owner of the vineyard his friend. In v. 7 he identifies the owner with God. Thus he also reveals his own identity: the words of vv. 1b–2.7 are spoken by the prophet. In vv. 3–6 the owner

3 Oswald Loretz, "Weinberglied und prophetische Deutung im Protest-Song Jes 5,1–7", *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7 (1975): 573–576 (573 and 575), criticizes the "prima vista Anschauung (. . .) dass ein einheitlicher, einstufiger Text vorliege". On the basis of a stichometrical analysis he distinguishes three stages in the genesis of Isa 5:1–7: (a) a love-song (5:1b–2); (b) the prophet's protest song (5:1a'.7c); (c) a further elaboration of that prophetical text (5:1a".3–7b). This brief outline of the genesis does not imply that in its present form Isa 5:1–7 is not a coherent text. The unity of this text emerges from the repeated use of כרם (vv. 1.3.4.5.7), קוה (vv. 2.4.7; the subject always being the owner of the vineyard) and עשׂה (in vv. 2.4 this verb refers to the produce of the vineyard, in v. 4 to the activities that the owner carried out in the past, and in v. 5 to that which he is going to undertake in the future). Demarcating Isa 5:1–7 with respect to the preceding text (Isa 2–4) offers no problems. The caesura after 5:7 is not very profound. The six woe-oracles in 5:8–24, followed by the announcement of the destruction of the people (5:25–30), explicitly formulate the social injustice of which the house of Israel is accused in 5:7. Cf. Joseph A. Alexander, *Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1980, repr. from 1953, first edition 1865), 126–131. According to Yehoshua Gitay, *Isaiah and his Audience: The Structure and Meaning of Isaiah 1–12* (SSN 30; Assen and Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1991), 87–116, Isa 5:1–30 is a textual unit, introduced by vv. 1–7.

4 According to Margaretha L. Folmer, "A Literary Analysis of the 'Song of the Vineyard' (Is. 5:1–7)," *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 29 (1985): 106–123, Isa 5:1–7 can be grouped into four stanzas (vv. 1b–2; vv. 3–4; vv. 5–6; v. 7). The poem begins with an introduction (v. 1a), which is strongly connected to the first stanza. Marjo C.A. Korpel, "The Literary Genre of the Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 5:1–7)," Pages 119–155 in *The Structural Analysis of Biblical and Canaanite Poetry* (eds. Willem van der Meer and Johannes C. de Moor; JSOTSup 74; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), uncovers a similar structure.

5 For a semiotic analysis of this phenomenon see: Nic J. Tromp, "Un démasquage graduel: Lecture immanente d'Is 5,1–7", Pages 197–202 in *The Book of Isaiah—Le Livre d'Isaïe: Les oracles et leurs relectures; Unité et complexité de l'ouvrage* (ed. Jacques Vermeylen; BETL 81; Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

himself speaks. This is evidenced by the shift away from "his vineyard" (v. 1a) to "my vineyard" (v. 3).

Verse 1a is truly mysterious. The opening words (אשׁירה נא לידידי) create the impression that a girl is going to sing a song for her beloved.[6] This impression is later corrected, when it turns out that the prophet is the speaker. The following problem in v. 1a is formed by שׁירת דודי. The usual translation ("the song *of* my friend") is incompatible with vv. 1b–2 as in this passage the friend is not speaking himself, but is introduced in the third person. This problem is removed if we read שׁירת דודי as an objective genitive ("the song *about* my friend concerning his vineyard").[7]

Verse 1a is rather detached from the rest of the pericope (despite the repetition of "my friend" in v. 1b). This section of the verse includes a large number of /i/-sounds in Hebrew: אשׁירה נא לידידי שׁירת דודי לכרמו. It is an opening which functions as an introduction to vv. 1b–2, in which the third person is used to indicate the owner of the vineyard.[8] The prophet announces that he is going to sing a song about his friend concerning his vineyard. This vineyard is on a very fertile hill. From the verbs in v. 2 it appears that the owner has created excellent conditions for an abundant harvest. He has planted the vineyard with choice vines. Therefore, he expects that the vineyard will yield good grapes. At the end of the first stanza, the vineyard itself is the grammatical subject. Then we hear the first jarring note: the actual produce contrasts sharply with the produce expected by the owner as a result of his exertions.

The second stanza is characterized by the frequent occurrence of verbs in the first person singular and by the use of the first person suffix. Here the owner is speaking. He addresses his audience directly. This is clear from the double vocative used in v. 3 ("inhabitants of Jerusalem and people of Judah"), from the use of the imperative in v. 3 (שׁפטו־נא) and from the second person plural in v. 5 (אתכם). These data confirm that verses 3–6 should be seen as a unit.[9]

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6 See Francis Landy, "The Parable of the Vineyard (Isaiah 5:1–7): Or What is A Love Song Doing Among the Prophets?," *Studies in Religion / Sciences Religieuses* 34 (2005): 147–164.

7 These solutions for the translation problems in v. 1a are from John A. Emerton, "The Translation of Isaiah 5,1," Pages 18–30 in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls* (eds. Florentino García Martínez, Antonius Hilhorst, and Casper J. Labuschagne; VTSup 49; Leiden etc.: Brill, 1992).

8 Cf. Thomas Schmeller, "Der Erbe des Weinbergs: Zu den Gerichtsgleichnissen Mk 12,1–12 und Jes 5,1–7", *MTZ* 46 (1995): 183–201 (188): "1a wirkt zwar (. . .) zunächst wie eine Überschrift oder Einleitung des ganzen folgenden Texts, erweist sich im Nachhinein aber als Einleitung nur für 1f."

9 That this stanza consists of two sub-units (B1: vv. 3–4; B2: vv. 5–6) appears from the repetition of ועתה (vv. 3.5).

In this second stanza, the owner acts as the accuser and he invites his addressees to assume the role of the judge. He asks them two questions; the first one is about his own activities, the second one is about the produce of the vineyard.[10] In the second question, the contrast from the end of v. 2 is repeated almost literally. There is only one possible answer to this question: the owner of the vineyard is not in the least at fault; the vineyard must be blamed entirely. The expectation that this answer would be given by the audience, which after all must act as the judge, is not fulfilled. It does not get the opportunity to fulfil the role of the judge. In verses 5–6, the owner himself immediately assumes that role. He announces what he is going to do in the future. This is elaborated in verses 5b–6, where destructive activities are enumerated which contrast sharply with the constructive activities in v. 2.

In the third stanza, verses 7a and 7b are closely related. These verse parts show a chiastic structure and, unlike v. 7c, contain nominal clauses. In this last stanza, the prophet cuts across the double pseudonymity that characterized the preceding verses. He identifies his friend, the owner of the vineyard, with God,[11] and the vineyard with the audience mentioned in v. 3. The people addressed here, which first played the part of the judge, have now become the accused; the judgment from the previous stanza refers to them. The climax of the passage is reached in v. 7c, where the prophet formulates the contrast between the Lord's positive expectations and the people's negative output.[12] This contrast echoes the antithesis already mentioned in vv. 2.4. The corruption of the judiciary in particular is denounced here; it is a source of social abuse.

I will now conclude this section with a few remarks about the effect of the text on the listeners. This requires some insight into the literary genre of Isa 5:1–7.[13] The text itself contains a signal concerning the literary genre that is used here. In v. 1a, the prophet says that he is going to sing a song (cf. 23:15–16

10 Verses 4a and 4b begin with an interrogative word (מה in v. 4a and מדוע in v. 4b), introducing two questions apparently anticipating a negative response. These particles are followed by the infinitive לעשׂות. Both in v. 4a and in v. 4b, עשׂה is mentioned twice. Both verse parts contain the perfect first person singular (עשׂיתי in v. 4a and קויתי in v. 4b).

11 Perhaps this identification was prepared for as early as verse 6 where it appears that the owner is someone who can manipulate the clouds and the rain.

12 Verse 7c contains a double pun: משׂפח / משׂפט and צעקה / צדקה.

13 Much research has been done concerning the literary genre of Isa 5:1–7. The results differ strongly. John T. Willis, "The Genre of Isaiah 5,1–7," *JBL* 96 (1977): 337–362, lists twelve different types of solutions.

and 26:1). He gives the impression that his song is about a fictitious situation. In this way he masks his real intentions. He chooses this line of action to trick his audience into passing judgment. It is manipulated into seconding the crushing judgment which the owner himself pronounces on his vineyard in vv. 5–6. Only from the commentary in v. 7 it appears that the audience has, in fact, passed judgment on itself.

Thus, in Isa 5:1–7, two different literary forms are cleverly linked up: the whole poem takes the form of a song, but that song has the function of a parable. This is in fact a juridical parable.[14] A juridical parable is "a realistic story about a violation of the law, related to someone who had committed a similar offence with the purpose of leading the unsuspecting hearer to pass judgment on himself".[15] With his parable of the vineyard, the prophet holds up a mirror to his audience. What he wants to achieve is that they should connect the narrated fictitious situation with their own situation. God's concern for the house of Israel requires social justice; however, Israel reacts by perpetrating social injustice. This is what the prophet wants to convey to his audience.[16]

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14 According to Willy Schottroff, "Das Weinberglied Jesajas (Jes 5,1–7): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Parabel", *ZAW* 82 (1970): 68–91 (89), Isa 5:1–7 is a fable, but he considers v. 7 as "eine Anwendung (. . .), welche die (. . .) Fabel in eine Parabel (. . .) umschlagen lässt". Isa 5:1–7 is also considered to be a prophetic judgement oracle into which a parable is woven. Cf. Herbert Niehr, "Zur Gattung von Jes 5,1–7", *BZ* 30 (1986): 99–104: "eine anklagende Gerichtsparabel". On the basis of his study into the poetic structure of the text, Korpel, "Literary Genre," 152–155, comes to the conclusion that Isa 5:1–7 is an allegory. Willis' proposal ("Genre," 359) is "to classify the literary type of this pericope as a parable, and to describe its contents as a parabolic song of a disappointed husbandman". That Isa 5:1–7 is a particular type of parable, namely a juridical parable, is defended by Adrian Graffy, "The Literary Genre of Isaiah 5,1–7," *Bib* 60 (1979): 400–409; Gale A. Yee, "A Form-Critical Study of Isaiah 5,1–7 as a Song and a Juridical Parable," *CBQ* 43 (1981): 30–40; Gerald T. Sheppard, "More on Isaiah 5,1–7 as a Juridical Parable," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 45–47. In view of these three studies, Craig A. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries: Comparative Studies* (AGJU 25; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 396, concludes "that a consensus has emerged in which Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard is understood as an instance of the genre juridical parable". See also Craig A. Evans, "On the Vineyard Parables of Isaiah 5 and Mark 12," *BZ* 28 (1984): 82–86.

15 Uriel Simon, "The Poor Man's Ewe Lamb: An Example of a Juridical Parable," *Bib* 48 (1967): 207–242 (220–221).

16 The rhetorical pattern of Isa 5:1–7 is comparable to the pattern of 2 Sam 12:1–7a; 14:1–20; 1 Kgs 20:35–42. See: Graffy, "Literary Genre," 404–406, and Yee, "A Form-Critical Study," 33–34.

This analysis produces the following results. In Isa 5:1–7, the metaphor of the vineyard is applied to the house of Israel. The connection between v. 7 and v. 3 makes it clear that the house of Israel refers to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the people of Judah, i.e. to the southern kingdom, which must now perform the task which was originally meant for the whole of Israel.[17] The prophet brings his audience to a negative evaluation of the way in which they are fulfilling that task. The question of whether this evaluation will lead to better behaviour is not answered in this text.

2 The Use of Isa 5:1–7 in Mark 12:1–12

In this section, I try to find out whether Mark 12:1–12 has been influenced by Isaiah's song of the vineyard. I begin with a comparison between Mark, the Hebrew text and the LXX. Subsequently, I present a short discussion about the Targum and 4Q500.

2.1 *Mark 12:1–12 and Isa 5:1–7* (*Hebrew Text and LXX*)

The description of the planting of the vineyard in Mark 12:1 contains a quotation from Isa 5:2.[18] What is the origin of the quotation: the Hebrew text or the LXX? The answer to this question requires a careful comparison between the three texts. For the sake of clarity I present a comparative table:

17 Gary R. Williams, "Frustrated Expectations in Isaiah V 1–7: A Literary Interpretation," *VT* 35 (1985), 464: "Judah is the historical continuation of that Israel to whom Yahweh gave the land of Canaan."

18 The quotation from Isa 5:2 is also found in Matt 21:33 but it is absent in Luke 20:9 and in *Gos.Thom.* 65. Still, Charles A. Kimball writes in "Jesus' Exposition of Scripture in Luke 20:9–19: An Inquiry in Light of Jewish Hermeneutics," *BBR* 3 (1993), 85: "In its literary form the Luke 20:9–18 pericope is a proem-like midrash on Isa 5:1–2, *its opening text*, which is expounded by a parable" (my italics). For an analysis of *Gos.Thom.* 65, I refer to: Boudewijn Dehandschutter, "La parabole des vignerons homicides (Mc. XII,1–12) et l'évangile selon Thomas", Pages 203–219 in *L'Évangile selon Marc: Tradition et rédaction* (ed. Maurice Sabbe; BETL 34; Gembloux: Duculot / Leuven: University Press, 1974); William G. Morrice, "The Parable of the Tenants and the Gospel of Thomas," *ExpTim* 98 (1987): 104–107; Klyne R. Snodgrass, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen: Is the Gospel of Thomas Version the Original?," *NTS* 21 (1975): 142–144; Id., *The Parable of the Wicked Tenants: An Inquiry into Parable Interpretation* (WUNT 27; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983), 52–54.

Isa 5:2 (*Hebrew text*)	*Isa 5:2* (*LXX*)	*Mark 12:1*
1. ויעזקהו	–	–
2. ויסקלהו	–	–
–	1. καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα	1. ἀμπελῶνα (. . .) ἐφύτευσεν
–	2. καὶ ἐχαράκωσα	–
3. ויטעהו שׂרק	3. καὶ ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον σωρηχ	2. καὶ περιέθηκεν φραγμὸν
4. ויבן מגדל בתוכו	4. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησα πύργον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ	3. καὶ ὤρυξεν ὑπολήνιον
5. וגם־יקב חצב בו	5. καὶ προλήνιον ὤρυξα ἐν αὐτῷ	4. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν πύργον

The LXX differs from the Hebrew text on a number of points. In the first place it should be mentioned that the change in subject which we saw in the Hebrew text does not occur in the LXX. In the LXX, the verbs in v. 2 are in the first person singular, not in the third person, as they were in the Hebrew text (cf. also 5:7 where ויקו has been substituted for ἔμεινα). The result of these modifications is that in the LXX not only vv. 3–6 but also v. 1a, v. 2 and v. 7 are spoken by the owner of the vineyard. His words however are voiced by the prophet: he announces in v. 1a that he is going to sing a song of his friend, vv. 2–7 forming the song. The translators of the LXX have apparently sought to reinforce the connection between v. 1a and vv. 2–7; to achieve this they make the voice of the prophet shade off into that of his friend (the prophet thus proclaiming God's words).[19]

In the Hebrew text as well as in the LXX, the owner's concern for the vineyard is expressed by five verbs. Only the last three activities are similar: planting, building, and hacking. In the Hebrew text, we find two other activities ("he dug it and cleared it of stones") which are not found in the LXX.[20] Conversely,

19 Perhaps the replacement in v. 1a of לכרמו ("*his* vineyard") by τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου ("*my* vineyard") must be understood against this background. However, this last-mentioned modification forms a new inconsistency, for in v. 1a the singer calls the vineyard his property, while in v. 1b he states that the vineyard belongs to his friend (ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ).

20 John A.T. Robinson, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen: A Test of Synoptic Relationships," *NTS* 21 (1974–75): 445, note 8, minimises the difference: "The Hebrew of Isa v. 2, he 'dug it up', is rendered by the LXX, 'I fenced it round'." Possibly, the hapax עזק (= 'dig about': Koehler and Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, 695) has been rendered by ἐχαράκωσα under the influence of the Aramaic עזקתא (עזקא = 'clasp' or 'ring'). See Marcus A. Jastrow, A

the LXX mentions two activities (φραγμόν περιέθηκα καὶ ἐχαράκωσα) which are not found in the Hebrew text. These two activities both concern fencing the vineyard round to separate it from the surrounding area: the vineyard is walled in and in addition it is surrounded by a fence.[21] In the Hebrew text, it only appears in v. 5 that the vineyard was surrounded by a hedge and a wall in order to protect it against the penetration of animals and men. In the LXX, verses 2 and 5 are associated more strongly: here, the building of a fence (v. 2: φραγμόν περιέθηκα) is linked to v. 5 where it is said that the fence shall be removed (ἀφελῶ τὸν φραγμόν αὐτοῦ).[22]

Let us now look at the use of Isa 5:2 in Mark 12:1. On a number of points the parable gives the impression of having been influenced not only by the LXX but also by the Hebrew text.[23] Dependence on the LXX appears from the four activities mentioned in Mark which are also present in the LXX. The most striking of this foursome is the fencing in of the vineyard. This element can only have been taken from the LXX, which differs from the Hebrew text on this point.[24] This activity is described twice in the LXX: φραγμόν περιέθηκα and ἐχαράκωσα. In Mark the second verb is missing, perhaps because ἐχαράκωσα partly covers φραγμόν περιέθηκα. Further differences are that in Mark ἄμπελον

Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (New York: The Judaica Press, 1971), 1062. Cf. Merrill P. Miller, *Scripture and Parable: A Study of the Function of the Biblical Features in the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen and Their Place in the History of Tradition* (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation; Columbia University, 1974), 62.

21 See: Lust et al., *Greek-English Lexicon: Part II*, 513: χαρακόω = 'to fence in with stakes'. Cf. Friedrich Rehkopf, *Septuaginta-Vokabular* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 308: 'mit Pfählen versehen'. The verb χαρακόω occurs twice in the LXX (Isa 5:2; Jer 39:2; cf. χαράκωσις in Deut 20:20) and is not found in the New Testament. In Oda 10:2, καὶ ἐχαράκωσα is missing.

22 In this connection I point to a minor difference. In the LXX, we read about the instantaneous sprouting of thorns (vv. 2.4: ἐποίησε δὲ ἀκάνθας); in the Hebrew text, this only occurs after the vineyard has been laid waste (v. 6).

23 John Kloppenborg's view that Mark's parable of the vineyard agrees with the LXX, but never with the Hebrew text of Isa 5:1–7 where the Hebrew text deviates from the LXX is disputed by Craig Evans who is of the opinion that the Hebrew version of Isaiah's text is at the base of Mark's parable. See John S. Kloppenborg, "Egyptian Viticultural Practices and the Citation of Isa 5:1–7 in Mark 12:1–9," *NovT* 44 (2002): 134–159; Craig A. Evans, "How Septuagintal is Isa 5:1–7 in Mark 12:1–9?," *NovT* 45 (2003): 105–110; John S. Kloppenborg, "Isa 5:1–7 LXX and Mark 12:1,9 Again," *NovT* 46 (2004): 12–19.

24 Robinson, "Parable," 445: "the reference to the 'fence' depends on the use of the Greek Bible".

σωρηχ[25] is replaced by ἀμπελῶνα (this word is used in Isa 5:1), that the exact place of the tower (ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ) is not mentioned and that ἐν αὐτῳ has been omitted. Mark's having ὑπολήνιον instead of προλήνιον suggests his independence of the LXX.[26] The use of third person singular verb forms in Mark 12:1 corresponds to the formulation of Isa 5:2 in the Hebrew text.

However, there are more fundamental changes. Panc C. Beentjes has pointed at two remarkable phenomena. First, the order in which the various activities are presented in Mark differs from the order in the LXX.[27] The numbers 1 and 3 from the LXX reoccur in Mark, but in exactly the reversed order; the same goes for the numbers 4 and 5. Secondly, in Mark 12:1, the verb and the corresponding object have changed places in three cases out of four, compared to the LXX:[28]

Mark:	order:	LXX:
1 ἀμπελῶνα (. . .) ἐφύτευσεν	↔	ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον σωρηχ
2 περιέθηκεν φραγμόν	↔	φραγμόν περιέθηκα
3 ὤρυξεν ὑπολήνιον	↔	προλήνιον ὤρυξα
4 ᾠκοδόμησεν πύργον	=	ᾠκοδόμησα πύργον

Beentjes calls this an 'inverted quotation'. He has collected a number of examples of such quotations. This phenomenon occurs in the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the New Testament and also in texts originating from different periods in Antiquity. On the basis of these examples Beentjes assumes that this is a fixed literary procedure, to which he attributes the following function:

> [I]n an existing formulation (. . .) the author reverses the sequence. And by this deviating model he attains a moment of extra attention in the listener (or the reader), because the latter hears something else than the traditional words.[29]

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25 σωρηχ is a transcription of שׂרק (= choice grapes).

26 In the LXX, προλήνιον (vat fronting a wine press) as a translation of יקב only occurs in Isa 5:2 and Oda 10:2. In Mark, ὑπολήνιον is mentioned (vessel or vat placed under the wine press); in the LXX, we find this word as a translation of יקב (see Joel 3(4):13; Hag 2:17 (16); Zech 14:10; Isa 16:10).

27 Panc C. Beentjes, "Discovering a New Path of Intertextuality: Inverted Quotations and Their Dynamics," Pages 31–50 (esp. 44) in *Literary Structure and Rhetorical Strategies in the Hebrew Bible* (eds. Lenart J. de Regt, Jan de Waard, and Jan P. Fokkelman; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1996).

28 Ibid., 44.

29 Ibid., 49.

The double inversion of the order in Mark 12:1 indicates that a statement about Isa 5 is going to be made that differs from the original gist of that text.[30]

Stimulated by the quotation in Mark 12:1 the reader will be on the look out for further references to Isaiah's song of the vineyard. I observe the following similarities. The word ἀγαπητός in Mark 12:6 is reminiscent of ἀγαπητός and ἠγαπημένος in Isa 5:1.[31] The killing of the servants and the destruction of the vineyard link up to some nuances in the Hebrew text which are absent in the LXX: "I will make it [= the vineyard] a waste" (Isa 5:6) and "bloodshed" (Isa 5:7).[32] The question Jesus asks in Mark 12:9 (τί οὖν ποιήσει τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἐκείνοις;) strongly resembles the interrogative sentence from Isa 5:4a (HT: מה־לעשות עוד לכרמי; LXX: τί ποιήσω ἔτι τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου;).[33] A resemblance to Isa 5:7 (HT: כרם יהוה צבאות; LXX: ὅ [...] ἀμπελὼν κυρίου) is found in Mark 12:9 (ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος: again an inversion of the word order!).

Last but not least there is a similarity as far as the literary genre is concerned. In the Hebrew Bible and in the LXX, Isa 5:1–7 functions as a juridical parable. We can place Mark 12:1–12 in the same category. One of the characteristics of a juridical parable is that the listeners themselves judge the given legal case. In Isa 5:1–7, the listeners are invited to pass judgement, but the speaker does not wait for their reaction and gives the answer himself. The same pattern is followed in Mark 12:9: Jesus asks a question and answers it himself. In the last

30 Cf. Aaron A. Milavec, "Mark's Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen as Reaffirming God's Predilection for Israel," *JES* 26 (1989): 289–312 (295): "Mark did not repeat verbatim the Greek opening of Isaiah's parable. (...) By borrowing and noticeably modifying a familiar opening, an artful storyteller evokes the mood and theme of a familiar story, while simultaneously signalling that a *new* version of the old parable is about to begin." (italics Milavec's).

31 Cf. Hans-Josef Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese in synoptischen Gleichnistexten* (NTAbh 13; Münster: Aschendorff, 1978), 287: "Ein (...) Einfluß von Jes 5,1 LXX, wo τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ und τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ vorkommen, ist nicht auszuschließen." Also Schmeller, "Der Erbe des Weinbergs", 193, takes the view that the addition of ἀγαπητός to υἱός in Mark 12:6 has been influenced by the same word in Isa 5:1 LXX.

32 Evans, *Jesus*, 401 note 42.

33 See: Martin Hengel, "Das Gleichnis von den Weingärtnern Mc 12,1–12 im Lichte der Zenonpapyri und der rabbinischen Gleichnisse", *ZNW* 59 (1968): 1–39 (7). Joachim Jeremias, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu* (Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, 1970, 8., durchgesehene Aufl.), 72, erroneously links up Mark 12:9 par. and τί ποιήσω in Isa 5:5 and he writes the following: "hier [ist] nicht der hebräische Text benutzt (der nicht die Frageform hat), sondern die Septuaginta". τί ποιήσει from Mk 12:9 should rather be linked up with τί ποιήσω in Isa 5:4a. In the Hebrew text as well as in the LXX, Isa 5:4a takes the form of a question. In Isa 5:4 the Hebrew text contains two interrogative sentences; at this point the LXX contains one interrogative sentence, followed by a causal clause, introduced by διότι.

verse of Isa 5:1–7, it becomes clear that the speaker has been referring to his own listeners. In the same manner, and only at the end of the passage, do Jesus' listeners come to the conclusion that the parable is aimed at them (12:12).

From the above I draw the following conclusions. (a) The connections between Mark 12:1–12 and Isa 5:1–7 are striking. They are found not only in Mark 12:1 where Isa 5:2 is quoted explicitly but also in the following parts of the parable. (b) The parable has been influenced not only by the LXX but also by the Hebrew text. This is of importance regarding the reconstruction of the parable's genesis. The connections with Isa 5 are not merely the result of a later development. This would be the case if it were only the LXX that would have left traces in the parable of the tenants.[34] From the similarities Mark shares with the Hebrew text it appears that references to Isa 5 were already present in the earliest strata of the tradition and probably already formed part of the parable as it was told by Jesus himself.[35]

Above, I discussed the similarities between Mark 12:1–12 and Isa 5:1–7. There are also great differences. The NT text is not a mere copy of its pendant from the OT. In this context the inverted quotation in Mark 12:1 clearly is an indicator. The reader must be alive to the fact that also in the rest of the parable certain elements from Isa 5:1–7 are transformed, and new elements are introduced.

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34 Erroneously defended by Jeremias, *Gleichnisse*, 68: "[G]egen die Ursprünglichkeit der Bezugnahme auf Jes. 5 [macht] bedenklich, daß die Septuaginta benutzt ist. Die Anknüpfung an Jes. 5 dürfte (. . .) sekundäre Ausgestaltung sein." With regard to Mark 12:9 he says: "[A]uch hier [ist] nicht der hebräische Text benutzt (. . .), sondern die Septuaginta. Mit der Schlussfrage (. . .) fällt auch die Antwort, die sie findet, als ursprünglicher Bestandteil der Überlieferung" (72). See also Klauck, *Allegorie*, 287: "καὶ περιέθηκεν φραγμὸν καὶ ὤρυξεν ὑποληνὸν καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν 12,1c (enthält) Anklänge an das Weinberglied des Jesaja in der LXX-Fassung und muß als sekundäre, aber vormarkinische Erweiterung gelten. Die sprachliche Brücke für diese Einfügung bilden ἀμπελῶνα ἐφύτευσεν Mk 12,1b und ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη, bzw. ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον Jes 5,1–2 LXX."

35 My conclusions are in agreement with the nanced view of Schmeller, "Der Erbe des Weinbergs", 194: "Sowohl am Anfang wie am Ende des Gleichnisses finden sich deutliche Bezugnahmen auf Jes 5. An beiden Stellen begegnen Anklänge an LXX, die auf eine sekundäre Bearbeitung schließen lassen. An beiden Stellen begegnen aber auch gewisse Anklänge an MT, die zeigen, daß Bezüge auf Jes 5 wohl schon zum ursprünglichen Gleichnis gehörten und sekundär verstärkt wurden." According to Evans, *Jesus*, 396, Mark 12:1–12 as a whole is profoundly influenced by Isa 5:1–7: "In the Marcan parable Isaiah 5 provides the point of departure on which the new parable may be constructed." In order to substantiate this assertion Evans points out a number of 'Semitic features' which were already present in an early stage of the tradition (401, note 42). See also Evans, "How Septuagintal," 105–110.

In Isaiah, the vineyard unexpectedly plays a negative role: it produces bad fruit (Hebrew text); it brings forth thorns (LXX). The vineyard in Mark, however, meets the expectations and produces good grapes. This links up with the following transformation. In Isaiah, the vineyard will be destroyed, but in Mark its existence is not threatened. This latter change is connected to the introduction of a new group of characters: the tenants. The vineyard is spared, but the tenants are to be executed because they are not willing to hand over the fruits of the vineyard.

The differences contribute to the new interpretation which Isa 5:1–7 acquires. In Mark, that OT text is used to express fierce criticism of the attitude of the chief priests, the scribes and the elders (11:27). It is with them that Jesus here has an argument.[36] At the end of that debate, they discover that Jesus has told the parable against them (12:12). Through the citation from Ps 118:22–23 they have understood that the parable is actually a mirror that reflects their own opposition to Jesus.[37] This is certainly the case if we may regard "the builders" as a title which the leaders liked to apply to themselves. According to 12:12 the leaders draw the wrong conclusion from the parable. By looking for a pretext to detain Jesus, they follow the steps of the tenants and consciously set in motion a scenario which they know will have a fatal ending for themselves.

2.2 *The Targum and 4Q500*

The rendition of Isa 5:1–7 in the Targum Jonathan strongly differs from the Hebrew text. The English translation of the Aramaic text reads as follows:[38]

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36 Criticism of the leaders can also be found in Isa 3:12 ("My people, your leaders mislead you") and in Isa 3:14–15 ("The LORD enters into judgement with the elders and princes of his people: It is you who have devoured the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses. What do you mean by crushing my people, by grinding the face of the poor? says the LORD GOD of hosts."). Cf. Sheppard, "More on Isaiah 5:1–7," 46. The verb בער (Isa 3:14 and 5:5) confirms the relationship between Isa 3:14–15 and 5:1–7.

37 The parable is mirrored in the quotation from Ps 118:22–23: the tenants correspond to the builders, the owner of the vineyard (ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος) corresponds to God (κύριος), and the son corresponds to the stone. The son is killed by the tenants in the same way that the stone is rejected by the builders. However, the quotation also adds a new element which is absent in the parable: God will bring about a new situation by making the rejected stone the cornerstone. For a closer study into the quotation from Ps 118:22–23 I refer to Michel Berder, "*La pierre rejetée par les bâtisseurs*"*: Psaume 118,22–23 et son emploi dans les traditions juives et dans le Nouveau Testament* (EBib 31; Paris: Gabalda, 1996).

38 Here, the innovative wording of the Targum is presented in italics. This English translation is to be found in two scholarly books: John F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949): 16–17; Bruce D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation,*

> 5.1 *The prophet said*, I will sing now for *Israel–which is like a vineyard, the seed of Abraham, my friend—my friend's* song for his vineyard: *My people, my beloved Israel, I gave them a heritage* on a *high* hill *in* fertile *land*. 5.2 And *I sanctified them* and *I glorified them* and *I established them as the plant of a* choice vine: and *I* built *my sanctuary* in *their* midst, and I even *gave my altar to atone for their sins; I thought that they would do good deeds, but they made their deeds evil.* 5.3 *Prophet, say to them, Behold, the house of Israel have rebelled against the law, and they are not willing to repent.* And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, judge now *my case against my people*. 5.4 What more *good did I promise* to do for my *people* that I have not done *for them*? When *I thought they would do good deeds*, why *did they make their deeds evil*? 5.5 And now I will tell you *what I am about to do* to my *people*. I will *take up my Shekhinah from them*, and *they* shall be for *plundering*; I will break down *the place of their sanctuaries*, and *they will be* for trampling. 5.6 And I will make them [*to be*] *banished*; *they* will not be *helped* and *they* will not be *supported*, and *they will be cast out* and *forsaken*; and I will command the *prophets* that *they prophesy no prophecy* concerning them. 5.7 For the *people* of the LORD of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his pleasant plant; *I thought that they would perform* judgment, but behold, *oppressors*; *that they would act innocently*, but behold, *they multiply sins*.

As in the LXX, almost the entire passage is in the first person. By explicitly mentioning the prophet in vv. 1.3, the Targum indicates that the prophet is acting as God's spokesperson. In the Targum, Isa 5:1–7 contains the words of God given to the people through the prophet. In the Hebrew text and in the LXX, it only appears from v. 7 that the vineyard is analogous to the predicament of the audience; in the Targum, however, it is already stated in v. 1 that Israel is like a vineyard and that God's words are aimed at his people.

Apparatus and Notes (ArBib 11; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987), 10–11. See also: Bruce D. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel: The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (JSOTSup 23; Sheffield JSOT Press, 1982). A list of significant interpretative elements in the targumic version of Isa 5:1–7 can be found in Ben Johnson, "The Parable of the Wicked Tenants in Context: Jesus' Interpretation of the Song of the Vineyard in the Light of Second Temple Jewish Parallels," (paper, 33 pages, January 2009; the text can be found at http://www.preteristarchive.com/Books/pdf/Josephus/2009_johnson_parable-wicked-tenants.pdf). According to Johnson, an allusion to Isa 5:1–7 can also be found in *3 Bar.* 1:1–2, where the destruction of the vineyard is perceived as handing over the people of Israel to the Gentiles.

I already pointed out that Isa 5:1–7 formulates a very sharp contrast between the planting of the vineyard (v. 2) and its destruction (vv. 5–6). Neither in the Hebrew text nor in the LXX does this description refer to any particular incident in Israel's history. The Targum, however, does give a historical interpretation to the establishment and destruction of the vineyard. In fact, the Targum turns Isa 5:1–7 into an allegory. The planting of the vineyard on a fertile hill represents Israel's settlement in a fruitful land; instead of "he built a watchtower in the midst of it and hewed out a wine press in it", the Targum reads "I built my sanctuary in their midst, and I even gave them my altar to make atonement for their sins". The destruction of the vineyard, too, is interpreted in a historical way. Breaking down the wall is replaced by the breaking down of the sanctuaries. The command to the clouds to stop raining upon it represents a command to the prophets that they stop prophesying to the people. The rebellion against the Torah leads to the taking up of God's Shekhinah from Israel. Thus, the Targum links the destruction of the vineyard to the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem. This interpretation was very likely inspired by the catastrophic events in the year 70 C.E.[39]

The preceding remarks demonstrate that the translation of the Hebrew text into Aramaic resulted in several changes in meaning which were influenced by later historical events. In fact, the Targum of Isa 5:1–7 is a very free paraphrase of the Hebrew text.

A second relevant text to be considered is 4Q500. Fragment 1 of this papyrus manuscript contains the remains of seven lines of writing, which are translated by F. García Martínez as follows:[40]

> [. . .] may your mulberry trees blossom. . . . [. . .]
> [. . .] your winepress, built of stone [. . .]
> [. . .] at the gate of the holy height [. . .]
> [. . .] your plantation and the channels of your glory [. . .]
> [. . .] the branches of your delights to . . . [. . .]
> [. . .] . . . [. . .]

According to García Martínez the last line is blank. Baillet prints the following letters:[41] מכה. Presumably it should read כרמכה: 'your vineyard'.[42]

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39 See: Peter Höffken, "Probleme in Jesaja 5,1–7", *ZTK* 79 (1982): 392–410 (409).

40 Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 402.

41 Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4 III*, 78–79.

42 Baumgarten, "Ancient Conception," 2; Brooke, "Use of Scripture," 270.

The fragment, which probably dates from the first century B.C.E.,[43] is so short that only with the greatest reserve can something be said about the words it contains. An obvious possibility to open up this text is to find out whether the many botanical references might indicate a relation with the Hebrew Bible. That study was carried out by Baumgarten and by Brooke.[44] These scholars come to the same conclusion: "your winepress" and "your delights" refer to Isa 5:2 and Isa 5:7 respectively. The description of the winepress as "built of stones" picks up the verb בנה from Isa 5:2. If the last line can indeed be read as containing the words "your vineyard", the fragment contains as many as four allusions to Isa 5:1–7.

The interpretation of these references is supported by a number of texts which have been known to us longer. The first is the version of Isa 5:2 in the Targum. There the vineyard is the promised land. The tower and the winepress probably refer to the temple and the altar in Jerusalem. This is not entirely certain, for in Isa 5:5 the Targum speaks of "the place of their sanctuaries". This plural indicates that also other cult centres besides the temple in Jerusalem are in the author's mind. The second text is *t.Suk.* 3:15. Here, R. Jose takes Isa 5:2 to refer to the cult centre in Jerusalem: he links the tower to the temple, and the winepress to the altar as well as to the שׁית, i.e. the channel in which the sacrificial blood flows away.[45]

As to substance, 4Q500 so far does not add any new information to our knowledge of later interpretations of Isa 5:1–7. This is of course a direct consequence of the fact that we link this small fragment with already known texts of which we are relatively sure that the tower and the winepress refer to the temple in Jerusalem and to the altar. However, it is a new fact that this interpretation now proves to be much older than originally thought. If the few words from 4Q500 indeed refer to Isa 5:1–7 and allude to the temple, the altar and the channel under the altar, it can be postulated that at a very early period, the vineyard material was conceived as referring to Jerusalem and to the temple.

The fragment of 4Q500 predates Mark's Gospel. The final edition of Targum Jonathan is dated much later than Mark, but according to Bruce Chilton "the Targum on its Tannaitic level reflects Jewish traditional thinking in the first century A.D.".[46] Consequently, these Jewish texts presenting an exegesis of Isa 5:1–7 that supports a better understanding of the New Testament parable need not be refuted straight away.

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43 Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4 III*, 78.

44 See note 42. See also Evans, *Jesus*, 400–401.

45 See: Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar: Band I*, 867. Evans, *Jesus*, 400, also points out that the vineyard from Isa 5:1 is a metaphor for Jerusalem and the temple in 4Q500.

46 Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum*, XXVI.

There are some similarities as far as the vocabulary is concerned. The word דמתיל in the opening verse refers to the literary genre of the text and is, in that sense, comparable to παραβολαί in Mark 12:1 (cf. παραβολή in 12:12). The noun אחסנא in Tg.Isa 5:1 (= 'inheritance') corresponds to κληρονομία in Mark 12:7.

In the Targum and 4Q500, the tower and the winepress stand for the temple and its altar. Moreover, the targumist announces that God will not continue to reside in the temple because the people have rebelled against the law and are not willing to repent. This prophetic criticism is absent in the short text from Qumran. The few words in this fragment sketch a mere positive picture of the temple. Here we see that 4Q500 does not refer to the functioning of the national cult centre at the time this text was written. Instead, the imagery of Isa 5:1–7 is taken up to describe the eschatological sanctuary, which will be a source of blessings.

A few elements indicate that Mark 12:1–12 might be understood in light of this ancient exegesis of Isa 5:1–7.[47] (a) The detailed description of the laying out of the vineyard in Mark 12:1 does not merely serve the embellishment of the story. No, the fencing in of the vineyard, the hacking out of a winepress and the building of a tower get a proper function when they are understood as references to the temple.[48] (b) The parable is integrated into a long story about Jesus' activities in the temple (11:27–12:44).[49] (c) The parable is a polemic text which is directed against the Jewish leaders among whom we find the high priests, who are responsible for the management of the temple.[50] (d) The Jewish leaders open the discussion with their question about Jesus' authority (11:28). They ask this question in view of Jesus' cleansing of the temple the previous day (11:15–18). (e) The parable is meant to clarify that Jesus' opponents are resisting God by the way they fulfil their task. They are threatened by Jesus' announcement that their leading position will be taken away and be given to others. (f) The parable is followed by a quotation from Ps 118:22–23. This psalm clearly has a cultic setting. The quotation is linked up with the citation from Isa

47 In this paragraph, I subscribe some views of Brooke, "Use of Scripture," 279–291.

48 Rightly seen by Ernst Lohmeyer, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern (Mark. 12,1–12)", *ZST* 18 (1941): 247–248.

49 Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament*, 44: "Since Jesus speaks this parable upon entering the Temple, it is probable that he had in mind the Targumic interpretation of the tower as the Temple."

50 That the parable could be understood as an attack on cultic hierarchy and that Jesus' opponents took the imagery in terms of this interpretation is confirmed by Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, "Jesus and Israel's Scriptures," Pages 281–335 (305) in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the Present State of Current Research* (eds. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans; NTTS 19; Leiden etc.: Brill, 1994).

5:2 by means of a catchword (οἰκοδομέω) and reinforces the references to the temple in the opening verse.

From these observations it is clear that the parable is primarily an attack on the Jewish leaders. The parable's present literary setting reflects its original meaning. The parable is not only dependent on the Hebrew text of Isa 5:1–7 and on the LXX version but it is also interwoven with the exegesis of the Isaiah text in early Jewish documents.

3 The Use of Isa 5:1–7 in Matt 21:33–46

This section is dedicated to Matt 21:33–46, its relationship with Mark, and the position of the parable in the wider context of Matthew.

Matthew probably derived the parable of the tenants from Mark. The way in which he renders his *Vorlage*, shows where he places his own particular emphases. These can be uncovered by means of an analysis in the tradition of redaction criticism. I will confine myself to those elements in Matt 21:33–46 which are related to Isa 5:1–7. First I will investigate how the points of contact with Isaiah encountered in Mark 12:1–12 have been reprocessed by the redactor of the Gospel of Matthew: has he merely copied them or does he introduce a number of changes? If the latter is the case, the modifications will form the first clue to Matthew's interpretation of Isa 5:1–7. Next I will address the question of whether in 21:33–46 Matthew also makes links to Isa 5:1–7 which he *did not* derive from Mark.

The juridical nature of the parable has been preserved in Matthew. This is clear from Jesus' question to his listeners and from the statement at the end that the listeners interpret the parable as a story that reflects their own conflict with Jesus. The function of the parable as a juridical parable is more particularly emphasized by Matthew. In his version, Jesus' interlocutors themselves answer the question that is put to them. They declare that the tenants are villains (κακούς) and that they deserve death, thus passing sentence on themselves. They do not, however, seem to be immediately aware of this, or they would not have answered Jesus' question so nonchalantly. The change relative to Mark 12:9–10 described here is to be attributed to the redactor.[51] On this

51 Klauck, *Allegorie*, 311: "Mt hat die Winzerparabel in eine Parabeltrilogie hineingestellt, die thematisch und sprachlich derart aufeinander abgestimmt ist, daß sie als überlegte redaktionelle Schöpfung gelten muß." An extensive study of the relationship between Matt 21:33–46 and 22:1–14 is made by: Richard J. Dillon, "Towards a Tradition-History of the Parables of the True Israel (Matthew 21,33–22,14)," *Bib* 47 (1966): 1–42.

point he has brought the parable of the tenants in line with the parable of the two sons (21:28–32), which also mentions a vineyard and has characteristics of the juridical parable. The texts are structured in the same way:

1. Parable	21:28–30	21:33–39
2. Jesus' question to his listeners	21:31	21:40
3. Their reply, introduced by λέγουσιν	21:31	21:41
4. Jesus' conclusion introduced by λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς	21:31–32	21:42–44

Special attention should be paid to the quotation in the opening sentence. In this connection it is useful to present a comparative table between the LXX, Mark and Matthew:

Isa 5:2 (LXX)	*Mark 12:1*	*Matt 21:33*
1. καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα	1. ἀμπελῶνα (. . .) ἐφύτευσεν	1. ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα
2. καὶ ἐχαράκωσα	–	–
3. καὶ ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον σωρηχ	2. καὶ περιέθηκεν φραγμὸν	2. καὶ φραγμὸν αὐτῷ περιέθηκεν
4. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησα πύργον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ	3. καὶ ὤρυξεν ὑπολήνιον	3. καὶ ὤρυξεν ἐν αὐτῷ ληνόν
5. καὶ προλήνιον ὤρυξα ἐν αὐτῳ	4. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν πύργον	4. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν πύργον

Matthew mentions the same four activities as Mark, and also presents them in the same order. This means that Matthew also copied the reversed order, as compared to the LXX, which we encountered in Mark 12:1. In addition, the verb and the corresponding object in Mark's text have changed places in three out of four cases as compared to the LXX. Matthew does not adopt this transposition. He chooses the word order of the LXX, and in one case only does he copy the reversed order as used by Mark (ὤρυξεν [. . .] ληνόν; LXX: προλήνιον ὤρυξα). We have apparently come across a double tendency. The redactor of Matthew's Gospel partly copied the rendering of Isa 5:2 in Mark 12:1; his use of that OT text is therefore as it were filtered by Mark. On the other hand, he also partly differs from Mark 12:1; hence what we have here is also a redactional change, which

is inspired by the formulation in the LXX. We therefore conclude that in 21:33 Matthew also goes back to the formulation of Isa 5:1–7 in the LXX.[52]

Matthew has omitted only one reference to Isa 5. In 21:37 he simply uses υἱός, without ἀγαπητός. On the other hand, he copied a number of references to Isa 5:1–7 verbatim from Mark. These include ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος (Matt 21:40; Mark 12:9), κληρονομία (Matt 21:38; Mark 12:7) and παραβολή (Matt 21:33; cf. Mark 12:1: παραβολαί). Even more important is the sense that the early Jewish idea that the vineyard from Isa 5 is a reference to the temple, echoes in the background in both Gospels. The debate between Jesus and the Jewish leaders takes place in the temple and is introduced by the question into the authority which Jesus had previously displayed when he dissociated himself in a prophetically critical manner from the function of the temple as a cult centre.

I will now address the question of whether Matt 21:33–46 also contains parallels to Isa 5:1–7 which *cannot* have been derived from Mark. This is indeed the case. I will mention three examples.

(a) The Hebrew text from Isa 5:7 contains a double wordplay (מִשְׁפָּט / מִשְׁפָּח and צְדָקָה / צְעָקָה) which is imitated in neither the LXX nor the Targum, but we do find a counterpart in Matt 21:41 (κακοὺς κακῶς).

(b) The verb סלק (= to take away, to remove) in Targum Isa 5:5 corresponds to αἴρω in Matt 21:43.[53] In the Targum, God says that he will take his Shekinah away from Israel; in Matthew Jesus declares that the kingdom of God will be taken away from the Jewish leaders (ὑμῖν and ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν!) with whom he is talking.[54]

(c) Matt 21:43 mentions "a nation that produces the fruits of the kingdom". The combination of ποιέω + καρπούς is a description of correct moral behaviour. Matthew has a predilection for this expression; we find it in Matt 3:8.10 (cf. Luke 3:8.9); Matt 7:17–19 and 12:33 (cf. Luke 6:43) and in Matt 13:26. We may therefore consider this an idiom peculiar to Matthew. However, it is interesting that his choice of words shows remarkable similarities to Isa 5:1–7. I present three arguments to support this statement. Firstly, the choice of the term ποιέω in Matt 21:43 links up with the frequent use of this verb in Isa 5:2.4b

52 A further confirmation is the fact that he inserts ἐν αὐτῷ after ὤρυξεν. I do not agree with Gnilka, *Matthäusevangelium*: *2. Teil*, 227: "Man kann nicht sagen, daß Mt sich mehr als Mk an den LXX-Text anlehnt."

53 This parallel was observed by Michel Hubaut, *La parabole des vignerons homicides* (CahRB 16; Paris: Gabalda, 1976), 77–79.

54 This correlation was also observed by Léopold Sabourin, *L'évangile selon Saint Matthieu et ses principaux parallèles* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1978), 278.

(LXX: ποιέω / Hebrew text: עשׂה). Secondly, the moral orientation of Matt 21:43 is a development of the emphasis that is placed on correct moral behaviour (righteousness and justice) in Isa 5:7. Thirdly, Matt 21:43 says that the former tenants are replaced by a nation that produces the fruits of the kingdom. This implies that the vineyard produced no fruits at all during the time of the former tenants (this implication is contrary to the parable itself, where it is said that the vineyard does produce fruits!). The reproach in Matt 21:43 that the expected yield has not materialized, links up remarkably well with the complaint of the owner in Isa 5:2.4.[55]

The redactor of the first Gospel obviously greatly strengthened the relation between the parable and Isa 5:1–7. On the basis of the uncovered connections I will now briefly discuss Matthew's own accents in his interpretation of the parable. In Matthew's version the fruits are very important. In 21:34 the fruits are mentioned twice; in Mark 12:2, however, they are mentioned only once. The contract with the tenants in Matthew differs from that in Mark. In Matthew they must hand over the entire harvest to the owner, in Mark it is only part of the yield. This stipulation is repeated in Matt 21:41. The vineyard will be let out to others, but their task will be the same as that of the previous tenants. This is clear from the relative clause which is absent in Mark: οἵτινες ἀποδώσουσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτων. Even more so than his source, in 21:34.41 Matthew emphasizes the handing over of the harvest. In order to express this central theme, Matthew's version would be more appropriately named the parable of the fruits, rather than the parable of the tenants. The redactional changes in 21:34.41 are a preparation for Matt 21:43,[56] where the image of the fruits from the parable, is applied to the attitude of Jesus' discussion partners. There is a close connection between v. 43 and v. 41. Still, they are not completely the same. When we make a closer comparison between the two verses, many slight shifts emerge:

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55 In Isaiah, the image of the vineyard refers to Israel (Isa 5:7), or more precisely: to the population of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Isa 5:3). In Matthew, this image is more difficult to decode. If we juxtapose Matt 21:41 (τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἐκδώσεται) and 21:43 (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ [. . .] δοθήσεται), the conclusion emerges that the vineyard stands for the kingdom of God, but the remainder of 21:43 speaks rather of a nation that yields the fruits. It thus makes a close connection between the nation and the vineyard from the parable, since that, too, is highly productive.

56 Wolfgang Trilling, *Das wahre Israel: Studien zur Theologie des Matthäusevangeliums* (SANT 10; München: Kösel, 1964³), 58–63, argues that Matt 21:43 has been formulated by the evangelist himself. To me it seems better to say that in constructing this verse Matthew has used some traditional elements.

(1) Since the previous tenants refused to hand over the produce, the owner will let out the vineyard to other tenants who *will render* the fruits (v. 41). Verse 43, however, mentions a nation that *brings forth* the fruits of the kingdom.
(2) In connection with this, the verb ἐκδίδωμι from v. 41 (cf. v. 33) is replaced by δίδωμι in v. 43.[57] That verse no longer refers to a new lease; the kingdom is not let out, but is conferred as a present.
(3) The expectation expressed in v. 41 that the murderers will themselves be destroyed, is replaced by the even more ominous perspective that the last judgment will reveal a negative result especially for the Jewish leaders with whom Jesus is speaking. The fact that in v. 43 the emphasis is shifted to the last judgment, can be deduced from the relation of this verse to the saying in 13:12 and in 25:29 where we also encounter the combination of ἀρθήσεται and δοθήσεται that is used here.

These shifts show what the main point is in Matthew's view. As in Mark, the parable has a polemic function. In Mark the parable must primarily be understood as an attack on those who are in charge of the temple area. They are referred to as the chief priests, the scribes and the elders (Mark 11:27). In Matt 21:23 only two of these three groups are mentioned: the chief priests and the elders. Matthew significantly does not always refer to Jesus' opponents in the same way. In 21:45 the elders are substituted by the Pharisees; finally in 22:15 only the Pharisees are mentioned. Matthew obviously increasingly emphasizes the fact that the opposition to Jesus originates with the Pharisees. Historically spoken it is likely that after his arrival in Jerusalem, Jesus came into conflict with the temple authorities. That original opponent is gradually replaced by the Pharisees, i.e. a group with which Matthew's community had a serious conflict towards the last quarter of the first century C.E.

The polemic tenor of the parable is confirmed by the literary context. In Matthew the parable of the tenants forms part of a trio, the other two being the parables of the two sons (21:28–32: *Sondergut*) and of the wedding feast (22:1–14; cf. Luke 14:16–24). These three parables directly follow the discussion about Jesus' authority in 21:23–27. The redactor has reprocessed this heterogenous material into a consistent whole. The parable of the two sons immediately follows Jesus' words in 21:27: the direct speech continues without interruption. After Jesus has applied this parable to his listeners' own conduct, he tells a second parable, again without pause or interruption (21:33a: ἄλλην παραβολὴν

57 Akira Ogawa, "Paraboles de l'Israël véritable? Reconsidération critique de Mt. XXI 28–XXII 14", *NovT* 21 (1979): 121–149 (129).

ἀκούσατε diff. Mark 12:1), and the narrative sentence at the beginning of the third parable (22:1: πάλιν εἶπεν ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς) shows that there is a close relationship to the two preceding parables and that Jesus is still speaking to the same audience.

The three parables are closely related to each other.[58] All three emphasize doing the right thing and are concerned with the kingdom of God (21:31.43) or with the kingdom of heaven (22:1). The first two are linked because both of them deal with a vineyard owner. The second and third parables have the following elements in common: (a) in 21:37–39, we read about the son of the owner of the vineyard, in 22:2, about the son of the king; (b) the formulation of 21:34 (ἀπέστειλεν τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ) is repeated in 22:3; (c) 21:36 and 22:4 are also partly similar (πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἄλλους δούλους); (d) in 22:6, the slaves are murdered; this reminds us of what has been said in 21:35; (e) 21:41 and 22:7 are similar in that they both contain the verb ἀπόλλυμι, and because, in both instances, the murderers are executed.

Thus Matthew has woven the parable of the tenants into a lengthy unit (21:23–22:14), in which especially the chief priests and the Pharisees function as Jesus' opponents. They are not criticized for what they say (in 21:31.41 they in fact give the correct answer to Jesus' questions), but for the way they act (cf. 23:3). Their lack of positive response to John and Jesus is censured. Because they did not believe in John, they actually resemble the second son of whom they express their disapproval, and who tells his father he will work in the vineyard but does not act on his words. Since they are looking for an opportunity to eliminate Jesus they are like the tenants of whom they themselves, when the question is put to them, declare that they deserve to be killed. Also, they are continually contrasted with other groups who do make the right choices: the publicans and the prostitutes heed John's call to take the road to righteousness; the crowds, too, appear in a favourable light: in the eyes of the crowds John is a prophet (21:26) and they credit Jesus with the same capability (21:46). Because of their fear of the crowds, the leaders cannot straightaway execute their murderous plans.

The fact that the moral ideal formulated in Matt 21:43 ("a nation that brings forth fruits") contains a negative assessment of the attitude of the chief priests and the Pharisees, does not imply that the other characters (the publicans, the prostitutes and the crowds) thoroughly meet the requirements of this ideal. This view is contradicted in the parable of the guests. According to the parable the slaves are requested, after the admonishment of the first group of invited

58 See also Wesley G. Olmstead, *Matthew's Trilogy of Parables: The Nation, the Nations and the Reader in Matthew 21.28–22.14* (SNTSMS 127; Cambridge: University Press, 2003).

guests, to collect everyone they can find (see ὅσους in 22:9 and πάντας in 22:10), without making a distinction between the good and the bad. Thus the company in the hall consists of people from all sections of the moral spectrum, and not exclusively of guests who come up to the ideal expressed in 21:43. The criticism directed at the chief priests and the Pharisees is therefore in principle also applicable to the second group of invitees. Matt 21:43 is not meant as a characterization of a particular, empirically definable group but describes the criterion that in the final judgment is applied to all groups.[59] This means that the criticism levelled at the chief priests and the Pharisees also contains a word of warning to those disciples of Jesus who are just as unproductive as they are.

4 Conclusions

The Hebrew text of Isa 5:1–7 forms the starting point of a long and intensive interpretation process. Within that process the versions of the LXX and the Targum represent two relatively independent moments. In both cases elements from the Hebrew text are copied but a number of other elements are fundamentally changed. Here we encounter the fascinating phenomenon that a text from the Hebrew Bible is again and again at the basis of new texts. From 4Q500 we can gather that the interpretation offered by the targumist was current in Jesus' and Matthew's time.

The parable of the tenants is a new link in this sequence. Mark's version contains so many traces that point to the influence of the song from Isaiah that one can safely assume that the parable was to a large extent construed on the basis of that ancient song. It is especially important that Mark 12:1–12 is not only interwoven with the versions of Isa 5:1–7 in the Hebrew text and the LXX, but is also closely linked to the interpretations of that text in 4Q500 and the Targum.

59 Often, Matt 21:43 is taken as evidence that the Matthean community saw itself as the nation or as a *new* people which replaced the rejected Israel: Trilling, *Das wahre Israel*, 55–66; Georg Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Matthäus* (FRLANT 82; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966²), 111 and 169; Schniewind, *Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 217; Sabourin, *L'évangile selon Saint Matthieu*, 278. A more nuanced interpretation is given by: Ogawa, "Paraboles", 138–139 and 149; Franz Mussner, "Die bösen Winzer nach Matthäus 21,33–46", Pages 129–134 in *Anti-judaismus im Neuen Testament? Exegetische und systematische Beiträge* (eds. Willehad P. Eckert, Nathan P. Levinson, and Martin Stöhr; Abhandlungen zum christlich-jüdischen Dialog 2; München: Chr. Kaiser, 1967); Matthias Konradt, *Israel, Kirche und die Völker im Matthäusevangelium* (WUNT 215; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

The similarities between Mark 12:1–12 and Isa 5:1–7 have been borrowed by Matthew with some minor changes. Moreover, he has further strengthened the connection between the parable and Isa 5:1–7. This means that the song from Isaiah not only played a productive role in the genesis of Mark's version of the parable, but that Matthew, too, in his rendering of the parable in his turn tried to link up with the whole gamut of interpretations that sprang from the Hebrew text of Isa 5:1–7. This point sheds new light on Matthew's use of Scripture. His use of Isa 5:1–7 is partly determined by the elements that were already available in his source (Mark's version). However, he has also himself construed the interpretation offered in Mark 12:1–12 in the light of the broad interpretation history of Isa 5:1–7. Therefore, that text not only influenced older layers in the tradition of the parable but also the way in which that parable was adapted by Matthew at a later stage.

The example that was elaborated here shows that Matthew tried to found Jesus' criticism of the Jewish leaders on the Scriptures.[60] The juridical gist of Isa 5:1–7 is fully exploited, such that the denunciation, originally aimed at the house of Israel, is now levelled at Jesus' opponents. This opposition is headed by the chief priests and the Pharisees, but the same role is filled by disciples of Jesus who do not fully address themselves to the moral ideal formulated in 21:43.

60 This aim explicitly emerges when Jesus introduces a citation from the Scriptures with a question to his opponents of whether they have never read that text (Matt 12:3.5; 21:16). That question is also asked in 21:42 introducing the citation from Ps 118:22–23. In comparison with this citation the references to Isa 5:1–7 are of a more implicit nature.

CHAPTER 11

Matthew's View of Jesus' Resurrection: Transformations of a Current Eschatological Scenario

A discussion of Matthew's view of Jesus' resurrection is aptly suited to show that Matthew was indebted to Israel's heritage, but also that he freely transformed Jewish ideas on the resurrection and changed the place occupied by resurrection in a broader eschatological scenario.

In this chapter, I will elaborate on this issue by comparing Matthew's view with the sketch, painted by *4 Ezra* 7, a Jewish apocalyptic text, of the place of the resurrection within a more comprehensive eschatological scenario.[1] In biblical and parabiblical literature, the concept of 'resurrection' can have meanings that differ strongly. James Charlesworth has tried to classify the different meanings and came to a total of sixteen categories.[2] Number 15 on this list is the 'classical' belief in the resurrection, which he defines as the raising of a person after death to a new and everlasting life.[3] By means of this definition, the questions I will try to answer in this chapter can be formulated as follows.

- What is the biblical background to the resurrection concept defined above and how is this concept interpreted in *4 Ezra* and in Matthew?

1 Critical editions and translations of *4 Ezra* (= 2 Esdras 3–14) include: Josef Schreiner, *Das 4. Buch Esra* (JSHRZ V/4; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1981); A. Frederik J. Klijn, *Der lateinische Text der Apokalypse des Esra* (TUGAL 131; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1983); Bruce M. Metzger, *The Fourth Book of Ezra*, Pages 517–559 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume I: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983).

2 James H. Charlesworth, *Prolegomenous Reflections Towards a Taxonomy of Resurrection Texts* (*1QH^a, 1 En, 4Q521, Paul, Luke, the Fourth Gospel, and Psalm 30*), Pages 237–264 in *The Changing Face of Judaism, Christianity, and Other Greco-Roman Religions in Antiquity* (eds. Ian H. Henderson and Gerbern S. Oegema; Studien zu den jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit 2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2006).

3 Charlesworth argues that this belief is expressed in a number of texts from before 70 C.E.: Dan 12:2; *1 En.* 22–27; 2 Macc 14:46; *T. Jud.* 25:1.4; the second blessing from the *Amida*; a number of texts from Qumran, such as the Messianic Apocalypse (4Q521) and Instruction^b (4Q416 and 418).

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- What place is occupied by the resurrection within the successive eschatological events described in *4 Ezra* 7?
- What elements of the eschatological scenario in *4 Ezra* can also be found in Matthew's Gospel ('adoption') and which ones were transformed ('adaptation') in that he presents Jesus as the Lord who has risen from the dead?

As a point of departure in this chapter, I will assume that Matthew's Gospel and *4 Ezra* are related where the eschatology is concerned. This relationship does not involve that one text derives directly from the other, but that both had their origins in the same environment in which similar Jewish-apocalyptic traditions circulated. Both texts date back to approximately the same period; Matthew's book received its final redactional form in the eighties of the first century C.E., while *4 Ezra* can probably be dated a decade later.[4] A characteristic shared by the two documents is that they try to contribute to the revival of Judaism after the catastrophic events of the year 70. Matthew focused on communities which, at that time, still consisted mainly of Jewish followers of Jesus who were convinced that the best way they could experience their Jewishness was by following in Jesus' footsteps. The author of *4 Ezra* aimed at Jewish readers who were looking for a renewed identity after the dreadful crisis caused by the fall of both the city and the temple.

This chapter is structured as follows. In section 1, I will show that the resurrection imagery of *4 Ezra* and Matthew resulted from an interpretation developed within apocalyptic groups of biblical texts about life and death, and about blessing and curse. In the second section, I will present the eschatological scenario of *4 Ezra* and argue that it was widely accepted by the end of the first century. In the third section, I will explore how this scenario was adapted by Matthew in the light of his view on Jesus' resurrection.

4 Salathiel, the first person narrator, who is also called Ezra, claims in 3:1 that he received his revelations and visions "in the thirtieth year after the destruction of our city". He pretends that the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 587 B.C.E. is concerned, so that the book is set in 557. In reality, however, the destruction of the city in 70 C.E. is meant, as appears from the vision in chapters 11–12. In that case, the book will have been written in approximately the year 100 C.E.

1 Resurrection Imagery and Scriptural Exegesis

In *4 Ezra* 7:32, the general resurrection at the end of time is described as follows:[5]

> And the earth shall give back those who are asleep in it,
> and the dust those who rest in it [NRSV: those who rest there in silence];
> and the treasuries shall give up the souls which have been committed to them.

Lines 1 and 2 show a synonymous parallelism and announce a turning point in the fate of the dead, while the third line adds the information of the souls (*animae*), that do not rest in the earth or the dust but in special chambers (*prumptuaria*). A number of words from *4 Ezra* 7:32—namely "asleep" as an evocative description of the state of death, "dust" and "earth"—are derived from Dan 12:2 ("many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake"); in both cases, a change in fate is concerned that can be described by the concept of 'resurrection'.

Dan 12:1–3 is the oldest passage from the Hebrew Bible in which the resurrection at the end of time is expressed.[6] This text is the climax in a long description of the horrors preceding the end (11:2–45). In this period, there are wise people who will be killed because of their loyalty to God and his Torah, and they will awake at the end of time and be rewarded: "Those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sky, and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars forever and ever" (12:3). The everlasting life is contrasted to everlasting contempt, which will be the portion of the lawless and the apostates. Thus, in the judgment which God is going to carry out, a differentiation will be

5 The translation of the texts from *4 Ezra* is from Michael E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia. A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990). Interesting introductions to *4 Ezra* include: Earl Breech, "These Fragments I Have Shored Against My Ruins: The Form and Function of 4 Ezra," *JBL* 92 (1973): 267–274; Michael E. Stone, "Reactions to Destructions of the Second Temple," *JSJ* 12 (1981): 195–204; Id., "Coherence and Inconsistency in the Apocalypses: The Case of 'The End' in 4 Ezra," *JBL* 102 (1983): 229–243; Philip F. Esler, "The Social Function of 4 Ezra," *JSNT* 53 (1994): 99–123.

6 See George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS 26; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 11–27.

made within the one people of Israel; not all the nation will be saved but only the righteous.

Dan 12:1–3, in its turn, is a reinterpretation of other texts, especially from Isaiah. One example is Isa 26:19:[7]

> Your dead shall live, their corpses shall rise.
> O dwellers in the dust, awake and sing for joy!
> For your dew is a radiant dew,
> and the earth will give birth to those long dead.

Here we find almost the same vocabulary as in Dan 12:2 ("the dust" and "awake", in combination with the idea of resurrection), but while these words in the prophetic text of Isaiah refer to the restoration of Israel as a nation after exile, the perspective in Daniel's apocalyptic vision is shifted to something totally different, namely, the renewal of life after (a martyr's) death. This reinterpretation cannot be separated from the changes in the religious and cultural situation in the years immediately before 164 B.C.E, when attempts by the Seleucidic king Antiochus Epiphanes IV and his Jewish supporters to carry out a radical hellenization of the Jewish religion met with resistance from pious Jews ("the wise" and "the saints"), who sometimes had to pay for this with their lives. In this situation, an awareness emerged in apocalyptic circles that God himself will put right injustice by rewarding the righteous with life everlasting and damning the wicked for ever. The reinterpretation referred to here can also be expressed by means of the categories distinguished by Charlesworth:[8] in prophetic texts, we come across category 1 (restoration of the nation after exile), which, in later, apocalyptic texts is changed to category 15 (restoration of life after death).

The eschatological resurrection is thus the result of an interpretative process that emerges in texts that belong to the same intertextual chain. In our case, this chain is structured as follows:

Isa 26:19 → Dan 12:1–3 → *4 Ezra* 7:32

These same Old Testament texts have influenced Matthew's Gospel. In this document, we come across various traces of Dan 12:1–3: compare Dan 12:1 with

7 Ibid., 17–19.

8 Charlesworth, *Prolegomenous*.

Matt 24:21; Dan 12:2 with Matt 25:46 and 27:52; Dan 12:3 with Matt 13:43. As a result, we can also trace out the following intertextual chain:

Isa 26:19 → Dan 12:1–3 → Matt 24:21; 25:46; 27:52;13:43

Similar interpretative processes which relate to the conversion of Charlesworth's category 1 into category 15 can also be found in other intertextual chains:

- The prophetic vision of the dry bones and its interpretation in Ezek 37:1–14 is a classical text where the concept of resurrection in the sense of the restoration of the nation of Israel after exile is concerned.[9] In Pseudo Ezekiel (4Q385 and 386, among other manuscripts), we do not only find a retelling of this text, but also a reinterpretation that concerns the resurrection of the dead.[10] Ezek 37:1–14 undergoes a similar interpretation in the peculiar story in Matthew on the resurrection of many saints in 27:51–53 (compare especially Ezek 37:12–13 with Matt 27:52).[11]
- It is also interesting how the stories on Eleazar's martyr's death (2 Macc 6:18–31) and of the seven brothers and their mother (2 Macc 7:1–42),[12] in

9 Authors defending this interpretation include Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25–48* (NICOT; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 367–383; Huub van de Sandt, "Perspectief en betekenisgeving: Interpretaties van het beenderen-visioen (Ez. 37,1–14) in context," Pages 107–120 (107–110) in *Zin tussen vraag en aanbod: Theologische en wijsgerige beschouwingen over zin* (eds. Ben Vedder et al.; Tilburg: Tilburg University Press, 1992). Some authors are of the opinion that the text is not *einheitlich* and regard Ezek 37:7–10 as a later interpolation that broadens the original idea of a future restoration of Israel as a nation to the idea of a general resurrection of the dead at the end of the age or to the idea of a bodily resurrection of the slain from the history of Israel. See Rüdiger Bartelmus, "Ez 37,1–14, die Verbform *weqatal* und die Anfänge der Auferstehungshoffnung," *ZAW* 97 (1985): 366–389; Anja Klein, *Schriftauslegung im Ezechielbuch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Ez 34–39* (BZAW 391; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2008), 270–300 (285): "Auf der vierten und letzten Stufe des Textwachstums wird die Vision in 37,2aba.7–10 (37,2.7–10*) durch eine Bearbeitungsschicht ergänzt, die die symbolische Restitution Israels im Sinne einer Wiederbelebung der Toten interpretiert."

10 See Albert Hogeterp, "Resurrection and Biblical Tradition: Pseudo-Ezekiel Reconsidered," *Bib* 89 (2008): 59–69.

11 See Van de Sandt, "Perspectief," 116–119; Botha, "Opstanding," 270–284; Senior, "Death," 312–329; Troxel, "Matthew," 30–47; Waters, "Matthew 27:52–53.

12 See Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 93–111; Jan Willem van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 57; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

which the faith in the bodily resurrection is strongly emphasized, are taken up again in 4 Maccabees but are then related to such Hellenistic concepts as immortality and imperishability. There are also correspondences between 4 Maccabees and Matthew's Gospel: compare 4 Macc 7:19 and 16:25 with Matt 22:32; compare 4 Macc 13:14 with Matt 10:28, and 4 Macc 13:17 with Matt 8:11.

I will round off this section with the conclusion that the idea of the eschatological resurrection is the result of scriptural exegesis in combination with changing historical circumstances. Where the origin and content of this idea is concerned, *4 Ezra* (an early Jewish apocalyptic text) and Matthew's Gospel (an early Christian document) are very closely connected. In both documents, the resurrection is not limited to the people of Israel: also non-Jews will rise to undergo God's judgment.

2 Resurrection as Part of a Current Eschatological Scenario

According to Stone, *4 Ezra* 7:26–44 offers "a fairly detailed exposition of the eschatological events in a chronological series".[13] Together they form a scenario that can be summarised as follows. The author makes use of the apocalyptic difference between 'this age', which is temporary in nature, and 'the age to come', which is everlasting.[14] The present age with its horrors will lead to the messianic age; the Messiah will rule for 400 years and then he will die, and all people with him.[15] The world shall be turned back to primeval silence for seven days, as it was at the first beginnings (cf. the week of the creation), and that which is corruptible shall perish. Then the dead will arise, not only the Israelites but all nations, and this event serves to prepare for the final judgment, which the Most High will pass and which will result in the righteous

13 Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 204. In the context of this passage, Harrington, "Afterlife," Pages 21–34 (23) in *Resurrection in the New Testament*, refers to "a complex of eschatological ideas". A thorough study on this matter is still Joseph J. Keulers, *Die eschatologische Lehre des vierten Esrabuches* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1922).

14 Cf. Arthur J. Ferch, "The Two Aeons and the Messiah in Pseudo-Philo, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch," *AUSS* 15 (1977): 135–152.

15 Elsewhere in *4 Ezra*, a different picture of the role of the Messiah is given: he is a lion who passes judgment on Israel's enemies (12:31–34) or he is the man coming out of the sea who gathers all of Israel (13:25–52). See Michael E. Stone, "The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra," Pages 295–312 in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough* (ed. Jacob Neusner; SHR 14; Leiden: Brill, 1968).

being rewarded and the wicked punished. The first group will go to the place of rest, the paradise of delight, the other group to the pit of torment, the furnace of Gehenna. The day of judgment marks the end of this age and the beginning of the "immortal age to come" (*4 Ezra* 7:113).

We also come across this scenario in Matthew. This Gospel also has the difference between this age and the age to come (12:32). Matthew does not mention the messianic age but he refers to the kingdom of the Son of Man (13:41), in which good and bad people co-exist and have not yet been separated. The end of this age and the beginning of the age to come are referred to with various terms: that moment is the end (τέλος) or the end of the age (συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος); then the parousia of the Son of Man will take place (παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου); once the term 'rebirth' is used (παλιγγενεσία),[16] but Matthew prefers to use the terms 'that day', 'the day of judgment' or simply 'the judgment' (ἐκείνη ἡ ἡμέρα, ἡμέρα κρίσεως, κρίσις). The judgment, that is preceded by the general resurrection of the dead (12:41–42; 22:23.28.30.31), will not be passed by God but by the Son of Man (25:31–46), who will judge all of humanity on the basis of ethical criteria. His verdict leads to a definitive division into two groups of which one will be rewarded with eternal life and the other will be doomed. Each group's destiny is described very vividly.[17] The righteous will enter the kingdom, eternal life or the joy of their master; they will inherit eternal life, the earth, or the kingdom; the other group, however, will go away into eternal punishment, the hell, the furnace of fire or the outer darkness. Both spheres are referred to with spatial terms, but it remains unclear where they are located.

16 Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie, *Lexicon*, 1291: 'rebirth', 'regeneration', 'renewal', 'beginning of a new life', 'transmigration, reincarnation of souls', but in the New Testament also: 'resurrection' (Matt 19,28). Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, col. 1226–1227: "d. Wiedergeburt/ Erneuerung von der Welt a. nach der Sintflut, b. in der Zeit des Messias; auch: d. Erneuerung des erlösten Menschen." The meaning of 'rebirth' or 'Wiedergeburt' found in lexicons is rejected by Derrett; instead, he derives the term from πάλιν γενέσθαι ('to become again'), which he interprets as a translation of Hebrew *l^{e}hechāyôt* ('to be caused to live again' = 'resurrection'). See J. Duncan M. Derrett, "Palingenesia (Matthew 19:28)," *JSNT* 20 (1984) 51–58 (52–53).

17 The relevant word groups are described in Weren, *De broeders van de Mensenzoon*, 178.

The scenario described here is also expressed in other texts. With a few variations, it also occurs in *2 Baruch*[18] and in Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*,[19] so that it may safely be called a current scenario.

In *4 Ezra* 7:75–101, a detailed account follows of what happens to the dead in the time between their death and the final judgment. Death is represented here as a separation of body and soul (7:75.78.88.100). The body rests in the earth, but the soul returns to God, who gave it. From that moment on, there is already differentiation. The souls of those who despised the Torah will not rest but will be exposed to sevenfold pain. The souls of the righteous, however, will be shown the glory of the Most High. After they have feasted their eyes for seven days, they will be gathered into their chambers in the realm of the dead. There they will find rest and will be guarded until they are reunited with their bodies at the eschatological resurrection.[20] The implication of this representation seems to be that, directly after death, the soul appears before God and that a special judgment takes place.

There is no equivalent in Matthew of the detailed speculations in *4 Ezra* 7:75–101. The evangelist does not mention any special judgment directly after death; nor is there in his book anything about a separation of body and soul at death or of reunification of body and soul at the eschatological resurrection. In his view, the dead will arise, but this happens not directly after death but only at the end of the age. A difference between body and soul is only mentioned in Matt 10:28. Here Jesus argues that his disciples should not

18 See John J. Collins, "The Afterlife in Apocalyptic Literature," Pages 119–140 (130–131) in *Judaism in Late Antiquity: Part Four: Death, Life-After-Death, Resurrection and the World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity* (eds. Alan J. Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner; Handbuch der Orientalistik Abt. 1, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 49; Leiden etc.: Brill, 2000). According to him, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* belong to the same cluster of apocalyptic texts, different from an other cluster that take "the form of ascent of visionary through the heavens" (131) and "show no interest in a general resurrection at the end of history but focus on the fate of the spirit or soul after death" (135). Examples of this second group are 2 Enoch and 3 Baruch. A comparison of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* is to be found in: Tom W. Willett, *Eschatology in the Theodicies of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra* (JSPSup 4; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

19 Harrington, "Afterlife," 22–24, followed by the elaboration of the shared motives (24–34).

20 Cf. Günter Stemberger, *Der Leib der Auferstehung: Studien zur Anthropologie und Eschatologie des palästinischen Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (*ca. 170 v.Chr.–100 n.Chr.*) (AnBib 56; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1972), 82: "4 Esra betont mehrmals, daß im Tod die Seele den Leib verläßt und selbständig weiterlebt; die Kammern, in die nur die Seelen der gerechten kommen und zwar erst sieben Tage nach dem Tod, sind nicht mit dem Grab oder der Sheol gleichzusetzen."

fear those who can kill only the body (σῶμα; cf. 4 Macc 13:14–15) but cannot kill the soul (ψυχή); no, they must fear God, because he can destroy body and soul in hell. It may be seriously doubted whether this—as in *4 Ezra*—is a case of anthropological dualism; the point Jesus is trying to make is that his disciples must not shrink from persecution and martyrdom exactly because of eternal life. Elsewhere in Matthew, ψυχή never relates to one of the components from which man supposedly consists but always refers to physical life (see 2:20; 6:25; 10:39; 16:25–26; 20:28).

I will end this section with the conclusion that *4 Ezra* and Matthew tap into the same eschatological scenario, but that detailed speculations on the condition of the souls between death and the general resurrection are missing in Matthew's Gospel, probably because these ideas are based on an anthropology which is entirely alien to him. In *4 Ezra*, however, the idea of an eschatological (bodily) resurrection is mixed with the concept of an immortal soul.

3 Matthew's Transformations of the Current Eschatological Scenario

So far, I have argued that the resurrection of Jesus' disciples and also of all other people in Matthew is part of an eschatological scenario and forms the nearest preparation for the final judgment. In Matthew's eyes, not the resurrection is the most important event, but the judgment. That is the reason why the resurrection is only mentioned in passing, whereas the judgment is a dominant theme in the entire Gospel. In this third section, I will discuss Matthew's view of Jesus' resurrection and show that it is this view which leads to a number of fundamental changes to the current scenario.

That God raised Jesus from the dead is a belief that took root at an early stage among his disciples. In various New Testament writings, old traditions can be found, often in the form of fixed formulas, which express that belief. In the Gospels, these old formulas are included in stories of his burial and resurrection and of his appearances to his followers (in Matthew in 27:55–28:20). Also in Jesus' case, there are three characteristics that fall in category number 15 of Charlesworth's taxonomy: somebody has really died; a decisive turning point in this person's fate occurs; he does not return to mortal life but receives a new and everlasting life. Special, however, is the fact that the turning point in Jesus' fate does not occur at the end of the age, but within a few days after his death. Such a rapid change in fate is not unprecedented, but occurs elsewhere as well. In 2 Macc 7:36, the youngest of the seven brothers expresses the expectation that, after a brief period of suffering, his brothers have been granted

everlasting life on the basis of God's covenant; another example is Jesus' promise to the criminal on the cross who spoke up for Jesus that he would be with him in paradise that very day (Luke 23:43).

The application of part of the current eschatological scenario to Jesus has generated two mutations: the resurrection is no longer a future event, but it is placed *within history*, and this is not a collective but an *individual* resurrection. These mutations nourished Paul's view, expressed in 1 Cor 15, that the eschaton has already begun with Jesus' resurrection while its fulfilment is still in the future, and that Jesus is the first fruits of those who have died, meaning that his resurrection is the basis and the prerequisite for the resurrection of his followers.

Paul's view is often also applied to Matthew's Gospel. In that case, it is supposed that, in this book too, Jesus' death and resurrection form the beginning of the age to come, an important indication for this being that, immediately after his death, many saints were raised and left their graves to appear to many in the holy city (27:51–53). On the other hand, however, the idea that the end of the age has already started with Jesus' death and resurrection is at odds with the fact that the eschaton is always referred to elsewhere in this Gospel as a future reality. This is also suggested by the promise of the risen Lord that he will be with his disciples always, till the end of the age (28:20).

This promise, which forms the last sentence of the book, explicitly shows where Matthew places his own emphasis in his view of Jesus' resurrection. He sees this event as the beginning of a prolonged presence of Jesus among his disciples, not for forty days as in Acts, but during the rest of history. At the beginning of the Gospel (1:1–17), he makes it clear that Jesus is the culmination and the fulfilment of all of Israel's history; at the end of his book, this view is extended and broadened with the idea that he also controls the further history of the world. I would like to introduce a new term to describe this phenomenon: here we have a christologisation of history.

This christologisation, in its turn, is linked to an ethicalisation of history. The meaning of this term can be clarified as follows. Matthew and *4 Ezra* have in common that the Torah forms the bridge to the age to come and that the eschatological reward or punishment is based on ethical criteria and not on the membership of a certain ethnic or religious group. This ethical orientation is accompanied by a certain universalisation (the same ethical requirements apply to everyone) and a certain individualisation (every person is called to account for his own deeds). It is peculiar to Matthew that he considers Jesus' interpretation of the Torah to be binding and that he sees him as someone who practises the Torah to its full extent and is thus the ethical paradigm for

his disciples. Furthermore Matthew is unique in that he conceives of an ethically virtuous life as a space in which the relationship with the risen Jesus takes shape. Paradoxically, he to whom God has given all authority in heaven and on earth is to be found where the poor and oppressed are served, "the least of these", who, to everyone's surprise, he considers to be his brothers and sisters (Matt 25:40.45).

On the basis of the peculiarities in Matthew's view of the risen Jesus, I can now indicate what transformations they produce in the current eschatological scenario:

- the resurrection of Jesus is an event within history and is thus detached from an eschatological scenario, whereas the general resurrection—also in Matthew—continues to be part of such a scenario and so does not take place until the end of the age;
- whereas the active role of the Messiah in the current scenario is limited to the eschaton, in Matthew, a key part is played by Jesus, a historical figure, who has been active already in the past and who, in the long period between his resurrection and parousia, continues to be present on the world stage, but in such a way that he is absent where people think he is present (7:23) and present where he is not expected (25:40.45);
- in Matthew, the focal point shifts from the age to come to the historical epoch preceding it (i.e., this age), which is no longer considered as a process of progressive degeneration but as a space in which people can themselves realise a turning point for the better if they obey the Torah or take Jesus as their ethical paradigm.

4 Final Remarks

I conclude this chapter with a few remarks. Firstly, the transformations mentioned here do not alter the fact that other components of the eschatological scenario remain intact: history has an ultimate purpose; whether the outcome is positive or negative will be decided at the final judgment, which is irrevocable; there is a perspective of an everlasting life in a transformed world.

Secondly, the Gospel of Matthew has moments both of continuity and of discontinuity in comparison to contemporary Judaism; Matthew draws thoroughly from Israel's heritage and is able to renew Jewish traditions through his constant concentration on Jesus.

Thirdly, within early Jewish and early Christian apocalyptic groups, the expectation of future salvation that used to be aimed at the *Diesseits* was bent into the direction of the *Jenseits*. In Matthew, we see that this movement is partly reversed again: departing from what will happen at the end of the age, he again aims the spotlight firmly on what must be done *now*, in the current age.

CHAPTER 12

The Ideal Community According to Matthew, James, and the Didache

The Gospel according to Matthew, the Letter of James, and the Didache originate from local religious communities that were Jewish-Christian in nature. Their contemporary situation was characterized by the fact that they—each in their own way—were looking for an identity of their own and a joint ethos that bound the members of these communities together and simultaneously differentiated them from other Jewish and pagan groups in their environment. The communities were aware of the tension between their own ideals and the complex daily reality. Their course was not only determined by developments within their own circle, but also by the strategic choices and developments in other groups which they felt related to and by groups which they saw as their rivals or even as their direct opponents.

In this chapter, I will explore what images of the ideal community in Matthew, James, and the Didache played a role in this process. I will present the results of a semantic analysis of three topics: a) the way in which the community refers to itself; b) the community's relationship to God and Jesus; c) the concept of perfection. The following lexemes are central: ἐκκλησία, θεός, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός and τέλειος. I will explore what connotations these terms acquire because, within the document in which they occur, they are incorporated into a wider semantic field which includes words which derive from the same root or which are related to each other as concerns meaning. This semantic field contains contrasting concepts and antonyms.[1] In this semantic analysis, I will assume that a text is not an isolated phenomenon, but functions in a communicative context and has a pragmatical function. At the end of this chapter, I will try to synthesize the results and determine how the perceptions of the ideal community that emerge from Matthew, James, and the Didache relate to each other.

1 See Hubert Frankemölle, "Das semantische Netz des Jakobusbriefes: Zur Einheit eines umstrittenen Briefes," *BZ* 34 (1990): 161–197 (174).

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1 Ἐκκλησία as a Term With Which the Community Refers to Itself

Matthew, James, and the Didache have in common that the Christian community is referred to as ἐκκλησία. In non-biblical Greek, this term is applied to a congregation of people who belong to a particular group, especially a socio-political society. In the LXX, ἐκκλησία is the translation of קהל ('assembly, convocation of the people [especially of Israel]')[2] and refers to the congregation of Israel as a nation or religious community. In addition to ἐκκλησία, the term συναγωγή also occurs in the LXX, which sometimes also reflects קהל but usually עדה ('congregation [of Israel]').[3] Therefore, ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή in the LXX can, to a certain extent, be considered to be synonyms which occur together without any conflict of meaning.

1.1 *Matthew*

In Matthew, ἐκκλησία occurs three times. Matthew is the only evangelist who uses this word. In 18:17, he uses ἐκκλησία in connection with the assembly of a local Christian group that takes disciplinary measures against a member who is a threat to the community. The assembly protects the cohesion of the group and clearly distinguishes itself from outsiders, who are referred to as 'tax collectors' and 'Gentiles'. In 16:18, ἐκκλησία is applied to all the Christian communities together ('the church'). It is explicitly referred to as the church of Jesus, which is based on its faith in him as the Son of God. Within this universal community, Peter has the power to keep the Torah alive by taking decisions on what is allowed and what is forbidden. In doing so, he must take Jesus' interpretation of the law as a point of departure, and not the teachings of the scribes and the Pharisees (23:13; 16:12).

The word ἐκκλησία thus indicates a community of like-minded people who considers itself to be an intra-Jewish group and therefore distinct from the Gentiles but also from other Jewish groups who do not perceive Jesus as the focus of their faith and actions.

In contrast to the LXX, Matthew creates a distinction between ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή. The term ἐκκλησία is reserved for the disciples of Jesus, and συναγωγή is used exclusively for local centers of Jewish religious life which, in his time, was strongly dominated by the Pharisaic movement. The relations of his own communities with this movement were strained.

The situation depicted here can be further specified on the basis of some terms used in Matthew for socio-religious groups and classes of people:

2 Koehler and Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, 829.

3 Ibid., 682–683.

- The terms λαός and οἶκος Ἰσραήλ both indicate the people of Israel as a nation and as a religious community (on the basis of Old Testament עם, λαός has the connotation of 'people of God'). Matthew observes a particular distinction between the people and its leaders. Whereas the leaders are hostile to Jesus, there is a close relationship between Jesus and the people: he must save his people from their sins (1:21), he is the shepherd of his people Israel (2:6), he is a light that has dawned on the people who sat in darkness (4:16), and his ministry is primarily aimed at the lost sheep from the house of Israel (15:24; see also 10:5–6). Even after "the people as a whole" (πᾶς ὁ λαός), incited by the chief priests and the elders, has declared before Pilate that it takes the responsibility for the execution of Jesus (27:25), the chief priests and the elders continue to fear that the people will be receptive to the message of his disciples that he has risen from the dead (27:64). The use of these terms thus indicates that Matthew's community shows an openness for the people of Israel and that the Gospel of Matthew does not offer any grounds for the idea, which later came to prevail, that the Christian community saw itself as the new Israel.[4]
- In 8:11–12, the expression "the children of the kingdom" is an honorary title or a prerogative of the people of Israel, but in 13:38, this epithet is transferred to Jesus' disciples. This does not imply that the community saw itself as the circle of people in which the kingdom of heaven had been fully realized[5] and which would therefore be sure of eschatological salvation.[6] Rather, it is aware of being a *corpus mixtum* and realizes that a separation of the good and the bad can only be made on the basis of ethical criteria at the final judgment.

4 Often, Matt 21:43 is taken as evidence that the Matthean community saw itself as the nation which replaced the rejected Israel. However, the statement in this verse is aimed against the Pharisees (see 21:45) and must not be read as a condemnation of the entire Jewish people. The considerably vague term 'people' does not necessarily refer to a people other than Israel, nor must that people be identified with the church or with the Gentiles; if that had been the case, Matthew would have chosen the term ἐκκλησία or τὰ ἔθνη. See Chapter 10 of this book.

5 For an opposing view, see Henry Wansbrough, "The New Israel: The Community of Matthew and the Community of Qumran," *SNTSU*, Serie A/25 (2000): 8–22.

6 For an opposing view, see Petri Luomanen, "*Corpus Mixtum*: An Appropriate Description of Matthew's Community?," *JBL* 117 (1998): 469–480. This article is critically discussed by Robert H. Gundry, "In Defense of the Church in Matthew as a *Corpus Mixtum*," *ZNW* 91 (2000): 153–165.

1.2 *James*

The term ἐκκλησία is also used by James, but only once (5:14), in a passage in which the elders of the community pronounce a prayer over a sick person and anoint him with oil with the hoped-for effect that the Lord will cure the sick person. The elders here play a role in healing the sick whereas, in Matt 10:8, such a role is reserved for the twelve apostles. In Jas 5:14, ἐκκλησία refers to a local Christian group.

In 2:2, συναγωγή ὑμῶν is mentioned, the only time that συναγωγή occurs in this letter. Given the possessive pronoun, the word συναγωγή is used here for an assembly of a Christian community and is synonymous with ἐκκλησία as used in 5:14. The use of these two terms as synonyms also occurs in the LXX, but not in Matthew.

Text-critically, it is disputed whether συναγωγή in 2:2 is accompanied by the definite article. If this is the case, the emphasis is on the συναγωγή as a building; if not, the term refers to an assembly of the community members.[7] It is beyond the scope of this chapter to speculate on the possibility that the Christian group gathers in a local synagogue which is also used by other Jewish groups. However, it is clear that the use of συναγωγή does not raise the slightest suggestion of a polemic attitude towards Jewish groups challenging the Christian community's right to exist.

In the prescript (1:1), the addressees of the letter are described as "the twelve tribes in the Dispersion". What image does this characterization create of the communities to whom this letter is directed? In answering this question, I will focus on the composing parts of the description used. "Dispersion" can be interpreted metaphorically (the Christian communities are living "in foreign parts" since their true homeland is the heavenly kingdom; see Phil 3:20; Heb 11:13; 1 Pet 1:1.17; 2:11), but also literally (the addressees live in the Dispersion, in areas outside Palestine, among non-Jews; see John 7:35, where the Dispersion is a geographical reference). I prefer the second option. Within this interpretation, the term Dispersion contributes to a further specification of James' readers: it refers to followers of Jesus who thought their Jewishness essential to their identity, irrespective of their ethnic origin. Following many Old Testament and early Jewish texts, the author of the letter sees the Dispersion as a situation that is far from ideal and, with this term, evokes hopes of a future restoration of the one Israel.[8]

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7 See Luke T. Johnson, *The Letter of James* (AB 37A; New York etc.: Doubleday 1995), 221–222.

8 See Donald J. Verseput, "Genre and Story: The Community Setting of the Epistle of James," *CBQ* 62 (2000): 96–110 (99–101).

This image is confirmed by his referring to "the twelve tribes". The first meaning of this term is the people of Israel as the physical descendants of the twelve sons of Jacob. As a result of the spreading of the people over areas outside the country of Israel, the term also became charged with the hope that God would reunite this people. In some eschatological texts (e.g., Matt 19:28 // Luke 22:30; Rev 7:4–8; 21:12), this reunification does not take place until at the end of time. By calling his readers "the twelve tribes in the Dispersion", the author tells them that they belong to the one Israel, if not physically, at least in a spiritual sense. Because this letter further focuses on the internal problems of the community and treats these issues without raising disputes with Jewish groups outside the community, the readers possibly included those who had no trouble linking their faith in God and/or Jesus with their belonging to the one Israel.[9]

1.3 *Didache*

In the Didache, ἐκκλησία occurs four times. In 4:14 ("in the assembly [ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ] you shall confess your faults"), a meeting in a local house-church is meant, probably for joint prayer (ἐπὶ προσευχήν), which requires a clear conscience. In 11:11, ἐκκλησία occurs in a statement on a prophet who acts in a way that is incompatible with what he teaches to others. On the basis of the criterion formulated in 11:10, a prophet who does not practice what he preaches should be considered a false prophet. In 11:11, however, an exception is made to this rule. There are also prophets who will be judged by God alone, not by the community. It is suggested that the prophet in question does not do less than what he asks others to do, but in fact more. In the light of 6:2, it is likely that this extra effort consists of bearing the entire yoke of the Lord. That such a prophet may not be disqualified, appears from the positive descriptions in 11:11: he is "proved true and acts on behalf of the earthly mystery of the church". Ἐκκλησία here refers to the church everywhere in the world. Apart from the local community, ἐκκλησία thus also refers to the universal church, in both the Didache and in Matthew.

The term further appears in two eucharistic prayers to God:

> 9:4 "May your church be gathered into your kingdom from the ends of the earth."

9 For an opposing view, see Sophie Laws, "Epistle of James," *ABD* 3: 621–628 (623). According to her, the twelve tribes in the Diaspora must be seen as the ideal description of the community in its role of the new, true Israel in the world.

> 10:5 "Be mindful, Lord, of your church, to preserve it from all evil, and to perfect it in your love. And, once it is sanctified, gather it from the four winds, into the kingdom which you have prepared for it."

In these prayers, the church of God (see σου) throughout the world is meant. The words of the prayer in 9:4 are repeated almost literally in 10:5, but this second prayer contains two new elements: a) the church is not yet perfect, it must be protected from evil by God and has not yet been fully sanctified; b) nonetheless, God has prepared his kingdom for it. As concerns content, these prayers are related to Jewish prayers before and after meals in which God is asked to reunite Israel. There is also a connection with James' hope that the Christian communities living in the Dispersion will participate in this united Israel. In the Didache, the term ἐκκλησία does not have the connotation, encountered in Matthew, of contrast with the wider Jewish community or certain movements within it.

A certain awareness of the own distinct identity is expressed with the term Χριστιανός in 12:4. This word is used in the context of warnings against profiteers who do not work themselves but live off the community, and may have been chosen to contrast with χριστέμπορος in 12:5 ("someone who is trading on Christ").

1.4 *Conclusion*

The analysis of ἐκκλησία in Matthew, James, and the Didache shows that this term is used to refer to separate house-churches but also to the totality of such communities, the universal church. In Matthew, the concept has a polemic connotation and is used to emphasize the contrast with other Jewish groups to which the Matthean communities felt related but whose claim of being the authentic guardians of Israel's heritage they disputed. Matthew held the view that this position pre-eminently belongs to his own communities. The dispersion of the communities to areas where Jews are a minority is central in James and the Didache. Within that situation, the emphasis is on the future restoration of the one Israel which, also for the Christian communities, is both a comfort and a challenge.

2 The Community in Its Relationship to God and Jesus

2.1 *Matthew*

In his attempt to give the community an own identity, Matthew emphasizes that it must not be led by human precepts (15:9; see also 16:17.23)—of which

he accuses Jesus' opponents—but must be guided by the God-given revelation conveyed by Jesus (11:25–27; 16:17). The power to understand this revelation and know the secrets of the kingdom (13:11) is also a gift of God.

The community has been planted by God (15:13), its members are "children of God" (5:10.45), and they consider God to be their only Father (23:9). Their ultimate goal is also with God: theirs shall be the kingdom (5:3.10) and as "children of the kingdom" (13:38) the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father (13:43; see also 25:34), on the condition that they attune their actions to the ethical requirements bound up with the road that leads to life (e.g., 6:33; 7:13–14).

The community is also bound to Jesus. The church is his church (16:18); its members are the good seed sown by the Son of Man (13:37) and they must perceive Jesus' words (7:24–25) and the belief that he is the Messiah, the Son of the living God (16:16–17), as the foundation on which their community is built.

In the Gospel according to Matthew, which literary genre is related to the biographies from the Greco-Roman world, Jesus is the main character of the story. He is almost continuously surrounded by his disciples.[10] Although occasionally "the twelve disciples" are mentioned (10:1; 11:1; 20:17), the group of disciples cannot be limited to twelve persons, as is shown, in addition to a few broad descriptions of the group of disciples (5:48; 12:50; 16:24), by the fact

10 Μαθητής only occurs in the New Testament in the Gospels and in Acts (a total of 261 times; 72 times in Matthew, 46 times in Mark, 37 times in Luke, 78 times in John, and 28 times in Acts). The general meaning of μαθητής is 'learner, pupil, apprentice' (Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie, *Lexicon*, 1072). See Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, col. 985–986: "1. d. Lehrling, d. Schüler; 2. d. Jünger, d. Anhänger (. . .) oft m. Angabe dessen, dem man anhängt, meist im Gen." The term μαθητής is gender-neutral and can refer to a man as well as to a woman. Greek also has the terms μαθήτρια and μαθητρίς to refer to female disciples (e.g., Acts 9:36; *Gos. Pet.* 12:50; *Acts Paul* 2:9).

The Hebrew equivalent of μαθητής is תלמיד (in Aramaic: תלמידא), a substantive that is derived from the verb למד. In the Hebrew Bible, תלמיד only occurs in 1 Chr 25:8. Μαθητής does not appear in the generally accepted text traditions of the LXX. However, this word does occur in three alternative readings, witnessed by A, with an obscure meaning (Jer 13:21; 20:11; 26:9). In the LXX, the Hebrew term used in 1 Chr 25:8 is reflected by the participle μανθανόντες.

The term תלמיד is quite common in the rabbinical literature, in which a disciple is someone who is taught by a rabbi and who is initiated by his master into the Written and Oral Torah. In the learning process, the emphasis is on the development of a loyal attitude towards the Torah, not on the personal relationship with the teacher. A student can join subsequent masters and, when fully qualified, he can become a teacher himself. The profile of the student in the rabbinical literature is related to that of the student in the philosopher's schools in the Hellenistic world.

that μανθάνω ('to learn') and μαθητεύω, verbs related to μαθητής, indicate that becoming a disciple is a possibility that is open to a larger group of people.[11]

The meaning of μαθητής is co-determined by the frequent combination with διδάσκαλος. Jesus' disciples have one teacher and they are all students (23:8). They must not only be loyal to Jesus' teachings, but also have a deep personal relationship with him which they value so highly that it even takes precedence over family relationships and that they take their cue from him as the example for their own actions (they endure everything "for his sake", they act "in his name"). They are therefore not to be called "rabbi" (23:8) and they are not to follow other teachers such as the Pharisees and the Sadducees, whose teachings are rejected as wicked (16:12). When—fully taught—they themselves start to teach, they will continue to be bound by Jesus' teachings (5:19; 28:20) and must resist the ambition to develop into leaders of an own school with their own teachings.

That the disciples are reported in Matthew as having little faith, troubled by doubt, does not make them unfit for the task to continue Jesus' mission. Although the Pharisees fear that the disciples are capable of even worse deception than Jesus (27:63–64), according to the evangelist, there is not the slightest risk that they will disseminate deviant doctrines. This danger is simply nonexistent because God has given them the ability to understand what Jesus is telling them and to know the secrets of the kingdom (13:11.51; 16:12; 17:13). During their worldwide mission trips, they can moreover be ensured that Jesus, who is also called Emmanuel (1:23), will remain bound to them.

In Matthew, Jesus is thus the heart of the community. Matthew's concept of the community is strongly colored by the way in which he portrays Jesus.[12]

2.2 *James*

The close relationship between God and the community is such a frequent subject in James' letter that Frankemölle is of the opinion that the entire letter is theocentrically orientated: "Gottes Handeln auf die Menschen hin bildet Maβstab und Ermöglichung für das von Jakobus angezielte neue Handeln der Christen, ebenso ist Gottes Sein vorgegebenes Ideal für menschliches Sein."[13] This assertion is based on a large number of textual data, a few of which I will

11 The substantive μαθητής is connected to the μαθ-stem verbs μανθάνω ('to learn, to acquire a habit of/to be accustomed to/to perceive/to understand') and μαθητεύω ('to be a follower or a disciple of someone'), the transitive meaning of which is 'to cause someone to become a disciple or a follower'.

12 Weren, *De broeders van de Mensenzoon*, 188–194.

13 Frankemölle, "Das semantische Netz," 182.

mention here. The author assumes that his readers believe that there is only one God (2:19), who is also the only lawgiver and judge (4:12). To this one God, he gives the titles of "Lord" (1:7; 3:9; 4:15; 5:4.10.11.15) and "Father" (1:17.27; 3:9). The communities originate from God: he has chosen the addressees (2:5), he has planted his word in them (1:21), and he bestows the wisdom from above (1:5; 3:15.17) and grace (4:6). The eschatological salvation is also in his hands: he has promised the crown of life to those who love him (1:12) and he is able to save and destroy (4:12). He is already bestowing this life on the members of the community, who are the first fruits among his creatures and thus have a special status (1:18). The communities must therefore submit to God (4:7–8) and choose the friendship with God over friendship with the world; in doing so, they follow in the track of Abraham, who is God's friend and their father. They must not be carried away by their own desires, as a result of which they fall prey to all kinds of temptations, which are not of God's making (1:13–18). Two ways emerge here, one of which leads to life and the other to death (see Matt 7:13–14 and particularly the doctrine of the Two Ways in the Didache).

The author pays relatively little attention to the figure of Jesus. In 1:1, he calls himself "a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ". The double proper name "Jesus Christ" also occurs in 2:1, again accompanied by the title of "Lord". This title is also applied to Jesus—without his name being mentioned—in 5:7.8.14 in connection with his coming in the eschatological age. In total, Jesus' name is only mentioned twice. This is remarkable since the letter contains many statements that show a striking correspondence to words which, in Matthew or Q or in other collections such as the *Gospel of Thomas*, are spoken by Jesus. In the letter, the words are not explicitly attributed to Jesus. The author presents these words as if they are his own. This may be connected to the fact that the idea that Jesus should be the only teacher is totally missing here. In fact, many teachers are mentioned, and the author seems to count himself among them, given the use of the first person plural in 3:1. James also reflects the idea that the members of the community are the bearers of a special knowledge, which they owe to God, but which is conveyed by teachers who are active in the community.

2.3 *Didache*

The author of the Didache is also fully convinced of the close tie between God and the community. Not only is the community in his hand, he is also the Creator of the world, the almighty Lord (δέσποτης παντοκράτωρ), who has made all things and who provides mankind with food and drink (10:3; see also 1:2). Within this broad orientation on all mankind, the community occupies a special place, because it moreover is provided by God with spiritual food

and drink and eternal life. The statement in 10:2 shows a connection with Matt 11:25: God has made his holy name to dwell in the hearts of the faithful and has granted them revelation through his servant Jesus. Thus, the community is a bearer of special knowledge that opens the way to eternal life. According to 4:9–10, the community is convinced that it was called into existence by God and that it is inspired by his Spirit. God is not influenced by someone's social status. The community consists of men and women from various social strata, but they are now united by their joint focus on the fear of the Lord and their hope in the same God. The social differences within the community are leveled on the basis of the idea of the one God who is above all.

The name "Jesus" is mentioned in 9:2.3 and 10:2, always in combination with the epithet "your servant" (παῖς σου), with which also David is referred to. In 9:4, the name "Jesus Christ" is part of a doxology addressed to God. As in James, "Lord" is used to refer to both God and Jesus.[14] In the phrase "to bear the entire yoke of the Lord" (6:2), "the Lord" probably refers to God and to doing his will, which is to be found in the Torah.

The relationship between the community and Jesus is further clarified along three lines:

- Unlike James, the Didache sometimes explicitly attributes a statement to Jesus (9:5: "the Lord has said") or refers to "his gospel" (8:2; 15:4) or "the gospel" (11:3; 15:3).
- Activities like baptism (9:5) or missionary work (12:1) happen "in the name of the Lord", and office-bearers in the community, like bishops and deacons, must be worthy of the Lord (15:1). The addressees must receive itinerant teachers and apostles "as the Lord" (11:2.4), but they must beware of prophets who do not reflect the ways of the Lord (11:8).
- The community's eagerly looking forward to eschatological salvation is expressed in the eucharistic prayers and, in the final chapter, which is often seen as an appendix, is linked to the eagerly awaited coming of Jesus (16:1.7.8).

2.4 *Conclusion*

In each of the three documents, the community's profile contains a focus on God and Jesus. In James and the Didache, the focus on God is very prominent, whereas, in Matthew, the close relationship to Jesus is elaborated. In each of the three documents, this relationship is the source of special knowledge,

14 In the Didache, "the Lord" refers to God in 4:1 (twice); 4:12.13; 10:5; 14:3 (twice); to Jesus in 8:2; 9:5 (twice); 10:6; 11:2.4.8; 12:1; 14:1; 15:1.4; 16:1.7.8; see also μαραναθά in 10:6.

which the community needs to find the way to eternal life and to distinguish itself from surrounding groups.

3 The Concept of Perfection

The adjective τέλειος occurs nineteen times in the New Testament; in Matthew we find this term three times (5:48 [twice]; 19:21), and in James five times (1:4 [twice].17.25; 3:2). The word also appears in the Didache (1:4; 6:2). In each of the three documents, this term is used to describe the ideal behavior of the community. The word has a broad lexical meaning: it indicates that something or someone is complete, without defect, and in that sense perfect;[15] sometimes the term means: full-grown, mature; τέλειος specifically indicates that someone is ethically perfect.[16] In some places in the LXX, τέλειος reflects תמים ('complete, intact, incontestable, blameless') and expresses unconditional devotion to God and not to the idols.[17] God himself is never called perfect, but his work, his word and his law are perfect.[18]

In this section, I will discuss how the general meanings of τέλειος are semantically colored in Matthew, James, and the Didache, also in the light of the wider semantic field in which the word occurs there.

3.1 *Matthew*

In 5:48, Jesus calls on his disciples to be perfect as (or: because) their heavenly Father is perfect. This appeal is an allusion to God's appeal to Israel in Lev 19:2[19] and forms the conclusion to the six antitheses (5:21–47), in particular the sixth of that series (5:43–47). That God is perfect means, according to 5:45, that he takes care of all people without distinguishing between the good and the evil or between the righteous and the unrighteous. In this way, he is an example on which the community members must model themselves: they must try to become children of God (5:9). What they must do to achieve this is expressed in the opening sentence of the sixth antithesis on the basis of the commandment of love from Lev 19:18 (ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου, here

15 Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie, *Lexicon*, 1769–1770.

16 Louw and Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon: vol. 1*, 746: 'perfect in the sense of not lacking any moral quality'; Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, col. 1614: 'auf sittl. Gebiet volkommen'.

17 Koehler and Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, 1031–32; see also Gerhard Delling, "τέλειος," *TWNT* 8:68–89.

18 Luke L. Cheung, *The Genre, Composition and Hermeneutics of James* (Paternoster Biblical and Theological Monographs; Carlisle, PA: Paternoster, 2003), 181, note 22.

19 See also Deut 18:13 in the version of the LXX: τέλειος ἐσῃ ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου.

without the addition ὡς σεαυτόν), to which is linked the statement that one should hate one's enemy. This addition, of which there is no known parallel in Scripture or in early Jewish literature, creates an antithesis within 5:43 between "neighbor" in the sense of fellow believer, and "enemy" in the sense of a person from outside the community of faith. This more limited meaning of πλησίον contrasts sharply with Lev 19, where loving one's neighbor also includes loving the alien (compare Lev 19:18 with 19:34). In his comment on the thesis from 5:43, Jesus chooses the same broadening approach that can be found in Lev 19. His listeners must not limit the concept of πλησίον to those whom they love (5:46; see also 5:47: "their brothers and sisters") but must also treat outsiders as their brothers and sisters, also if they are hostile to the community. In principle, this means that the community must break down the walls that separate them from other groups. The love towards the neighbor is free from all discrimination and requires equal treatment of insiders and outsiders. The Christian community's ethos thus defined is said to go far beyond that of the "tax collectors" and the "Gentiles" (περισσόν = 'beyond the customary measure'). Whether this does justice to these groups' own norms and values is a question that is not addressed in this text. The community's inside perspective determines its view of the outsiders.

Within the Sermon on the Mount, the appeal in 5:48 to be perfect is related to 5:20 where Jesus demands a righteousness that differs qualitatively from the righteousness of the scribes and the Pharisees (περισσεύσῃ πλεῖον in 5:20 parallels περισσόν in 5:47). While 5:43–47 is focused on the difference between the community and the world of the Gentiles, in 5:20, the difference with (other) Jewish groups is at the forefront. This is probably a polemic against the allegation voiced by these groups that Jesus is deficient in observing God's Torah. Matthew's community turns this allegation around: not they but the others are deficient. Only the exceptional righteousness to be practiced by the disciples gives access to the kingdom of heaven. This suggests that access to the kingdom is denied to the scribes and the Pharisees. The disciples' exceptional righteousness implies that they must abide by Jesus' interpretation of the Torah. His explanation of the law is characterized by the following principles: a) the Torah, which expresses God's will, must be maintained fully, to the smallest detail; b) within the Torah, there is a certain hierarchy of values; minor commandments can be distinguished from the weighty ones, but that minor commandments are less important does not mean that they are unimportant;[20] c) who neglects the minor commandments will be allotted a lower position in

20 David C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (Studies of the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 132.

the kingdom of heaven. The sanction in 5:19 (a lower position in the kingdom of heaven) does not correspond to the much weightier one mentioned in 5:20 (no access to the kingdom). The deficiency of the scribes and the Pharisees therefore cannot be that they ignore the minor commandments. This is confirmed in 23:23 where, on the basis of an example (paying tithes), they are said to strictly observe such matters of the law. Jesus' reproach is that, as a result of their fixation on the minor matters of the law, they fail to observe the fundamental values of the Torah, such as justice, mercy, and faith. Jesus' disciples do allow themselves to be inspired by these fundamental values. They do not limit the Torah to these fundamental values, but consider them as guidelines for their interpretation and observance of the other provisions of the law. Thus they do the one without failing to do the other.

Being perfect thus means faith to the Torah as interpreted by Jesus as regards content and intention. The way in which Jesus opens up the Torah enables a way of life that can be characterized as 'perfect' but which is out of reach if people are led by the opinions of rival Jewish groups.[21]

The term τέλειος further occurs in the story of the rich young man (19:16–22). The correspondence between 19:17 ("if you wish to enter into life . . .") and 19:21 ("if you wish to be perfect . . .") suggests that this is a case of *Zweistufenethik*: whoever wishes to enter into the life, must observe the commandments (summarized on the basis of Exod 20:12–16 and Lev 19:18), but who wishes to be perfect, must meet extra requirements (selling one's possessions, giving the proceeds to the poor, and following Jesus). Matthias Konradt has rightly pointed out that being perfect is not a second, supplementary track but—as in 5:17–20—consists of putting the Torah into practice, as interpreted by the Matthean Jesus, who perceives the second table of the Decalogue and the commandment of love as the perspective which brings the intention of all other provisions of the Torah to light. Applied to the specific context of the young man, this yields the following conclusion. In his particular situation, the commandment "love your neighbor as yourself" implies that he must sell his possessions and give the proceeds to the poor. His statement that he has

21 Martin Meiser, "Volkommenheit in Qumran und im Matthäusevangelium," Pages 195–209 (203) in *Kirche und Volk Gottes* (eds. Martin Karrer et al.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000): the scribes and the Pharisees are depicted as "negatives Gegenbild der Jünger". Matthias Konradt, "Die volkommene Erfüllung der Tora und der Konflikt mit den Pharisäern im Matthäusevangelium," Pages 129–152 (152) in *Das Gesetz im frühen Judentum und im Neuen Testament* (eds. Dieter Sänger and Matthias Konradt; NTOA 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), refers to "die abgrenzende Identitätsstiftende Funktion des Volkommenheitsethos im Kontext von Gruppenkonflikte".

observed all commandments focuses on quantity, not on quality. He is not deficient because he has overlooked this or that commandment but because—like the scribes and the Pharisees—he does not fulfil the Torah on the basis of the fundamental norms emphasized by Jesus. Konradt summarizes his view of 19:16–22 as follows: "Nachfolge und Befolgung der Tora im Sinne und auf der Basis ihres von Jesus eröffneten Verständnisses sind für Matthäus zwei Seiten derselben Medaille."[22]

We can now formulate the meaning of τέλειος in Matthew as follows: being perfect implies that the community abides fully by the Torah as the central Jewish identity characteristic and is thereby led by the interpretation given by Jesus rather than that given by the Pharisees.[23] Matthew expects that this perfect life will have a positive effect on the community's Jewish and Gentile environment (5:13–16).[24]

3.2 *James*

In James, τέλειος is a key word that is connected to other important terms in the letter, such as ἔργον (1:4; 2:22), νόμος (1:25) and σοφία (1:5.17).[25] Τέλειος here belongs to a word group which also includes other τελ-root words[26] and a number of terms whose meaning at least partly overlaps with τέλειος.[27] This word group is contrasted in this letter with another group containing words that indicate that someone has a double attitude, such as δίψυχος, 'double-minded' or 'double-souled' (1:8; 4:8), ἀκατάστατος (1:8, 'unstable') and ἀκαταστασία (3:16, 'disorder').[28]

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22 Konradt, "Die volkommene Erfüllung," 141.

23 Ibid., 152: "Bei Matthäus ist die durch Jesus ermöglichte volkommene Erfüllung des Willen Gottes, die die Gemeinde gegenüber der pharizäischen Variante jüdischen Lebens als die wahre Sachwalterin des theologischen Erbes Israels auszeichnen soll."

24 Meiser, "Volkommenheit," 204.

25 See the combination of τελειόω and ἔργον (2:22), νόμος (1:25; see the combination of τελέω and νόμος in 2:8 and the syntagm ὅλος ὁ νόμος in 2:10), and σοφία (1:5.17). See Josef Zmijewski, "Christliche 'Volkommenheit': Erwägungen zur Theologie des Jakobusbriefes," *SNTSU*, Serie A/ 5 (1980) 50–78 (73).

26 For example, ἀποτελέω (1:15), τελέω (2:8), τελειόω (2:22) and τέλος (5:11).

27 This series also includes ὅλος, 'whole' (2:10; 3:2.3.6), ὁλόκληρος, 'complete in every part' (1:4), ἐν μηδενὶ λειπόμενος, 'falling short in nothing' (1:4) and ἁπλῶς, 'generously' (1:5). Cheung, *Genre*, 177, extends this series with καθαρός, ἀμίαντος, ἄμεμπτος, ἄσπιλος and words with the root ἁπλο- or δικαι-.

28 Studies on perfection in James: Martin Klein, *"Ein volkommenes Werk": Volkommenheit, Gesetz und Gericht als theologische Themen des Jakobusbriefes* (BWANT 139; Stuttgart etc.: Kohlhammer, 1995); Patrick J. Hartin, "Call to Be Perfect Through Suffering (James 1,2–4): The Concept of Perfection in the Epistle of James and the Sermon on the Mount,"

The author values the contents of the first word group positively and the second negatively. He uses a taxonomy that is determined by a certain knowledge and perception of reality, as is shown by his repeated use of words connected to 'knowledge'. The principal word reflecting this is 'wisdom', but more terms indicate that he departs from a certain knowledge of reality that springs from a fundamental and undivided focus on God and leads to life.[29] He frequently draws his readers' attention to what they know and urges them to devote themselves to God without any compromise and to abandon the attitude that is rooted in the inclination to follow one's own desires and that inevitably leads to death.[30] From the world-view of the author, the contemporary socio-religious situation of the readers is far from ideal: he depicts them as people who are deficient where faith coupled with an impeccable way of life is concerned. This deficiency does not only touch upon the personal integrity of the community members, but also injures the cohesion within the group.

Right at the beginning of the letter, perfection is presented as the goal of Christian existence. Given this goal, the temptations which every believer is confronted with can be perceived positively. They have an educational value and form a decisive stage on the road to perfection. According to James, successfully resisting the temptations leads to steadfastness, steadfastness leads to a flawless life, to a faith that shines out in good deeds, and this leads to perfection (1:3–4). Perfection is thus a growing process. Its culmination is not reached until the eschatological age, with the coming of the Lord, when those who held out in times of trouble will receive "the crown of life" (1:12). The faithful cannot complete the road to perfection through their own efforts; they draw strength from the wisdom and mercy which God bestows when they ask God for them in their prayers.

There is an alternative way, which is diametrically opposed to the way to life or salvation. This way also has different stages, and temptations also form the

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Bib 77 (1996): 477–492; Id., *A Spirituality of Perfection: Faith in Action in the Letter of James* (Collegeville, PA: Liturgical Press, 1999); Matt A. Jackson-McCabe, *Logos and Law in the Letter of James: The Law of Nature, the Law of Moses, and the Law of Freedom* (NovTSup 100; Leiden: Brill, 2001).

29 In James, the following words belong to the semantic domain of /knowing/: ἐπίσταμαι (4:14) and ἐπιστήμων (3:13), γινώσκω (1:3; 2:20; 5:20), οἶδα (1:19; 3:1; 4:4.17) and οἴομαι (1:7). Knowledge is aimed at wisdom and truth (σοφία in 1:3; 2:20; 5:20; σοφός in 3:13; ἀλήθεια in 1:18; 3:14; 5:19).

30 Mark E. Taylor, "Recent Scholarship on the Structure of James," *Currents in Biblical Research* 3 (2004): 86–115 (102): "one purpose attempted by the author is to convince the implied reader to adopt a certain 'system of convictions' (…) regarding how to perceive and order the realm of human experience".

crucial test. People end up in this way if they do not allow themselves to be led by the wisdom given by God, but by their own desires. Such people will not be able to stand their ground in times of trouble, but become inconstant and fall into sin, and once sin is fully grown, it breeds death (1:14–15).[31] The author cuts short the idea that God, who enables people to successfully complete the way to life, also stands at the beginning of the way to death. In contrast to ideas already prevailing in Scripture (for example, in Gen 22:1; Num 14:20–24), he argues that God does not cause the temptations. He thus throws the imperfect upon their own resources, upon their own liberty and responsibility.

Does the dichotomy of these two ways bear witness to a deterministic view of reality? In James, this is not the case. The author takes it as a matter of course that all community members stumble many times (3:2), but they can confess their sins to each other and thus obtain forgiveness (5:15–16). It is therefore possible to abandon the way to death and strike into the way of life. The opposite is also possible: people can stray from the way of life and lapse into sin and the way to death. In other words, it is not guaranteed beforehand that the faithful will achieve ultimate salvation, nor is it certain that sinners will persevere in wickedness. This dynamic view is the pendant of Matthew's view that the community is a *corpus mixtum* and cannot be identified with the community of salvation at the end of time.

The two ways contrast sharply and are made concrete in different ways in the rest of the letter. In the table below, this is elucidated on the basis of some antithetical statements.

the way of the perfect	*the way of the double-minded*
faith → temptations → steadfastness → life	desires → temptations → sin → death
synergy of listening to the word and acting on it (1:22)	listening to the word but failing to act on it (1:23)
synergy of faith and works (2:22)	faith without works (2:14–17) or works without faith (2:18–26)
observing and fulfilling the perfect law of liberty (2:8.10)	observing one commandment and breaking another (2:11)

31 The way of the imperfect is described with a verb from the τελ-root, viz., ἀποτελέω: even imperfection is 'perfect'!

(*cont.*)

the way of the perfect	*the way of the double-minded*
solidarity with others, especially the poor (1:27)	partiality and discrimination: respecting the rich and despising the poor (2:2–7)
knowing how to bridle one's tongue and thereby the whole body (3:2)	speaking with a double tongue (1:26; 3:9–10)
allowing oneself to be led by the wisdom given by God (1:5)	allowing oneself to be led by earthly wisdom, which is unspiritual and devilish (3:15)
the God-given wisdom goes hand in hand with a virtuous life (3:13–18)	earthly knowledge goes hand in hand with a life full of sin (3:14–15)
friendship with God and enmity with the world (4:4)	friendship with the world and enmity with God (4:4)

Is there a link in James—as there is in Matthew—between being perfect and keeping the Torah, and if so, what does the author understand by the Torah: is the whole Torah meant, down to the smallest detail, or does he reduce the organic whole to a few fundamental provisions, such as the love commandment and the second table of the Decalogue? To be able to answer this question, we must find out how νομός ('torah' or 'law') functions in this document.

This term occurs ten times in the letter (1:25; five times in 2:8–12 and four times in 4:11). In the first chapter, "the word of truth" (1:18) gradually passes into "the perfect law" (1:25). Like wisdom, that word is a gift of God, who has planted the word (with baptism?) in the members of the community and has thus given them the new status as the first fruits among his creatures. This new position has practical consequences: they must not only listen to the word, but also act on it. After a comparison with someone who glances at himself in a mirror, this exhortation is taken up again but "the word" is replaced by "the perfect law". This suggests that the word of God can be identified with the Torah. This does not preclude that the "word of truth" also concerns the Christian message but, in the opinion of the author, this message does not in any way conflict with the law.

The relationship between the word of God and the law is confirmed by 2:11, where two quotations from the Decalogue are introduced with the remark that the person who spoke the one commandment also spoke the other (ὁ γὰρ εἰπών . . . εἶπεν καί . . .); that nobody other than God could be meant here appears from 4:12, where it is said the God is the only lawgiver.

The content of "the perfect law" is shown in 2:1–13, where the author raises the concrete problem of community members showing bias by looking up to a wealthy person and looking down on a beggar. This behavior is criticized with a choice of arguments: it is incompatible with the faith in Jesus Christ (2:1) and with his message (compare 2:5 with, for example, Luke 6:20); it is inconsistent with the way in which God himself treats the poor (2:5); it is impossible to understand why the members of the community fawn upon the wealthy because they themselves are treated badly by the rich (2:6b–7).

What is crucial here is that favoritism infringes the law. This may need some explanation. Johnson has pointed out that 2:1 and especially 2:9 contains allusions to Lev 19:15 in the version of the LXX.[32] In the LXX, this verse reads as follows:

> οὐ ποιήσετε ἄδικον ἐν κρίσει· οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον πτωχοῦ οὐδὲ θαυμάσεις πρόσωπον δυνάστου· ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρινεῖς τὸν πλησίον σου

The intertextual relation between the two documents is shown clearly by the fact that λαμβάνω πρόσωπον in Lev 19:15 corresponds to προσώπολημψία in Jas 2:1 and with προσώπολημπτέω in 2:9. The following arguments can be added to this:

- in both cases, there is a poor man (πτωχός in Lev 19:15 and Jas 2:2.3.5.6);
- λαμβάνω πρόσωπον (in the LXX a translation of Hebrew נסה פאנם) is echoed by ἐπιβλέπω in Jas 2:3;
- in both cases, terms connected with the administration of justice play a role (Lev 19:15: κρίσις and κρίνω; in Jas 2:4 διακρίνω and κριταί);
- both in Leviticus and in James, impartiality is needed in two directions, both towards a poor man and towards a powerful man.[33]

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32 Johnson, *Letter*, 221 and 231; see especially 228: "the very term *prosopolempsia* (2:1) is (. . .) a word choice that deliberately echoes Lev 19:15". See also: Luke T. Johnson, "The Use of Leviticus 19 in the Letter of James," *JBL* 101 (1982): 391–401.

33 This latter aspect is emphasized by Gerd Theissen, "Nächstenliebe und Egalität: Jak 2,1–13 als Höhepunkt urchristlicher Ethik," in *Der Jakobusbrief: Beiträge zur Rehabilitierung der "strohernen Epistel"* (eds. Petra von Gemünden et al.; Beiträge zum Verstehen der Bibel 3; Münster: Lit, 2003), 120–142. In this study, he argues that New Testament ethics culminate in James' letter (120–121): "Kein neutestamentlicher Autor hat so eindeutig wie er

Apart from correspondences, we also come across an important difference: the addressees of the letter do exactly the opposite of what is prohibited in Lev 19:15 (they despise the poor) and are led by conventional opinions about honor and shame, while Lev 19:15 wants to keep the administration of justice free from these socially and culturally accepted codes. The author reproaches the community for its inconsistent attitude, which is directly opposed to its ethos as described in 2:5–7.

The case presented in 2:2–4 forms the background to observations about the royal law in 2:8–13. The central verse here is verse 10, in which the author advances the thesis that wanting to fulfill "the whole law" implies that each separate provision must be observed (see also Matt 5:19). The law is an organic whole and all these individual provisions are equally important. According to Pierre Keith,[34] this general principle is explained in 2:11 on the basis of two quotations from the second table of Decalogue ("you shall not commit adultery" and "you shall not murder").[35] These two examples clarify that whoever infringes one provision breaks the whole law. One cannot observe one provision and ignore another. In 2:11, the unity of the law is inferred from the fact that the words of the Decalogue all originate from God and that there is only one lawgiver.

How does this observation on the unity of the Torah relate to the two antithetically parallel statements in 2:8–9? According to Keith, the general rule from verse 10 is applied here to the contemporary situation of the addressees.[36] The syntagm "the whole law" of verse 10 corresponds to "the royal law" in verse 8. The particles μέντοι . . . δὲ . . . signal a sharp contrast between the statement in verse 8 and that in verse 9 ("if you *really* fulfill the royal law . . ., *but* if you show partiality . . ."). Or in different words: "if you really fulfilled the royal law . . ., but you do not since you are guilty of partiality . . .".[37] That the addressees, according to the author, do not meet the ideal depicted in verse 8 is shown by the fact,

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das Liebesgebot als Verpflichtung zur Gleichbehandlung verstanden und es gleichzeitig relativ offen für Auβenstehende formuliert."

34 Pierre Keith, "La citation de Lv 19,18b en Jc 2,1–13," Pages 227–247 (243–245) in *The Catholic Epistles and the Tradition* (ed. Jacques Schlosser; BETL 176; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2004).

35 This order (committing adultery and murdering) also occurs in Deut 5:17–18 in the LXX; Luke 18:20; Rom 13:9; the reversed order in the Hebrew text and in Mk 10:19 and parallels; Matt 5:21.27; 19:18; *Did.* 2:2.

36 Keith, "Citation," 246.

37 Theissen, "Nächstenliebe," 128.

mentioned in verse 9, that they do not treat everybody in the same way. He thus accuses them of a selective observation of the Torah.

In concreto, the addressees drive a wedge between two provisions from Lev 19. These two provisions are the commandment from Lev 19:18, cited in verse 8, to love one's neighbor as oneself and the commandment from Lev 19:15 to treat all neighbors equally, to which Jas 2:9 alludes. They assume that the "royal law" coincides with Lev 19:18 and isolate this provision from the commandment in Lev 19:15. The author tries to induce his readers to abandon this opinion and to replace it by his own view, which can be described as follows:

- the "royal law" does not coincide with the love commandment but comprises "the whole law" (verse 10);
- the love commandment is the *summa* of the whole law, namely, in the sense that this commandment presents a norm that is central to the fulfilling of all other norms of the law;[38]
- the love commandment implies that every person is treated equally;
- the two provisions from Leviticus, which have the term "neighbor" in common, must be understood in conjunction;[39]
- the concept of "neighbor" then acquires a broad and open meaning, whereas it would be arbitrarily restricted if the love commandment is isolated from the commandment to treat everybody equally.

In the framework of this study into the concept of perfection, we can now conclude that, in James, the way of perfection means that the whole law is fulfilled, in every respect. That is why he calls the (whole) law perfect, and royal.[40]

James's interpretation corresponds to that of Matthew,[41] although a few differences in emphasis can be observed. Matthew is abundantly clear that ritual prescriptions are not exempted; in James, this is not explicitly mentioned, but neither is it excluded.[42] James emphasizes, more strongly than Matthew, that striving to be perfect is not only a task of the individual Christian but also has

38 Theissen, "Nächstenliebe," 135: "Gehandelt werden soll nach der Norm, die sich in einer bestimmten Schriftstelle findet: nach dem Liebesgebot."

39 According to Keith, "Citation," 239, the two statements must be combined on the basis of the hermeneutical rule known as *gezerah shawah*.

40 According to Theissen, "Nächstenliebe," 132–134, the phrase "royal law" can refer to the quality of the law itself, to the quality of the lawgiver, and to the quality of those who keep this law. He argues in favour of a combination of these three possibilities.

41 The same results are to be found in: Benedict T. Viviano, "La Loi parfaite de liberté: Jacques 1,25 et la Loi," Pages 213–226 in *Catholic Epistles* (ed. Schlosser); Keith, "Citation," 235–237.

42 Viviano, "Loi parfaite," 221.

consequences for the life of the community as a whole. Matthew gives the Christian idea of perfection a profile of its own by contrasting it with the opinions of groups outside the community (tax collectors and Gentiles, the scribes and the Pharisees) which, in his view, are deficient. James, on the other hand, takes a stand against the alternative view held within the community itself that fulfilling the perfect law would merely come down to obeying the love commandment.[43]

3.3 *Didache*

With the Didache, we enter a world that is different, at least partly. The term τέλειος occurs twice in this document (1:4; 6:2); furthermore, the use of the verb τελειόω in 10:5 and 16:2 is important.

In 1:4, τέλειος occurs in a passage which partly consists of logia from the Jesus tradition and therefore is usually called the evangelical section (1:3b–2:1). On the basis of text-critical and literary-historical arguments, Huub van de Sandt comes to the conclusion "that the section was inserted into Did. 1–6 at the time when the earlier Two Ways form was incorporated in the Didache as a whole".[44] In the final redactional form of the Didache, this section has the nature of an explanation of 1:2 where we find a summary of the Torah on the basis of the double love commandment (Deut 6:5; Lev 19:18) and the Golden Rule, which itself belongs to the doctrine of the Two Ways. The evangelical section contains a series of radical requirements. Although the statement on perfection is not the conclusion of that series (as in Matt 5:48) but is linked to one particular exhortation ("if someone strikes you on your right cheek, turn your other one to him too"), it may safely be assumed that the qualification τέλειος refers to the whole series and that someone is considered to be perfect if he or she makes radical choices that exceed what is ethically customary.

Τέλειος occurs again in 6:2–3. In translation, the text of this passage is as follows: "If you can bear the entire yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect, but if you cannot, do what you can. As for food, bear what you can, but be very much on your guard against food offered to idols, for it is [related to] worship of dead

43 It is remarkable that many exegetes support the same reduction and argue that James wants to contrast the perfect (Christian) law of the love commandment and the Mosaic law. I refer, for example, to Zmijewski, "Christliche 'Volkommenheit'," 74, who argues that the "perfect law" refers exclusively to the love commandment "und *nicht auf das alttestamentliche Gesetz*" (italics his).

44 Huub van de Sandt and David Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity* (CRINT, section 3, vol. 5; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2002), 40.

gods." In this case, too, Van de Sandt is of the opinion that these sentences are a redactional addition and originally did not form part of the tradition of the Two Ways which we find in Chapters 1–5.[45] In his view, Did. 6:2–3 is from the same hand as 1:3b–2:1.

The fact alone that the redactor incorporates the doctrine of the Two Ways in his text indicates that he considers this doctrine important for the Christian community or communities at which his booklet is aimed. He applies the content of this doctrine fully to his readers. This is shown by the fact that he considers the person who is able to bear "the entire yoke of the Lord" as perfect. What exactly is meant by "the yoke of the Lord" (6:2) is disputed. To this question, two answers are possible:

- This expression refers to the exhortations bound up in the doctrine of the Two Ways and probably even the entire Torah, of which this doctrine is a particular elaboration. In this option, "the Lord" refers to God, who was mentioned shortly before, in 6:1.
- Another possibility is that "the Lord" refers to Jesus. An argument in favor of this option is that 6:2a calls forth associations with Matt 11:29, where Jesus exhorts his disciples to take up his yoke. Still, there is a remarkable difference: in the Didache, the yoke is heavy whereas, in Matthew, the yoke is called light. Within this second option, the yoke also refers to the Torah, but then the Torah as interpreted and lived by Jesus.

In 4:16, it says: "You shall not abandon the commandments of the Lord but shall keep what you have received, without adding or subtracting anything." The Torah must thus be seen as an organic whole and must be observed fully. It is remarkable that the Didachist in 6:2b keeps open the possibility that not everyone observes all the provisions of the Torah. It is sufficient that they do what they can. The following verse shows that he wants to relieve certain community members from the obligation to keep the dietary laws, but immediately adds that everyone must refrain from eating food offered to idols. To keep the whole Torah should be the norm (whoever accomplishes this is perfect), but certain groups may have to settle for less. This is a *Zweistufenethik*, in other words: within the community, there are two distinct classes, which nevertheless can live together on the condition that nobody practices idolatry.

It is an obvious guess that the group that keeps the whole Torah and is qualified as perfect may have consisted of Christians with a Jewish background and that the group that did not have to strictly observe the dietary laws consisted

45 Van de Sandt and Flusser, *Didache*, 238–239.

of community members with a Gentile past. In a recent monograph, Michelle Slee has argued, following Jonathan Draper, among others, that the doctrine of the Two Ways already functioned within Judaism in the framework of teaching proselytes who, on the basis of this doctrine, were encouraged to break with their Gentile past, especially by turning away from idolatry.[46] This doctrine fulfils a similar function in the Didache, but here the issue is the admission of Gentiles to a community that consists largely of Jewish Christians. Of this category of newcomers, no full observation of the Torah is required. However, they must try to keep as many of the dietary laws and, as a minimum requirement, abstain from food offered to idols, otherwise no joint meals would be possible; especially the celebration of the Eucharist would suffer. According to Slee, the newcomers from the world of the Gentiles must not resign themselves to their imperfect state, but try to grow into people who do meet the ideal of full observation of the Torah. Slee bases her argument on 16:2 where τελειόω, a word related to τέλειος is used ("the whole time of your belief will be of no profit to you unless you are perfected at the final hour"; see also 10:5).

3.4 *Conclusion*

In Matthew and James, the concept of perfection is elaborated along the same lines, although there are differences in emphasis. The Didachist takes up a position of its own, not because the ideal of perfection is interpreted differently here, but because he does not (yet) fully apply this ideal to all community members and, for the time being and by way of compromise, considers a less stringent regime acceptable for Christians from the world of the Gentiles.

4 Final Observations

In this chapter, I have tried to establish, on the basis of three topics, what perception of the ideal community emerges from Matthew, James, and the Didache. The results can be summarized as follows:

- The community is referred to as ἐκκλησία. This term does not only refer to the local house-church but also the totality of such communities, the universal church.
- The three documents suggest that the community has special knowledge which it has received from God and which co-determines the selection of

46 Michelle Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century CE: Communion and Conflict* (JSNTSup 244; London etc.: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003).

norms and values which are recommended in these documents and of negative values which are challenged in them. As a result of this special knowledge, the community has a profile of its own which distinguishes it from other groups.

- That this special knowledge is conveyed by Jesus is made explicit in Matthew, who presents Jesus in his role of teacher as the only one who interprets the Torah in a legitimate way. In some instances, the Didachist indicates that a statement was made by Jesus or can be found in "his gospel". James expresses the statements in his letter as his own and does not explicitly refer to Jesus as their source or inspiration.
- In all three documents, being perfect is a prerequisite for all community members. The three documents also have in common that being perfect is perceived as a growing process, which will not culminate until the eschatological age.
- Being perfect means that the whole Torah is fulfilled, in all respects. In none of the three documents is the Torah reduced to the commandment to love one's neighbor or to the ethical provisions in the second table of the Decalogue. In James, such a reduction is even one of the misconceptions against which the author speaks out strongly. In Matthew and James, the requirement of full observation of the Torah applies as a prerequisite for admission to the Christian community. Matthew indicates that ritual prescriptions must also be observed (15:1–20). James is not explicit on this, but it may not be concluded that he would want to make an exception for such rules. The Didachist, however, suspends the requirement to keep the dietary laws for non-Jewish applicant Christian community members to the time of the eschatological age and, in the meantime, settles for the minimum requirement that they abstain from food offered to idols. Because he does not apply the same ethical norm to all community members, he in fact uses a *Zweistufenethik*.
- In none of the three documents is circumcision mentioned as a prerequisite for admission to the Christian community. Given the absence of evidence on this point, it may not be assumed that there is evidence of absence: the fact that circumcision is not mentioned does not mean that this ritual was not advocated. Neither in Matthew and the Didache, where baptism in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is mentioned, nor in James, where baptism is not explicitly mentioned (however, see 1:18), are there clear indications for the view that baptism has replaced circumcision.
- The Gospel of Matthew contains a fierce polemic against the Pharisaic movement; the reproach that, in their case, the necessary concord between preaching and doing is missing is also leveled against certain members of

the community (the false prophets) in Matthew. James and the Didache are also polemically orientated but the authors of these documents mainly oppose people with divergent views within the community.
- James and the Didachist view the future restoration of the one Israel as an event that is also salutary for the Christian community, whereas Matthew is of the opinion that his community is the authentic guardian of Israel's heritage and that Jewish groups which also claim this prerogative will not share in the eschatological kingdom. However, the latter view does not imply that he perceives the church as replacing Israel or that Israel has lost its special position as God's people.

The above results show that, as regards content, the three documents are closely related where the construction of ideals which the Christian community must meet is concerned. In fact, they express three variants of the same basic idea, namely, that belonging to the Christian community provides the best situation to share in the eschatological salvation and that the way to life requires, in practice, fulfilling God's will, which can be found in the Torah given by him (and authoritatively interpreted by Jesus).

The differences are likewise striking. Most differences originate from the fact that one document raises issues that are missing in the other documents or are less prominent. These differences can be explained by the fact that the three documents do not belong to the same literary genre. Matthew is the author of a gospel, which, as a genre, is related to the Greco-Roman biographies, in which the person portrayed is the central figure. James' letter belongs to the genre of the Diaspora letter and does not focus so much on that which binds the members of the community but rather on matters which divide the minds at a particular moment. The Didache is a text with instructions for the initiation into the Christian community and, as such, focuses on the minimum requirement which applicant Christian community members with a non-Jewish background must meet, and also takes a stand against preachers and leaders with different views than those of the author.

In one instance, a difference of opinion was encountered as regards the question of whether the Gentiles can be admitted to the Christian community. It is tempting to seize upon this difference for a reconstruction of the historical, social, and religious setting of the three documents. Do they originate from the same environment or even from the same area and do they go back to the same period? If so, how can it be explained that they differ so much on this one matter? Or does the difference reflect gradual development in which the original orientation on the whole Jewish Torah is put in perspective to open up the community to people from the world of the Gentiles? Do Matthew and

James represent an older phase in this process and the Didachist a later period? The answers to these questions go beyond the scope of this chapter, which is based on a semantic and intertextual analysis, and requires the application of methods from historical criticism and the social sciences. My observations are therefore open for supplementation and any corrections from different research perspectives. Conversely, these different research perspectives may profit from the picture, sketched here on the basis of semantic research, of the ideal community in Matthew, James, and the Didache.

PART 3

History and Social Setting

CHAPTER 13

The Real Community: History and Social Setting of the Matthean Communities

Where, when, and for whom was the Gospel of Matthew written? In this chapter, I will make an attempt to gain new insight into the history and social setting of Matthew's community. This will not be an easy task. Owing to the lack of sufficiently reliable external data,[1] we must go on the information that this Gospel itself has to offer. A further complication is that Matthew's book belongs to a particular literary genre, which we usually refer to with the term 'gospel' and which is modelled on ancient biography. It is characteristic of a gospel that it offers a story of the life of Jesus *in illo tempore*, but such a text has been deeply influenced by the situation of the community within which it originated and for which it was originally meant.

For the purpose of this chapter, I define 'community' as a number of affiliated or rather loosely confederated Christian groups, in a wide geographical area, that feel connected in the sense that they largely hold the same religious views and adhere to the same ethical values. The groups in this network need not have had the same history or have found themselves in the same stage of development, nor is it certain from the start that these groups were always located in the same region.

The Gospel according to Matthew is the fruit of a long maturing process. It contains traces of traditions of days long past. The tension between the older and younger layers can be clearly discerned in the final product. It is therefore inadvisable to relate all the data contained in this Gospel, and which are often difficult to reconcile with each other, to one particular moment in the life of one particular group.[2] Redaction-critical studies often suffer from this malady. They focus one-sidedly on the situation in the 80s of the first century C.E., at

1 See Papias' statements on Matthew in Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 39,16): Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο ἡρμήνευσεν δ᾽ αὐτὰ ὡς ἠν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος. See also Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* III, 1,2; III, 11, 7–9.

2 Cf. Graham N. Stanton, "Revisiting Matthew's Communities," *Hervormde teologiese studies* 52 (1996): 376–394 (378–379): "We should stop supposing that the gospel reflects the evangelist's close relationship with one group of Christians in one house church in one particular urban geographical location."

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the time of the final redaction of the book. Taking the tension between tradition and redaction as a point of departure, I want, instead, to try and form a picture of the history of the Matthean community, or groups belonging to it, over a longer period of time.

In my reconstruction, I will distinguish three phases.[3] The first phase takes us back to the period prior to 70 C.E. and brings us into contact with the Jewish disciples of Jesus, who still considered themselves full members of the Jewish community, which had become strongly fragmented in those days. In the second phase (between 70 and 80), these Christian Jews came into conflict with the Pharisees, who were devoted to finding new, common ground on the basis of which various Jewish factions could unite. In this unification process, the Jewish followers of Jesus became a minority group within their original home front. In the third phase (between 80 and 90), these Jewish Christians increasingly came into contact with Christian groups which had gone through a different development and which, in addition to Jews in the Diaspora, also counted many non-Jews among their members. In this last phase, the Gospel of Matthew achieved its final redactional form. With his book, the final redactor tried to offer a foundation to his community which had become strongly estranged from Judaism.

It will be obvious that my reconstruction is hypothetical in nature and that the three phases which I distinguish partly overlap. It is especially between the second and third phases that it is hardly possible to draw a sharp distinction. The gradual and continuing estrangement from Jewish groups led by Pharisees (phase 2), advanced an increasing openness of Matthew's community for other local Christian communities and for the Gentile world (phase 3).

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3 To a certain extent, the results of my reconstruction are similar to the proposal concerning the history of Matthew's community formulated by Ulrich Luz, "Der Antijudaismus im Matthäusevangelium als historisches und theologisches Problem: Eine Skizze," *EvT* 53 (1993) 310–327 (311): "Die matthäische Gemeinde ist, so denke ich, eine judenchristliche Jesusgemeinde, die aus Palästina stammt, dort früher Israelmission betrieben hat, daran gescheitert ist, schließlich, wahrscheinlich im Vorfeld des jüdischen Krieges 66–70, sich von der Synagoge trennen und Israel verlassen mußte, in Syrien eine neue Bleibe fand und dort anfing, Heidenmission zu betreiben." My reconstruction differs from Luz's view on two points: 1. the mission to Israel continues when the Matthean community embarks on a mission among Gentiles; 2. the parting away from 'the synagogue' is not to be dated as early as Luz suggests. See also Ulrich Luz, *The Theology of the Gospel of Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 17–21.

The phases I distinguish in the history of Matthew's community correspond to three stages in the development of Matthew's Gospel.[4] The oldest layer of the Gospel we can touch upon is the material that is unparalleled in Mark or Q. The major part of this material consists of sayings by Jesus. When these are isolated from their present literary context it becomes evident that these sayings are profoundly Jewish in character. It is a moot point whether they initially constituted a unity and ought to be attributed to a special source (M).

The second stage in the development of Matthew's Gospel is more easily to be recovered. To my judgment, material derived from Mark or Q should be ascribed to this layer. I presume that groups around Matthew became acquainted with these documents because of increasing contacts with visiting missionaries. This second layer shows a mixture of both tradition and redaction. Many textual elements are derived from Mark or Q, but at the same time Matthew felt free to adapt them to his community's situation. Matthew's thorough redaction is determined by new developments following the year 70 C.E., that were well remembered by both redactor and community, and still had their influence on the community's life in the eighties of the first century C.E.

The last and youngest stage of the development of Matthew's Gospel is in line with the second stage. During this stage Matthew's final redaction took place probably by the end of the eighties. In this stage, old traditions were adapted to the circumstances that had changed, and new textual elements were added. An important consideration to distinguish the second and third stages is that in the youngest we can detect a community that is gradually separating itself from (Pharisaic) Judaism and taking a position *extra muros*, whereas the bitter conflicts with the Pharisees, during the penultimate stage, rather point to a community that was still *intra muros*.

1 First Phase (Prior to 70 C.E.): Christian Jews Formed a Robust Group Within the Multi-Form Judaism of the Time

1.1 *Characteristics*

In the years before 70 C.E., many Jewish followers of Jesus considered themselves full members of the Jewish community, which formed a multi-form

4 Cf. Peter J. Tomson, *"If this be from Heaven . . .": Jesus and the New Testament Authors in their Relationship to Judaism* (The Biblical Seminar 76; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 255–289.

whole with many other sub-groups and movements at the time.[5] They were accepted by other Jews without any substantial problems. Following Antony Saldarini and David Sim, I will refer to this group as 'Christian Jews'.[6] The term 'Jews' indicates that, both ethnically and religiously, this group completely belonged to the larger Jewish context and that the group did not perceive itself as taking the lead in a new religious movement. With the term 'Christian', I refer to a specific characteristic of this group: its members considered Jesus as their core symbol but, in their minds, this did not detract from their Jewishness. On the contrary, they experienced their belief in Jesus as the most authentic way to express their Jewish identity.

1.2 *Textual Evidence*

Our image of this oldest stage is based on ancient traditions which probably originated in Israel; we can still find traces of them in the Matthean *Sondergut*. Linking up with Stephenson Brooks' study on Matthew's special sayings material, I draw the following picture.[7] The Christian Jews considered Jerusalem as the holy city (4:5), they paid temple tax (17:24–27), and participated without criticism in temple rites and other religious meetings (5:23–24). The Torah, to them, was normative (5:17–19) and therefore they abided—although not without discussion—by provisions concerning purification and the Sabbath. By differentiating between weightier rules and less weighty ones (23:23; 5:18–19), they could emphasize certain parts of the Torah without having to fully reject other elements. They lived pious lives, characterised in 6:1–18 by the three cardinal works of religious life: giving alms, praying, and fasting.

Like many other Jews, they associated with Gentiles who had converted to Judaism and had renounced their heathen past but, for the sake of their Jewish

5 That is why present-day scholars use the term 'Judaisms'. See *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (eds. Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan; New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1993) 391: "[T]he picture that has emerged is of multiple Judaisms, distinct Jewish religious systems, yet with connecting threads, indicators that they share a common legacy."

6 Antony J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (CSJH; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); David C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (Studies of the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998). According to these authors the community still kept its Christian-Jewish character at the time of Matthew's writing. Contrary to this opinion I will argue that there was a significant change in the community's attitude during the eighties of the first century.

7 Stephenson H. Brooks, *Matthew's Community: The Evidence of His Special Sayings Material* (JSNTSup 16; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 120–122.

identity, they were strongly opposed to adopting the behaviour patterns of the Gentiles (5:47; 6:7.32; 7:6; 20:25).

The Christian Jews tried to win others over to Jesus but, in conformity to their master (15:24), they exclusively targeted the house of Israel (10:6). Like those in apocalyptic circles, they looked forward to the imminent return of the Son of Man and they expected this event to transpire before they had visited all the towns on their mission through Israel (10:23).

1.3 *Time and Place*

The situation presented here fits best in the period before the destruction of the temple in the year 70. In that period, there was not yet one dominant Jewish group that could, or wanted to, channel the life of the community into one particular direction. It is more difficult to determine the whereabouts of the Christian Jews. Various urban centres with their surrounding areas qualify, such as Caesarea Maritima,[8] Sepphoris,[9] or Pella on the eastern side of the Jordan,[10] but since it is strongly emphasized in Matthew that Capernaum functioned as the operating base for Jesus' activities in a wider region, I am thinking particularly of the border area between the Lower and Upper Galilee, where towns like Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida were located. Jesus reproaches these three towns that they have not repented (11:23–24). This strong rebuke may indicate that the Christian Jews may initially have had their home front in these centres, but that they were later compelled to leave these towns because of tensions with the rest of the Jewish population.

2 Second Phase (ca. 70–80 C.E.): The Christian Jews are Forced into the Margin within a Jewish Community That was Renewing Itself

2.1 *Characteristics*

The history of Judaism in the first century C.E. was strongly defined by the colonial aspirations of the Roman Empire. The capture of Jerusalem by Titus in the year 70 was a heavy blow to Jewish life. The destruction of the temple meant the loss of an important focus of religious life. Multi-formity decreased

8 Benedict T. Viviano, "Where was the Gospel according to St. Matthew Written?," *CBQ* 41 (1979): 533–546.

9 J. Andrew Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990), 159.

10 H. Dixon Slingerland, "The Transjordanian Origin of Matthew's Gospel," *JSNT* 3 (1979): 18–28.

because groups like the Sadducees and the Qumran community disappeared.[11] Urgent reorientation was necessary. Apocalyptic movements flourished again and other groups also made efforts to redefine the social and religious identity of Judaism and to curb internal disunity.[12] This revitalisation process did not proceed everywhere in the same way and was not so much coordinated from one central position as later rabbinical sources, that see Yavneh as the centre, would have us believe. It is certain, however, that the Pharisees made an important contribution to this process.[13] They had great expertise in the field of the Torah, and since they had already advocated the promotion of purity *outside* the temple, they could easily take the lead in the reconstruction of a Jewish community that was no longer centred around the temple cult. The Pharisees were mainly active in the Lower Galilee, where they had much leverage with the local population and had secured the support of local scribal groups.

2.2 *Textual Evidence*

This new coalition is reflected in passages from Matthew that show a redactional processing of material from Mark or Q. The redactor often links "(the) scribes and (the) Pharisees" to form a fixed combination (5:20; 12:38; 23:2.13.15.23.25.27.29).[14] The Pharisees are mentioned a total of 29 times. A very negative portrait is painted of this group: they are evil (12:34.35.39.45), blind (15:14; 23:16.17.19.24.26), and hypocritical (15:7; 23:13.15.23.25.27.29); they were not planted by God (15:13), but are like weeds sown by the devil that will be burned at the end of the age (13:40); the kingdom of God will be taken away

11 Given new archeological research in Khirbet Qumran, it is doubted whether a religious sect was in fact established in the buildings there and whether the texts found in the caves nearby must be considered as a source of information on this group's beliefs and practices. See, e.g., Yizhar Hirschfeld, *Qumran—die ganze Wahrheit: Die Funde der Archäologie—neu bewertet* (translated by Karl H. Nicolai and edited by Jürgen Zangenberg; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2006); *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates* (eds. Katharina Galor, Jean-Baptiste Humbert, and Jürgen Zangenberg; Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 57; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006.

12 Following Jacob Neusner, Overman (*Matthew's Gospel*, 35) talks about 'formative Judaism' (= "a new religious synthesis and the process of its construction and emergence in the post-70 period").

13 According to Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, vol. I (revised and edited by Geza Vermes and Fergus Miller; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973, rev. ed.), 524, the Pharisees were the predominant party in the period following the year 70 C.E. (see also vol. II, 369.402–403).

14 In Matt 15:1 it says "Pharisees and scribes", in accordance with the order in Mark 7:1.5. In Luke, we come across "the scribes and the Pharisees" in 5:21; 6:7; 11:53.

from them because of their lack of productivity (21:43). The tirade against the scribes and Pharisees culminates in 23:13–39, a passage that is uncommonly fierce in tone.

This negative picture may be accounted for by the collisions between the Christian Jews and the Pharisees in the 70s. The Christian Jews knew themselves backed by Jesus, who had also disputed Pharisaic interpretations of the Torah on a number of points.

Initially, the Christian Jews were inclined to support the Pharisees's authority as interpreters of Mosaic law (23:2–3a), but, as a result of their increasing claims to domination, loyalty to them soon began to wane (16:12; 23:16.18). The power ambitions of the opposing party forced the Christian Jews to emphasize that God had given all power to Jesus (11:27; 28:18) and that Jesus had special authority (7:29; 8:8–9; 21:23–27). Their opponents protested that Jesus was an impostor (27:63) and that he was not inspired by God's Spirit but by Beelzebul (9:34; 12:24.27; cf. 10:25).

Feelings could run so high because the two parties adhered to the same basic values. Both were interested in halachic issues concerning divorce (5:27–32; 19:3–9), the purity rules (15:1–9), and observance of the Sabbath (12:1–14). Both parties appealed to the Scriptures (9:13; 12:3–7; 19:4–5.7–8) to justify their points of view. On the basis of formula quotations, the Christian Jews tried to show that their innovative movement was deeply rooted in tradition. They presented their views as normative and had the pretension that, in choosing for Jesus, they met the highest ideals, which should in fact hold for the entire Jewish community. This feeling of superiority is articulated in 5:20, where it says that the righteousness of Jesus' disciples must exceed that of the scribes and the Pharisees.

The opposition between the own group and the opposing party was formulated pointedly by means of apocalyptic material, in which the good and the bad are sharply contrasted. References to the final judgement were a fixed element of the diatribes against the opponents: God will take the kingdom away from them (21:43), but he will generously reward the repressed minority group for its ideological choices and its righteous life.

2.3 *Internal Relations*

As a result of collisions with other groups within their milieu, the Christian Jews were increasingly thrown on their own resources. Within the larger Jewish context, they became a sect that deviated from what slowly emerged as the mainstream.[15] Despite their fondness for expressing relations in terms

15 Being influenced by studies of Ernst Troeltsch and Max Weber, L. Michael White proposes that a sect is "a deviant or separatist movement within a cohesive and religiously defined

of family relationships—they saw God as their only Father, they considered themselves each others' (23:8–9) and Jesus' (12:46–50; 28:10) brothers and sisters—they began to set up an organisation of their own and adopted disciplinary measures that correspond to the rules from the Dead Sea Scrolls, and which provided that any person who undermined the internal social unity could be expelled from the community (18:15–18). Such strict discipline is characteristic of a sectarian group which clearly wants to dissociate itself from the outside world, which it considers to be hostile.[16]

In order to make their organisation more efficient, they appointed certain individuals from their midst as leaders. In 23:34, we find the following threesome: prophets, wise men, and scribes. The function of the prophet is also mentioned in 10:41, and we also come across the Christian scribe in 13:52. With the function of scribe, the Christian Jews adopted a form of leadership that also existed in the opposing party. It may have been the case that some Christian scribes actually came from the enemy camp and that, having been won over to Jesus's side, they had to join battle with their former colleagues.

The function of scribe is represented by Peter, who plays a prominent role in Matthew. From the Christian-Jewish circles, Matthew derives the tradition, preserved in 16:17–19, in which Peter is charged with the task of making sure that the community, when developing a new halacha, will remain faithful to Jesus' interpretation of the Torah.[17] As such, he is a model for the entire group and for its leaders.

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dominant culture. Thus despite expressed hostilities and exclusivism, the sect shares the same basic constellation of beliefs or 'worldview' of the dominant idiom." See his article "Shifting Sectarian Boundaries in Early Christianity," *BJRL* 70 (1988): 7–24 (14).

16 Cf. 1QS 5:24–6:1; CD 9:2–8. See Florentino García Martínez, "Brotherly Rebuke in Qumran and Mt 18:15–17," Pages 221–232 in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (eds. Florentino García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera; Leiden etc.: Brill, 1995). See also Huub van de Sandt, "Two Windows on a Developing Jewish-Christian Reproof Practice: Matt 18:15–17 and *Did.* 15:3," Pages 173–215 in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (ed. Huub van de Sandt; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2005).

17 Matt 16:17–19 is without parallel in Mark. These verses are an addition by Matthew. Language and style point to Matthew having inserted a tradition, which was slightly altered and modified by his specific vocabulary. See Paul Hoffmann, "Der Petrus-Primat im Matthäusevangelium," Pages 96–98 in *Neues Testament und Kirche* (ed. Joachim Gnilka; Freiburg etc.: Herder, 1974); Christoph Kähler, "Zur Form- und Traditionsgeschichte von Matth. XVI.17–19," *NTS* 23 (1977): 36–46; Bernard P. Robinson, "Peter and His Successors: Tradition and Redaction in Matthew 16:17–19," *JSNT* 21 (1984): 85–104 (96); Jan Lambrecht, "'Du bist Petrus': Mt 16:16–19 und das Papsttum," *SNTU*, Serie A, 11 (1986): 5–32 (21–24).

It was an innovative step that the Christian Jews founded the forms of leadership which they gradually developed on a task received from Jesus (cf. 23:34: "I send") and that they encouraged their leaders to distinguish themselves from their counterparts in the other camp by refusing to be addressed as rabbi, father, or instructor (23:8–12). They were to acknowledge their bond with God, the only Father, and to Jesus, the only rabbi and instructor. With these references to God and Jesus, the Christian Jews put the forms of leadership they established into perspective.

2.4 *Time and Place*

Towards the end of the second phase, the Christian Jews increasingly withdrew from the Pharisees' sphere of influence. There was growing social and geographical distance. A number of Christian Jews left the Lower Galilee, where the Pharisaic influence was greatest and the conflicts most intensive. They took refuge in the sparsely populated Upper Galilee, the district of Caesarea Philippi, to the Golan, and the southern part of Syria (Syria is explicitly referred to in 4:24).[18] Owing to the large number of administrative reorganisations in the recent past, the borders between these areas were not clearly demarcated; they formed a coherent region with villages and a number of towns, which engaged in agriculture and maintained trade relations with a wider area.[19] The relocation of the Christian Jews was also dictated by the fact that they were subject to persecution because of their ties with Jesus ("on my account": 5:11; 10:18.39; 16:25; "for my name's sake": 19:29), even in the synagogues (23:34). The fact that their mission among the house of Israel had not proven to be very successful also played a role. They turned their backs upon the cities of Lower Galilee and, in Southern Syria, they came into contact, in addition to Diaspora Jews, with a non-Jewish population.

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18 Luz, *Evangelium nach Matthaüs* (*Mt 1–7*), 75, calls "eine größere Syrische Stad, deren lingua franca Griechisch war" as its place of origin; he considers Antioch on the Orontes as "nicht die slechteste Hypothese" (ibid., 74). Arguments in favour of Antioch as the place of composition of Matthew are given by John P. Meier in his treatment of Antioch in: Raymond E. Brown and John P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 11–86 (22–27). Cf. Burnett H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* (London: Macmillan, 1936, 5th ed.), 500–523.

19 L. Michael White, "Crisis Management and Boundary Maintenance: The Social Location of the Matthean Community," Pages 211–247 (228–238) in *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross Disciplinary Approaches* (ed. David L. Balch; Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 1991).

3 Third Phase (ca. 80–90 C.E.): Christian Jews Within a Multi-Cultural Network of Christian Communities

3.1 *Characteristics*

In the second phase, the Christian Jews continued to perceive the Jewish community as their spiritual home front; they were still *intra muros*. In the third phase, however, they gradually detached themselves from this social framework and came into contact with a broad multi-cultural network of Christian communities. I call this network multi-cultural because it consisted of communities to which both Jews and non-Jews belonged. In this environment, Matthew's Christian Jews gradually developed into Jewish Christians, into a Jewish branch within a Jesus movement that was not exclusively linked to a particular people.[20]

3.2 *Some Terms*

That the community began to occupy its own position next to, and partly even separate from, the Jewish community is revealed by some of the terms that Matthew uses.

- In 28:15, the author warns his readers about a bad rumour that allegedly persisted until his own time "among Jews" (he does not say: "among *the* Jews"). The choice of this term shows that the author and his readers no longer considered themselves Jews, even though they in fact still were.
- Matthew reserves the word ἐκκλησία for Christian groups and the term συναγωγή for the domain dominated by the Pharisees.[21] This dichotomy

20 'Jewish Christians' might not be the best designation, since nowhere in the Gospel according to Matthew, we find any support for the fact that Jesus' followers called themselves Christians (Χριστιανοί; cf. Acts 11:26; in the New Testament the word Χριστιανός is found only in Acts 11:26; 26:28 and 1 Pet 4:16). Despite this I will use the designation 'Christians', because the community in question not only considers Jesus' words its foundation (7:24–25) but also understands itself as belonging to the church that is built on the confession that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God (16:16–17).

21 Matthew is the only evangelist who uses the word ἐκκλησία (16:18 and 18:17 [twice]). The expression has a twofold meaning: a 'community' is a small local congregation (18:17), yet together such small communities constitute the one community around Jesus (16:18). In Ancient Greek texts ἐκκλησία refers to duly summoned assemblies of a political nature (Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie, *Lexicon*, 509). Matthew, however, is more influenced by the LXX, in which ἐκκλησία is the Greek rendering of the Hebrew קהל, which is occasionally also translated as συναγωγή (Cf. Lust et al., *Greek-English Lexicon: Part I*, 136). This confirms the close relationship of the ἐκκλησία to Israel as a religious community.

becomes even more prominent when we look at the possessive pronouns. Matthew regularly refers to "*their* synagogues" (4:23; 9:35; 10:17; 12:9; 13:54; cf. 23:34: "*your* synagogues"), whereas he calls the Christian branch the church of Jesus ("*my* church:" 16:18). Thus, the two communities are terminologically distinguished; they are two coexisting entities.[22]

- In 8:11–12, the expression "the children of the kingdom" is an honorary name for the people of Israel, but in 13:38 this appellation is attributed to the followers of Jesus. The Matthean community thus appropriates a title which previously applied to Israel as a whole.

These terms confirm that the Matthean community was efficiently alienating itself from its Jewish origins. This process did not happen in the same way in the various local groups which together formed the community. The division was probably not complete and definitive everywhere. In any case, Matthew nowhere calls his community the people of God (λαός) and neither does he refer to it as the new or the true Israel. Still, relations had suffered badly. The breach with the dominant group, led by Pharisees, was beyond repair and this movement was completely devalued by Matthew from a theological point of view. A case in point is the text of 21:43, in which it is announced that God will take away the kingdom from them and will give it to a people that produces the fruits of that kingdom. This statement is aimed against the Pharisees (cf. 21:45: "he was speaking about *them*"). We therefore may not read it as a statement condemning the entire Jewish people. The considerably vague term 'people' does not necessarily refer to a people other than Israel, nor must that people be identified with the church or with the Gentiles. If that had been the case, Matthew would have chosen the term ἐκκλησία or τὰ ἔθνη.[23]

3.3 *Mission*

The independent position vis-à-vis the Jewish community involved that the Matthean community became a closer partner of the other Christian communities within but also outside the same region. Relations between local house

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Different from the LXX, in Matthew's Gospel the words ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή are not used interchangeably.

22 The original meaning of συναγωγή is 'gathering (people), congregation, assembly.' It was only later that this word came to mean 'synagogue, house of meeting.' That synagogues as distinct architectural entities were not wide-spread in the Galilee of the first century C.E. is clear from archaeological evidence. See Eric M. Meyers, "Synagogue," *ABD* 6: 251–260.

23 Cf. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, 58–63.

churches were well developed, as appears from the fact that Q and Mark were adopted and used by the group around Matthew soon after they were completed. Owing to the excellent infrastructure of the Roman Empire, great distances could be covered in a short time. The *Pax Romana* and the use of Koine Greek were also conducive to the communication.

Contacts with other Christian communities forced the circle around Matthew to again reflect on its mission strategy. Thus far, this community had exclusively targeted the Jews in Israel and in the near Diaspora. Other communities had experienced an entirely different development and had opened up to newcomers from a non-Jewish background at an early stage. As a result of this, they were more moderate on such essential parts of the Torah as circumcision and the purification laws. In the third phase, the groups around Matthew also began to aim at recruiting non-Jews and developed more flexible interpretations of those provisions from the Torah that proved to be obstacles to contact between Jews and Gentiles. It is remarkable that these more liberal interpretations are attributed to Jesus, who advocates a radical option in a number of passages (15:1–20; 17:24–26; 18:21–22). In the same passages, a more moderate position is taken by Peter, who is more oriented towards continuity with Judaism. The effect of Jesus' criticism of Peter's position is that his leadership could be more readily accepted by Christians with a Gentile background.[24]

What remains is the question of whether the orientation toward the Gentiles entailed that the missionary activities among the house of Israel (10:5b–6) were stopped. In my view, this was not the case. In the third phase, the Christians around Matthew still saw Jews as potential members of their community. The extension to include πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (= all peoples, including Israel) is not an entirely new step in comparison to the Mission Discourse.[25] The restricted radius of action referred to in 10:5b–6 is already put in perspective within that same discourse, since, according to this text, the testimony of those who are sent to the cities of Israel will also reach the Gentiles (10:18). Furthermore, I observe that, in 10:23, the same temporal limit is set as in 28:20: the mission lasts until "the coming of the Son of Man" or "the end of the age".

24 Syreeni, "Peter as Character," 151: "Peter's lack of understanding in halachic and disciplinary matters suggests that the author indirectly questions the Jewish-Christian understanding and application of the law."

25 In the view of Douglas Hare and Daniel Harrington, "Make Disciples of All the Gentiles (Mt 28:19)," *CBQ* 37 (1975): 359–369, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in 28:19 should be translated 'all the Gentiles', whereas John P. Meier, "Nations or Gentiles in Matthew," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 94–102, opts for an inclusive interpretation. He demonstrates that the phrase includes both Jews and pagans.

Therefore, we cannot speak of two subsequent phases (Israel first and then the Gentiles). The conversion activities among Jews which had been undertaken before continued undiminished when Matthew's community decided in favour of participation in the mission among non-Jews.

As a result of the broadened strategy, the community became a multicoloured society, a '*corpus mixtum*', not only in an ethical but also in an ethnical sense,[26] consisting of people from various cultural backgrounds. With his story about Jesus, Matthew tried to give these subgroups a common ideological foundation and to inspire them to live honourable lives.[27] He stimulates them not to give offence (18:6–9), paying particular attention to the little ones in the community, who are vulnerable because they have chosen the virtue of humility with a view to the kingdom.

3.4 *Worship*

In the third phase, the Christians around Matthew no longer participated in meetings in the synagogues, but convened liturgical gatherings in private homes, which, according to archaeological research, offered room for approximately 50 to 60 persons.[28] Matthew's community consisted of a large number of such small home churches spread over towns and villages in the Upper Galilee, the Golan, and the Southern part of Syria.

In their meetings, they celebrated the Supper of the Lord (26:26–29) and prayed the Lord's Prayer (6:9–13) in a version which, except for a few details, is identical to the one from the Didache (8:2–3). New members were received into the community by means of an initiation ritual, baptism, which was administered while invoking the names of God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit (28:19). This ritual was performed after a brief period of elementary instruction ("making them disciples"). After their baptism, the new members were further initiated in the teachings of Jesus for a longer period.[29]

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26 Petri Luomanen, *Entering the Kingdom of Heaven: A Study on the Structure of Matthew's View of Salvation* (WUNT 2/101; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998), 262–282.

27 Cf. Graham N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 378: "Matthew wrote his gospel as a 'foundation document' for a cluster of Christian communities, probably in Syria in the mid 80s."

28 Nahman Avigad, *The Herodian Quarter in Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1991), 75.

29 This can be inferred from the order of the participles in 28:19–20 (βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς [...] διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς). See Georg Scheuermann, *Gemeinde im Umbruch: Eine sozialgeschichtliche Studie zum Matthäusevangelium* (FB 77; Würzburg: Echter, 1996).

3.5 *False Prophets*

A serious problem in the third phase was that Matthew's community was threatened by the appearance of false prophets (7:15–23; 24:11.24). Prophets frequently visited sister churches. During their travels, they depended for food and accommodation on the hospitality of communities where they stopped on their way. According to Matthew, they had a right to a cordial reception, given the nature of their position (10:41). However, in the busy traffic between local churches, it was difficult to distinguish the true prophets from the false ones. This problem did not only arise in Matthew's circle but is also discussed in the Didache.

It is not immediately clear why Matthew brands particular figures as false prophets. At first sight, they did not differ much from other members of the community. After all, they called Jesus their Lord (7:21) and performed charismatic activities while invoking his name (7:22), as others were also able to do (17:20). Although certain parts of their teachings deserved criticism (24:23.26), their greatest fault was in another area. They distinguished themselves from others by their uncharitable way of life, they were guilty of immorality (7:23; 24:12).[30] What this entailed is explained by the allegation that they were ravenous (7:15). This term indicates that they took advantage of the hospitality offered them, that they lived off the community, or asked a fee for their charismatic deeds. One result of their egocentric attitude was that the love of the community grew cold, which had an adverse effect on the position of "the little ones".

Matthew's criticism of the false prophets finds many parallels in his controversy against the scribes and the Pharisees. In both cases, Matthew censures the contrast between their words and their deeds (7:15–23; 23:3); they appear different outwardly from what they are inside (7:15; 23:25.27.28); both groups are warned by means of statements that relate to the final judgment, because, on that occasion, a person's acts will be decisive (7:23; 21:43). Here we see that the weapons that were used in the second phase against the Pharisaic movement were employed against certain leaders in Matthew's own circle in the third phase.

30 Here, ἀνομία is the refusal to obey the Law and does not mean antinomianism which is a denial of the enduring validity of the Torah.

4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have tried to give a dynamic picture of Matthew's community. The innovative element here is the focus on the phases that preceded the period in which the Gospel of Matthew achieved its final form. Two main tendencies emerged in the development described above. The first is that, as a result of the historical circumstances, the community increasingly distanced itself from the Jewish community; with his book, Matthew wanted to legitimize this process. The second tendency is that, owing to its special developmental process, the community was continuously subject to internal tension. Matthew tried to stimulate the social cohesion in his community by uniting the various subgroups around the interpretation of the Torah offered by Jesus and further cultivated by the community's local leaders. By publishing his own story of Jesus' life, he provided his community with a new and firm foundation. In view of the close contacts with sister churches, both within and outside the same region, it is likely that, from the start, his book was also meant for a wider circle of readers.[31] For them, too, Matthew saw the road his community had taken as the road to life.[32]

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31 Cf. *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audience* (ed. Richard Bauckham; Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1998).

32 David C. Sim, "Reconstructing the Social and Religious Milieu of Matthew: Methods, Sources, and Possible Results," Pages 13–41 (esp. 26–27) in *Matthew, James, and Didache: Three Related Documents in Their Jewish and Christian Settings* (eds. Huub van de Sandt and Jürgen Zangenberg; SBLSymS 45; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), criticizes the three phases I discovered in the history of Matthew's communities. Studies on the social setting of Matthew's communities usually do not contain a discussion of their attitude to the Roman empire. This gap has been filled by Warren Carter's work on this topic; see, e.g., his books *Matthew and the Margins: A Socio-Political and Religious Reading* (JSNTSup 204; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); *Matthew and the Empire: Initial Investigations* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001).

CHAPTER 14

"His Disciples Stole Him Away" (Matt 28:13): A Rival Interpretation of Jesus' Resurrection

Jesus is a deceiver. His disciples are guilty of an even more serious form of deception because of their message that Jesus had risen from the dead. In fact, they came and stole him in the night while the guards watching the tomb were asleep.—It is highly remarkable that Matthew has incorporated into his Gospel these statements, that are directly opposed to his own view.[1] What could have inspired him to do so? This is the question I want to answer in this chapter.

I will do so on the basis of the following steps. First I will give the floor to Hermann Reimarus (1694–1768) who opted for the hypothesis that Jesus' disciples did in fact take their master's body from the tomb and thus deliberately committed deception.[2] Next, I will proceed by exploring—from a diachronic perspective—whether Matthew's guard story is an invention of his own, or whether this segment is a popular tradition that was already circulating. To this end, I will take a closer look at a fragment from the non-canonical Gospel according to Peter. In this way, I will try to develop a meaningful alternative for Reimarus' rationalistic explanation.

1 Hermann Reimarus' Hypothesis

Reimarus' observations on Matthew's guard story can be found in his *Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes.*[3] According to the Hamburg professor of Eastern languages, the evangelist proceeds as follows.

1 In other places in his book, Matthew has also preserved statements of critics: Jesus is blaspheming (9:3); he casts out demons by the ruler of the demons (9:34; 12:24); he is a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners (11:19).

2 Since the 18th century, various rationalistic explanations have been given for the empty tomb. In addition to Reimarus' *Betrugshypothese*, Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *Der historische Jesus: Ein Lehrbuch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 417, mention the *Scheintodhypothese* of Heinrich Paulus (1761–1851) and the *Umbestattungshypothese* proposed by Heinrich Holtzmann (1832–1910), among others.

3 Hermann S. Reimarus, *Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes, 2. Teil: Neues Testament* (ed. Gerhard Alexander; Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1972), 188–206: "Beweis der Auferstehung Jesu aus der Wache Pilati."

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With his story, Matthew wants to provide conclusive evidence for the fact that Jesus really has risen from the dead. To show that Jesus' resurrection is beyond doubt, Matthew lets the Roman soldiers, whom Pilate had set to watch over Jesus' tomb at the request of the Jewish Sanhedrin, declare that they had seen with their own eyes how Jesus left his tomb, alive. The Jewish authorities were convinced that the soldiers spoke the truth, but—perverse as they were—refused to acknowledge this truth. Therefore they instructed their spokesmen to spread the story that Jesus' disciples had stolen his body while the guards were asleep. The author of the first Gospel considers this report a blatant lie. Not the disciples but the Jewish leaders are guilty of deception.

The historical reliability of what the evangelist puts forward here is seriously doubted by Reimarus. After all, the first Gospel is the only book in the New Testament that has the story of the guards. This is extremely surprising, for if this story actually referred to a historical event, it would have been seized upon by many others as supporting the reliability of the message of Jesus' resurrection that is central to Christianity. What can be more convincing than the statement of non-believing persons (the Roman soldiers) that they have witnessed the resurrection with their own eyes? However, in their preaching, the apostles have not invoked the dependable testimony of the soldiers; instead, we read that they merely refer to what they themselves have heard and seen (cf. Acts 4:20). This leads Reimarus to conclude "daß die gantze Erzehlung Matthäi von den Hütern um das Grab Jesu falsch und ertichtet seyn müsse".[4]

He feels confirmed in his opinion by a number of details in Matthew's story that are highly implausible from a historical point of view. For a Jewish audience, it would not be credible that the entire Sanhedrin, on the day after Jesus' death (i.e. on the 15th day of Nisan, the first day of Passover), would have defiled themselves by entering into contact with the Gentiles (Pilate and the Roman soldiers) and by going to a burial place. Neither is it plausible that the sleeping guards heard nothing of the disciples' undoubtedly noisy action. Equally unbelievable is Matthew's suggestion that the entire Sanhedrin consisted of villainous people that unanimously preferred a falsehood over the

4 Reimarus, *Apologie*, 193. Reimarus does not specify his presuppositions and what criteria he uses regarding the question of whether and to what extent stories from the Gospels are historically reliable. In his opinion, a story that occurs only in one New Testament document is historically less plausible than a story that is corroborated by two or more sources. This opinion is related to the current criterion of multiple attestation. He also argues that internal contradictions and inconsistencies between different versions of the same story reduce the likelihood of historical reliability. He is guided by a rationalistic view of reality and by contemporary epistemological premises, such as the notion that historical studies give access to pure facts, separate from any interpretation.

truth. Would no one at all in that council have vented a dissenting opinion, not even Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, or Gamaliel?

The incredibility of Matthew's story also appears from a comparison with the other Gospels. There we read that a number of women go to the tomb with spices to anoint the body without realising for one moment that there might be guards at the tomb that may deny them access. On the contrary, in Mark 16:1–8 and Luke 24:1–12, the tomb is freely accessible. John 20:2.13.15 explicitly mention the possibility of someone taking away Jesus' body from the tomb without being hindered by guards.

On this point, Reimarus considers the other Gospels more reliable than the Gospel of Matthew. There was no guard at all; every one could visit, and even enter, Jesus' tomb unhindered. Linking up with this, Reimarus formulated his hypothesis that it was not only conceivable but in fact extremely likely that some of Jesus' disciples took the body from the tomb before the morning of the third day and hid it somewhere. They undertook this action because the hope awakened by Jesus that he would end Roman domination through the establishment of a messianic kingdom on earth had been shattered by his unanticipated and ignominious death on the cross. To break the impasse that had arisen as a result, the disciples developed a new view of Jesus: he died for the sins of men, but has risen from the dead and will return soon to establish the messianic kingdom he had announced, after all. By stealing Jesus' body and keeping it hidden until it would no longer be identifiable, they created the supposition that was necessary for their proclamation of the resurrection. It was not until after Jesus' ascension to heaven, when the 'corpus delicti' had disappeared and the disciples had discussed what they were going to proclaim, that they came forward with the message that Jesus had been raised from the dead.

In Reimarus' opinion, it is a historical fact that the disciples stole Jesus' body. According to him, it is also a historical fact that, even in Matthew's days (cf. 28:15: "to this day"), this statement was regularly put forward to refute the validity of the message that Jesus had risen from the dead. With his assertion that the guard had been bribed by the Sanhedrin, Matthew tries to refute the allegation that the disciples had staged Jesus' resurrection.[5]

5 That Matthew's opponents are historically correct in assuming that the disciples had stolen Jesus' body is an opinion that is not accepted by contemporary exegetes. They do, however, agree with Reimarus when he points out that Matthew's story about the guard is polemic in nature and serves an apologetic purpose. In Hildegard Gollinger's words: "Matthäus und seine Gemeinde scheinen mit einer 'jüdischen Gegenpropaganda' konfrontiert zu sein, die die christliche Auferstehungsbotschaft durch die Hypothese vom Leichendiebstahl der Jünger 'erklärt'." See Chapter 4 of this book, note 12.

2 Matthew's Guard Story and the *Gospel According to Peter*

2.1 *Two Versions of the Guard Story*

When Reimarus wrote his *Apologie*, he was not familiar with the *Gospel according to Peter* (hence abbreviated as *GosPet*), that was found in Akhmîm (ancient Panapolis) in the winter season of 1886–1887.[6] That is why he was so positive that the guard story only occurred in Matthew. On the basis of this, retrospectively incorrect, supposition, Reimarus concluded that Matthew had invented the story.

GosPet 8:28–11:49 contains a long story on the guard.[7] Unlike Matthew's version, it is a continuous story that entirely precedes the passage on the women's visit to the tomb (*GosPet* 12:50–13:57). The guards are not mentioned after 11:49. Still, there is a link between the guard story in *GosPet* and the story of the women; in *GosPet* 11:44, a person is mentioned who comes down from heaven and sits down in the tomb, apparently preparing for *GosPet* 13:55 where the women encounter a young man in the tomb.

The story in *GosPet* 8:28–9:34 is as follows. After Jesus' death, the leaders of the various Jewish factions (including the Pharisees and the elders) convene and then make their way to Pilate. They request him to make some soldiers available to guard Jesus' tomb for three days. They consider this measure necessary to prevent that his disciples come and steal his body and that the people will think that Jesus is risen from the dead. Pilate supplies them with soldiers (led by centurion Petronius). The Jewish leaders take them to the tomb and together they roll a large stone against the entrance of the tomb and seal it with

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6 For an introduction to this document, see Paul Allan Mirecki, "Gospel of Peter," *ABD* 5:278–281; here also two small fragments of Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2949 are mentioned that are partly similar to *GosPet* 2:3–5. *GosPet* is divided into fourteen mini-chapters and sixty verses, that are numbered consecutively. See also *Das Evangelium nach Petrus: Text, Kontexte, Intertexte* (eds. Thomas Kraus and Tobias Nicklas; TU 158; Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2007). An edition of the Greek text can be found in: Maria G. Mara, *Évangile de Pierre* (SC 201; Paris: Cerf, 1973). Frans Neirynck, *The Apocryphal Gospels and the Gospel of Mark*, Pages 715–790 (732, note 102) in Id., *Evangelica II* (BETL 99; Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 1991), introduces two changes: in *GosPet* 1:2; he replaces παρ[απη]μφθῆναι by παραλημφθῆναι and in *GosPet* 4:10 he reads ἤνεγκον instead of ἔνεγκον.

7 See also Tobias Nicklas, "Resurrection in the Gospels of Matthew and Peter: Some Developments," Pages 27–41 in *Life Beyond Death in Matthew's Gospel: Religious Metaphor or Bodily Reality?* (eds. Wim Weren, Huub van de Sandt, and Joseph Verheyden; Biblical Tools and Studies 13; Leuven etc.: Peeters, 2011); Susan E. Schaeffer, "The Guard at the Tomb (Gos Pet 8:28–11:49 and Matt 27:62–66; 28:2–4,11–16): A Case of Intertextuality?," *SBL Seminar Papers* no. 30 (1991): 499–507.

seven seals. The fragment concludes with the remark that, early in the morning of the Sabbath, a large group of people gathers to look at the sealed tomb.[8]

As to content, this passage shows strong similarity to Matt 27:62–66. The same terms are used on a large scale.[9] The most remarkable thing is that *GosPet* 8:30 has the same formulation as Matt 27:64: μήποτε ἐλθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψωσιν αὐτὸν. In both versions, the tomb must be guarded to prevent or frustrate violation of the tomb. There are also considerable differences: in *GosPet*, there are no negative qualifications with regard to Jesus (a deceiver) and his disciples (even greater deceivers); nor is there a statement by Jesus announcing his resurrection. Other differences include that the leaders in *GosPet* are afraid of the people, who clearly favour Jesus, and that the stone is rolled before the tomb by the whole group whereas, in Matthew, Joseph of Arimathea does this job on his own.

In the following passage (9:35–11:49), *GosPet* is much more elaborate than Matthew. In the night following the Sabbath, the soldiers keep watch in turns, two at a time. Suddenly, the soldiers on duty see two young men come down from heaven. The stone rolls away by itself and the two heavenly figures enter the opened tomb. The two soldiers wake their colleagues and the elders, so that the entire company witnesses what happens further. They see the heavenly persons come out of the tomb again, in the company of a third person (Jesus) and followed by a cross, that proves to be able to speak. The heavens open again and another person comes down, who enters the tomb (preparation for *GosPet* 13:55).

After this scene, those around the centurion hasten to Pilate, to whom they relate everything that they have seen and they conclude their account by confessing that Jesus was truly the son of God.[10] Pilate protests his innocence of

8 This time adjunct suggests that the guards had taken up their position already on the previous evening. In Matthew, the security measures are not taken until the day of the Sabbath, on the day following Jesus' death.

9 *GosPet* 8:28–34 has the following lexemes in common with Matthew's resurrection narrative: συνάγω (*GosPet* 8:28; Matt 27:62; 28:12), Φαρισαῖοι (*GosPet* 8:28; Matt 27:62), πρεσβύτεροι (*GosPet* 8:28.29.31; Matt 28:12), ταφός (*GosPet* 8:31; Matt 27:61.66; 28:1); Πειλᾶτος/Πιλᾶτος (*GosPet* 8:29.31; Matt 27:58.62.65), στρατιῶται (*GosPet* 8:30.31.32; 11:47; Matt 28:12); λαός (*GosPet* 8:28.30; Matt 27:64), ἐκ + νεκρῶν (*GosPet* 8:30; Matt 27:64; 28:7), κυλίω or προκυλίω + the accusative λιθόν μέγαν (*GosPet* 8:32; Matt 27:60); ἡ θύρα τοῦ μνήματος or μνημείου (*GosPet* 8:32; Matt 27:60).

10 It is unclear who, in *GosPet* 11:45, are meant by "those around the centurion" (οἱ περὶ τὸν κεντυρίωνα). The group referred to in this way reports to Pilate and confesses that Jesus is the son of God. According to Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 1299, this group does not only include the soldiers but also the elders: "*GPet* has the confession made by both the guards and the Jewish authorities".

the blood of God's son and reminds them that it was not he but the Jewish leaders who decided to kill Jesus. In their turn, the leaders beg Pilate to order the soldiers to tell nothing of what they have seen. The leaders do not want to fall into the hands of the people, who will be sure to stone them if they find out that Jesus has risen. Pilate complies with their urgent request and orders Petronius and the soldiers to say nothing.

GosPet 9:35–11:49 contains literal similarities with Matthew's resurrection narrative.[11] However, our attention is drawn more strongly to the considerable differences.

GosPet	Matthew
Beside the Roman soldiers, the elders play a continuous role in the story.	After the joint action of the guards and the Jewish leaders (27:66), only the guards are mentioned in 28:2–4 and 28:11.
The soldiers and the elders see how Jesus leaves his tomb.	The resurrection itself is not described. However, unusual events are mentioned in 28:2–4.
The entire company hastens to Pilate to report on the events what have transpired.	Some members of the guard go and tell their story to the chief priests, not to Pilate.
The guards have done their duty so that Pilate need not punish them.	The guards must spread the story that they were guilty of neglect of duty and thus they run the risk of being punished by the governor.
The soldiers must not tell anyone what has happened.	The guards must remain silent on their experiences and must instead spread the story that Jesus' disciples have stolen Jesus' body in the night while they were asleep.

11 Again, στρατιώται, Πειλᾶτος, λαός, κυλίω, μνημείον and ταφός can be mentioned, but also: σφαγίζω (*GosPet* 9:34; Matt 27:66), ἐπιφώσκω (*GosPet* 9:34.35; Matt 28:1), the time adjunct νυκτός (*GosPet* 11:45; Matt 28:13), κελεύω (*GosPet* 11:47.49; Matt 27:58.64), and Ἰουδαίοι (*GosPet* 11:48; Matt 28:15). The similarity between *GosPet* 11:45 (ἀληθῶς υἱὸς ἦν θεοῦ) and Matt 27,54 (ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς ἦν οὑτος) is also worth noting. Similarities as to content also include that, both in *GosPet* and in Matthew, one or more persons come down from the heavens and that (some of) the guards fall asleep. The essence of Pilate's protestation that he is innocent (*GosPet* 11:46) corresponds to Matt 27:24.

(*cont.*)

GosPet	Matthew
The elders are actuated by their fear for the people, who may have changed their minds after Jesus' death and who see him as a righteous man.	The Jewish leaders fear that the disciples will successfully continue the movement initiated by Jesus and win the people over.

2.2 *The Genesis of the Two Versions*

Now that the similarities and the differences between *GosPet* 8:28–11:49 and Matt 27:62–66; 28:2–4.11–15 have been identified, the question arises what hypothesis concerning the genesis of the two texts does most justice to the textual information.[12] I will disclose my answer to this difficult question in five steps.

(1) The similarities are such that it is plausible that there is in fact a literary relation between the two versions. In view of the many differences, a *direct* literary dependence of one of the versions vis-à-vis the other must be ruled out. An *indirect* relation is more likely: *GosPet* and Matthew both go back to an already existing (orally transmitted?)[13] guard-at-the-sepulchre story.

12 According to John D. Crossan, the guard story (with the exception of 11:43–44) belongs to the oldest layer of *GosPet*. He refers to this layer as the *Cross Gospel* and, in his opinion, it consisted of three parts: a) crucifixion and deposition: 1:1–2 and 2:5b–6:22; b) tomb and guards: 7:25 and 8:28–9:34; c) resurrection and confession: 9:35–10:42 and 11:45–49. It is characteristic of this layer that Jesus is buried by his enemies and that he later appears to them. The *Cross Gospel* probably originated in Jerusalem in the 40s C.E. and would thus be older than the passion and resurrection stories in the canonical Gospels. A younger layer can be distinguished, in which Jesus is buried by his friends and in which he later appears to this group (2:3–5a; 6:23–24; 7:26–27; 11:43–44; 12:50–14:60 belong to this layer). Crossan first presented his reconstruction in his books *The Cross that Spoke: The Origins of the Passion Narrative* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1988), and *Who Killed Jesus? Exploring the Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Gospel Story of the Death of Jesus* (San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995). He repeated his opinions in his book *The Birth of Christianity: Discovering What Happened in the Years after the Execution of Jesus* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), in which he responds to the criticism that his views have met with from various quarters.

13 Gnilka, *Matthäusevangelium: 1. Teil*, 497, speaks of "eine vorgegebene, vielleicht mündliche Tradition".

(2) This story was originally a continuous unity. On this point, the version in *GosPet* is more original than that in Matthew.[14] In *GosPet*, the entire guard story precedes the passage on the women visiting the tomb, whereas, in Matthew, it is split up into two parts, one of which preceding the passage on the women and the other following it. Matthew has rearranged the narrative to construct a sharp contrast between the role of the guards and that of the women: the guards function as bearers of a false, man-made message, whereas the women proclaim a God-given revelation.

(3) In their current form, the two versions both represent a later stage of development. What the original tradition was exactly like cannot be said with any certainty. However, part of the original story is still relatively clearly visible. I refer to *GosPet* 8:28–9:34 and Matt 27:62–66. On the basis of the many literal and substantive similarities between these fragments, we may safely assume that the old story began with a request from Jewish leading circles to Pilate to have the tomb watched by Roman soldiers and the subsequent compliance with that request by the governor. The story also contained a statement why this measure was necessary. In both versions, the leaders fear in this context that Jesus' supporters will try to appropriate the body (*GosPet* 8:30 = Matt 27:64: μήποτε ἐλθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ κλέψωσιν αὐτὸν) and that the disappearance of Jesus' body will lead the people to believe that he is risen from the dead. The original tradition leaves the reader entirely in the dark as to why the disciples would want to spirit off Jesus' body.[15] Also, in the text of *GosPet* as it has come down to us, the fear that the disciples will come and steal the body is without any basis. The passage in *GosPet* 8:30 is not firmly integrated in the story as a whole; on the contrary, the idea does not resurface in the rest of the story. The best explanation is that *GosPet* here contains a relic of a previous tradition. Matthew has also derived the relevant clause from the tradition, but he has broadly elaborated this information and has made it a central motif in the narrative as a whole.

(4) In the second part of the guard story, *GosPet* and Matthew differ to such an extent that only the basic pattern of the original tradition can be perceived. This basic pattern can be described as follows. At dawn on the first day of the week, extraordinary things happen, to the dismay of the

14 See also Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 1287: "in *GPet* 8:28–9:34 the basic story is still found consecutively". See also 1301: "at one time there was a consecutive story about the guards, not interwoven with the story of the women at the tomb".

15 Crossan, *Birth*, 492, fills this gap in the text by arguing that the disciples planned to reanimate Jesus, which would suggest that he was merely in a state of suspended animation. This contention goes far beyond the textual information.

guards; one of these things is that one or two persons descend from the heavens; the guards report their experiences to the authorities, who want to prevent unrest among the people and therefore urge the soldiers to keep their mouths shut about what has happened.

(5) This common kernel has been strongly edited by the redactors of both *GosPet* and Matthew, both in their own particular way. In *GosPet*, the original story has been extended with a fragment (9:35–10:42)[16] that wants to prove the reality of the resurrection by having the event witnessed by persons who have a neutral attitude to Jesus (the Roman soldiers) or are hostile to him (the elders). This fragment, that does not have a counterpart in Matthew,[17] speaks in objectifying language of events from the history of salvation that resist sense perception. In Matthew, the old story is also enhanced with new elements that are redactional in nature. The influence of the redactor can be sensed mainly in 28:11–15. This passage contains many terms that belong to the vocabulary of Matthew[18] and is partly constructed on the basis of parts of the Matthean passion story.[19] In 28:11–15, the redactor continues the traditional motif of the possible violation of the tomb by the disciples, incorporated by him in 27:64. He now returns to this motif by making it the subject of the anti-gospel spread by the Roman soldiers at the instigation of the Jewish leaders. The elements in Matthew are absent in *GosPet*, and no clear parallels can be found elsewhere in the New Testament.[20]

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16 As to content, this passage is partly related to *Ascension of Isaiah* 3:14b–17 and to the inserted passage between Mark 16:3 and 16:4 in the Codex Bobbiensis.

17 Nikolaus Walter, "Eine vormatthäische Schilderung der Auferstehung," *NTS* 19 (1972–1973), 415–429 (423), thinks it is plausible that Matthew used a source in which an angel led the crucified Jesus from the tomb and returned with him to heaven.

18 See Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 1286–1299; Ingo Broer, *Die Urgemeinde und das Grab Jesu: Eine Analyse der Grablegungsgeschichte im Neuen Testament* (SANT 31; München: Kösel Verlag, 1972), 75ff.

19 In their fight against Jesus' disciples, the chief priests and the elders use the same means that they deployed against Jesus himself in an earlier phase: they assemble (28:12; 26:3), they take a decision (28:12; 27:1), they offer the guard a substantial bribe (28:12; 26:15), and claim that they are able to persuade Pilate (28:14: πεισόμεν), as they previously persuaded the people (27:20: ἔπεισαν).

20 A weak parallel can be found in John 20:2.13.15, where the possibility is considered that Jesus' body has hastily been taken from the tomb and removed to another place. Mary Magdalene has this thought as she tries to explain the fact that the stone has been rolled away from the entrance of the grave. In 20:2.13, she thinks of more than one perpetrator ("they"); in 20:15, she suspects the gardener to have committed this deed.

As a result of the changes mentioned, the story in *GosPet* has a different ending than that in Matthew. According to *GosPet*, the Roman soldiers confess, on the basis of their experiences, that Jesus truly is the son of God. This positive representation of non-Jewish characters indicates that *GosPet* in its final redactional form, was meant primarily for Jesus' supporters among the Gentiles. Maybe they wondered why their belief in Jesus was not shared by large groups of the Jewish people. The answer given by the final redactor of *GosPet* is that this people was kept ignorant of the fact of Jesus' resurrection by its own leaders, even though his resurrection could be considered an objectively proven fact which the leaders had witnessed with their own eyes!

The ending of Matthew is totally different. According to the final redactor of this Gospel, the Jews of his time are still challenged with this anti-story, that wants to undermine the Christian belief in the resurrection. He does his best to show that this story is without any foundation.

I round off this reconstruction with the following conclusion. Matthew's story is not a *creatio ex nihilo*. The evangelist went back to an old tradition in which Jesus' tomb was guarded to prevent that a violation of the tomb by the disciples[21] would lead to unrest among the people. On the basis of this traditional motif, the redactor constructed an anti-story that is at right angles with his own conviction.

3 Why Did Matthew Incorporate a Rival Interpretation Into His Gospel?

Why did Matthew incorporate into his Gospel an allegation that is diametrically opposed to his own view? This question was the point of departure of this chapter.

The current answer to this question is that, around the year 80 C.E., Matthew and his communities were confronted with Jews arguing against the Christian belief that Jesus had been raised from the dead. With his story, Matthew aimed to confute the arguments of this counter-offensive.

21 The violation of graves was rife in Antiquity. This may be deduced from epitaphs cursing grave robbers (cf. Van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 54–60) and it also appears from a marble slab containing a Greek inscription in which an unnamed Roman emperor declares grave robbery a crime punishable by death. The text of this inscription can be found in, e.g., Charles K. Barrett, *Die Umwelt des Neuen Testaments* (WUNT 4; Tübingen: Mohr, 1959), 26; Gustav Pfirrman, *Die Nazareth-Tafel: Das letzte Rätsel der Jünger Jesu* (München: Herbig, 1994), 183–184.

This explanation acknowledges that the story narrated by Matthew is characterised by numerous antitheses and contrasts. It clearly serves a polemic or apologetical purpose. According to this explanation, the story must be considered to reflect historical disputes between the early church and its Jewish environment. I add that not the entire Jewish world was involved in this debate. According to Matt 28:15, the view that the belief in Jesus' resurrection was based on conscious deception on the part of his disciples was only accepted in certain Jewish circles.[22] Probably, only the communities for which the Gospel according to Matthew was originally intended were faced with this Jewish counter-offensive. This restriction explains why we do not find parallels elsewhere in the New Testament of the allegation that Jesus' resurrection had been staged by his own disciples.

Although I consider the currently accepted explanation highly plausible, I also want to suggest a different view. Its point of departure is that, within the New Testament, we come across the allegation so firmly rejected by Matthew only in his Gospel.[23] This brings me to the following new hypothesis. Matthew has largely created the anti-story himself, not to silence opponents from outside his own circle, but to more eloquently articulate his own opinions. He continuously gives voice to objections that could be raised against the view that he proposes. These objections may be attributed to hostile outsiders, but they also anticipate doubts on the part of readers of the own community (see Matt 28:17, οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν = "but some doubted"). By explicitly giving voice to these dissenting voices, he can articulate his own beliefs all the more eloquently. To discourage his readers from adopting the alternative interpretation, he attributes it to 'Jews'. He uses this hostile sounding term to warn his readers that they go beyond the boundaries of the church if they entertain such ideas.

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22 Παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις in Matt 28:15 is often translated with an unnecessarily general term (cf. the NRSV: "among *the* Jews").

23 In some later texts (e.g., Justinus, *Dial.* 108,2; *Gos. Nic.* 13:1–3), the motif of grave robbery is also found but, in my opinion, these texts are strongly dependent on Matthew. They do not offer any evidence as to whether Jews have challenged Christianity with this allegation over a longer period of time.

CHAPTER 15

From Q to Matthew 22:1–14: New Light on the Transmission and Meaning of the Parable of the Guests

The parable of the guests has come down to us in three versions (Matt 22:1–14; Luke 14:16–24; *Gospel of Thomas* 64, hence abbreviated as *GosThom*).[1] There are considerable differences between Matthew and Luke, while Luke and *GosThom* have a great deal in common.

In Matthew, a king organises a copious dinner on the occasion of his son's marriage. The guests, whom he has invited twice, refuse to come and kill the slaves that deliver the second invitation. The king is furious. He sends his troops to kill the murderers and burn down their city. After this punitive expedition, he orders his slaves to invite anyone they can find, both good and bad. This invitation is successful: the guests come pouring in. When he enters the hall, he is displeased to find that one of them is not wearing festive attire. He has this guest removed from the hall.

In Luke, the parable is simpler. A man invites people for a dinner party. When the preparations are completed, he orders his slave to tell the guests that they are expected. However, they all regret that they cannot come. Three examples of their excuses are given. In his anger about this state of affairs, the master sends out his slave to gather the beggars and the cripples in his house. After this order has been executed, there is still room. Therefore the slave must go out and also invite the people who live outside the town. The passage ends with a statement in which the first group of guests is excluded from participation in the feast.

The version in *GosThom* is also about a man who is expecting guests.[2] His slave invites them one by one, but they all have a personal reason why they cannot accept the invitation. This pattern is repeated four times. The master finally orders his slave to invite everyone he can find. With reference to the first

1 Studies on this parable from the period 1960–1974 can be found in: Jacques Dupont et al., *La parabola degli invitati al banchetto: Dagli evangelisti a Gesù* (TRSR 14; Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1978), 331–334. More recent studies will be mentioned in the footnotes of the present chapter.

2 For the Coptic text of *GosThom* 64 and an English translation: John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes & Concordance* (Foundations and Facets. Reference Series; Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1998), 165.

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group, he concludes with the following cryptic statement: "Dealers and merchants [will] not enter the places of my Father." A new English translation of *GosThom* 64 reads as follows:[3]

> Jesus says: "A man had guests. And when he had prepared the dinner, he sent his slave so that he might invite the guests. He came to the first (man and) said to him: 'My master invites you.' He said: 'I have money due from some merchants. They are coming to me this evening. I will go (and) give instructions to them. Excuse me from the dinner.' He came to another (and) said to him: 'My master has invited you.' He said to him: 'I have bought a house, and I have been called (away) for a day. I will not have time.' He went to another and said to him: 'My master invites you.' He said to him: 'My friend is getting married, and I am the one who is going to prepare the meal. I will not be able to come. Excuse me from the dinner.' He came to another (and) said to him: 'My master invites you.' He said to him: 'I have bought a village. Since I am going to collect the rent, I will not be able to come. Excuse me.' The servant went away. He said to his master: 'Those whom you invited to dinner have asked to be excused.' The master said to his servant: 'Go out to the streets. Bring (back) whomever you find, so that they might have dinner.' Dealers and merchants [will] not enter the places of my Father."

The parable's literary context in the different versions also varies considerably from one to the other. In Matthew, the parable is the conclusion of Jesus' debate with the chief priests and the Pharisees in the temple, the day after his entry into Jerusalem (21:23–22:14). In Luke, Jesus is on his way to Jerusalem when he narrates the parable in the house of one of the leading Pharisees where he is having a meal on the Sabbath (14:1–24). In *GosThom*, the parable is part of a cluster of three parables on people who are unworthy of the mysteries (63–65).[4]

These differences show that the three versions are the products of a complicated history of tradition which has branched off into three directions. In this chapter, I will try to explore two important stages in this process. Taking the two sources theory as a point of departure, I will try, in the first section, to

3 In this chapter, I use the revised English translation of Saying 64 in Stephen J. Patterson, Hans-Gebhard Bethge, and James M. Robinson, *The Fifth Gospel: New Edition* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2011), 15–16.

4 In *GosThom*, the parable of the guests precedes the parable of the tenants; in Matthew, they are in reverse order.

reconstruct the text of the parable as it was in the Sayings Source Q. This section will lead to the conclusion that the differences between Q and Luke 14:16–24 are relatively minor and that the elements that deviate from Q can be attributed to the Lukan redaction without too many problems. However, this conclusion leads to the interesting question of the place of Matt 22:1–14 in the process through which the parable has come down to us.[5] This problem will be the subject of the second section, that will address a subphase in the process, viz. the trajectory from Q to Matt 22:1–14. Not all differences between Q and Matthew can be explained as resulting from the creativity of the redactor of Matthew. The text is even dominated by a narrative line that cannot be called redactional and cannot be traced back to the Q version of the parable of the guests. Here, I refer to the fact that, in Matthew's version, the king undertakes a campaign against rebellious subjects and also demands strict allegiance from the other inhabitants of his kingdom. As regards the origin of this segment, I will develop a new hypothesis, to the effect that Matt 22:1–14 goes back not only to the Q text of the parable of the guests, but also and perhaps even in the first place, to another old tradition (also from Q?). This hypothesis will throw a new light on the inner consistency of Matt 22:1–14 and on the function of this passage within its current literary context.

1 In Search of the Q Text

1.1 *Similarities*

The supposition that the parable was already present in Q rests on the similarities between the Greek text of Matt 22:1–10 and Luke 14:16–24.[6] The two versions contain terms that partly or entirely match (see the overview below).[7]

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5 Cf. Rudolf Pesch and Reinhard Kratz, *So liest man synoptisch*: *Anleitung und Kommentar zum Studium der synoptischen Evangelien*, Band V, Teil II (Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1978), 48: "Nicht weniger verwirrend als bei der 'Urfassung' ist die Deutung und die überlieferungsgeschichtliche Beurteilung der *Matthäus-Fassung* innerhalb der Forschung."

6 Whether or not the parable belonged to Q is a matter of dispute. See the list of opponents and proponents of the theory in: Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 166.

7 The Coptic text of *GosThom* is not included in this overview because it cannot be established with sufficient certainty to what extent that text is similar to the two Greek versions at the word level. In this overview, the identical elements have been italicized and partial similarities underlined. It covers both the parable (Matt 22:2–10; Luke 14:16b–24) and the narrative introduction (Matt 22:1; Luke 14:16a). Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 164 and 167, also includes Luke 14:15 in his synopsis. The overview in Frans Neirynck, *Q-Synopsis: The Double Tradition Passages in Greek* (SNTA 13; Leuven: University Press and Peeters, 1988), 52–53, is restricted to

Matt 22:1–10		Luke 14:16–24	
1	*εἶπεν* (with Jesus as subject)	16	*εἶπεν* (with Jesus as subject)
1	αὐτοῖς (the addressees)	16	αὐτῷ (the addressee)
2	ἀνθρώπῳ	16	ἄνθρωπός
2	ἐποίησεν	16	ἐποίει
3	*καὶ ἀπέστειλεν* τοὺς δούλους *αὐτοῦ* + infin.	17	*καὶ ἀπέστειλεν* τὸν δοῦλον *αὐτοῦ* + infin.
3	καλέσαι	16	*ἐκάλεσεν*
3	*καί* + οὐκ + infin *ἐλθεῖν*	20	*καί* + οὐ + infin *ἐλθεῖν*
4	εἴπατε *τοῖς κεκλημένοις*	17	εἰπεῖν *τοῖς κεκλημένοις*
4	*ἕτοιμα*	17	*ἕτοιμα*
5	*ἀγρόν*	18	*ἀγρόν*
7	*ὁ* (article belonging to βασιλεύς)	21	*ὁ* (article belonging to οἰκοδεσπότης)
7	ὠργίσθη	21	ὀργισθείς
7	τὴν πόλιν	21	τῆς πόλεως
8	*τότε*	21	*τότε*
8	τοῖς δούλοις *αὐτοῦ*	21	τῷ δούλῳ *αὐτοῦ*
8	οἱ (…) κεκλημένοι	24	τῶν κεκλημένων
9	*τάς* (article belonging to διεξόδους)	21	*τάς* (article belonging to πλατείας)
9	*καί* (use of an article to link up two clauses)	21	*καί* (use of an article to link up two clauses)
10	ἐξελθόντες	21	ἔξελθε
10	οἱ δοῦλοι	22	ὁ δοῦλος
10	*εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς*	23	*εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς*
10	συνήγαγον (compound verb containing ἄγω)	21	εἰσάγαγε (compound verb containing ἄγω)
10	*ὁ* (article belonging to γάμος)	23	*ὁ* (article belonging to οἶκος)

That the two passages are related also appears from the fact that, on the whole, they are structured in the same way. They have the same basic pattern that we also encounter in *GosThom*. The parable consists of three parts: a) the opening situation is that someone invites guests for a festive meal; b) a crisis arises

the parable itself. Neirynck marks the similarities with the utmost precision; moreover, he indicates additions, omissions, differing locations, inversions of order, synonyms, and substitutes. Kloppenborg only shows to what extent Matthew and Luke literally match or partly contain the same vocabulary.

because the guests do not show up; c) the crisis is overcome by the host's order to invite other people.[8] A more refined pattern is revealed by Louise Schottroff. She identifies the following subsequent moments: introduction—the initial invitation—the regrets—the invitation of another group—conclusion.[9] Together these phases result in a sequence of actions which the three versions have in common and which can be described as follows.

> Someone has invited guests for a dinner party. When the meal is ready, he orders his slave (or: slaves) to tell them that they are expected. The invited guests do not answer this message and go about their own business. The host becomes angry and orders his slave (or: slaves) to invite all the people that he/they can find by the wayside, with the result that the hall becomes full of guests after all.

1.2 *The Wording of the Q Text*

It is fairly easy to reconstruct the basic pattern or the plot of the Q parable. It is much more difficult to determine the precise formulation of the Q text. At that level, complete certainty is not possible. The reconstruction will always be hypothetical. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to find out which elements from Matthew and/or Luke stem from Q, their common source. In this comparative study, *GosThom* will play a lateral role since I think it is more plausible that *GosThom* 64 goes back to an old tradition that is related to Q than that *GosThom* 64 is a conflation of material from Luke and Matthew.[10]

The three versions contain a narrative, introductory sentence that is of a redactional character. In *GosThom*, the sentence is limited to the statement that Jesus is the speaker ("Jesus said"). This is a stereotypical introduction to various sayings. Luke 14:16a (ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ) is also secondary; by means of this little sentence, the redactor establishes a link with the remark by one of Jesus'

8 Wolfgang Harnisch, *Die Gleichniserzählungen Jesu: Eine hermeneutische Einführung* (UTB 1343; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 244: 'Situation' or 'Exposition'—'Krise'—'Lösung'; followed in this respect by Thomas Söding, "Das Gleichnis vom Festmahl (Lk 14,16–24 par Mt 22,1–10): Zur ekklesiologischen Dimension der Reich-Gottes-Verkündigung Jesu," Pages 56–84 (64) in *Ekklesiologie des Neuen Testament: Für Karl Kertelge* (eds. Rainer Kampling and Thomas Söding; Freiburg im Breisgau etc: Herder, 1996).

9 Louise Schottroff, "Das Gleichnis vom großen Gastmahl in der Logienquelle," *EvT* 47 (1987), 192–211 (193): 'Exposition'—'Originaleinladung'—'Nichtbefolgung der Einladung'—'Ersatzeinladung'—'Schluss'.

10 Pesch and Kratz, *So liest man*, 39: "das Thomasevangelium [bietet] in diesem Falle eine weder von Mt noch von Lk abhängige eigenständige Weiterentwicklung des Gleichnisses".

table companions in 14:15.[11] The redactional introductory sentence in Matt 22:1 does not only reveal who the speaker is and whom he addresses, but also contains the statement that the story told by Jesus is a parable.[12] We do not know what the introductory sentence in Q was. We may assume that Jesus was the speaker also in Q, but whom he addressed is beyond our observation. It is unlikely that in Q the story was already referred to as a parable.[13]

The original opening of the parable almost completely matched that of Luke 14:16bc and ran as follows: ἄνθρωπός ἐποίει δεῖπνον καὶ ἐκάλεσεν πολλούς. Luke has added the redundant τις to ἄνθρωπός.[14] The imperfect ἐποίει points to the fact that the preparations took quite some time; the host already informs his guests of the coming feast at this stage so that they will not be taken by surprise. The invitation is repeated when the feast is about to begin (14:17: "at dinner time").

The opening in Matt 22:2 has almost nothing in common with the formulation in Q.[15] Matt 22:2 has the function of a heading for the entire story; the opening sentence in *GosThom* ("a man was receiving guests") has the same function. In Matthew, it is explicitly stated that the parable is about the kingdom of heaven. The combination used here (a passive form of ὁμοιόω + ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν + a dative) suggests redaction (cf. 13:24; 18:23 [= 22:2!]; 25:1). Moreover, many other parables in Matthew are about the kingdom of heaven (13:31.33.44.45.47; 20:1). We cannot conclude from the reference, in Luke 14:15, to the kingdom of God that the parable in Q already referred to this reality.[16]

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11 That Luke 14:16a is redactional appears from the fact that this same sentence occurs 22 times in Luke, as against 15 times in Matthew, and 9 times in Mark.

12 The plural ἐν παραβολαῖς links up with 21:45. The combination of ἀποκριθείς and εἶπεν (41/5/25) also points to redaction.These statistics must be read as follows: 41 times in Matthew, 5 times in Mark, and 25 times in Luke.

13 John S. Kloppenborg, "Jesus and the Parables of Jesus in Q," Pages 275–319 (285) in *The Gospel behind the Gospel: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden etc.: Brill, 1995): "[T]he term 'parable' was probably not used by the Sayings Gospel to designate any of its sayings."

14 The word combination ἄνθρωπός τις is characteristic of Luke (10:30; 12:16; 14:2; 15:11; 16:1.19; 20:9 v.l.; Acts 9:33). The term μέγα was added by Luke with an eye to the redactional final sentence in 14:24 (see below).

15 In Matt 22:2, ἄνθρωπός that stems from Q, is supplemented by βασιλεύς (cf. 18:23; other attributes in 13:24.45.52; 20:1; 25:14). Here, the host is a king who prepares a feast for his son's wedding. The origin of this totally different aspect will be discussed in section 2.

16 According to Kloppenborg, *Jesus*, 287–289, the kingdom of God is only mentioned in two Q parables (see Luke 13:18–19.20–21) and is missing in many other parables (see Luke 6:47–49; 7:31–32; 12:16–20.42b–46; 15:4–7.8–10; 19:12–26). Rudolf Hoppe, "Das

The next situation in the parable is the invitation to the guests to appear at the table. In Luke 14:17, this is a once-only action, carried out by one slave. The same goes for *GosThom* ("when he had prepared the dinner, he sent his slave so that he might invite the guests"). In Matt 22:3–4, we read about a twofold action, each time carried out by a different group of slaves.[17] The doubling is a redactional adaptation of the preceding parable, although the reverse is also possible.[18] In any case, the similarity between 22:3 and 21:34 (ἀπέστειλεν τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ) and between 22:4 and 21:36 (πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἄλλους δούλους) is striking. The two missions both have a negative result (22:3.5a). The repetition emphasizes the reluctance of the guests and their indifference to the feast. Their attitude is in stark contrast with the king's effort.

The invitation itself is much more elaborated in Matt 22:4 than in Luke 14:17. There is also a difference in the order. In Matthew, a description of the meal (A) is followed by the call to attend the feast (B); in Luke, the call for

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Gastmahlgleichnis Jesu (Mt 22,1–10 / Lk 14,16–24) und seine vorevangelische Traditionsgeschichte," Pages 277–293 (281) in *Von Jesus zum Christus: Christologische Studien: Festgabe für Paul Hoffmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. Rudolf Hoppe and Ulrich Busse; BZNW 93; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), thinks it is possible that the parable of the guests in Q opened with the theme of the kingdom. In his reconstruction, the opening sentence runs as follows: ὡμοιώθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ ὃς ἐποίει δεῖπνον.

17 In Luke and *GosThom*, the host has one single slave. In view of his position, the king in Matthew has several groups of slaves and an army at his disposal. That the guests in Matthew had also received an invitation well in advance cannot be inferred from the perfect τοὺς κεκλημένους in 22:3. In 22:4.8, the same perfect functions as a simple indication of the first group of guests and points to the fact that the king is addressing a more or less fixed group that was regularly involved in court festivities.

18 Matt 22:1–14 was assimilated by the redactor into a textual unity (21:23–22:14), comprising three parables. Matthew linked up the parable of the tenants and the parable of the guests to a certain extent. The formulation of 21:23 is repeated in 22:3 (ἀπέστειλεν τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ); 21:36 and 22:4 are also partly similar (πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἄλλους δούλους); in 21:35 and in 22:6 the slaves are murdered; 21:41 and 22:7 are similar in that they both contain the verb ἀπόλλυμι, and because, in both instances, the murderers will be/are executed. According to Wolfgang Trilling, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Gleichnisses vom Hochzeitsmahl Mt 22,1–14," *BZ NF* 4 (1960): 251–265 (263), 22:1–14 was elaborated by the redactor with elements from 21:33–43. Anton Vögtle, *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien: Beiträge zur Evangelienforschung* (KBANT; Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1971), 208, thinks it is practically certain "dass die Neufassung des Mahlgleichnisses (…) das Winzergleichnis als teilweise Vorlage voraussetzt". The plural δούλοι, that goes very well with a king (22:3–10), was transposed by the redactor to the parable of the tenants (in Mark 12:1–12, only one slave is mentioned). Vögtle (209) adds "daß die Zweizahl der Knechtssendungen im Gleichnis vom Hochzeitsmahl Mt 22 gegenüber der Zweizahl in der Mt-Fassung des Winzergleichnisses konzeptionell primär ist".

attendance (B) precedes the statement that everything is prepared (A). The detailed formulation in Matt 22:4 is related to the fact that the guests have already shown their indifference in 22:3. In an attempt to persuade them to come after all, the king describes the appetising dishes which he has prepared.

We are presented here with a choice between two variants, Luke/ *GosThom* on the one hand, and Matthew on the other. I have a preference for the shorter version in Luke/ *GosThom.* It is after all more likely that their brief representation is more original than that the redactors of Luke and *GosThom* have, independently, condensed a more complex original in precisely the same way. This does not answer the question of what the Q version looked like. In reconstructing it, we have a lead in the fact that Luke 14:17 and Matt 22:3 (and partly also 22:4) have the same basic pattern.[19] The Q formulation, excepting a few details, is probably best preserved in Luke 14:17 and probably ran as follows:[20] καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν δοῦλον τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ δείπνου αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν τοῖς κεκλημένοις· ἔρχεσθε, ἕτοιμά ἐστιν.

The next phase in the story is the guests' negative response. A constant factor in the three versions is that the guests, one and all, refuse to come. Luke 14:18a (καὶ ἤρξαντο ἀπὸ μιᾶς πάντες παραιτεῖσθαι) has been interpolated by the redactor. Arguments to support this hypothesis are: a) this sentence anticipates the excuses expressed in 14:18b–20, thus removing the tension in the story; b) that the guests excuse themselves one and all is inconsistent with what follows, viz. they all state their separate regrets; c) 14:18a contains words that belong to Luke's own particular vocabulary.[21]

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19 According to Mauro Pesce, "Ricostruzione dell' archetipo letterario commune a Mt. 22,1–10 e Lc. 14,15–24," Pages 167–236 (188) in: Dupont et al., *La parabola*, Matt 22:3 and Luke 14:17 have the same syntactic structure:

> Matt 22:3 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ καλέσαι (infin.) τοὺς κεκλημένους. Luke 14:17 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ (. . .) εἰπεῖν (infin.) τοῖς κεκλημένοις.

I add that the infinitive καλέσαι in Matt 22:3 is an echo of ἐκάλεσεν in Luke 14:16 (probably already in Q) and that the infinitive εἰπεῖν re-emerges transformed as εἴπατε in Matt 22:4.

20 The time adjunct ἤδη (7/8/10) is probably for Luke's account, who wants to correct the assumption of Jesus' table companion that God's kingdom is to be expected in the not too near future (see the future tense φάγεται in 14:15); it emphasizes that it is a reality that brooks no delay (see also ταχέως in 14:21). Perhaps also τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ δείπνου goes back to Luke. The closer description of ὥρα by adding a noun in the genitive case is not unusual in Luke–Acts (see Luke 1:10; Acts 2:15; 3:1; 10:3; 16:33; 23:23).

21 According to Jacques Dupont, *Les Béatitudes: II. La Bonne Nouvelle* (ÉBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1969), 264, this does not only hold for Luke 14,18a but also for 14:18b–20: "c'est ici que la

Luke and *GosThom* have in common that the guests politely state the reason why they cannot attend. Their motives are presented in direct speech and are socio-economic in nature. They cast an indirect light on the identity of the guests: they are prosperous people who are busy protecting their personal interests.[22] In Luke, the emphasis is on activities in an agricultural setting, while *GosThom* reflects commercial activities in an urban environment. In Luke, three examples are given (ὁ πρῶτος . . . καὶ ἕτερος . . . καὶ ἕτερος), in *GosThom* there are four. The four speakers in *GosThom* mention reasons that clearly relate to the motives for non-attendance given in Luke, but the actual formulation is totally different.

The first two speakers in Luke mention that they have made an important purchase (the object always comes first) and that they must go and inspect their acquisition. They conclude their speech with the request to be excused.[23] The third speaker is brief. He simply states that he cannot come because he has just gotten married but he does not beg to be excused. The listener or reader may expect that he, in contrast to the others, would welcome the invitation or that his excuse would be accepted but this expectation is not borne out.

An argument in favour of the originality of the Lukan version is the mentioning of three examples, which in parables is more or less the rule (see Luke 10:31–33; 19:16–20; 20:10–12).[24] The triple excuse in the Q parable seems to filter through in Matt 22:5–6 where the reaction of the guests is also in three steps (ὅς μὲν . . . ὅς δὲ . . . οἱ λοιποί). Two of the excuses expressed in Luke have a literal or substantial counterpart in Matthew (ἀγρόν and ἐμπορίαν, respectively). The third excuse cannot be copied by Matthew because his story

part rédactionelle atteint son maximum de densité". His arguments, however, mainly relate to 14:18a. This verse contains many indications of redaction: Luke has a preference for ἄρχομαι + an infinitive (3:8; 4:21; 5:21; 7:15.38.49; 9:12; 11:29.53; 12:1; 13:25.26; 14:9.29.30; 15:14.24; 19:37; 21:28; 22:23; 23:2.30); he often lets groups react unanimously, thereby frequently using the term πᾶς (129/68/157); with the word παραιτέομαι in 14:18a, he anticipates the direct speech in 14:18.19.

22 Christoph Kähler, *Jesu Gleichnisse als Poesie und Therapie: Versuch eines integrativen Zugangs zum kommunikativen Aspekt von Gleichnissen Jesu* (WUNT 78; Tübingen: Mohr, 1995), 120–121, sees a connection between the list in Luke 14:18b–20 and the end of the Decalogue (Deut 5:21; Exod 20:17: ἀγρός—βοῦς—γυνή).

23 In *GosThom*, three of the four speakers conclude their words with the request to be excused ("excuse me from the dinner" or "excuse me").

24 On the basis of the tension between Matt 22:5 and 22:6 Hoppe, "Gastmahlgleichnis," 283–284, is of the opinion that Matt 22:5 (and not Luke 14:18–20) contains the original Q text: οἱ δὲ ἀμελήσαντες ἀπῆλθον, ὅς μὲν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀγρόν, ὅς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν αὐτοῦ.

already features a wedding. Instead, he introduces a bloody attack on the king's slaves. It is highly unlikely that this violent episode was already part of Q. The politeness with which the guests in Luke and *GosThom* inform the slave that they cannot come fits in better with the story as reconstructed so far.

The conclusion based on these observations is that Luke 14:18b–20 is a rather faithful rendering of the Q version. However, it is not entirely certain that Q was literally followed. There are strong indications that Luke changed the Q text by his own vocabulary on a number of points.[25] The exact formulation in Q can no longer be brought to light. With this reservation, I want to suggest that, in Q, the invitation (ἔρχεσθε, ἕτοιμά ἐστιν) was directly followed by the three excuses, and in approximately the same words as in Luke 14:18b–20.

In Luke 14:21, the slave reports back to his master: καὶ παραγενόμενος ὁ δοῦλος ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα. In *GosThom*, too, the slave reports his experiences.[26] This sentence is not indispensable for the progress of the story. Still, I assume that, excepting the Lukan παραγενόμενος,[27] it was already there in Q. A common element in Luke and Matthew is that the host becomes angry; in *GosThom*, there is no reference to his emotions. In Matthew, the king's anger is released by the deployment of troops to exterminate the murderers of his slaves and to set fire to their city (22:7).[28] That this verse, like 22:5, is a secondary addition appears from the fact that 22:8 links up seamlessly with 22:5.[29] After this interruption, the story line is picked up again with the king stating that the feast is ready and observing that the guests were unworthy. Only then does he address his slaves, ordering them to invite other citizens living in his kingdom. In Luke, the master cools his anger by ordering his slave to gather people who belong to a different social class than the host himself. Although the two versions differ quite a lot, they do contain a few corresponding elements which, in their original arrangement, were best preserved in Luke:[30]

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25 ἀνάγκ-, ἐρωτάω, ἕτερος and πορεύομαι are Lukan. See Dupont, *Béatitudes*, 264–265.

26 In *GosThom*, the slave's report is stated in direct speech: "Those whom you invited (cf. Luke 14:16c) to dinner have asked to be excused" (cf. Luke 14:18a).

27 Παραγίνομαι is used 8 times in Luke and 20 times in Acts (37 times in the New Testament).

28 In my view, Matt 22:7 does not refer to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. but is to be perceived as a literary topos or as stock phraseology, cf. Lev 26:31; Judg 1:8; 18:27; 20:48; Isa 1:7; 1 Macc 5:28. Gundry, *Matthew*, 436–437, considers Matt 22:7 to be an allusion to Isa 5:24–25.

29 The origin of 22:5–6 will be discussed in section 2.

30 Pesce, "Ricostruzione," 210 and 212.

	adverb	*subject*	*aor. indic.*	*verbum dicendi*	*addressee(s)*
Luke 14:21	τότε	οἰκοδεσπότης	ὀργισθείς	εἶπεν	τῳ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ
Matt 22:7		βασιλεύς	ὠργίσθη		
Matt 22:8	τότε			λέγει	τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ

So far, it has appeared that the original parable, excepting a few details, corresponds best to the Lukan version. Is this also the case in 14:21–23? Here we read that the master orders his slave to bring in the beggars and the cripples of the city. After this order has been executed, the slave informs his master that there is still room. The master gives another order, stating his wish that his house be filled with guests. No account is given of the result of this second order; in that sense, the parable in Luke is open-ended.

Almost all modern authors are of the opinion that the Lukan version has a secondary character here.[31] The arguments are that, both in Matthew and in *GosThom*, the host only gives one order to invite other people and that the host's aim in Luke (viz. that he wants his house to be full) is missing in the other versions. The next question is what the single command originally was. In reconstructing it, we have the words of the host to go by; in all three versions, they have more or less the same syntactic pattern.[32] As concerns the imperative at the beginning, ἔξελθε (Luke 14:21.23; cf. ἐξελθόντες in Matt 22:10) is to be preferred over πορεύεσθε (Matt 22:9).[33] The new guests must be picked up along the roads (εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς in Matt 22:10 and Luke 14:23; cf. also *GosThom*).[34]

31 Anton Vögtle, *Gott und seine Gäste: Das Schicksal des Gleichnisses Jesu vom großen Gastmahl* (*Lukas 14,16b–24; Matthäus 22,2–14*) (BTS 29; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996), 20: "Die Verdoppelung des Herbeiholungsbefehls ist nach ganz überwiegender Auffassung sekundär und wird wegen einiger Züge lukanischer Redaktion meist Lukas selbst zugeschrieben."

32 Cf. Pesce, "Ricostruzione," 220–222. In Luke 14:21, we encounter the following series: imperative + adverb + locative + καί + object + imperative + locative; in Luke 14:23, the pattern re-emerges in an abbreviated form: imperative + locative + καί + imperative + εἰσελθεῖν (this verb implies a locative); Matt 22:9 has a similar structure: imperative + conjunction + locative + καί + object + imperative + locative. Cf. also *GosThom*: "Go out to the streets. Bring (back) whomever you find."

33 If πορεύομαι were original, it cannot be explained why Luke did not retain this word which he obviously was very partial to (it is used 51 times in Luke; 38 times in Acts).

34 The distinction in Luke between the streets and alleys within the city and highways outside the city is functional in the light of the double order introduced by the redactor.

The new class of guests is described differently in the three versions. In Matthew and *GosThom*, it is just anyone who can be found. With an eye to the ending of the story (22:11–13), Matthew announces in 22:10 that there are both good and bad people among the new group. In Luke 14:21, the new group is not described in ethical but in socio-economic terms; the same persons are meant in 14:23, but the object is omitted there. Luke could have derived the description in 14:21 from Jesus' statement in 14:13, where similar groups are mentioned, although not in precisely the same order. However, it is also possible that 14:13 was formulated to link up with 14:21. Whichever version is preferred, in all cases it is clear that there is a profound contrast between those who were initially invited and their substitutes. The newcomers are not personally known to the host and, given the places they haunt, they are persons of a lower social position. A constant aspect in the various versions, finally, is the fact that they have to be brought to the hall. Combining these data, the order to the slave in the Q version could have read as follows:[35] ἔξελθε εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς, καὶ ὅσους ἐὰν εὕρῃς εἰσάγαγε ὧδε.

In Matthew, the order is carried out, resulting in a house full of guests. In *GosThom*, the execution of the order is not mentioned. The theme of a full house is preserved also in Luke, but here it functions as a reason why the slave is sent out again to gather more people.

The Q parable, in which the initial failure was made much of, probably ended successfully. Excepting a number of redactional elements, this euphoric conclusion was preserved in Matt 22:10. I therefore propose the following formulation of the Q version: καὶ ἐξελθων ὁ δοῦλος εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς εἰσήγαγεν πάντας οὓς εὗρεν καὶ ἐπλήσθη (or: ἐγεμίσθη, cf. Luke 14:23) ὁ οἶκος ἀνακειμένων.

The last issue that we need to look into is whether the concluding sentence in Luke 14:24 (which shows a certain connection with the concluding remark in *GosThom*) already belonged to the parable in Q or was not added until the final redaction stage. This sentence contains a number of terms that were already used before, viz. the participle οἱ κεκλημένοι (here as a genitive) and the term το δεῖπνον, and functions (in view of the reason-introducing γάρ) as a continuation of the preceding passage. However, this is hard to reconcile with the fact that the final sentence is introduced with λέγω (…) ὑμῖν. The plural ὑμῖν indicates that the statement cannot be aimed at the one slave to whom the master has been speaking.[36] The best solution is that 14:24 functions as a conclusion of the parable presented by the narrator (Jesus) to his table

35 An alternative for εἰσάγαγε ὧδε is: καὶ ἀνάγκασον εἰσελθεῖν (Luke 14:23).

36 That the host would suddenly be addressing the newly arrived guests is hardly a convincing solution; equally unacceptable is the supposition that the evangelist is here directly addressing his readers since, excepting the prologue (1:1–4), the third Gospel does not

companions in the house of the Pharisee. By speaking about "my supper", he applies the parable to the eschatological supper where he himself will act as host.

That this sentence links up with the threats expressed in the Q parts immediately preceding the parable (cf. Luke 13:27.28.35) pleads in favour of Q being the origin of 14:24.[37] However, the counter-indications are more convincing. That Jesus, at the end of the parable, addresses his listeners with the words λέγω ὑμῖν or ὑμῖν λέγω betrays Luke's hand (see 11:8; 15:10; 16:9; 18:8.14) rather than that it reveals Q's contribution (here in Luke 19:26 and perhaps in Luke 15:7). Moreover, ἀνήρ is a Lukan term (27 times in Luke and 100 in Acts) and γεύομαι in the sense of 'to eat' is not alien to Luke either (Acts 10:10; 20:11; 23:14). Finally, we also encounter the allusion in 22:30a, that Jesus will function as the host at the eschatological supper and there, too, this element is redactional. Together, these data indicate that 14:24 is a Lukan ending that is compatible with the redactional linking verse 14:15, in which the eschaton is also hinted at. To link up the concluding sentence even better with the parable, Luke has added the word μέγα to δεῖπνον at the beginning.

When we bring together the results of this analysis, we can present the following reconstruction of the Q parable:[38]

> ἄνθρωπός ἐποίει δεῖπνον, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ *τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ δείπνου* εἰπεῖν τοῖς κεκλημένοις· ἔρχεσθε, ἕτοιμά ἐστιν. *ὁ πρῶτος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀγρὸν ἠγόρασα καὶ ἔχω ἀνάγκην ἐξελθὼν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν· ἐρωτῶ σε, ἔχε με παρῃτημένον. καὶ ἕτερος εἶπεν· ζεύγη βοῶν ἠγόρασα πέντε καὶ πορεύομαι δοκιμάσαι αὐτά· ἐρωτῶ σε, ἔχε με παρῃτημένον. καὶ ἕτερος εἶπεν· γυναῖκα ἔγημα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν.* καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα. τότε ὀργισθεὶς ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἶπεν τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ· ἔξελθε εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ

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contain any example of such direct communication between the narrator and his readers.

37 Hoppe, "Gastmahlgleichnis," 289–290, and Pesce, "Ricostruzione," 234, regard 14:24 as belonging to the Q parable.

38 The elements of which the original formulation is less certain have been italicised. The reconstruction offered here is almost identical to that of Vögtle, *Das Evangelium*, 190, and Pesch and Kratz, *So liest man*, 42–43. A different result is presented by Pesce, "Ricostruzione," 234; Hans Weder, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu als Metaphern: Traditions- und redaktionsgeschichtliche Analysen und Interpretationen* (FRLANT 120; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 185–186; Harnisch, *Gleichniserzählungen*, 241–242; Bernard B. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesu* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1989), 161; Hoppe, "Gastmahlgleichnis," 290. See also *The Critical Edition of Q* (eds. James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 432–449.

ὅσους ἐὰν εὕρῃς *εἰσάγαγε ὧδε* (or: *ἀνάγκασον εἰσελθεῖν*). καὶ ἐξελθων ὁ δοῦλος εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς εἰσάγαγεν οὕς εὗρεν καὶ *ἐπλήσθη* (or: *ἐγεμίσθη*) ὁ οἶκος ἀνακειμένων.

1.3 *The Meaning of the Q Text*

What was the meaning of the Q parable? In answering this question, I choose my starting point in the fact that the story goes against the expectations of the recipients in two ways. The first unexpected incident is that all friends and acquaintances of the host let their own interests prevail over the wish of the host to see them appear at his table. Their negative reaction is a direct insult to the host. The second unanticipated element is that this man stakes his already damaged reputation by surrounding himself with strangers, for whom the feast was not originally intended. He sets aside accepted codes because he wants to achieve his aim whatever the cost: the party must go on and there can be no party without guests.

The parable is a parody of the conventions about honour and shame that govern social life.[39] This indicates that the story does not concern the actions of an ordinary host, but the way in which God is manifested in Jesus' ministry. He cannot be bothered by accepted inter-human rules and, despite all failures, he succeeds in his sovereign way to realise his plans after all. In carrying them into effect, the accepted codes are broken. The parable is polemically directed against the well-to-do who, at the decisive moment, en masse fail to appear. At the same time, the parable speaks appreciatively about people for whom life does not seem to have blessings in store, but who do seize the opportunities offered them. The listeners or readers face the choice with which of these two groups they want to identify.

2 From Q to Matthew

Now that the formulation and gist of the Q parable have been uncovered, we are faced with a new problem: how did the development from Q to Matthew proceed? The relation to Q is complex: Matt 22:2–7 shows points of contact with the first part of the Q parable, but also contains many elements that have not been derived from it; in 22:8–10, the last part of the Q parable has been preserved rather faithfully; no basis can be found in Q for 22:11–13. In my discussion I will concentrate first on 22:2–7 and subsequently on 22:8–13.

39 Scott, *Hear*, 173–174: "The parable reverses and subverts the system of honor. The man who gives a banquet loses his honor and joins the shameless poor."

2.1 *Matt 22:2–7*

The differences between 22:2–7 and Q are only partly the products of the creativity of the redactor of Matthew's Gospel. In the last section, it has already become clear that the heading in 22:2 is highly redactional. Other instances that point to redaction are πάλιν (17/28/3) and θέλω (42/25/28) in 22:3; the same goes for ἰδού (62/7/57) and δεῦτε (6/3/0) in 22:4 and for μέν . . . δέ (19/4/8) in 22:5. The rest of the vocabulary of 22:2–7, however, is not typical of Matthew. The term βασιλεύς is frequent in Matthew (22/12/11), but if we confine ourselves to parables, we perceive that a king, apart from our parable (22:2.7.11.13), only appears one other time, in 18:23. Something similar can be said of γάμος. This term owes its relatively high score (9/0/2) to frequently use in this passage (22:2.3.4.8.9.10.11.12) and occurs elsewhere in Matthew only in 25:10. The description of the feast (22:4) includes terms (ἄριστον, ταῦρος, σιτιστά and θυώ) that we do not come across elsewhere in Matthew.[40] The same goes for ἀμελέω in 22:5. The description of the aggressive action against the slaves and the king's bloody reaction (22:6–7) are expressed in words that are not characteristic of Matthew either: the terms ὑβρίζω, στράτευμα, φονεύς and ἐμπίμπρημι are not used elsewhere in Matthew.[41]

The conclusion can be no other than that 22:2–7 contains a mixture of tradition and redaction. It would be unnecessarily stretching the limits to attribute all deviations from Q to the redactor. It is more logical to assume that he rewrote the first part of the parable in the light of another text.

This assumption is reinforced by the fact that the textual elements that differ from Q show a certain consistency.[42] The opening of the parable (22:2) already states that it is about a king who has arranged a copious dinner (cf. 22:4) to celebrate the wedding of his son, the crown prince. This wedding party has political implications. The king invites the elite that governs the cities of his kingdom (cf. 22:7: "their city"). The idea is that, by accepting the invitation, they give evidence of their allegiance to the king and the crown prince. Their refusal to come is an act of rebellion that escalates into a direct revolt when they add insult to injury by killing the slaves of the king. Because the slaves

40 Apart from 22:4, the preparation of a meal is described with the verb ἑτοιμάζω only in 26:17.19.

41 The term κρατέω can be an echo of 21:45; this verb is also combined with ἀποκτείνω in 26:4; οἱ δὲ λοιποί also occurs in 27:49.

42 The following was inspired by Richard Bauckham, "The Parable of the Royal Wedding Feast (Matthew 22:1–14) and the Parable of the Lame Man and the Blind Man (Apocryphon of Ezekiel)," *JBL* 115 (1996): 482–488. Contra Trilling, *Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, 251: "Die Mt-Fassung macht einen uneinheitlichen und gestörten Eindruck".

were authorised to represent the king, the rebels, through this action, strike at the king himself. He suppresses the rebellion by liquidating the murderers and burning their city. Not all those invited were involved in the attack on the slaves (22:6 only mentions οἱ λοιποί). The king nevertheless eliminates the entire group; the inhabitants of the city also suffer as a result of this military action.

Thus, this part of the parable is about a king who knows how to enforce his sovereignty. This theme also emerges in the rest of the story. The king is central to the story in every respect. Almost all actions are initiated by him. He is the only speaking persona (cf. direct speech in 22:4.8–9.12.13–14) and frequently uses the imperative (εἴπατε, δεῦτε, πορεύεσθε, ἐκβάλετε). He leaves no one in any doubt that he pulls the strings.

This layer of the parable has such inner consistency that the assumption arises that another story has been assimilated into Matthew's version of the parable of the guests, a story that originally circulated independently and dealt with a king and his rebellious subjects.[43] A variation to this hypothesis is the theory defended by Karl Rengstorff that a topos is at the basis of Matt 22:6–7 that was widely known in the Ancient Near East and was preserved until the times of post-biblical Palestine Judaism.[44] This topos has the following standard components: there is a king; his sovereignty is challenged by his enemies; he wages war against them and sets their city on fire; thus, he succeeds in retaining his sovereign position. Within the parable of the guests, 22:6–7 is not a *Fremdkörper* according to Rengstorff; he sees these verses as the centre of the story on the basis of which the surrounding verses can be explained.

As regards the origin of the tradition assimilated here, I propose a new solution. A parallel can be found in certain parts of the Q parable of the pounds. The Lukan version of this parable (19:11–27) contains elements that are missing in Matthew's version (25:14–30): the main figure in the parable belongs to the nobility (19:12); he goes on a long journey abroad to be appointed king (19:12); the citizens of his country send a delegation right behind him with the message that they do not want him to be their king (19:14); the man becomes king

43 This hypothesis was suggested earlier by Adolf von Harnack, *Sprüche und Reden Jesu: Die Zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas* (Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament 2; Leipzig: Hinrich, 1907), 83–84; Josef Sickenberger, "Die Zusammenarbeitung verschiedener Parabeln im Matthäusevangelium (22,1–14)," *ByzZ* 30 (1929–1930): 253–261 (259); Paul Gaechter, *Das Matthäus-Evangelium: Ein Kommentar* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1963).

44 Karl H. Rengstorff, "Die Stadt der Mörder (Mt 22,7)," Pages 106–129 in *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche: FS Joachim Jeremias* (ed. Walther Eltester; BZNW 26; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1960).

after all (19:15); after his return, he puts loyal servants in charge of a number of cities (19:17.19); he has the rebels slaughtered in his presence (19:27).

The literal similarities with Matt 22:2–13 are minimal. Moreover, they do not always have the same meaning or function in the two texts. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to place them side by side:

	Luke	**Matt**
βασιλεία / βασιλεύω / βασιλεύς	19:12.14.15.27	22:2.7.11.13
ἀποστέλλω	19:14	22:3.4
negation + θέλω	19:14.27	22:3
πόλις	19:17.19	22:7

The idea that there is a connection between the two passages is furthermore based on the substantive similarities: in both cases, the story is about a king or an aspiring king (cf. the crown prince in Matt 22:2); his position is challenged by the citizens of his country; they openly rebel; they are liquidated by the king; the king puts loyal citizens in charge of his cities.

In Luke 19:11–27, the story of the (aspiring) king is only loosely connected with the parable of the pounds. That parable itself derives from Q. There is no consensus about the origin of the parts about the king. Since Luke's characteristic vocabulary is missing here, it is practically out of the question that this segment was created by the redactor. It is usually assumed that it derives from a special source (L?) that Luke is said to have used when writing his Gospel.[45]

However, in view of the similarities with Matt 22, an entirely different hypothesis can be formulated: both in Luke 19:11–27 and in Matt 22:3–7, remnants can be found of an original, independent parable that was linked with another parable by the two redactors (in Matthew to the parable of the guests and in Luke to the parable of the pounds). In both cases, the story was merged with a Q parable and rigorously revised to that end. Since the story on a king with rebellious subjects itself is also only found in Matthew and Luke and is missing in Mark, it meets the criterion that is used to establish whether a passage belongs to Q. It therefore cannot be excluded that this story, too, once belonged to Q. If this hypothesis can stand the test, the development was as

45 Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (*X–XXIV*) (AB 28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 1231, names modern authors who support this view.

follows: a) Q contained a parable about a king and disloyal subjects; b) Luke merged this old parable with the Q parable of the pounds; c) Matthew assimilated this parable into the Q parable of the guests.

2.2 *Matt 22:8–13*

Matt 22:8–10 links up closely with the formulation in Q, that is better preserved here than in Luke. The differences in relation to Q are the result of redactional surgery. Matthew replaces εἰσάγω (Q) by his favourite term συνάγω (24/5/6) and makes his source more explicit by adding πάντας. The insertion of πονηρούς τε καὶ ἀγαθούς is also redactional.[46] This ethical qualification represents a great difference with the other versions. In Q as well as in Luke and *GosThom*, the second group of guests is judged in a positive way; Matthew, however, presents it as a heterogeneous company (negative and positive). The insertion of πονηρούς τε καὶ ἀγαθούς forms the closest preparation of 22:11–13, in which it is made clear, with the example of the man without a wedding garment, that the bad will be punished without mercy.

These final verses have no counterpart in Q. Still, the link with the Q parable is perceivable through the final word in Q (ἀνακειμένων) that is repeated in Matt 22:11 (ἀνακειμένους). We find words and expressions that Matthew likes to use in the entire passage:[47] εἰσέρχομαι (36/30/50);[48] ἐκεῖ (28/11/16; cf. κἀκεῖ: 3/1/0); θεάομαι (4/2/3) in 6:1 and 23:5 has a redactional tinge; ἔνδυμα (7/0/1); in the NT, ἑταῖρος only occurs in Matthew, always as a vocative (20:13; 22:12; 26:50 diff. Mark); ὧδε (18/10/15); τότε (90/6/15). This series justifies the conclusion that Matthew himself wrote 22:11–13 as an extension of the Q parable.

Is 22:11–13 an entirely new creation by Matthew? No, this is not the case. In composing these verses, he elaborated on the old parable on the king and his subjects of which we found such powerful traces in 22:3–7.

The influence of this old tradition can still be sensed in 22:8–10 and 22:11–13. Also in these verses, the king is the central figure. After his campaign, which he recalls in 22:8c, he once more focuses on the feast that is still on the table (22:8b; cf. 22:4). He sends out his slaves to the very borders of his kingdom

46 Here it is clear that Matt 22:2–10 is not merely a recapitulation of the parable of the tenants. There is also some progression. Matt 21:41.43 speaks positively about the new tenants; in 22:10, however, the new guests form a heterogeneous group.

47 Cf. David C. Sim, "Matthew 22,13a and 1 Enoch 10,4a: A Case of Literary Dependence?," *JSNT* 47 (1992): 3–19 (8–9). See also the list of "matthäisches Vorzugsvokabular" in Luz, *Evangelium nach Matthäus* (*Mt 1–7*), 35–55.

48 In Matthew, this verb often refers to sharing in the eschatological salvation: 5:20; 7:13.21; 18:3; 19:17; 25:10.21.23. Matt 22:12 also belongs to this series.

(διέξοδοι τῶν ὁδῶν is a reference to a place where a road begins or ends, not to crossroads). The result is that the hall becomes full of guests. However, the story does not have a happy ending. While the guests recline at table, the king enters the hall. As soon as he sees that one of them is not wearing clothes befitting the occasion, thus displaying disrespect for the king and his son, he once more takes strong measures. In this part of the story, again, we see that the king demands strict allegiance from his subjects.[49]

3 New Light on the Trajectory from Q to Matthew

Combining the new results obtained above, I come to the following reconstruction. The Q parable of the guests is at the basis of Matt 22:2–13. However, this parable only left clear traces in 22:8–10. In 22:2–7, it is pushed into the background as Matthew more explicitly draws on another parable about a king and his rebellious subjects. It cannot be entirely ruled out that this parable, too, belonged to Q. If this is the case, then Matthew has merged two Q parables. The resulting new story is coloured more strongly by the parable of the king than by that of the guests. The influence of the parable of the king can also still be perceived in the conclusion composed by Matthew (22:11–13).

The development described here differs strongly from the reconstruction offered by the majority of the contemporary exegetes.[50] They, too, see 22:2–13 as a combination of two parables. One is the Q parable of the guests, the other,

49 In its current literary context (Matt 21:23–22:14), 22:1–10 has a polemic function. This part of the parable functions within Jesus' debate, on the day after his entry into Jerusalem, the city of the great king (5:35, i.e. God), with the chief priests and the elders of the people (21:23), and with the chief priests and the Pharisees (21:45), respectively. In 21:5, Jesus is characterised as the king of Sion, on the basis of a citation from Zech 9:9. From here, there is a direct line to 21:23 where representatives of the upper layer of the Jerusalem aristocracy ask him a question about his authority (ἐξουσία). In view of the literary setting, it is highly functional that 22:1–14 emphasizes the confrontation between a king and his rebellious subjects. Against this background, the question into the identity of the two groups of guests must be answered. The first group primarily refers to Jesus' discussion partners. Cf. Luz, *Evangelium nach Matthäus* (*Mt 1–7*), 241: "Weil die Hohenpriester und Pharisäer die Adressaten der Parabeln sind, wird man zunächst an sie denken". The second group does not only include the tax collectors and the prostitutes (21:31–32), but also the followers of Jesus from Israel and the from the Gentiles, and perhaps even all humanity (cf. "the evil and the good" in 5:45).

50 Usually following Jeremias, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu*, 62 and 186–187, who mentions a parallel from *b.Schab.* 153a.

belonging to Matthew's *Sondergut*, is the parable of the king and the man without the wedding garment. Matthew has combined the two parables, however, without harmonising them.[51] The parable in 22:11–13 has slightly influenced Matthew's adaptation of the Q parable of the guests. Therefore a king and a wedding party are already mentioned in this phase of the story.

Both propositions are highly hypothetical; there are no hard facts. The merit, or lack of it, of the two hypotheses depends on the extent to which they do justice to the textual data. I have therefore based my arguments as much as possible on a careful analysis of the vocabulary of Matt 22:1–13 with a view to distinguishing between tradition and redaction. The analysis confirmed that 22:3–7 contains few redactional traces; this part of the story seems to point more in the direction of traditional material. However, this material is not covered by the Q parable of the guests. On the other hand, the conclusion (22:11–13) has such a redactional content that it is practically impossible that an original, independent tradition was incorporated here. The customary explanation breaks down precisely on these points: it wrongly assumes that 22:3–7 is largely redactional and that 22:11–13 is based on material from the pre-Matthean tradition.

51 There is literary tension between 22:3–10 and 22:11–13: a) 22:3–10 has δοῦλοι, 22:13 has διάκονοι; b) in 22:8–10, no admission requirement is set, in 22:11–13 suitable clothing is required.

Final Observations

Conclusions, Evaluation, Perspectives

To round off this book, I will present the most important conclusions, evaluate the methods used, and sketch perspectives for further research.

1 Conclusions

In this book, I have explicitly indicated what hypotheses directed my analysis of texts from Matthew and what presuppositions formed my points of departure. Part 1 was about whether Matthew's book is a well-structured, coherent, and substantive whole. This proved indeed to be the case. It was discovered that this document does not consist of static blocks of text but is a dynamic and organic whole with many references to previous and later parts of the text. At the semantic level, it appeared that expanding the scope to the meaning of textual units (text semantics) yielded interesting results and that consistency is not necessarily incompatible with multiple meanings.

In Part 2, I applied literary theories on intertextuality to texts from Matthew and tested two hypotheses. The first was that an Old Testament quotation in Matthew's Gospel generates interaction between the text from which it originates and the text into which it is incorporated. This hypothesis proved to be particularly productive. We have repeatedly observed that the original literary context reverberates in textual units from Matthew's Gospel. In their new literary setting, the quoted words and sentences continue to refer to contextual data with which they are associated in the Old Testament pre-texts. These original connections usually reappear transformed. It also appeared that the quotations are firmly integrated into their new literary setting.

The second hypothesis was that the meaning and function of textual units from Matthew's Gospel can be better understood when these textual units are related to co-thematic or co-generic texts from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint. The inclusion of the Hebrew Bible in an intertextual analysis of New Testament texts is not self-evident. It is mostly assumed that New Testament authors only made use of the Greek Bible. The practical exercises in Part 2 of this book have shown that Matthew's Gospel in fact contains traces of both the Hebrew and the Greek Bible.

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2 Evaluation

In this book, Matthew's Gospel was studied from three perspectives: first intratextuality, then intertextuality, and finally extratextuality. This order was deliberately chosen: they are successive steps, not mutually exclusive, but in a complementary relationship to each other.[1]

In Chapter 5, I converted the theories on intertextuality into an analysis model suitable to researching the relations between texts from Matthew and Old Testament pre-texts. On two points, my analysis model differs from other attempts to operationalize the general theory of intertextuality with a view to analysing literary texts. Firstly, I integrated the application of literary-synchronic methods into the intertextual study. In my view, before the relations between texts are explored, the separate texts' own configuration must be studied in depth. Secondly, I have tried to narrow the gap between the world within and the world outside the text by not merely concentrating on relations between texts but also on the texts' correlations with their socio-cultural contexts. However, it must be borne in mind that an intertextual analysis model can only give access to the way in which the extratextual reality is represented *within* the text.

Applying the new model to texts from Matthew yielded various innovative perspectives for Bible exegesis.

- One innovative idea is that the reader or interpreter plays an active and creative role in the process of meaning making. Acknowledging the reader's active role does not preclude that the author's intention is a crucial factor, but it is also true that the author's intention can only be reconstructed by an interpreter or a reader.
- Reading texts from Matthew from the perspective of Old Testament pre-texts clearly reveals the richness of meaning that these texts and their pre-texts have: they contain different visions of the world.
- A Bible text is not a self-contained entity but a dynamic and open whole that because of its relationships with other Biblical and extra-Biblical texts

1 The view of Hatina, "Intertextuality and Historical Criticism," 29, to the effect that intertextuality is "inimical to current historical critical inquiry", is not convincing because it is limited to the theories of Julia Kristeva and Roland Barthes, who, in his opinion, were negatively influenced by the ideological context of French poststructuralism. Moyise, "Intertextuality and Historical Approaches," 32, is more appreciative, stating that, "used together, intertextuality and historical criticism are able to complement one another".

and as a result of changes in the socio-cultural context is open to new interpretations.

- This semantic transformation process already started within the Bible; it did not end when the process of canon formation was completed in Jewish or Christian circles but has continued unabated ever since. There is a certain connection here with the dynamic and open views in Jewish hermeneutics, whereby new, fresh interpretations of Scripture are sought to respond to the questions arising from changes in the situation of the people of Israel.
- Passages from earlier texts seem to be incorporated into Matthew's Gospel for rhetorical purposes. On the basis of authoritative pre-texts, the narrator wants to inspire his readers to follow Jesus. By interspersing his narrative on Jesus with Old Testament texts, he wants to show that this new story is a consistent continuation of Israel's literary heritage. However, the texts quoted are not compelling proof. Critical readers could dispute the interpretations offered in Matthew, labelling them as distorting the original. That risk was great because various disparate versions of Scripture texts were circulating in the first century of the Common Era. Not all of them were equally suited to the way in which Old Testament texts are interpreted within this Gospel.

Applying my analysis model to Matthew has its weaknesses in addition to its strong points. The examples discussed showed that disputable choices have to be made in intertextual studies. Sometimes it is hard to determine the date of the pre-texts and it is not always clear what text form was the source. The analysis is further complicated by linguistic intricacies and may founder through a lack of knowledge of literary genres or as a result of uncritical assumptions concerning the relationship between the Old and the New Testament. In this context, Christians like to be inspired by the schema of prophecy (or prefiguration) and fulfilment,[2] but the drawback of this schema is that it does not do justice to the inherent meaning or meanings of Old Testament texts, separate from their–usually Christological or typological–interpretation in the New Testament, and that it leaves insufficient scope for the Jewish interpretations of the Tanakh. These issues are not typical of intertextual analysis but also arise when other exegetical methods are applied.

2 This schema is dominant in *Die Verheißung des neuen Bundes* (ed. Kollmann).

3 Perspectives for Further Research

What is the state of the art in the discussions on intertextuality and what perspectives are opened by these discussions as regards innovations in literary criticism in general and in Bible exegesis in particular? Initially, literary theorists have tried to limit Kristeva's broad and rather wild idea of 'Text' and 'intertextuality' to the study of the relationships between literary texts and the effect of these relationships on the meaning and function of these texts. In the 1990s, a trend reversal has begun. Many want to broaden the concept of 'intertextuality' again, but without linking it to such disputable poststructuralist assumptions as the a-historical nature of texts or the death of the author.[3]

A first new development is that the concept of 'intertextuality', that, strictly speaking, only deals with relationships between literary texts, is also applied in studies on different art forms, such as film, theatre, music, sculpture, painting, architecture, photography, and video art. These art forms are not totally separate entities. Material from one art form is often transferred to another or, in more general terms: from one sign system to the other. Such transpositions are accompanied by creative transformations, not only on the level of the language of forms, but also on a substantive level: intertextuality takes on the form of interdiscursivity and intermediality.

A further new development is that the literary analysis of the interaction between texts is enhanced with research into the interaction between texts and their socio-cultural setting. This change is sometimes referred to as the cultural turn in literary criticism. Texts are interwoven with culture; they are products of culture, and simultaneously also producers of culture. They are 'socially produced' and 'socially productive'.[4] This change links up with Bakhtin's pioneering work in the 20th century.

At the background of these developments is the realisation that culture is not limited to the world of the arts but extends to the whole of opinions, customs, laws, and rituals that determine a community's collective sense of identity and regulate the interaction between its members. The current western

3 There are also poststructuralist theories of intertextuality that continue to be valuable, for example, the concept of shifting meanings and the connections of texts with other sign systems.

4 Hallet, "Intertextualität," 57. According to Hallet, it is the task of literature and cultural studies "Spuren anderer Texte und Diskurse im zu untersuchenden Text aufzuspüren in dem Bemühen, einerseits Aufschluss über das historische und kulturelle Umfeld des Textes zu gewinnen, andererseits nachzuzeichnen, in welcher Weite der Text (. . .) selbst kulturbildend wirkt."

culture has a great variety of opinions concerning ethics and the search for meaning, that give rise to diverse forms of bricolage. The rise of new social media (iPod, Twitter, Wikipedia, Google, Facebook, YouTube) has provided us with the technical possibilities for an almost limitless exchange of texts, sounds, and images, that can be freely reproduced and recycled at will, time and again.[5]

The broadened culture concept has intensified the interaction between academic disciplines that used to be studied relatively separately: literary criticism, philosophy, studies in cultures and arts, religious studies, ritual studies. New fields of study have emerged, such as gender studies, postcolonial studies, and memory studies. This has reinforced the awareness that researchers themselves are historically situated subjects and that the scholarly categories they use are constructions that are codetermined by their own current cultural context. These developments are relevant to biblical studies as well.

In Chapter 5, I took up this subject, arguing that the interaction between Bible texts and their socio-cultural context is an important factor in the process of meaning making. The interaction between Bible and culture is a popular subject in academic research. Biblical writings are the products of successive cultures and, at the same time, they are producers of culture, to the present day. Studying echoes from the Bible in prose and poetry, in plays and films, in sculpture and architecture, in music and dance requires interdisciplinary interplay between biblical and cultural studies. Cultural studies scholars can explain how texts and ideas derived from the Bible acquire new meanings and functions within the cultural expressions in which we encounter them while, by means of various reading models, Bible exegetes can explore the meaning and function of the quoted material in its original literary and cultural context.

Intertextuality studies the ever continuing process of naming and renaming. Even the concept itself is in constant flux and subject to mutations. Opinions on intertextuality and on the process of meaning making are constantly revised. Bible exegesis can contribute in its own particular way to theory development on intertextuality and to its practical application because the Bible itself is a seedbed in which texts emerge from other texts. This rich potential of meaning and ethics must be unlocked by new readers, time and time again.

5 See Allen, *Intertextuality*, 203–216.

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