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Q in Context II

Social Setting and Archeological Background
of the Sayings Source

With 8 figures

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Contents

Part III: Opening up the Horizon – Q in the Context of Ancient Diaspora

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"To Make This Place a Habitation Was to Transgress the Jewish Ancient Laws" (*Ant*. 18:38). Introduction to the Volume

1. Q in Context I and II – Project Overview

The two volumes "Q in Context I and II" form a diptych of two theologically aligned conferences that were held in Mülheim (Essen) in February 2014 and in Werden (Essen) in September 2014.

The first conference, *The Separation of Just and Unjust in Early Judaism and the Sayings Source – A New Look at the "Parting of the Ways"* (February 17–19, 2014), focused on the assumption that the Sayings Source Q forms some sort of "missing link" between early Judaism and early Christianity.[1] The origins of Q are most probably still embedded in the matrix of early Judaism. If the Sayings Source antedates the "parting of the ways" between Jews and Christians, Q has to be considered a document of early Judaism even more than a document of early Christianity. Particularly since the title Χριστός is missing in Q, the authorities behind this document should be considered *Jewish followers of Jesus* and not "*Christians*" in the strict sense of the word. In this case, the question of polemics becomes crucial: Polemic imagery is rampant in the Sayings Source – nevertheless, the polemical language in Q does not necessarily have to be interpreted as responding to a past rupture between Q people and Jews. Apocalyptic groups in early Judaism adopted a very polemical language of judgment, exclusion and condemnation of rival Jewish competitors and highlighted the conception of the eschatological damnation of a part of Israel. Thus, polemics in Q can also be interpreted as an inner-Jewish struggle for the true eschatological interpretation of the Torah rather than as a sign of an already completed "parting of the ways." The conference therefore focused on the rhetoric of exclusion in an inter-disciplinary exchange between scholars of early Judaism and New Testament exegesis.

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1 Cf. the already published volume: *M. Tiwald* (ed.), Q in Context I. The Separation between the Just and the Unjust in Early Judaism and in the Sayings Source (BBB 172), Bonn 2015.

After identifying early Judaism as the theological matrix of the Sayings Source, the second conference, *The Social Setting of the Sayings Source Q – New Evidence from Archeology and Early Judaism* (September 15–17, 2014), highlighted the sociological backdrop against which the Sayings Source Q could develop. It was especially the interplay between biblical archeology and a sociologically oriented exegesis of the New Testament that constituted the *leitmotiv* of this conference. The question arises as to which extent the Jesus-movement was influenced by socio-political and socio-economic factors. The introductory quote "To Make This Place a Habitation Was to Transgress the Jewish Ancient Laws" (*Ant.* 18:38) refers to the city of Tiberias that was built by Herod Antipas on an old burial ground, and highlights the socio-religious implications of the Galilean habitat. According to Num 19:16, Jews coming in touch with graves remained unclean for seven days. Thus, Herod Antipas by force compelled Jews to live in this city and admitted slaves and poor persons (*Ant.* 18:36–38). Perhaps this explains why Tiberias obviously never was visited by Jesus. Similar reasons might hold true in the case of Sepphoris: Though only 5 km from Nazareth, the city is not mentioned in the entire New Testament. An explanation is needed for this selective geographical radius of Jesus, his disciples, and the Sayings Source (cf. the contributions of Moreland and Tiwald in this volume).

Q in Context I and II thus seek to redefine the context of the Sayings Source. The first volume focuses on the religious matrix that gave birth to Q, the second volume highlights sociological preconditions for the development of Q.

2.   Preliminary Works

The present two volumes continue the trajectory begun at a previous conference that was held in Mülheim (Essen) in February of 2012; its proceedings were published as: *M. Tiwald, (ed.), Kein Jota wird vergehen. Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie (BWANT 200), Stuttgart 2012.* Here the focus lay on the pluriformity of early Judaism and the place that Q may have occupied in this vast landscape. These three volumes can thus be seen as a triptych dealing with the same topic (Sayings Source and early Judaism), but accessing it from different perspectives.

3.   The Contributions in this Volume

This volume has a threefold structure. The first part deals with the topic of archeological findings in relevance to the Sayings Source. The second part sheds light on the sociological backdrop of Q. The third part opens up the horizon and puts the Sayings Source in the context of the ancient diaspora.

Part I: Archeological Findings Relevant to the Sayings Source

Before starting the interpretation of Q, it seems noteworthy to examine the material evidence that we have for the Galilee of the first century CE.

Here *Lee I. Levine* offers the first insight. It is frequently debated whether the Q community had already broken up with the "synagogue community" (cf. Q 12:11), but there are only few studies by New Testament scholars bothering with the question where synagogues existed in these times and which means they served. In his contribution *The Ancient Synagogue in First-Century Palestine* Levine fills in this lacuna: No pre-70 source systematically addresses the nature or functions of the Judaean synagogue. In contrast to the Jerusalem Temple, the synagogue merited relatively little attention; we have only a few sources describing how synagogues functioned (e.g., the Theodotos inscription), where they were located, or how they looked. Archeological evidence for the first-century synagogue is attested at five sites in the southern part of Judaea: Masada, Herodium, Jerusalem (i.e., the Theodotos inscription from the City of David), Qiryat Sefer, and Modi'in (the latter two in Western Judea), and possibly also Ḥorvat 'Etri, south of Bet Shemesh. As for the Galilee and Golan in the north, first-century synagogues were discovered at three sites – Gamla, Magdala, and presumably Khirbet Qana; proposed synagogues at several other sites are less certain – Capernaum, Chorazin, and a second site at Magdala. By the first century CE, when the synagogue appears in archeological and literary sources, it had already become the dominant institution on the local Jewish scene, and this holds true for both the Diaspora and Judea, excepting, of course, pre-70 Jerusalem. Synagogues throughout the empire served the following purposes: political and social events, worship, study, holding court, administering punishment, organizing sacred meals, collecting charitable donations, and housing communal archives and a library. Although clearly secondary in terms of the broader *raison d'être* of the first-century synagogue, the religious dimension was nevertheless an important component in the New Testament's narrative concerning this institution, and the Theodotos inscription notes the religious-educational aspects of the synagogue prior to its social and communal ones. Given the penchant of our literary sources to highlight the religious aspects of the institution, the ar-

cheological remains reviewed above serve as an important corrective. The buildings themselves are neutral structures with no notable religious components: no inscriptions attesting to the sacred status of the building; no religious art or symbols (except a remarkable stone from the Magdala synagogue depicting a *menorah*); no orientation towards Jerusalem; and no permanent Torah ark. The Torah scrolls and ark were presumably mobile, introduced into the main hall only for the Torah-reading ceremony and removed thereafter. In short, the first-century synagogue's architecture did not have the decidedly religious profile that it was to acquire in Late Antiquity. The religious dimension, so central to the accounts in the literary sources, especially the Gospels, is clearly absent from the archeological remains. Thus, we are confronted with the fact that the authors of the New Testament, who were specifically interested in religious-theological matters, invoked synagogue settings to further their agenda while those who built and maintained the synagogue buildings (i.e., the local congregations) focused on the community-center setting.

Milton Moreland: Provenience Studies and the Question of Q in Galilee poses the question as to whether the Sayings Source really originated in the Galilee. He presents seven criteria that are used to help determine the provenience of an anonymous ancient text, with Galilee and the Q sayings serving as an example of how the criteria can be employed: *1. Chronology:* If the latest edition of Q, before it was redacted by Matthew and Luke, does not date later than the time just after the Jewish War (in the early 70s CE), then we do not have a major problem with positioning Q in a Galilean setting. Because of a lack of reference to Galilean Christianity in any ancient source, we cannot assume that the Galilee remained a vital center for Jewish believers in Jesus after the Jewish War. *2. Language and Scribal Competence:* With the very strong likelihood that Q was written in Greek, we must evaluate whether Greek was spoken and written at a particular site during the relevant time frame. Even though the majority of the Galilean population spoke Aramaic, there was significant contact with the commerce and administration of the Roman East, which insures that at least a portion of first century Galileans spoke and wrote Greek at the level needed to posit the text of Q sayings being written in that region. Galilean "village scribes" – see the contributions of Tiwald and Bazzana in this volume – might have been the authors of this document. *3. Demographics:* The key demographic information here is the relation between Jewish and gentile groups in a region. Latest archeological findings – miqwaot, stone vessels, and ossuaries as typical Jewish "fossils" – have pointed out that even Sepphoris and Tiberias were mainly Jewish cities. This fits well with the situation presented in Q. *4. The Presence of Early Jewish and Jesus/ Christos Groups:* Since Jesus lived in Galilee, it is often assumed that a group of his followers also lived in that region after his death. It is difficult to imagine that all Galilean people who were part of a Jewish Jesus group immediately left the Galilee

after his death in Jerusalem. Nonetheless, unsubstantiated claims to long-term Jesus groups in Galilee after the Jewish War should also be avoided. Q specifically reports that the message was rejected by the Galilean villages (Q10:13–15). *5. Socio-Economic-Political Factors:* In a setting like Galilee, where 90 % of the population lived in agrarian and fishing villages, the establishment of two new administrative and market centers like Sepphoris and Tiberias must have had a major impact. As we look towards the Q sayings, explicit concerns for changes in the economy are to be expected. Q focuses on the underprivileged groups in Galilee, cutting out prosperous cities like Tiberias and Sepphoris. The well-established focus on economic tensions and instabilities in the sayings of Q is well matched to the archeological evidence of mid-first century Galilee. *6. Independent Literary References:* Beyond the fact that Q was taken up into two literary sources, there are no references to the provenience of Q in our extant literature. *7. References to Sites, Names, Regional Events, Geographical Details and Social Map:* Here Moreland makes reference to the work of Reed, Duling, and Sawicki, drawing the authors' "spatial imagination" or "social map," and making use of Duling's social network analysis to reconstruct a Capernaum-based spatial context for Jesus' social network. He concludes, on the basis of the seven criteria that it is likely that Q was written and edited in Galilee.

John S. Kloppenborg: Q, Bethsaida, Khorazin and Capernaum continues with the examination of the issue as to where the document Q might have originated and takes a special interest in Q 10:13–15: Does the mention of Khorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum reflect local colour and historical facts of Q's Galilean genesis? This might be seen as a continuation of point 7 of Moreland's scheme. For Kloppenborg two questions arise: First, since the implication of Q 10:13–14 is that wonders occurred in those towns, have we any evidence for this? And second, should we conclude that these three Galilean towns utterly failed to adhere to the Jesus movement? First, we do not have any reliable hints as to which miracles Jesus might have worked in these towns, even when church fathers tried to amend this lacuna. Regarding the second question: Kloppenborg here thoroughly pieces together archeological evidence, the testimonies of the church fathers, and early pilgrims. He concludes that neither literary nor material evidence provides a strong basis for supposing that there were Jesus groups in Capernaum or Bethsaida, especially prior to the first revolt, and that there is no reason at all to suppose that there were Jesus followers in Khorazin. So, as Q 10:13–15 seems to imply, the Jesus movement represented by Q was largely unsuccessful in these three towns. If we put the Q-message into the context of the sociological matrix in these towns, we get astonishing results: Q's envoys certainly stood for a somewhat utopian program of debt forgiveness (6:30; 11:3; 17:3–4), various strategies of conflict avoidance and reduction (Q 6:27–28; 12:58–59), and resource sharing (6:29; cf. also 12:22–31). Instantly, there is a lot of scholarly discussion concerning

how rich and prosperous these towns might have been. Kloppenborg discusses the different positions and points out that neither Capernaum nor Bethsaida were damaged in the first revolt, in sharp contrast to Yodefat and Gamla, the latter only 10 km distant from Bethsaida. This without doubt is an indication that neither showed any resistance to the Romans; on the contrary, these towns tried to establish a moderate wealth and influence. Kloppenborg attributes the woes against the Galilean Towns to the final stage of Q's composition. Thus, the decision not to welcome the Q workers arose from a complex social, economic and political calculation probably a decade before the revolution. Q's polemic against possessions (Q 6:20b, 29; 12:16–20, 22–31; 16:13) may have been just too unpalatable to these towns.

Part II: Sociological Backdrop of the Sayings Source

In 1972, *Gerd Theißen* developed the thesis that itinerant preachers were the first authorities in early Christianity. He coined the term "itinerant radicalism" for their ethos of homelessness and criticism of possessions, and connected socio-logical studies with the exegesis of the New Testament. Particularly the mission discourse in Q reflects such ideas. Now, more than forty years later, the question arises as to what the socio-historical thesis of itinerant radicalism in early Christianity might contribute to the right understanding of the Sayings Source. In his contribution, *The Sayings Source Q and Itinerant Radicalism*, Theißen tries to respond to the questions that have arisen in the wake of his publications: Can we infer, on the basis of prescriptive statements in the mission discourse in Q, real behavior in history? Did the presumed messengers live an itinerant existence? How were these itinerant messengers able to exercise influence on other people despite their marginal existence? Are such itinerant charismatics represented in the Sayings Source as having an ethos that can be characterized as itinerant *radicalism?* Are we able to identify a geographic focus of their activities? What is the contribution of these itinerant charismatics to the literary history of the Sayings Source – at the level of tradition and the final edition and the reception history of Q? How does itinerant radicalism socially fit into Jewish society in antiquity? Is it a product of some crisis in this society? Or is it the product of a society in peace and prosperity? Theißen now thoroughly examines the counter-arguments that his theses had to confront in the past decades. He concludes that there indeed existed such homeless itinerant charismatics, whose lifestyle was constitutive of their existence. They exercised a charismatic influence on their sympathizers in local communities and practiced a radical ethos of home-lessness, a criticism of family, labor and possessions. This itinerant radicalism originated in Jewish areas, but spread very early beyond its boundaries with a

focus in Syria. The traditions of these itinerant charismatics are preserved in Q. Q tries to motivate people to take on the role of itinerant charismatics. Perhaps one of them had written down their oral traditions – perhaps to equip the messengers of Jesus with such a collection of traditions.

At this point, the contribution of *Markus Tiwald: The Brazen Freedom of God's Children: "Insolent Ravens" (Q 12:24) and "Carefree Lilies" (Q 12:27) as Response to Mass-Poverty and Social Disruption?* fits in perfectly. In 2002, Tiwald had published his doctoral dissertation on the question of itinerant charismatics as authorities behind the Sayings Source. Now, thirteen years later, he returns to the same topic and tries to confront the old assumptions with the new state of the discussion. Especially three presuppositions have been in for heavy criticism: *1st*, the thesis of *massive social conflicts* leading to a disruption of social structures in Galilee. *2nd*, the Jesus-movement – as preserved in the mission account in Q – would have *adapted this social deviance in a creative way:* In marked contrast to the violent uprisings (as practiced by the Zealots) or the expectation of an eschatological war against God's enemies (as proclaimed in the manuscripts of Qumran), they announced a peaceful new order of the world under God's reign. *3rd:* Itinerant *charismatic prophets must have been common in early Christian communities of Syria-Palestine*, as we see in Didache, Lucian of Samosata and the Pseudo-Clementine Literature. Is it legitimate to complete the picture of Q by putting the itinerant charismatics of the Sayings Source in line with these itinerant prophets, or is this circularity? Here Tiwald recasts some of his previous arguments: Especially the economic situation in the Galilee at the time of Jesus was more complex than earlier publications had assumed. We have to conclude that *the Galilee of Jesus* as depicted in the New Testament is not representative for the *whole of Galilee in these times.* Quite the contrary, it's the world of the marginalized losers (small farmers, fishers and craftsmen) that the Bible zooms in on, disregarding the wider focus of Hellenistic-Jewish city life and the socially upwardly mobile milieus of those who succeeded in harmonizing Jewish and Hellenistic life. Jesus' primary aim is not a revolution against social injustice but the prophetic announcement of the forthcoming *basileia*. Nevertheless, this *basileia* can only be inherited by the poor, the hungry, and the nonviolent (cf. the Beatitudes, Q 6:20–23.27–28). So Jesus' message cannot be separated from the socio-economic situation in Galilee in these times. The Q-messengers only followed Jesus' emblematic lifestyle. The thesis that village scribes framed the document Q (cf. Kloppenborg, Arnal, Bazzana; especially Bazzana's contribution in this volume) does not stand in opposition to the assumption that itinerant charismatic prophets were the authorities behind the Sayings Source. There certainly was a strong interplay between poor itinerant prophets as *authorities* behind Q and a supporting-group of local residents among which village

scribes might have been the *authors* of Q. The interwoven relationship between these two groups might not only have included providing food and a sleeping-place, but we may assume that it extended to cooperation in the composition of the Sayings Source. Concerning the picture of itinerant charismatics in the Syro-Palestine region, Tiwald opts for opening up the picture by taking into consideration the wandering emissaries of the Johannine Corpus and the itinerant author of Revelation (it is agreed that both have their theological and geographical roots in Syria-Palestine). The ancient Palestinian ethos of poor and itinerant prophets persisted quite tenaciously in the early Church, because it was the "lifestyle of the Lord", the τρόποι κυρίου as *Did.* 11:8 coins it as the dominant criterion for a true prophet.

Giovanni Bazzana's contribution continues along the lines of Tiwald by focussing on *Galilean Village Scribes as the Authors of the Sayings Gospel Q.* Particularly the work of J. Kloppenborg and W. Arnal[2] has helped identify Galilean "village scribes" as the social group responsible for the composition and early circulation of the Greek text of Q. Bazzana's contribution attempts to build on these proposals in order to strengthen and refine the original hypothesis by moving forward in two main directions. Firstly, by referring to a few significant examples, he shows that some features of the linguistic and terminological makeup of Q are in all likelihood dependent on the authors' familiarity with the specific quasi-technical idiom of Greek Hellenistic bureaucracies (cf. point 2 of Moreland's scheme). Secondly, he sketches what the acquaintance with such a variety of Greek may indicate concerning the educational and socio-cultural position of the Q scribes. Bazzana succeeds in demonstrating that Greek was actually employed in Galilee before the Roman conquest and that writing indeed was used for administrative purposes in the Herodian period – contradicting the wrong assumptions of R. Horsley.[3] While Aramaic was certainly the means of communication employed by the majority of the population, it is difficult to build a credible historical scenario in which Greek was not present in the villages, at the very least as merely an administrative language. Surely the Ptolemies introduced Greek in their bureaucracy in the Land of Israel in the third century BCE, as they did in Egypt at the same time, and the Seleucids did not bring about significant changes in this respect. Despite the lack of direct evidence, in all likelihood neither the Hasmonean nor the Herodians changed this state of affairs, in particular if one considers the philo-Hellenic and philo-Roman stance that characterized Herod the Great's reign. Thus, the authors of Q might have oc-

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2 *W. E. Arnal*, Jesus and the Village Scribes. Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q, Minneapolis (MN) 2001, and *J. S. Kloppenborg*, Literary Convention, Self-Evidence, and the Social History of the Q People, in: Semeia 55 (1991) 77–102.

3 *R. A. Horsley*, Introduction, in: Id. (ed.), Oral Performance, Popular Tradition, and Hidden Transcripts in Q, Atlanta 2006, 1–22.

cupied a socio-cultural location similar to that of Egyptian village scribes. They employed Greek for their trade, but most of their lives took place in an environment in which the overwhelming majority of the population spoke only Aramaic. The production of a hybrid text such as the Sayings Gospel (which creatively combines Hellenistic bureaucratic terminology and Jewish traditions) becomes understandable. In particular, it appears that among village scribes the attention to basic rhetorical tropes (such as the *chreia*) and to gnomological literature was very much alive – an observation that has important implications for an understanding of the formation of a text like the Sayings Gospel.

Sarah E. Rollens: Persecution in the Social Setting of Q observes that a pervasive assumption exists that persecution was an integral part of the pre-Constantinian Christian experience – but what "persecution" precisely means is not always clear. When one looks closely, "persecution" is often applied to a range of situations in such a way that the category conflates interactions between early Jesus followers and their contemporary Jews with those between later Christians and imperial authorities. Such classifications, perhaps inadvertently, have the effect of assuming that the treatment of Jesus followers by their Jewish contemporaries was the same sort of social phenomenon as the later legal punishment of Christians by Roman authorities. Nevertheless, in recent publications this perspective is now almost universally rejected: Until the end of the first century, Jesus' followers were widely regarded as another small sect within the complex web of practices and traditions that made up Judaism. Since it is difficult to identify "Jews" and "Christians" as two discrete groups of this period, most now avoid perpetuating the idea that there was any systematic persecution of the early Jesus movements by their Jewish contemporaries. Besides, persecution is not a *thing* or an *object* of inquiry; it is an *interpretation* of conflict and serves rhetorical and social-psychological purposes. For instance, the language of persecution is often closely bound up with attempts to create an identity, specifically a *persecuted* identity. Painting oneself and one's wider group as a victim, especially if that victimhood is part of an on-going narrative of persecution, invests one's identity with authority and grounds it in history. In such cases identity transforms a victim, who experiences violence, into a martyr, who has the power to endure it. Thus, in addition to being a rhetorically valuable tool for constructing identity, there is also a way in which mobilizing a persecuted identity becomes a form of power to many who have been denied access to other, more traditional forms of power such as wealth, status, or political prestige. Especially in the Sayings Source it may well be impossible to separate fact from fiction. Based on the theoretical caveats above, which describe persecution as an *interpretive lens* instead of an *objective phenomenon*, the question should not be: were the Q people persecuted? Instead, we should reframe the issue in terms of what the language of persecution *does* in Q. It is likely that persecution in Q carries out

precisely the functions outlined above: it contributes to Q's sense of identity and provides the authors with a source of authority. This holds especially true for Q 6:22–23. Here the experience of persecution results in a new identity: the audience, like Jesus and those who suffered before him, *are prophets.* If the Q people suffer like the prophets of past and for all intents and purposes *are new incarnations* of those prophets, then their message and interpretation of Jesus must be taken seriously. Suffering is transformed into proof of the validity of Q's teachings. The same is valid for Q 6:27–28, 35. Here the stakes are even higher: if one endures persecution and prays for the persecutors, the reward consists of becoming "sons of the father". Whereas Q 6:22–23 implied that those who suffer would become prophets, Q 6:35 now envisions them as children of God. Similarly in Q 10:5–9, 10–16 the rejected missionaries are interpreted as envoys of Jesus. Thus, whether or not we can conclude anything about the historical circumstances of persecution in first-century Galilee and Judaea, motifs of persecution helped the Q people to present themselves as prophets, as children of God, and as envoys of Jesus, who were authorized and empowered to disseminate Jesus' teachings.

The contribution of *Beate Ego* continues the discussion over tensions between the Q community and other Jewish groups. While S. Rollens had demonstrated that persecution narratives might not have depicted reality one-to-one, Ego focuses on *Different Attitudes to the Temple in Second Temple Judaism – A Fresh Approach to Jesus' Temple Prophecy.* Jesus' temple prophecy does not occur in Q as we have it in Mk 14:58. Instead we have Q 13:34–35: the woe against the temple and the prophecy that God will forsake his house. This note often was taken at face value as an example of the supposed fact that Q already had broken with its Jewish roots and the temple. But as Rollens was able to show with regard to the persecution narratives, Ego now demonstrates with the focus on temple criticism that such polemics eventually followed rhetorical patterns. It is quite probable that Q 13:34–35 adapted the temple-prophecy of Jesus in its own theological way. It is hard to imagine that Q did not know about these Jesuanic *ipsissima facta* (Jesus' temple-prophecy and his temple-action). So it is worth putting Q 13:34–35 in the wider frame of Jesus' own ministry but also into the large picture of early Jewish attitudes towards the temple. During the times of the Maccabees and the Hasmoneans, critique of the temple was widespread and based on the idea that the Second Temple was defiled during the reign of Antiochus IV, by the events during Jonathan's "coup" attaining the position of High Priest (cf. *Jub.* 23:9–32, Apocalypse of Weeks [*1 Enoch* 93:1–9 and 91:11–17], and texts from Qumran), and, according to the author of the Animal Apocalypse, even during a time before the aforementioned events (*1 Enoch* 85–90). It is this line of critique that led to hopes for a new sanctuary in the eschatological era, an idea that of course necessitated the destruction of the actual temple. Besides, in early Judasim the

assumption was common that the earthly temple had a heavenly counterpart. This can be seen in the Book of the Watchers of *1 Enoch*, where Enoch reaches the heavenly sanctuary and views the heavenly throne and God sitting there pronouncing judgment. The so-called "Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice" provide further proof for the existence of the motif of the heavenly sanctuary in early Judaism. This Qumran collection of 13 hymns is dedicated to the praise and worship in the heavenly sanctuary. Within the text of the "Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice", the term "sacrifice" (*t^eruma*) is usually only used in connection with the term "tongue" (*lashon*), which leads to the conclusion that this constitutes a metaphorical use of sacrifice terminology. The heavenly praise is here understood as a kind of sacrifice. The idea of a heavenly temple, which originally was a cosmic concept, could be linked to eschatological hopes. Thus, some traditions from the time of the Second Temple and later, such as *4 Ezra* 13:36, establish a connection between the heavenly sanctuary and the new temple. In the New Testament, the Revelation of John also appears to use such a model for its image of the New Jerusalem, albeit changing it somewhat when stating that the New Jerusalem comes down from heaven and does not contain a temple (Rev 21:22). Thus, Jesus' critique of the temple – and also Q 13:34–35 – might be seen on the backdrop of early Jewish theology. With regard to Q one might conclude: As the temple *logion* appears in close connection to the lament over Jerusalem, this observation supports the thesis that this lament also has to be understood in light of the cultural and religious context of Judaism in the first century CE.

Jodi Magness: "They Shall See the Glory of the Lord" (Isa 35:2): Eschatological Purity at Qumran and in Jesus' Movement tries to show that Jesus and his first followers in Q observed biblical law perfectly – not only with regard to moral laws, but also purity matters. Actually, Jesus' exorcisms and healings as well as his emphasis on moral or ethical behavior should be understood within the context of biblical purity laws. According to early Jewish thought, absolute human purity and perfection were prerequisites for the kingdom of God. This is the reason for the exclusionary bans in the Qumran manuscripts (e.g., in the Rule of the Congregation and the War Scroll), and it explains why the sect was so concerned with the scrupulous observance of these laws. Like Jesus, the Qumran sect anticipated the imminent arrival of the eschaton. But in contrast to Jesus, the Qumran sect effected this by excluding the blemished and impure from the sectarian assembly. Jesus' exorcising of demons, healing of the sick, and raising of the dead are presented as signs that the kingdom of God has arrived, as we can see in Q (e.g., Lk 7:20–22 = Mt 11:2–5: "the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, the poor have good news brought to them"). This suggests that rather than rejecting ritual purification, Jesus took it for granted. Like the Qumran sect, Jesus and his Q followers assumed that all creatures entering God's presence must be absolutely

pure and perfect. Therefore, Jesus' exorcisms and healings were intended to enable those suffering from diseases, physical deformities and disabilities, and "unclean spirits" or demonic possession to enter the kingdom of God. Whereas Jesus' attitude towards the diseased and disabled can be characterized as inclusive and proactive, the Qumran sect was exclusive and reactive. Jesus' healings and exorcisms were intended to enable the diseased and disabled to enter the coming kingdom of God, not to exclude them. The eschatological dimension of Jesus' exorcisms is expressed clearly in another Q passage: "But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come to you." (Lk 11:20 = Mt 12:28). However, 4Q521 (the "Messianic Apocalypse"), which might not be a sectarian work, displays striking parallels to the Gospel accounts, and in particular to Q: Both 4Q521 and Q contain references to healing the blind, raising the dead, and preaching to the poor that are drawn from Isa 35:5; 29:18; 26:19; 61:1 and Ps 146:1–8. These commonalities might indicate that there was a common Jewish tradition that describes the time of salvation. – In the discussion following Magness' paper, G. Theißen noted, that he himself already had formulated a similar thesis regarding Jesus' proactive purity and inclusive holiness:[4] Not impurity is contagious, but the purity of the upcoming basileia permeates everything, like – according to Q 13:21 – a piece of yeast leavens the whole flour. This position has been followed by Loader, Avemarie, and Tiwald.[5] J. Magness has now demonstrated the validity of such assumptions by crosschecking these concepts with ideas in the Qumran manuscripts.

The contribution by *Tal Ilan: The Women of the Q Community within Early Judaism* concludes this chapter and focuses our attention on the question as to how we are to imagine the position of women in the Sayings Source. Actually, this question already has been discussed extensively, e.g., by L. Schottroff or by E. Schüssler-Fiorenza.[6] But for T. Ilan these old theses have to be revisited within the

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4 *G. Theißen/A. Merz*, Der historische Jesus, Göttingen ²1997, 380: "'offensive Reinheit' und 'inklusive Heiligkeit', die den Kontakt mit dem Unheiligen nicht scheut". Cf. also *G. Theißen*, Das Reinheitslogion Mk 7,15 und die Trennung von Juden und Christen, in: K. Wengst/G. Saß (ed.), Ja und nein: Christliche Theologie im Angesicht Israels (FS W. Schrage), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1998, 235–51, 242. With this thesis Theißen adapted an older position of *K. Berger*, Jesus als Pharisäer und frühe Christen als Pharisäer, in: NT 30 (1988) 231–262, 238–248.

5 *W. Loader*, Jesus' Attitude towards the Law (WUNT 2/97), Tübingen 1997, 523, mentions Jesus' "inclusiveness". *F. Avemarie*, Jesus and Purity, in: R. Bieringer et al. (ed.), The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature, Leiden 2010, 255–279, 276 and 279, talks about "dynamic purity" exactly in this sense. *M. Tiwald*, Art. Gesetz, in: L. Bormann (ed.), Neues Testament. Zentrale Themen, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2014, 295–314, 299–300, points out that, according to an early Jewish theologumenon, in eschatological times the protological holiness and the prelapsarian integrity of Israel will be restored. Thus, Jesus only followed such conceptions by declaring that the upcoming *basileia* would reestablish holiness and integrity for all Israelites.

6 *L. Schottroff*, Itinerary Prophetesses: A Feminist Analysis of the Sayings Source Q, in: The Gospel behind the Gospel. Current Studies on Q (Sup. NT 75), Leiden 1995; *E. Schüssler-*

wider frame of early Judaism. Here some older points of view might no longer be congruent within a Jewish-Palestinian context of the Roman period. Ilan now thoroughly examines the Jewish contexts of literature, sociology, and finally theology. 1) The literary genre of parallel parables, positing a male and a female protagonist, is probably not an innovation of Jesus or of the Q source, for it has parallels in near-contemporary Jewish sources and thus comes from the Jewish background of Q. The use of such imagery was used neutrally (as in the Mishnah), but already in Jewish circles it was also used to draw moralistic conclusions about social justice. In this Q is not foreign to its Jewish roots. 2) The Q community was not especially anti-patriarchal. Q was a sect. Anti-familial sayings in Q are about loyalty to the sect, not about dissolving the patriarchal household. In this it is not different from the Dead Sea Sect, which also demanded from its members loyalty over and against family ties. 3) It is doubtful that Q had a Sophia theology, because the references to her in Q do not yet signify a theology, and certainly not to a goddess-like figure in a monotheistic religion. Perhaps the Q community had no qualms representing God with feminine similes in their parables, but in this too it was deeply rooted in its Jewish context – as can be seen in Jewish Midrashim. Thus, Ilan concludes: "All this together may make Q less feminist than some feminists would have liked us to think, but it certainly makes it more Jewish."

Part III: Opening up the Horizon – Q in the Context of Ancient Diaspora

As we have seen previously (cf. the contributions of Theißen and Tiwald), the Q-movement and itinerancy have to be seen in the wider horizon of Syria and perhaps even Asia Minor. *Paul Trebilco: Early Jewish Communities in Asia Minor and the Early Christian Movement* comes in here and focuses on the similarities and differences between Jewish and Christian communities in Asia Minor and considers the various ways in which these two groups of communities interacted. In this way he widens the horizons of our discussion from Palestine to Asia Minor, and helps us to put the Palestinian picture into a wider frame. For Jewish but also for Christian communities we can detect various links between the communities in Asia Minor and Jerusalem. Jews paid the Temple tax and went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Similary early Christians had connections to Jerusalem or Palestine. It is very likely that there was significant movement to and fro for both Jews and Christians. It is also obvious that someone travelled with Q from Palestine to wherever Luke and Matthew wrote their Gospels. And, given this

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Fiorenza, In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins, New York 1983.

evidence for interconnectedness, the suggestion that both the author of the Fourth Gospel (and for some, the community to which he belonged) and John the author of Revelation had earlier in their lives been resident in Palestine or Syria and had then travelled to Asia Minor (notably Ephesus) is entirely credible (cf. the contribution of Tiwald in this volume, focussing on itinerancy and mobility). Thus early Judaism as well as early Christianity in Asia Minor (and elsewhere) understood themselves to be interconnected and to "belong together" as a network of groups. Points of difference between Jewish and Christian social structures might be seen in the perception of ethnicity. Jewish ethnicity was a very significant factor of Jewish identity in Asia Minor. By contrast, within Christian groups in Asia Minor ethnicity was not a salient feature and it is clear from a range of documents that early Christian groups were made up of both Jew and Gentile. As far as interactions between Jewish and Christian communities are concerned, we have to consider that Christian groups at the very beginning of the movement were regularly formed from within the Jewish community. In the earliest period, Gentiles would have understood themselves to be joining a Jewish group. Outsiders would also have seen Christians as a Jewish group. But as the Christian groups became increasingly Gentile and as the Jewish and Christian groups became increasingly separate, the Christian groups grew away from Jewish communities and their context increasingly became the city. In return, there is very little evidence that the Christian groups formed the context for the Jewish communities, at least not in the first and second centuries CE. As far as we can tell, the general impact of the growing Christian movement on the Jewish communities was small. On the other hand, we have some evidence for the influence of Jewish communities on Christian groups. A key example of this comes from the Synod of Laodicea (c. 363 CE), which related to Christians in Asia. Its Canons prohibited Christians from practising their religion with Jews, in particular, "celebrating festivals with them", "keeping the Sabbath", and "eating unleavened bread" during the Passover. This is highly revealing and indicates significant Jewish influence on the life of Christian communities in the mid-fourth century, influence that the Council was seeking to combat. It also shows the appeal of Judaism to many Christians, and suggests that, even in the fourth century, there was at times a blurring of the boundary lines between Jewish and Christian communities.

Part I: **Archeological Findings in Relevance to the Sayings Source**

Lee I. Levine

The Ancient Synagogue in First-Century Palestine

The synagogue, one of the unique and innovative Jewish institutions of antiquity, was central to Judaism and left indelible marks on both Christianity and Islam as well. As the Jewish public space par excellence, the synagogue was invariably the largest and most monumental building in any given Jewish community, often located in the center of a town or village. In the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, the term *synagōgē* (συναγωγή, "place of assembly") was used to refer to the community at large, its central building, or both. Luke uses the term in the same chapter (Acts 13:14, 43) to denote both meanings, as do the Jews of Berenice in one of their inscriptions. In Asia Minor, Rome, and Judaea,[1] the term "synagogue" referred to a building, although several inscriptions from Bosphorus clearly intended the community.[2] In some Diaspora communities, as well as one in Tiberias, the synagogue was referred to as *proseuche* (προσευχή, "place of prayer").[3]

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1 We use the name Judaea for the pre-70 period, as this was the official title of the Roman province at the time. Only in the wake of the Bar-Kokhba revolt in 135 CE did Hadrian rename it Syria-Palaestina, a change that is reflected in the use of the name Palestine. However, the name Judaea had a dual meaning in the pre-70 era – a limited reference to the southern part of the country (as against Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea) and a broader one relating to the entire province. See *M. Stern*, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism, 3 vols., Jerusalem 1974–1984, vol. 1, 233–234, 290; vol. 2, 11–15, 168–170, 217–220; *L. H. Feldman*, Some Observations on the Name of Palestine, in: HUCA 61 (1990) 6–14; and *E. Schürer*, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135), rev. ed., 3 vols., Edinburgh 1973–1987), vol. 1, 514. We shall distinguish between the two meanings by using the spelling "Judea" for the more limited geographical area and "Judaea" for the province as a whole.

2 *L. I. Levine*, The Ancient Synagogue. The First Thousand Years, rev. 2nd ed., New Haven 2005, 81–134.

3 In Bosphorus, Egypt, and Delos, this word was used in reference to the building. For other terms referring to the synagogue, particularly in the Diaspora, see *L. I. Levine*, The Second Temple Synagogue. The Formative Years, in: Id. (ed.), The Synagogue in Late Antiquity, Philadelphia 1987, 13–14. For the suggestion that the term "synagogue" might on occasion refer to a semi-public voluntary association such as the Essenes, see *A. Runesson*, The Origins of the Synagogue. A Socio-Historical Study, Stockholm 2001, Chap. 3 and especially pp. 129–134.

The term "synagogue" will be used here to refer to the Second Temple-period communal building whose various functions were primarily of a religious nature on the Sabbath but focused on general communal activities during the week. It is entirely possible that early on some communities met somewhere other than in a separate building (e. g., in the town square or in a private home). Whatever the case, from the second century CE on the term "synagogue" regularly designated a public building in which both communal and religious activities were held.

No pre-70 source systematically addresses the nature or functions of the Judaean synagogue. In contrast to the Jerusalem Temple, the synagogue merited relatively little attention; we have only a few sources describing how synagogues functioned,[4] where they were located, or how they looked – aspects for which Josephus and the Mishnah supply a plethora of information (albeit contradictory at times) regarding the Temple.[5] To the best of our knowledge, the synagogue in the pre-70 era had no halakhic or religious standing; it was first and foremost a communal institution and, as such, merited no special status and consequently little attention in our sources.

Almost a score of synagogues is attested for first-century Judaea.[6] In the literary sources they are mentioned only *en passant* within the agenda of each particular narrative. Josephus notes synagogues in Tiberias, Dor, and Caesarea with regard to political incidents; the New Testament, in Nazareth, Capernaum, and Jerusalem with respect to Jesus and his activities on Sabbath mornings; as well as in assorted rabbinic traditions and the Damascus Document. Archaeological evidence for the first-century synagogue is attested at five sites in the southern part of Judaea: Masada, Herodium, Jerusalem (the Theodotos inscription from the City of David), Qiryat Sefer, and Modi'in (the latter two in western Judea), and possibly also Ḥorvat 'Etri, south of Bet Shemesh (Fig. 1).[7]

As for the Galilee and Golan in the north, first-century synagogues were discovered at three sites – Gamla, Magdala, and presumably Khirbet Qana; proposed synagogues at several other sites are less certain – Capernaum, Chorazin, and a second site at Magdala.[8]

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4 See especially the Theodotos inscription from first-century Jerusalem: *J. S. Kloppenborg Verbin*, Dating Theodotos (CIJ II 1404), in: JJS 51 (2000) 243–280.

5 *L. I. Levine*, Josephus' Description of the Jerusalem Temple. War, Antiquities, and Other Sources, in: F. Parente/J. Sievers (ed.), Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period, Leiden 1994, 233–246.

6 *Levine*, Ancient Synagogue (n. 2) 45–80.

7 On the problematic suggestion of a Second Temple-period synagogue in Jericho, see *Levine*, Ancient Synagogue (n. 2) 72–74.

8 *L. I. Levine*, The Synagogues of the Galilee, in: D. Fiensy/J. R. Strange (ed.), Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods, vol. 1: Life, Culture and Society, Minneapolis (MN) 2014, 129–150.

The synagogue's origins remain shrouded in mystery, and theories abound as to when it emerged, with suggestions regarding virtually every century in the first millennium BCE.[9] However, when synagogues do finally appear in the full light of history during the first centuries BCE and CE, they are already central, well-developed institutions in Jewish life and are recognized as such by the Roman authorities.

As this conference is devoted to Jesus, his sayings, and the New Testament setting, much of what follows will focus on the early synagogue in Judaea and especially that of first-century Galilee.

We will begin our discussion of synagogues by briefly describing two sites on either side of the Sea of Galilee. The first is Gamla, above its eastern shore (i. e., in the Golan), excavated some 45 years ago and arguably the best preserved of first-century Judaean synagogues; the second was recently discovered at Magdala, located on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, north of Tiberias, and features a uniquely decorated stone.

Gamla

Gamla is the earliest synagogue to have been excavated in the Golan and also the only building to be identified as a synagogue in this region before 70 CE.[10] The building had one phase, which was probably constructed in the early first century CE,[11] although a mid-first century BCE foundation some time between Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE) and Herod (37–4 BCE) was first suggested by its excavator, Shmarya Gutmann.

The synagogue's architecturally impressive structure (Fig. 2), located adjacent to the town's eastern wall and measuring 21.5 x 17.5 m, is positioned on a northeast-southwest axis. The length of the hall's northern and southern walls is approximately 19.7 meters and that of its eastern and western walls is 16.3 meters.

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9 *Levine*, Ancient Synagogue (n. 2) 21–44.

10 *S. Gutmann*, Gamala, in: E. Stern (ed.), The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, 5 vols., Jerusalem 1993–2008, vol. 2, 460–462; *Z. U. Ma'oz*, The Architecture of Gamla and Her Buildings, in: E. Schiller (ed.), Z. Vilnay Jubilee Volume, Jerusalem 1987, vol. 2, 152–154 (Hebrew); and *Z. Ilan*, Ancient Synagogues in Israel, Tel Aviv 1991, 73–74 (Hebrew); *Z. Yavor/D. Syon*, Gamla. The Shmarya Gutmann Excavations, 1976–1989, vol. 2: The Architecture (Israel Antiquities Authority Reports 44), Jerusalem 2010, 40–61, 189–191. See also *D. D. Binder*, Into the Temple Courts. The Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period, Atlanta 1999, 162–172. The building's dimensions differ somewhat in each of the above publications; I have followed those of Yavor and Syon.

11 See, however, *Z. U. Ma'oz*, Four Notes on the Excavations at Gamala, in: TA 39 (2012) 236, who dates the synagogue to ca. 50 CE and the adjacent *miqveh* to 66–67 CE, during the preparations for the war against the Romans.

A square niche that may have been used for the storage of Torah scrolls was found in the northern wall; three entrances were found: one giving access to the northern upper level; a second, larger, one leading directly into the main hall from the middle of the western wall; and a third opening onto the eastern aisle.

Columns in front of a series of stone benches encircled the main hall, and an aisle ran along the walls behind the benches (Fig. 3). In front of the columns was an unpaved hall with a single row of stones laid in a north-south direction on its eastern side, dividing the room disproportionately into two thirds and one third. The purpose of this row of stones remains undetermined (liturgical, communal, or a combination of the two). An additional single bench abutted the eastern wall of the building, and similar ones may have run along the other walls as well. The orientation of the hall was clearly toward its center. A small plastered basin (for washing hands?) in the eastern aisle was fed by a channel that cut into the eastern wall.

No inscriptions were discovered in the building, and the only artistic depiction is a highly stylized palm tree carved into a stone block. East of the main hall is a complex of auxiliary rooms, one of which contained benches and gave access to the main hall, leading the excavator to suggest that it may have served as a study hall or meeting room.

Just outside the synagogue's main (western) entrance was a series of rooms (a vestibule, exedra, and service areas), and further west a *miqveh* (ritual bath) and a plastered basin (perhaps an *otzar* containing ritually pure water). A stepped cistern just outside this entrance may have been used as a *miqveh* as well.

Magdala (Migdal)

Excavations conducted between 2009 and 2013 by Dina Avshalom-Gorni and Arfan Najar at Magdala uncovered a building widely acknowledged to have been a synagogue.[12] The building dates to the first century CE and contains two large rooms, a long and narrow vestibule, and a main hall measuring 120 sq. meters with an entrance presumably from the west (Fig. 4). The rectangular hall was surrounded by a raised aisle having what appear to be benches along all four sides. The eastern part of the hall contains the remains of a mosaic floor displaying a rosette motif surrounded by two meander designs. Remains of stylobates, as well as fragments of two basalt columns standing on them in situ and

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12 Owing to the absence of a final report at this time, the following information is based largely on the Israel Antiquities' Authority's press release dated September 2013: http://www.antiquities.org.il/article_Item_eng.asp?sec_id=25&subj_id=240&id=1601&module_id=#as (accessed 20 April, 2015).

fragments of a third column on the floor, were also found in the hall. Its walls and columns exhibit colored fresco paintings. Southwest of this hall is a small room divided into two spaces by a partition wall. This room, with a colored fresco decorating its walls and a mosaic on its floor, may have been used for storage.

The *pièce de résistance* of this excavation, however, is an almost rectangular limestone block standing on short legs measuring about a half-meter on each of its long sides (0.4 and 0.6 m) and 0.3 m high (Fig. 5). It was found in the middle of the floor but its function is unclear. Suggestions put forth to date include: a platform for a chair, a lectern for reading the Torah, and a table for a prayer leader. The stone is decorated on all four sides; its top and sides exhibit geometric, architectural, and floral patterns, but the front short side of the stone features a seven-branched menorah with a triangular base standing on a square platform and flanked by two amphoras. Focusing especially on the menorah and amphora motifs, it has been suggested that the stone's decorations are related to the Jerusalem Temple.[13] This is the only instance of the menorah, an ubiquitous religious symbol in synagogue settings of Late Antiquity, being displayed in a pre-70 building.

Some Social and Religious Aspects of the First-Century Synagogue

What can we learn about the pre-70 synagogue from the archaeological remains and from the textual evidence?

1. While far from identical, these first-century synagogue buildings, as well as others from Judea in the southern part of the country, shared a number of common characteristics. The structure itself, larger than the other buildings at each site, featured a central hall surrounded by benches and columns on three or four sides, thereby placing the focus on the center of the room (Fig. 6). This was radically different from synagogue buildings in the third through seventh centuries, which, with but few exceptions, were oriented outward, usually toward Jerusalem.[14]

   First-century structures were clearly intended to serve as communal settings such as social or political gatherings, designed so that participants could speak, listen, and view each other easily. There was no designated seating for leaders, no inscriptions, no statement of synagogue sanctity, and, with the exception of Magdala, no depictions of artistic remains or religious symbols.

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13 See *M. Aviam*, The Decorated Stone from the Synagogue at Migdal. A Holistic Interpretation and a Glimpse into the Life of Galilean Jews at the Time of Jesus, in: NT 55 (2013) 205–220, in which his interpretations are creative yet unsubstantiated and speculative.

14 *Levine*, Ancient Synagogue (n. 2) 326–330.

Thus, by the first century CE, when the synagogue appears in archaeological and literary sources, it had already become the dominant institution on the local Jewish scene, and this holds true for both the Diaspora and Judaea, excepting, of course, pre-70 Jerusalem. Jewish communities throughout the empire met for some or all of the following purposes – political and social events, worship, study, holding court, administering punishment, organizing sacred meals, collecting charitable donations, and housing communal archives and a library.[15] No other institution that might have competed with the synagogue for communal prominence and centrality is ever noted in the sources.

Given this multifunctional agenda, it is understandable that the architectural model for synagogues throughout Judaea approximated that of the Hellenistic *bouleuteria* or *ecclesiasteria*, which likewise served the needs of a specific population (Fig. 7). The events in Tiberias at the outbreak of the revolt in 66 CE emphasize unequivocally the pivotal role that the local synagogue (as noted, termed here *proseuche*) played as a setting for important communal deliberations (Jos., *Life* 277–303). On this occasion, the synagogue fulfilled several roles simultaneously – both as a place of worship and a setting for political debates. The centrality of this communal dimension is also evidenced in the events that transpired around the synagogue at Dor (*Ant.* 19: 299–311) and Caesarea (*J.W.* 2:266–270; 284–292; *Ant.* 20:173–178, 182–184), where the building became a target of anti-Jewish activity.

2. The first-century synagogue is also characterized by each community's responsibility for all aspects of the institution – its construction, operation, and maintenance. This also would have held true for synagogues in the villages and towns with which Jesus had contact, although in some instances, particularly in urban contexts, the local aristocracy may have taken an active and even dominant role. Our information in this regard comes primarily from sources of Late Antiquity, given the plethora of inscriptions and rabbinic texts that point explicitly to such a reality. In the village of Tarbanat (near modern-day Afula), for example, the congregation dismissed a rabbinic teacher (*sofer*) for ignoring its request about how the weekly Torah-reading portion was to be read or translated into the vernacular during services,[16] and at about the same

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15 *Levine*, Ancient Synagogue (n. 2) 139–143, 380–411. With regard to Sardis, for example, Jos., *Ant.* 14:235, notes: "Jewish citizens of ours have come to me and pointed out that from the earliest times they have had an association of their own in accordance with their native laws and a place of their own, in which they decide their affairs and controversies with one another."

16 See *y. Meg.* 4, 5, 75b: "R. Simeon the *sofer* of Tarbanat. The villagers said to him: 'Pause between your words (either when reading the Torah or rendering the *targum*), so that we may relate this to our children'. He went and asked [the advice of] R. Ḥanina, who said to him:

time a synagogue congregation in Caesarea made an autonomous decision that the *Shemaʿ*, one of the most important prayers, was to be recited in Greek.[17] In both cases the rabbis' opinions were considered irrelevant, presumably because these congregations were accustomed to managing their own internal affairs, including liturgical matters. Similarly, there is no basis for assuming that national political leaders of the late Second Temple period (e.g., the Hasmoneans or Herodians) had any involvement (or even interest) in the local synagogue, nor is there any indication that synagogue behavior was influenced in any way by contemporary sects.[18]

3. Although clearly secondary in terms of the broader *raison d'être* of the first-century synagogue, the religious dimension was nevertheless an important component in the New Testament's narrative concerning this institution. And, indeed, the clear-cut proclivity of all the contemporary literary sources – from Philo and Josephus to the New Testament and rabbinic literature – was to emphasize the synagogue's religious dimension, to the exclusion of virtually all other aspects of this institution. The Gospels' focus on Jesus' preaching and teaching there, and Luke's description of his involvement in a Nazareth synagogue, are extremely valuable accounts not only of the Sabbath-morning liturgy, but also of Jesus' religious agenda as reflected in his sermon. Of interest in this regard is the fact that the above-mentioned Theodotos inscription notes the religious-educational aspects of the synagogue before its social and communal ones.[19]

    However, even political non-religious agendas impinged on Sabbath gatherings. It is not surprising, then, that the Sabbath assembly of Caesarean Jews in their synagogue provided the setting for a demonstrative provocation by their non-Jewish neighbors, while the Tiberian *proseuche* hosted tense communal meetings on both the Sabbath and a fast-day regarding whether or not to join in the revolt of 66 CE.

    Given the penchant of our literary sources to highlight the religious aspects of

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'Even if they [threaten to] cut off your head, do not listen to them'. And he (R. Simeon) did not take heed (of the congregants' request), and they dismissed him from his position as *sofer*."

17 See *y. Soṭ.* 7, 1, 21b: "R. Levi bar Ḥiyta went to Caesarea. He heard voices reciting the *Shemaʿ* in Greek (and) wished to stop them. R. Yosi heard (of this) and became angry. He said, 'Thus I would say: Whoever does not know how to read it in Hebrew should not recite it (the *Shemaʿ*) at all? Rather, he can fulfill the commandment in any language he knows'."

18 *S. J. D. Cohen*, Were Pharisees and Rabbis the Leaders of Communal Prayer and Torah Study in Antiquity? The Evidence of the New Testament, Josephus, and the Church Fathers, in: W. G. Dever/J. E. Wright (ed.), The Echoes of Many Texts. Reflections on Jewish and Christian Traditions (FS L. H. Silberman), Atlanta 1997; repr. in: H. C. Kee/L. H. Cohick (ed.), Evolution of the Synagogue Problems and Progress, Harrisburg 1999, 89–105; *Levine*, Ancient Synagogue (n. 2) 40–41.

19 See *Kloppenborg Verbin*, Dating Theodotos (n. 4) 243–280.

the institution, the archaeological remains reviewed above serve as an important corrective. The buildings themselves are neutral structures with no notable religious components: no inscriptions attesting to the sacred status of the building; no religious art or symbols (Magdala excepted); no orientation toward Jerusalem; and no permanent Torah ark. The Torah scrolls and ark were presumably mobile, introduced into the main hall only for the Torah-reading ceremony and removed thereafter. In short, the first-century synagogue's architecture did not have the decidedly religious profile that it was to acquire in Late Antiquity. The religious dimension, so central to the accounts in the literary sources, especially the Gospels, is clearly absent from the archaeological remains. Moreover, given the fact that the first-century Judaean synagogue did not seem to enjoy any particular religious status, it is possible that at this time the synagogue functioned primarily as a multipurpose community center, with a significant religious component evident only on Sabbaths and holidays.[20]

How, then, might one account for this discrepancy, if not incongruity, between the literary and archaeological materials, or, to phrase the matter somewhat differently, between the communal and religious dimensions of the synagogue? Does each type of source emphasize merely what is most appropriate and of interest to the creators of that source – the physical remains to the general Jewish community and the texts to those with a specific religious agenda? If so, we are then confronted with the fact that the authors of the New Testament, who were specifically interested in religious-theological matters, invoked synagogue settings to further their agenda while those who built and maintained the synagogue buildings (i.e., the local congregations) focused on the communal setting.

4. Given the two central dimensions of the synagogue just described, we can now appreciate all the more the institution's diachronic and synchronic dimensions and the need to integrate these components in order to gain a fuller understanding and appreciation of the institution's functions and overall profile. On the one hand, the synagogue cannot be understood without recognizing its Jewish dimension, which was clearly rooted in Second Temple Judaism; on the other, the synagogue cannot be separated from its Greco-Roman setting and the non-Jewish institutional models that may well have impacted upon it.

Given the presence of these two dimensions, which was more decisive in shaping the first-century synagogue? Was it essentially Jewish, having evolved from earlier Judaean settings and thus reflecting a continuity with the past (such as a Temple model or the gathering in the village square for reading the

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20 *Levine*, Ancient Synagogue (n. 2) 135–173, 381–411, and the bibliography there.

Torah)? Or, as has been suggested, was the synagogue essentially a Greco-Roman institution emerging from the surrounding culture and functioning in many similar ways?

While the above alternatives have been discussed for generations, one distinction seems quite clear. The religious functions of the synagogue seem to have constituted uniquely Jewish practices, such as reading from the Torah and the Prophets (*haftarah*), delivering sermons, instruction, and perhaps offering a translation of the Torah from Hebrew into the vernacular (*targum*). Moreover, the wide range of communal functions mentioned earlier may indeed reflect the needs of the Jewish community well before the Hellenistic-Roman era, as far back as the city-gate setting of the biblical period.[21]

In contrast, the more external elements – whether institutional, organizational, or architectural – were largely influenced by contemporary non-Jewish institutions. Throughout history, Jews were never in the forefront of determining the architectural or artistic traditions they eventually employed. This reality is vividly demonstrated in the Tel Aviv University's exhibit in the Museum of the Diaspora (soon to be renamed the Museum of the Jewish People) of twenty-or-so miniatures of synagogues from Dura Europos in the third century to twentieth-century buildings in the western world.

Thus, we may safely assume that the ancient synagogue included elements from both the Jewish past as well as contemporary Greco-Roman culture, with varying syntheses depending upon the different settings and locations of early Jewish communities. Of late, however, several rather ambitious, comprehensive, yet debatable suggestions have been put forth as to whether the synagogue was a strictly Jewish invention or whether it followed an exclusive Greco-Roman model.

Donald Binder has argued that all aspects of the synagogue were Jewishly inspired and that they were in every way an extension of the Jerusalem Temple.[22] However, the evidence for such an assertion is slim, at best (we shall revisit this argument and its weaknesses below).[23] At the same time, some scholars suggest a close connection between the synagogue and the Greco-Roman *collegium*, a private voluntary association based on common geographical origins, commercial interests, religious affiliation, mutual aid, dining and burial needs, or a combination thereof.[24]

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21 *Levine*, Ancient Synagogue (n. 2) 28–44.
22 *Binder*, Into the Temple Courts (n. 10) passim.
23 For a more detailed critique, see *Lee I. Levine*, The First Century Synagogue. Critical Reassessments and Assessments of the Critical, in: D. R. Edwards (ed.), Religion and Society in Roman Palestine. Old Questions, New Approaches, London 2004, 81–84.
24 *P. Richardson*, Early Synagogues as Collegia in the Diaspora and Palestine, in: J. S. Klop-

However, truth be told, the synagogue differed from these Greco-Roman frameworks in many ways. In the first place, the Roman authorities themselves clearly differentiated between the two, being far more tolerant of the synagogue than of other religious or ethnic associations; the latter institutions were often banned by the authorities while the Jewish community remained unaffected. Moreover, many of the privileges granted to Jewish communities were not accorded to contemporary *collegia*. Thus, application of the term *collegium* to the synagogue seems to have been one of Roman convenience (the synagogue is never referred to as such in Jewish sources) and is not necessarily reflective of the synagogue's specific legal and political standing or its institutional scope.[25]

5. The question has often been raised as to whether the Gospels accurately reflect the activities of first-century Galilean synagogues. True enough, the term *synagōgē* was used exclusively in all sources relating to first-century Judaea, including the Galilee – with the exception of Tiberias, where, as noted, it was called *proseuche*.

For many scholars, however, the historical value of these Gospel narratives has been questioned. It has been suggested that most, if not all, of the Gospels were in fact written in the Diaspora decades later and therefore may reflect a late first-century CE Diaspora reality with which the authors were familiar and which they then projected onto the earlier Galilean scene.[26] Moreover, the diverse literary and theological agendas of the different Gospels have raised doubts as to the material's historical credibility; finally, there appear to be some differences in synagogue practice between that described in Jesus' time and the later Diaspora situation. For one, Luke has Jesus sitting when he delivers his sermon in Nazareth (4:16–20) while Acts 13:13–16 describes Paul as standing.

Such skepticism should be regarded with extreme caution in the case of the Galilean synagogue. Although the New Testament writings (the Gospels and Acts) most relevant to the subject at hand may have originated in the Diaspora, they are not so distant chronologically from Jesus' setting; the difference between the Gospels' composition in the latter half of the first or even the early second century CE on the one hand, and Jesus' public career ca. 30 CE on the other, is but a generation or two. Furthermore, the extent to which a Diaspora setting had influence on these accounts remains unclear. The Gospels, no matter when or where they were written, report much the same information regarding the Galilean synagogue. This coincidence may be ex-

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penborg/S. G. Wilson (ed.), Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World, London/New York 1996, 90–109.

25 *Levine*, First Century Synagogue (n. 23) 73–77.

26 See, e.g., *H. Kee*, The Transformation of the Synagogue after 70 CE. Its Import for Early Christianity, in: NTS 36 (1990) 18.

plained by assuming that Diaspora synagogues – whether in Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, or Asia Minor, where the various gospels were most likely composed – shared many similar features. However, as demonstrated elsewhere, this was not the case universally, as Diaspora synagogues varied considerably from region to region.[27] Moreover, even were we to assume some sort of overriding unity among the far-flung first-century Diaspora synagogues, is it possible that Galilean and Judaean synagogues generally also shared this commonality?

Finally, not only the New Testament, but other sources from this period as well, share a significant degree of similarity regarding the religious dimension of the synagogues in Judaea and the Diaspora; as Acts refers to Diaspora Jewry's synagogues in Jerusalem, this focus is also reflected in rabbinic literature and the Theodotos inscription.[28] The centrality of scriptural readings in the synagogue (as noted in Luke 4) is noted by Philo, Josephus, several early rabbinic traditions (for example, *t. Meg.* 3, ed. Lieberman, p. 353–364), and the Theodotos inscription, and was considered the most distinctive religious characteristic of synagogues everywhere (Fig. 8).[29]

6. We will now return to the theory purporting a close relationship between the Jerusalem Temple and the first-century synagogue. As mentioned above (no. 4), Binder has asserted that the synagogue was an extension of the Temple in every possible way with regard to its functions, officials, liturgy, architecture, sanctity, and art.[30] Yet, as has been argued elsewhere, evidence to support this assertion is partial, at best.[31] Synagogue sanctity, which is a central issue in Binder's presentation, is indicated for only a small number of Diaspora sites but is never clearly attested for any Judaean ones, arguably with the exception of Dor and Tiberias. Moreover, efforts to interpret a number of passages from Josephus that mention ἱερά (*hiera*, temples; e.g., *J.W.* 4:406–409) as referring to Judaean synagogues (as against pagan temples) and their sanctity are rather far fetched.

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27 *Levine*, Ancient Synagogue (n. 2) 81–134.

28 *Levine*, Ancient Synagogue (n. 2) 57–59.

29 The fact that the Gospel writers have been characterized of late – probably correctly – less as historians and more as theologians and literary writers should not be given undue weight for our particular purposes; see *H. Conzelmann*, The Theology of St. Luke, Philadelphia (PA) 1961, 34–38; *C. H. Talbert*, Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts, Missoula (MN) 1974; contra *H. Anderson*, Broadening Horizons. The Rejection at Nazareth Pericope of Luke 4:16–30 in Light of Recent Critical Trends, in: Interpretation 18 (1964) 259–274. It is safe to assume that even those writers using "historical" data in a supposedly biographical or theological narrative (e.g., Luke-Acts) would include as much reliable data as possible to make their accounts convincing and compelling. So, for example, Luke 1:1–4: "It seems good to me to write an orderly account."

30 See *Binder*, Into the Temple Courts (n. 10) passim.

31 See *Levine*, First Century Synagogue (n. 23) 81–84.

Binder's main claim, that synagogues everywhere were patterned after the Temple, is indeed revolutionary but, unfortunately, difficult to substantiate because solid corroborative evidence is virtually nonexistent. When all is said and done, the Temple and the synagogue were very different institutions: The Temple embodied the quintessence of holiness in Judaism, while the synagogue was referred to by only one third-century sage as "a diminished sanctuary" (*b. Meg.* 29a); the Temple focused on sacrifice, the synagogue on Torah reading and prayer; the Temple demanded silence during the cultic ritual, the synagogue featured a variety of public recitations; the Temple required a hierarchical priestly leadership, the synagogue was community oriented and many of its members participated in its liturgy. Owing to the paucity of material, it is therefore difficult to marshal enough evidence to substantiate the theory that synagogues were essentially extensions of the Temple.

Contrary to Binder's approach, Paul Flesher argues that the synagogue and Temple were diametrically opposed religious institutions.[32] Having accepted the theory of an Egyptian (and not Judaean) origin for the synagogue, and that only later the synagogue was imported into Judaea, Flesher maintains that the synagogues in Judaea are attested in literary and archaeological sources for the Galilee and elsewhere, but not for Jerusalem and its environs. The reason for this, he claims, is that the synagogue could not strike roots in Judea itself because of the Temple's overwhelming presence and prominence,[33] and also because the "Judaisms" of these religious institutions were very different. Flesher substantiates this by noting that only those Jerusalem synagogues specifically noted in our sources were founded by or catered to the Diaspora communities that presumably brought these institutions with them from abroad. Indeed, the fact that our sources note only Diaspora-related synagogues in Jerusalem is worthy of consideration. Whether this should lead to Flesher's particular theory or whether the paucity of sources should caution against drawing far-reaching conclusions in this regard continues to divide scholars.[34]

That the Temple and synagogue represented two different Judaisms, per Flesher, is certainly questionable. The fine line between two streams of Ju-

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32 *P. V. M. Flesher*, Palestinian Synagogues before 70 CE. A Review of the Evidence, in: D. Urman/P. V. M. Flesher (ed.), Ancient Synagogues. Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery, Leiden 1995, vol. 1, 27–39.

33 In this respect, Flesher has been proven wrong by archaeological discoveries subsequent to his article. First-century synagogues have been found in Modiʻin and Qiryat Sefer, both sites in western Judea; see *Levine*, Ancient Synagogue (n. 2) 69–70.

34 *Levine*, First Century Synagogue (n. 23) 83–84. See Acts 22:19, 24:12, and 26:11 for general references to Jerusalem synagogues.

daism on the one hand, and two institutions playing different but perhaps complementary roles within an all-encompassing Judaism on the other, should be carefully analyzed and argued and not merely asserted. If the Judaisms of the synagogue and Temple were indeed so different, it is surprising that no ancient source bothered to note this dichotomy. Philo, Jesus, Paul, and Josephus do not seem to have been aware of two Judaisms, and it would thus seem reasonable to assume that no such paradox existed in antiquity.

In summary, we find two contrasting developments in the religious life of first-century Jewish life. The Temple had assumed an ever-more central role, not only because of Jerusalem's growth as an urban center and focus of significant pilgrimage, but also because of the priesthood's accruement of power and the Temple's enhanced role (from the Hasmonean through the Herodian eras) as the setting for a wide range of social, economic, political, and, religious activities.[35] The synagogue, for its part, was evolving as a distinct and defined institution, having assumed a role at the center of communal activity both in Second Temple-period Judaea and the Diaspora. Thus, the centralization of the Temple was paralleled by a decentralization represented by local synagogues. Before 70, the Temple was recognized as the main institution in Jewish life generally, but the synagogue had become the pivotal institution in Jewish affairs, albeit on a local level. This parallel development in the first century was indeed fortuitous. Though no one could have foreseen the developments of the post-70 era, the seeds of Jewish communal and religious continuity had already been sown well before the destruction of the Temple.

From the year 70 on, the synagogue continued to evolve in significant ways. While its communal dimension continued to remain focal, its religious and sacred components grew dramatically both in scope and importance, eventually becoming the decisive features of the institution. The synagogue was thus transformed from a community center with a religious component in the first century to a quintessential house of worship later on that continued to provide a full array of communal activities. The rise and triumph of Christianity would play no small role in this development.

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35 *L. I. Levine*, Jerusalem. A Portrait of the City in the Second Temple Period (538 B.C.E.– 70 C.E.), Philadelphia (PA) 2002, 219–253.

Fig. 1 Map of Judaea in the first century C.E. Synagogues are marked by a triangle. Free distribution, adapted from: http://www.bible-history.com/maps/palestine_nt_times.html

Fig. 2 Gamla synagogue, view from the west. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology Archives, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Fig. 3 Plan of Gamla synagogue. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology Archives, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Fig. 4 Plan of Magdala synagogue. Public domain; Photograph: Skyview Company, courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, at: http://www.magdalaproject.org/WP/?p=677

Fig. 5 Decorated stone from Magdala synagogue; note menorah and flanking amphorae on the short side. Public domain, at: http://www.antiquities.org.il/article_eng.aspx?sec_id=25&subj_id=240&id=1601

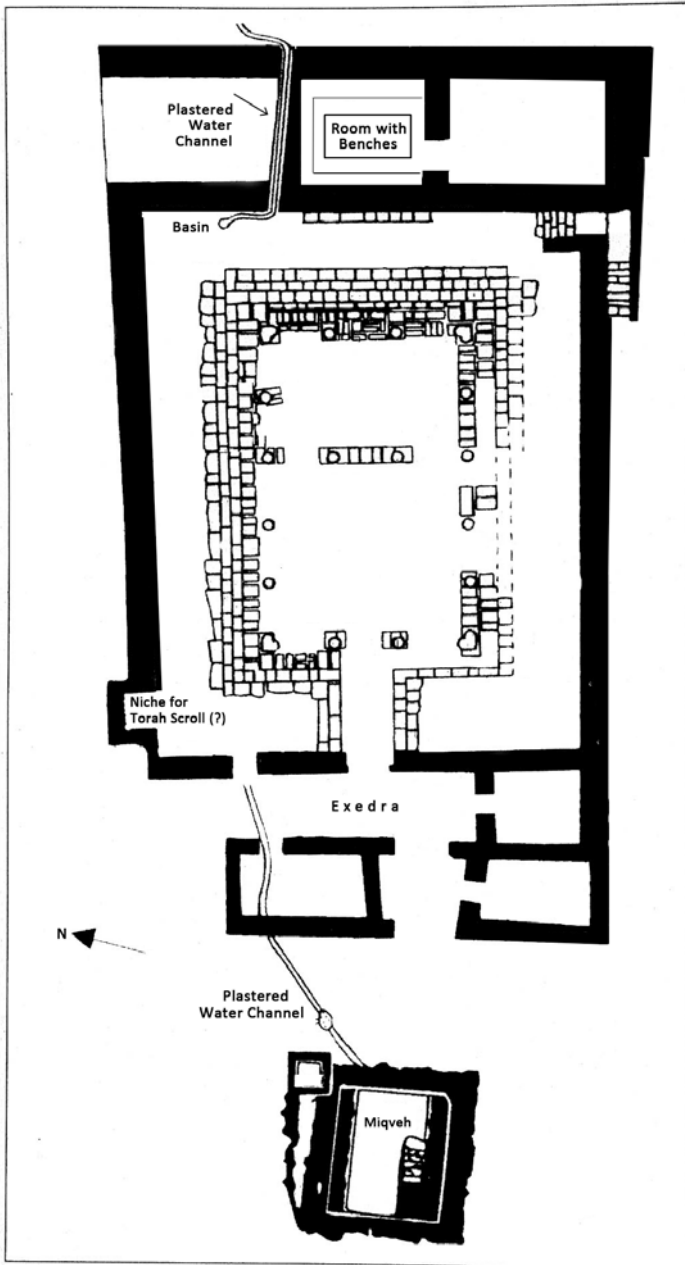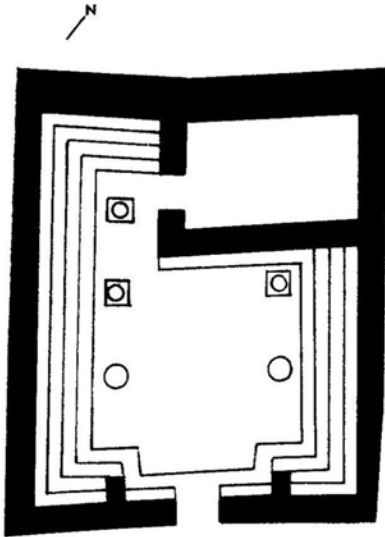Fig. 6 Plan of Masada synagogue. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology Archives, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Fig. 7 *Bouleuterion* from Priene. Public domain, at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Priene_Bouleuterion_2009_04_28.jpg

Fig. 8 Theodotos inscription, first-century Jerusalem. Courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology Archives, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

"Theodotos, son of Vettenos, priest and *archisynagogos,* son of an *archisynagogos* and grandson of an *archisynagogos,* built the synagogue for reading the Law and studying the Commandments, and a guesthouse and rooms and water installations for hosting those in need from abroad, it (= the synagogue), having been founded by his fathers, the presbyters, and Simonides."

Milton Moreland

Provenience Studies and the Question of Q in Galilee

Focusing on specific, Early Roman regional areas promises to provide us with more robust descriptions of settings where we suspect that early Jesus and Christos groups lived and developed their various, and often competing, myths and rituals. This essay presents seven criteria that are used to help determine the provenience of an anonymous ancient text, with Galilee and the Q sayings serving as an example of how the criteria can be employed. The implicit argument throughout the essay is that, as scholars interested in the historical enterprise of reconstructing earliest Judaism and Christianity, we must seek to link ancient texts to specific regions using archaeological research as one of our key guiding points. In so doing, we will develop more plausible, historical reconstructions of the incredible variety of early Jesus and Christos groups that existed in the Early Roman Empire.

By the end of the twentieth century, a significant amount of scholarship on Christian origins was devoted to understanding specific contexts and communities where followers of Jesus developed what came later to be called "Christianity." The overwhelming evidence against a monolithic form of Christianity, with commonly held beliefs and practices, led scholars to begin the process of carefully evaluating regional varieties of the Jesus and Christos associations. The origins of Christianity were found to be so complex that a dialectic model or even a trajectories model would not do justice to the historicizing task at hand. The origins of Christianity cannot simply be traced back to a few individuals who jostled with each other over the formative ideals of this "new" religious tradition (as is suggested in the canonical Acts). Peter and Paul may have had an impact on the development of some Jesus and Christos movements, but their influence was much more limited than our extant etiologies and canonical collections suggest. Of course, the same is true of Jesus' actual influence.

Historians also determined that Christianity cannot be traced back to a specific place in which the key etiological events occurred. For example, while the story of Acts provides a simple and straight forward version of how Christianity began, simple is not always better. Acts simplified the etiology by focusing on a

very small number of male leaders who worked in virtual unison to establish Christianity as a viable religion in the Roman Empire. Acts ignores most of what was actually happening in Jesus and Christos groups in the decades immediately after Jesus' death. Acts not only ignores and suppresses complexity; the story also misguides the reader by presenting a story in which the leaders in Jerusalem serve as the ultimate authorities in the progress of a single movement. By claiming Jerusalem as the site of authority, the author of Acts ignored dozens of other sites where people were experimenting with Jesus related materials and group formation processes. Acts uses a model of trajectories (i.e. from Jerusalem to Rome//from Peter to Paul) that is both historically unverifiable and theoretically misguided. Trajectories assume organization and connections. Trajectories assume false starting points. Trajectories do not account for complexity and convolution during the middle decades of first century CE. Acts promotes a counterproductive model that leads to inadequate historical reconstructions.

The idea that scholars working in the fields of archaeology, anthropology, ancient history, religions and literature can join together in order to carefully examine particular sites and explore the types of Jesus and Christos groups that may have resided in various regions appears to be the most promising way to begin to sort out the complexity of the earliest "Christian" associations. The inter-disciplinarity of the scholarly exercise is the major reason that this approach has the potential to provide new insights into the types of associations that existed in the ancient Mediterranean world. The goal of linking particular literary remains to particular settings is one aspect of this pursuit.

Since we do not know the ancient locations where our extant stories and sayings were first presented and written, and we do not know who wrote them, we are at a serious disadvantage when it comes to reconstructing regional varieties of associations. Nevertheless, by stating clearly the criteria that help us hypothesize about issues related to provenience and authorship, we can begin to determine the probability that a particular anonymous text was authored in one place rather than another. In the process, we will be able to better comprehend the socio-economic and political processes at work in the development of what came to be known as Christianity. Only by taking texts and sites seriously, on their own terms, will we ever move forward in our quest to reconstruct a reasonable picture of "nascent" Christianity.

Despite the fact that determining the exact setting of any given ancient gospel deals only in historical probabilities, this scholarly pursuit is a valid exercise in historical research that has the potential to add considerably to our understanding of how Christianity developed. At the same time, even if we can clearly identify the provenience of certain literary remains, we will never be able to reconstruct the full picture of the Jesus groups in that region of the Roman world. There is much that is left out of our ancient literary and archaeological sources.

Nevertheless, delineating the criteria that allow us to be able to argue that Q was more likely written in Galilee than in Jerusalem or Antioch or Ephesus is a step forward in the process of thinking about how and why Jesus groups developed within the Early Roman world.

1.   Why Provenience Studies Matter

In 1998 Richard Bauckham edited a much discussed set of essays that challenges a core thesis of the current project. In *The Gospels for All Christians*, Bauckham argued "that it is probable that the Gospels were written for general circulation around the churches and so envisaged a very general Christian audience."[1] A brief examination of his thesis will help us situate the major goals of the current project and reveal why our careful attention to ancient literary provenience matters. Bauckham developed a reconstruction of Christian origins that is inherently based on Acts.[2] In his view, Christianity was, from the "beginning," a movement with considerable cohesion, despite the evangelists' "different understandings of Jesus and his story."[3] He argued that the authors of the canonical gospels traveled freely among this "general Christian audience" or "universal church." Evangelists were not "confined to their own parochial patch," as is assumed, according to Bauckham, by scholars who are interested in reconstructing specific Gospel communities. By the end of the first century, the evangelists were spreading the testimony about Jesus throughout the Mediterranean region without interest in writing for any one particular community.[4]

In his reconstruction, by the end of the first century, Christianity was a well-known Roman entity with its own well defined group identity. Although he admits that the authors of the Gospels did live in communities, he adamantly denies that these narratives reveal anything about their individual settings or authors. They were neither written for nor about the author's specific setting. The Gospels were not intended for any particular communities; rather, he concludes, "an evangelist writing a Gospel expected his work to circulate widely among the churches, had no particular Christian audience in view, but envisaged as his audience any church (or any church in which Greek was understood) to which his work might find its way."[5]

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1 *R. Bauckham* (ed.), The Gospels for All Christians. Rethinking the Gospel Audiences, Grand Rapids (MI), 1998.
2 This point is made clear, for example, in his description of the missionary activity of John Mark. See *Bauckham*, For Whom Were the Gospels Written? in: The Gospels (n. 1) 35.
3 *Bauckham*, For Whom (n. 1) 47.
4 *Bauckham*, For Whom (n. 1) 37–38.
5 *Bauckham*, For Whom (n. 1) 11.

On the one hand, Bauckham's thesis is seemingly trivial and rather harmless. The idea that the Gospels were read in multiple communities is commonsensical. That early members of Jesus/Christos groups traveled and knew of the existence of other Jesus/Christos groups is undeniable. There is no doubt that the written Gospels were copied and carried to various communities around the Mediterranean, where they were occasionally read, rewritten, edited, redacted or abandoned. He also wisely points out the circularity of scholarly arguments that rely on a Gospel text in order to establish a community behind that text and then proceed to interpret that same Gospel based on the assumed proclivities of the newly reconstructed community.

On the other hand, Bauckham's claim that his thesis is a "paradigm shift in Gospels scholarship" against the "consensus view" is not innocuous.[6] His more recent book, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*, provides a much more detailed argument that reveals Bauckham's effort to reunite conservative Evangelical theology and the academic study of the Gospels. Bauckham's thesis attempts to undermine the search for the communities responsible for the various Gospels because, in his view, all of the Gospels derive from eyewitness accounts. And – inevitably in this type of scholarship – the eyewitnesses were directly connected to and authorized by "the Jerusalem church." In this view, there is no need to reconstruct Jesus/Christos associations in all their incredible varieties around the Mediterranean; one need only read Acts and the fragments of Papias in Eusebius in order to understand how and why the Gospels were written. For example, he assumes that Mark was in conversation with Peter as he wrote his Gospel.[7] The Jerusalem church played a special and prestigious role in the formation of the Gospels: "We should probably envisage a carefully compiled and formulated collection of Jesus traditions, incorporating other important eyewitness testimony as well as that of the Twelve themselves, but authorized by the Twelve as the official body of witnesses."[8]

There is no doubt that the reception of Baukham's work indicates a significant dividing line between modern Christian Evangelical scholars and "mainstream" scholars of Christian origins. His work has been embraced by some scholars who apparently seek to avoid historicized and nuanced reconstructions of early Christianity that challenge and displace the simpler narrative of Acts. Taking the gospels seriously, as relevant to particular settings where social construction was taking place, discounts the idea that the Gospels were written for a preexisting and widespread Christian church using eyewitness testimony. His assumption

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6 *R. Bauckham*, Response to Philip Esler, in: SJT 51 (1998) 249–253.
7 *R. Bauckham*, Jesus and the Eyewitnesses. The Gospels as Eyewitness Testimony, Grand Rapids (MI) 2006, 202–239.
8 *Bauckham*, Jesus and the Eyewitnesses (n. 7) 299.

that Christianity sprang up in Jerusalem and then spread to other sites by means of authorized eyewitness testimony flies in the face of our extant ancient literary evidence, as well as all of our social-scientific models related to the development of social/religious groups in any place or time.

Contrary to Bauckham, careful provenience studies are necessary if we are to make the field of Christian origins relevant to the larger disciplines of ancient history and Greco-Roman literature. Understanding the provenience of texts (where they were written, performed, read, and heard) is part of the process of revealing the linguistic semantics of our texts. Having some idea about where a text was written and presented/performed is crucial to our understanding of how that text was heard and understood. Naturally, texts and performances are read and heard in different places at different times, but that fact does not detract from the types of helpful information that can be gleaned from hypothesizing about the original provenience of a text. It is not the case that a text is a mirror image of an ancient Jesus/Christos group. Rather, careful provenience studies of an early text have the potential to reveal the types of ideological and pragmatic jostling that was taking place in at least one setting in the Roman Empire.

Provenience studies also can provide us with much more interesting and informed reconstructions of the complex development of Jesus/Christos groups. The texts reveal only a fragment of the process of social construction that lies behind what very gradually came to be understood as "Christianity." Ignoring or downplaying textual provenience was an ancient feature of one strain of "orthodoxy." For example, Eusebius sought to downplay the significant differences between the various groups that might be included in the category of Jesus/Christos associations. To counteract this strain of orthodoxy, which Bauckham seeks to revive, we must continue to produce well-conceived historical reconstructions that account for the social experimentation that was at the core of the Jesus/Christos associations. If we are to make sense of "Christian origins" our primary goal must be to recover concrete settings where human actors engaged in the messy process of literary, community, ritual, and mythic formations.

2. Provenience Studies

In archaeological research, all provenience studies are based on well-established criteria related to style, geochronology, trade and migration patterns, and an artifact's chemical fingerprint. Archaeologists are heavily dependent on chemists and botanists as we determine the provenience of ancient artifacts and plants. While the study of Christian origins does not allow us to delve into the same types of chemical analyses, especially since none of our relevant ancient texts are

autograph editions, we can still improve our research methods by becoming more circumspect about our criteria.

In what follows, I will describe seven criteria that scholars use in the process of determining the provenience of ancient texts, with a particular focus on Q. This is comparable to John H. Elliott's list of nine categories of questions that can be asked of a text when considering its social location.[9] Elliott's extensive list of questions is not specifically focused on provenience. His work is interested in the types of implied and explicit references we can look for within a text if we want to identify an author's or an intended audience's social setting. Provenience is only one part of this larger quest for social identity. For my present purposes, several of Elliott's questions are helpful as a starting point.[10]

Having a set of criteria does not automatically make it more probable that scholars will be able to conclusively determine which ancient texts originated from specific locations. Rather, the goal is more modest: to have a more rigorous process by which we can evaluate claims related to the provenience of texts that we now categorize as ancient Jewish and Christian literature. By determining which criteria a text does or does not meet, we should be better able to judge the likelihood that any given text derived from a specific site of interest.

Our task is also complicated by the fact that most, if not all, of our "texts" developed first as oral traditions. Even after they were written down they did not remain static documents. All of our gospels are hypothetical to the extent that they all must be reconstructed. We have no "original" or "autograph" editions, and the copies we do have usually date at least 200 years after their original composition. Despite the relevance of identifying a pre-composition, oral tradition, my major question in this essay has to do with where the text was actually written down. As Jonathan Reed observed in his study of the provenience of Q, "Obviously, the traditional material can be placed in a Galilean context, deriving from the historical Jesus, but whether the redactional elements and later sayings stem from a Galilean context is less certain."[11] My goal in this study is not to provide a fail-safe method by which to determine textual provenience; I simply intend to provide a brief overview of a formal set of criteria through which we can have better discussions about which texts are relevant to the specific sites of interest that we examine.

Provenience studies come in two related forms. On the one hand, we can ask where a text came from. This is typical of studies that begin with the text and

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9 *J. H. Elliott*, What is Social-Scientific Criticism?, Minneapolis (MN) 1993, 72–74.

10 See *J. S. Kloppenborg Verbin*, Excavating Q. The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel, Minneapolis (MN) 2000, 177–178. Kloppenborg summarizes and uses Elliott's questions as a starting point in his discussion of the social location of the Q people.

11 *J. Reed*, Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus. A Re-Examination of the Evidence, Harrisburg (PA) 2000, 179.

attempt to move to a particular site. On the other hand, we can start with a site and then ask which texts might be related to that site (specifically, which texts might have been written at that site). The following brief outline of criteria should be useful for studies with either starting point. In the case of the present work on Q, the major objective is to start with a site and then move toward the text.

One other reminder about provenience studies is in order. Many arguments about the provenience of a text are circular. Ideally, scholars must first start with a description of the site that is derived from other sources (archaeology, other relevant ancient literature, etc.), and then determine if any of our Christian literature or traditions might have come from that place. For example, in the case of Q, we cannot use Q to describe the setting of ancient Galilee and then use our "textually" based reconstruction of ancient Galilee as the starting point for determining that Q must have been written in that region.

3. Seven Criteria of Provenience Studies Related to Placing Q in Galilee

3.1. Chronology

The question of when a text was written is always a closely related issue to that of textual provenience. A date of authorship may be derived from independent literary sources, or there may be evidence within the text that logically corresponds to a particular date. Therefore, this criterion is based on both internal and external factors. The more we know about when a text was written, the more we can hypothesize about where that text was written.

The setting of Galilee is promising as a provenience for early Jesus movement literature during the middle portion of the first century. Of late, many scholars have assumed or concluded that Q is the most likely early Jesus text to have derived from Galilee.[12] This has often been an implicit assumption based on the notion that Jesus was from Galilee and thus this early collection of his sayings derived from the same area. Of course, we know that the question of provenience is much more complicated than the simple equation: Jesus was from Galilee, thus Q was written in Galilee. We need to provide carefully nuanced arguments about where and why these sayings may have been collected and written in Greek in this

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12 A review of scholarship related to placing Q in Galilee is found in *Reed*, Archaeology (n. 11), and *Kloppenborg*, Excavating Q (n. 10) 166–261. Both authors argue that Galilee makes sense as the setting where these sayings were developed and written down in Greek. By way of contrast, see *M. Frenschkowski*, Galiläa oder Jerusalem? Die topographischen und politischen Hintergründe der Logienquelle, in: A. Lindemann (ed.), The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus (BETL 158), Leuven 2001, 538–559.

region. As late-twentieth century archaeologists began to tell a more nuanced story of the Galilean setting, including significant information about the cultural complexity that accompanied the first century growth of the Roman-Jewish cities of Sepphoris and Tiberias, much more attention was given to the hypothesis that Q could have been written in this region prior to and just after the time of the Jewish War.[13]

Regarding the date of Q, the later we move into the first century, the harder it is to argue that Jesus groups were living and writing in Galilee. The lack of reference to Galilean Christianity in any ancient source should cause us to pause before we posit this region as a source of textual production during the late first and early second centuries.[14] If the latest edition of Q, before it was redacted by Matthew and Luke, dates to the time just after the Jewish War (in the early 70s CE), then we do not have a major problem with positing Q in a Galilean setting. On the other hand, we cannot assume that Galilee remained a vital center for Jesus and Christos groups after the Jewish War.[15]

3.2.   Language and Scribal Competence

With the very strong likelihood that Q was written in Greek, we must evaluate whether Greek was spoken and written at a particular site during the relevant time frame.[16] We also must evaluate whether it is more likely that another language would have been used, other than Greek, at any potential site of interest. This is an external consideration that cannot simply be answered internally by appealing to the language of the text in question. As can be seen in the debate about the provenience of Q, this criterion involves the question of whether or not members of first century Jewish groups were able to *write* Greek at a level of proficiency necessary to produce the text in question. Of course, only one member of the group would need to have an adequate level of language profi-

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13 For an overview of the scholarly interest in linking Q to Galilee, see *R. Deines*, Galilee and the Historical Jesus in Recent Research, in: D. A. Fiensy/J. R. Strange (ed.), Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods. Life Culture and Society (vol. 1), Minneapolis (MN) 2014, 11–48.

14 See *Frenschkowski*, Galiläa oder Jerusalem? (n. 12) 538–548.

15 *M. Moreland*, The Jesus Movement in the Villages of Roman Galilee. Archaeology, Q, and Modern Anthropological Theory, in: R. Horsley (ed.), Oral Performance, Popular Tradition, and Hidden Transcript in Q (Semeia 60), Atlanta 2006, 161–182; and *idem*, The Galilean Response to Earliest Christianity. A Cross-Cultural Study of the Subsistence Ethic, in: D. R. Edwards (ed.), Religion and Society in Roman Palestine. Old Questions, New Approaches, London 2004, 37–48. The lack of evidence for Christianity in Galilee prior to the fourth century is also discussed in *R. Deines*, Religious Practices and Religious Movements in Galilee. 100 BCE-200 CE, in: Galilee (n. 13) 78–111.

16 *Kloppenborg*, Excavating Q (n. 10) 72–80.

ciency, and it is even possible for groups to contract with nonmember scribes in order to produce a written text.

This criterion also involves the question of whether the text was originally written in another language and subsequently translated into Greek. In the case of Q, a few scholars have argued for an Aramaic original.[17] The question of whether or not a text was originally written in Greek can have major consequences for determining textual provenience in the setting of Galilee.

Was Greek spoken and written in Galilee? This question has been raised by many generations of scholars interested in the question of the historical Jesus, and no definitive answer is forthcoming. For example, the question has been answered recently by two scholars, with two different results. Mark Chancey argued that only the urban elite administrators in Early Roman Galilee could speak and write Greek.[18] Based on the paucity of epigraphic evidence from the first century CE, Chancey is very reluctant to allow for the widespread use of Greek in Galilee during the time when Q was originally written. He argues that Aramaic was used extensively, and Greek was limited to a very few urban residents (people living in Sepphoris and Tiberias). Although he briefly notes Kloppenborg's thesis that village scribes were responsible for Q,[19] he makes no reference to William Arnal's detailed explanation of why it makes sense to posit a Greek speaking and writing scribal group within the village contexts of Early Roman Galilee.[20] Chancey thinks it is unlikely that Jesus needed to speak Greek. He states, "As for Jesus, how much Greek he knew will never be clear, but he most likely would not have needed it to be a carpenter, to teach the Galilean crowds, to travel around the lake, or to venture into the villages associated with Tyre, Caesarea Philippi, and the Decapolis cities."[21] Even with Chancey's caution, Kloppenborg and Arnal have provided well-informed reconstructions of the Galilean setting that allow us to posit the use of Greek by people who may have been interested in developing a collection of sayings that they attributed to Jesus.

Stanley E. Porter has gone much further with his argument about the use of the Greek language in Galilee. He concludes, "whereas it is not always known how much and on which occasions Jesus spoke Greek, it is well established that he used Greek at various times in his itinerant ministry, and that his actual words may well be recorded in Mark 15:2 and parallels."[22] Porter's conclusion stems

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17 *M. Casey*, An Aramaic Approach to Q. Sources for the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (SNTSM 122), Cambridge 2002.

18 *M. Chancey*, Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus, Cambridge 2005, 122–165.

19 *Chancey*, Greco-Roman (n. 18) 164, note 233.

20 *W. E. Arnal*, Jesus and the Village Scribes, Minneapolis (MN) 2001.

21 *Chancey*, Greco-Roman (n. 18) 163.

22 *S. Porter*, Jesus and the Use of Greek in Galilee, in: B. Chilton/C. Evans (ed.), Studying the Historical Jesus. Evaluations of the State of Current Research, Leiden 1994, 123–154.

from his desire to come in close contact with the *authentic* words of Jesus. Thus, he argues that in Mark 15:2 we actually have the exact Greek words that Jesus spoke to Pilate. As a conservative Christian scholar, Porter is interested in the possibility that the Gospels actually preserve what Jesus said (in Greek). His evidence for the widespread use of Greek is based primarily on epigraphic evidence that dates into the second and third centuries CE. As Chancey is quick to point out, the evidence from Greek inscriptions that actually date to the early first century is very limited. For the most part, Porter's argument for the extensive use of Greek in Galilee is too late to be useful for our purposes.

Of the two analyses of the situation in Galilee, Chancey's cautious approach to the evidence is the most reasonable. While Chancey doubts that Jesus spoke Greek, his arguments have no significant bearing on the Kloppenborg/Arnal thesis that supports a Greek speaking circle of scribes as the authors of Q. Even though the majority of the Galilean population spoke Aramaic, there was significant contact with the commerce and administration of the Roman East, which insures that at least a portion of first century Galilean spoke and wrote Greek at the level need to posit the text of Q sayings being written in that region.

3.3.   Demographics

For early Jewish and Christian texts, key demographic information usually relates to the percentage of Jewish groups and individuals in a region. If a text appears to be aimed at gentile readers, a provenience in a heavily Jewish setting may be unlikely. For example, Judea and Galilee are not considered likely locations for the author of Luke and Acts. Conversely, some scholars have argued that the Gospels of Mark and Matthew could have derived from an area with a majority Jewish population, such as Roman Palestine. As we examine various sites, Archaeological information can occasionally be used to determine various cultural or ethnic identities. Regional prosopography is also a useful tool in this regard.

The demographic situation in first century Galilee is a much discussed topic. Reed has written extensively on the topic and supplied the core arguments for how the archaeological evidence supports a primarily Jewish population in Roman period Galilee.[23] Other scholars who have written on this subject include Freyne,[24] Aviam,[25] and Chancey.[26] Based on numerous archaeological factors

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23 See *Reed*, Archaeology (n. 11) 23–61.
24 *S. Freyne*, Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian, 323 B.C.E. to 135 C.E. A Study of Second Temple Judaism (SJCA 5). Wilmington (DE) 1980; *idem*, Jesus a Jewish Galilean. A New Reading of the Jesus-story, London 2004; and *idem*, Galileans, Phoenicians, and Itu-

outlined by these and other scholars, there should be no doubt that Galilee was a significantly Jewish region during the Roman period. The key element in recent scholarship involves the extent to which gentiles also lived in the region of Galilee.

Another significant factor is the basic issue of how we conceive of borders for the region of Galilee. In other words, when we speak of "the Galilee," what areas and cities should be included? Aviam argues that there were distinguishable borders around Galilee. He thinks that we can clearly distinguish Galileans from people who lived across the lake in Hippos, or people who lived on the Mediterranean coast in Ptolemais, or those who lived in the villages close to Mount Hermon. Predictably, if Galilee is mapped or reconstructed as a very limited, insular region with well-defined borders, it is easier to argue for a less complex demographic arrangement in the region.[27] When it comes to reconstructing ancient Roman settings (including Galilee), the evidence favors more complex and disordered situations. First, it is impossible during the Early Roman Period to clearly identify the borders of Galilee. Aviam's use of later rabbinic evidence about the "Jewish borders" of Galilee is anachronistic. For the purposes of the Roman administrative overlay, especially Herod Antipas's taxation practices, there must have been official ways to distinguish a Galilean region, but this factor has nothing to do with Jewish identity or religious practice (as Aviam would have us believe).[28]

There is no doubt that Galilee was sparsely populated prior to the Late Hellenistic era. In fact, most of the population boom occurred only in the first and second centuries CE. The archaeological evidence for a long-standing "Israelite" population is extremely weak. Thus much of Horsley's thesis about a continuous Israelite tradition must be abandoned. Even if it is shown that some people in Galilee wanted to identify with ancient Israelites, there is no reason to posit hereditary descent.[29] Archaeologists have shown that many of the inhabitants of Galilee were interested in identifying with various forms of Judean traditions and practices. Judean migration in the Hasmonean period helps explain a great deal of the demographic development in Galilee, and explains the proliferation of

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reans, in: J. Collins/G. Sterling (ed.), Hellenism in the Land of Israel, Notre Dame 2001, 182–215.

25 *M. Aviam*, Jews, Pagans and Christians in the Galilee. 25 Years of Archaeological Excavations and Surveys. Hellenistic to Byzantine Periods (Land of Galilee 1), Rochester 2004.

26 *M. Chancey*, The Myth of a Gentile Galilee (SNTSMS 118), Cambridge 2002; and *idem*, The Ethnicities of Galileans, in: Galilee (n. 13) 112–128.

27 See *M. Moreland*, The Inhabitants of Galilee in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods. Probes into the Archaeological and Literary Evidence, in: H. Attridge/D. Martin/J. Zangenberg (ed.) The Ancient Galilee in Interaction. Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity, Tübingen 2007, 133–159.

28 See *Freyne*, Jesus a Jewish Galilean (n. 24) 60–91.

29 *Chancey*, The Ethnicities of Galileans (n. 26) 112–128.

ritual baths, stone vessels, and burial practices that emulate the evidence from Judea. In terms of the internal evidence from Q, it is clear that the authors were very interested in Judean//Israelite traditions (the Hebrew epic), and that Judean groups like the Pharisees were relevant to their social and ideological identifications. These interests correspond well to the context of Early Roman Galilee.

Prior to the early first century CE, Galilee was very sparsely populated by people who, most likely, had a variety of ethnic identifications. Increasingly, in the Early Roman period people in the region identified with Judean traditions and practices. The fact that Sepphoris and Tiberias were built in Galilee during the early first century does not lead to a significant change in this picture; those cities did not attract a majority gentile population. The primary identity in Galilee was connected to Judea. But the demographic context was not uniform; some people identified with categories like "Herodian" or "Roman" and some people were identified with the category "gentile." The deep interests in Jewish traditions and Judean based associations (the Pharisees) that are found in Q fit well with the demographic situation in Galilee in the middle of the first century.

3.4.   The Presence of Early Jewish and Jesus/Christos Groups

In order to argue that an ancient text derived from a particular site, we must evaluate the evidence for the existence of a Jesus/Christos group or author at that site when the text was written. As much as possible, this criterion should be based on external factors, apart from the text in question. Since archaeological evidence for Jesus/Christos groups in the first and early second centuries is virtually nonexistent, our primary evidence often derives from textual references in other Early Roman literature or from a later tradition that builds on the existence of an earlier group at any given site.

While this may seem inconsequential, it is, for example, particularly relevant when attempting to locate textual provenience in the context of Jerusalem or Galilee. For example, when arguing that Mark was written in the years immediately following the Jewish War, placing the author in the city of Jerusalem, which was destroyed by the Romans, is virtually incomprehensible. Similarly, while we can readily hypothesize the existence of Jesus/Christos groups in Galilee in the first half of the first century, our evidence for groups in the latter half of the century, as noted above, is less secure. Arguably, the probability for Jesus/Christos groups writing in Galilee diminishes significantly after the first Jewish War.

Since Jesus lived in Galilee, it is often assumed that a group of his followers also lived in that region after his death. To the contrary, Galilee, in fact, was not a

significant place of Christian origins.[30] Frenschkowski has used the lack of early Christian literary references to Galilean Christians as part of his reason to argue that Q derived from a group in Jerusalem rather than Galilee. This argument from silence does not provide a secure foot on which to stand. It is also quite clear that Frenschkowski is heavily indebted to the Acts narrative, and finds little room for historical reconstructions that move outside of those apologetic constraints. Nonetheless, unsubstantiated claims to long-term Jesus groups in Galilee should also be avoided. Mark 16:7, for instance, does not provide the evidence necessary for a reconstruction of a Galilean Jesus movement. Neither do Rabbinic references to "heretical" Jews (*minim*) who lived in Galilee.[31] The Jewish *minim* in Galilee were not "Jewish-Christians."

Even though a strong case can be made for Q originally deriving from Galilee, this region has several features that make it an unlikely long-term location for a group espousing the message of the Q sayings. It is difficult to imagine that all the Galilean people who were part of a Jewish-Jesus group immediately left Galilee after his death in Jerusalem. Yet it is also hard to imagine that the ongoing and developing message that we see evidenced in the editing of the Q text was widely accepted in the Galilean village settings. The text specifically reports that the message was rejected by the Galilean villages (Q10:13–15). When this fact is combined with a cross-cultural reconstruction of a typical agrarian village setting, we find that the core community ethic that is posited in Q comes into direct contradiction to the standard survival techniques of subsistence farmers. It is therefore difficult to posit that the Jesus movement represented by the Q sayings enjoyed a long-term success in this region.[32]

At the very least, we can no longer simply assume that a Jesus movement caught hold in Galilee. We have no evidence for the movement gaining a presence in the region during the second and third centuries. But this observation has no significant effect on the question of the original provenience of Q. In fact, it is reasonable to argue that the *only* type of Jesus group that makes sense in a Galilean context is something like what we see represented in the Q sayings. If a Jesus or Christos group formed in Galilee, with a similar Christos ideology to those that are found in the canonical Gospels or Paul's letters, it is probable that we would either know of that group from one of our second or third century Christian authors, or from a Rabbinical source that derived from Galilee in that period.[33]

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30 *Frenschkowski*, Galiläa oder Jerusalem? (n. 14).
31 For a helpful assessment of the evidence and an argument against the idea that the *minim* were Christians, see *J. E. Taylor*, Christians and the Holy Places. The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins, Oxford 1993, 18–47.
32 *M. Moreland*, The Jesus Movement (n. 15).
33 See *Deines*, Religious Practice (n. 15) 101.

3.5.   Socio-Economic-Political Factors

A robust description of our sites will be based on reconstructing the Early Roman social, economic and political forces that were at play in a particular region. With this information in hand we can better judge whether certain texts derived from a particular setting. It is vital that we first reconstruct these social factors without appeal to information that might be available in the text in question. Archaeological and anthropological studies will provide key sources of information about these items. Additionally, ancient textual resources will be at the heart of this discussion.

Once the reconstruction of the social conditions of a site is available, we can compare and contrast the narrated socio-economic-political conditions that are revealed in our texts. An ancient text often discloses something about the specific economic conditions of the region in which it was produced. Although many places in the early Roman Empire encountered very similar socio-economic and political situations, there may be something determinative about one area that provides an insight for textual provenience studies. If the text was composed in an urban setting, one might expect to find some hint of that social setting in the narrative. In terms of the economic conditions of Galilee, for example, one might expect narrative references to the conditions that derived from the establishment of Sepphoris and Tiberias in the early first century. Similarly, in the case of Jerusalem prior to the Jewish War, one might expect some type of reference to the events leading up to that conflict.

It should now go without saying that the establishment of Sepphoris and then Tiberias in Galilee were the most important events in the economic development of the region in the Early Roman Period. In a setting like Galilee, where 90 % of the population lived in agrarian and fishing villages, the building of two new administrative and market centers must have had a major impact.[34] As we look toward the Q sayings, which must have been in development during the middle of the first century, explicit concerns for changes in the economy are to be expected. In fact, despite our various attempts to provide a rationalization for why these new cities are not explicitly mentioned in Q or any other early Christian literature, the absence of these cities is still a perplexing feature of our literary remains. We may be able to explain why a Galilean village based Q group might have ignored these cities in their sayings collection. Q is clearly more focused on rural and village contexts. Despite the fact that the sayings do not specifically mention Sepphoris or Tiberias, they are full of implicit and explicit references to

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34 See *S. Freyne*, The Geography, Politics, and the Economics of Galilee and the Quest for the Historical Jesus, in: B. Chilton/C. A. Evans (ed.), Studying the Historical Jesus. Evaluations of the State of Current Research, Leiden 1994, 75–121.

economic conditions that have independently been reconstructed for this region. The well-established focus on economic tensions and instabilities in the sayings of Q is well matched to the archaeological evidence of mid-first century Galilee.[35]

3.6.   Independent Literary References

Literary references come in a variety of forms. There are some early Christian traditions that offer direct information about authorship and provenience. Some, like the correspondence of Paul to the Corinthians, provide references that modern scholars can use in provenience studies. Others are less reliable due to their late date and the clear rhetorical aims of their sources (for example, typically we cannot use the reconstructions of Eusebius as concrete evidence of first century authorship or provenience). Additionally, literary references include materials that can help us better understand a site of interest. In the context of Galilee, Josephus does not mention Jesus/Christos groups living in that region, but he provides background information about the area.

The incorporation of Q into the narrative of Matthew and Luke provides us little help in identifying the original provenience of Q. If either Gospel author had a direct connection with the people who wrote and edited Q, it is not observable in the way that they redacted the Q material. Thus, for example, Matthew's use of Q so drastically reformulates the sayings that it is difficult to posit a direct link between a Q and a Matthean community. Beyond the fact that Q was taken up into two literary sources, there are no extant references to the provenience of Q in our extant literature. Also, considering that Matthew and Luke were very likely composed in two different areas of the Roman world, we cannot work backwards to directly link Q's provenience with any one site of its eventual influence or use. Although it is helpful to know that Q was known widely enough in the Mediterranean region to have been received and redacted by the authors of Matthew and Luke, this criterion is less useful in our current discussion than the other criteria.

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35 This point has been well demonstrated in numerous recent studies. For a summary statement, see *S. J. Patterson*, The Lost Way. How Two Forgotten Gospels are rewriting the Story of Christian Origins, New York 2014, 44–83.

3.7.   References to Sites, Names, Regional Events, Geographical Details and
        Social Map

By far, this criterion is the most widely used by scholars who are interested in
determining the provenience of early Jewish and Christian texts. When an author
reveals particular details about a site, local knowledge, or specific cultural
competencies, such that would not have been common ("indigenous") knowl-
edge among people living outside the area, scholars have often suggested that the
author's information could have been derived from living in that region. On the
other hand, if a text has poor evidence about a particular region, the opposite
argument has been made. This criterion is not only the most used; it is also the
most complicated. There are many other ways to explain why certain details
appear in a text. For example, authors may have gathered particular details about
a region from other sources, they may have particular knowledge because they
temporarily visited a region, they may have based their geographical details on a
prophetic or "scriptural" ideal, or they may have invented details to provide the
appearance of first-hand knowledge of a site or region. On the other hand, a lack
of details or the appearance of no first-hand knowledge of regional details might
be explained on rhetorical or narratological grounds. Thus, there is no explicit
need to derive the provenience from these type of details (or lack thereof), even
though it is often tempting to do so.

Similarly, scholars have drawn on "sociobiographical memory," "indigenous
logic" and "social map" theories to develop frameworks by which they have
reconstructed patterns within an ancient literary work or cultural setting that do
not relate directly to the mention of a specific place name or regional event. These
theories often involve the identification of a "mental map" or social model that
can be reconstructed by carefully noting the types, order, and presentation of
geographical and spatial references within a text and comparing that to the
reconstructed geographical and spatial networks and models that can be found in
a specific region or from an archaeological site. These social and physical ge-
ographies and spaces are related to specific references to names and events, but
they differ to the extent that they are usually implied and in need of re-
construction; the author's "mental map" is never explicitly stated in a text.

There is a rich variety of scholarship on this subject that is relevant to the
hypothesis that Q was written in Galilee. Reference should be made to the work of
Reed, Duling, and Sawicki. Reed's work on the provenience of Q was partially
based on reconstructing the authors' "spatial imagination" or "social map."[36]
Dennis Duling's use of social network analysis to reconstruct a Capernaum-
based spatial context for Jesus' social network provides another model for

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36 *Reed*, Archaeology (n. 11) 172.

thinking about how the ancient Galileans may have conceived of their lived environment.[37] Sawicki's reconstruction of Galilean settings where she finds a "material expression of an indigenous Israelite logic of circulation and containment" could also be used as a model for this criterion.[38] Of these three studies, only Reed was explicitly interested in the provenience of Q in Galilee. Nevertheless, Duling's and Sawicki's more general reconstructions of social, geographic, and spatial maps and logic could be used as a tool to describe both the self-perceived contexts of the people who lived in Early Roman Galilee and the implicit ideology that a reader/hearer might expect to find in an ancient text that was written/performed in that ancient context.

4.   Conclusion

Carefully conceived arguments about the provenience of our ancient texts can provide us with a much more interesting and informed historical reconstruction of the complex development of early Jewish, Jesus and Christos groups. The texts do not simply reveal a preexistent first century Christian church that was debating, through these written narratives, various points about the meaning of Jesus. Instead, the texts reveal only a fragment of the complex process of social construction that lies behind what very gradually came to be understood and called "Christianity." In order to counteract a strain of Christian orthodoxy that argues for a direct line of authority between Jesus and Christianity, a Christian claim that continues to thrive in modern New Testament scholarship, we must produce well-conceived and argued reconstructions of the development of Christianity that account for the social experimentation that was at the core of the early Jesus and Christos associations. If we are to make sense of "Christian origins" our primary goal must be to recover concrete settings where human actors engaged in the messy process of community and mythic formation.

We will never be able to definitively argue that all the saying of Q derived from Galilee. Nevertheless, by using well established criteria, and vigorous archaeological and social descriptions of the various regions where a text like Q could have been written, we have the ability to argue about the probability that a text derived from one region rather than another. Based on the seven criteria presented in this essay, we can claim that it is likely that Q was written and edited in Galilee. The Roman imperial administrative and economic impact on the region

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37 *D. Duling*, The Jesus Movement and Social Network Analysis (Part I: The Spatial Network), in: BTB 29 (1999) 156–175; and *idem*, The Jesus Movement and Social Network Analysis (Part II: The Social Network), BTB 30 (2000) 3–14.

38 *M. Sawicki*, Crossing Galilee. Architectures of Contact in the Occupied Land of Jesus, Harrisburg (PA) 2000, 12.

of Galilee and southern Syria under the Herods, in concert with the demographic, linguistic and Jewish cultural environment, provide multiple reasons for postulating Galilee as appropriate to the internal evidence found in the Q sayings.[39] By employing criteria that can help us produce carefully nuanced studies of specific contexts for Jewish and Christian origins, we can fend off the long-standing tradition in scholarship that tries to ignore the highly complex and disordered story of Christian origins.

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39 Future studies of Q will need to consider other regions, particularly areas north of Galilee in southern Syria, where recent archaeological evidence reveals interesting locations where a text like Q could have been written and collected.

John S. Kloppenborg

Q, Bethsaida, Khorazin and Capernaum

The Sayings Gospel Q is a reconstructed document whose existence is one of the
corollaries of two postulates of the Two Document hypothesis: Markan priority
and the independence of Matthew and Luke. If one begins with these two pos-
tulates, one can account for a good deal of Matthaean and Lukan material as a
result of copying Mark.[1] When one takes into account the obvious editorial
tendencies of Matthew and Luke, it is generally possible to understand their
particular transformations of Mark, transformations which in general betray no
knowledge of the other evangelist's use of Mark. Given these two postulates, it is
also necessary to account for the approximately 4600 words shared by Matthew
and Luke which they did not take from Mark but which they sometimes re-
produce with a high degree of verbatim and sequential agreement. This is the
material that is normally ascribed to "Q". Precisely because of the substantial
verbal and sequential agreements that can be observed between Matthew and
Luke, Q must also be a written source, not simply a set of oral traditions.[2]

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1 This statement would be widely embraced, both by those who adhere to the Two Document
 hypothesis (2DH) and by those who endorse the 'Farrer hypothesis' (FH) or the 'Mark without-
 Q hypothesis' (MwQH). See in general *J. S. Kloppenborg*, The Synoptic Problem, in: Oxford
 Bibliographies Online (2010), http://www.oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/display/id/obo-
 9780195393361-0120. On the 2DH, see *F. Neirynck*, The Two-Source Hypothesis, in: D. L.
 Dungan (ed.), The Interrelations of the Gospels. A Symposium led by M.-E. Boismard - W. R.
 Farmer – F. Neirynck. Jerusalem 1984 (BETL 95), Leuven 1990, 3–22; *C. M. Tuckett*, Q and the
 History of Early Christianity. Studies on Q, Edinburgh/Peabody (MA) 1996; *J. S. Kloppenborg*,
 Excavating Q. The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel, Minneapolis (MN)/Edinburgh
 2000, chap. 1. On the FH, see *M. S. Goodacre*, The Case Against Q. Studies in Markan Priority
 and the Synoptic Problem, Harrisburg (PA) 2002; *M. D. Goulder*, Luke. A New Paradigm
 (JSNTSup 20), Sheffield 1989.
2 The view that a substantial amount of the 'Q' material should be regarded as oral rather than
 deriving from a written text has been advanced by *T. Bergemann*, Q auf dem Prüfstand. Die
 Zuordnung des Mt/Lk-Stoffes zu Q am Beispiel der Bergpredigt (FRLANT 158), Göttingen 1993
 and more recently, by *J. D. G. Dunn*, Q1 as Oral Tradition, in: M. N. A. Bockmuehl/D. A. Hagner
 (ed.), The Written Gospel, Cambridge/New York 2005, 45–69 and *T. C. Mournet*, Oral Tradition
 and Literary Dependency. Variability and Stability in the Synoptic Tradition and Q (WUNT 2/
 195), Tübingen 2005. Whilst virtually all scholars who work on Q will concede that certain

1.   The Provenance of Q

In most recent analyses of Q it has been either argued or simply assumed that the document derives from the Galilee.[3] This is not an uncontested view: a few scholars have proposed sites in the Decapolis or Antioch[4] or Jerusalem as better

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sayings, especially short proverbial sayings and materials in Matthew and Luke which display only vague similarities (e.g., Mt 21:28–32 ‖ Lk 7:29–30) may be due to oral tradition, Bergemann, Dunn and Mournet argue that low-agreement materials are all from oral tradition. This theory runs aground on the *sequential agreement* that exist between Matthew and Luke in reproducing the Q material, which exist even with many of the low-agreement sections. Moreover, there is a fallacy in their assumption that whilst high-verbatim agreement 'Q' texts derive from a document, the low-agreement materials are oral: they wrongly assume that Matthew and Luke would have reproduced Q in a consistent manner. On this, see *R. A. Derrenbacker*, Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem (BETL 186), Leuven 2005 and *J. S. Kloppenborg*, Variation in the Reproduction of the Double Tradition and an Oral Q? in: EThL 83 (2007) 49–79. On long verbatim agreements and the necessity to posit written sources, see *I. M. L. Hunter*, Lengthy Verbatim Recall. The Role of Text, in: A. W. Ellis (ed.), Progress in the Psychology of Language, London 1985, 1:207–36; *A. D. DeConick*, Human Memory and the Sayings of Jesus. Contemporary Exercises in the Transmission of Jesus Tradition, in: T. Thatcher (ed.), Jesus, the Voice and the Text. Beyond the Oral and the Written Gospel, Waco (TX) 2008, 135–79.

3   Thus *A. von Harnack*, The Sayings of Jesus. The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke (New Testament Studies 2) London/New York 1908, 168; *B. H. Streeter*, The Literary Evolution of the Gospels, in: W. Sanday (ed.), Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem, Oxford 1911, 209–227, 212–13; *Tuckett,* Q and the History of Early Christianity (n.1) 102; *I. Havener,* Q. The Sayings of Jesus (Good News Studies 19), Wilmington (NC) 1987, 42–45; *M. Sato*, Q und Prophetie. Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q (WUNT 2/29), Tübingen 1988, 387; *R. A. Horsley*, Social Conflict in the Synoptic Sayings Source Q, in: J. S. Kloppenborg (ed.), Conflict and Invention. Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q, Valley Forge (PA) 1995, 37–52, 42. *W. Schenk*, Die Verwünschung der Küstenorte Q 10:13–15: Zur Funktion der konkreten Ortsangaben und zur Lokalisierung von Q, in: C. Focant (ed.), The Synoptic Gospels. Source Criticism and New Literary Criticism (BETL 110), Leuven 1993, 477–490, 489; argues that Tiberias was the place of composition on the basis of the order the place names in Q 10:13–15. Khorazin – Bethsaida – Capernaum describe an arc from the northeast to the northwest if one were looking across the Kinneret from Tiberias. This seems a rather insubstantial basis for identifying Tiberias as the place of composition. Moreover, Schenk must propose an unusual identification for Khorazin: not Khirbet Keraze (3 km northwest of Capernaum), the usual identification, and the site of a thriving town at least in the II CE, but with Kursi (= Gerasa, Mk 5:1), on the Wadi es-Samak on the eastern side of Kinneret.

4   In 1911 Streeter based his case for a Palestinian provenance for Q on the supposition that Q's lack of mention of Jesus' death was due to the fact that such knowledge could be assumed in every bazaar in Palestine, *B.H. Streeter,* Literary Evolution (n.3), 215. By 1924 Streeter argued that Q's Greek form meant that it was circulated with the backing of the Church of some important Greek city, naming Antioch as the most likely sponsor, *B. H. Streeter,* The Four Gospels. A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates, London 1924, 232. Nevertheless, he suggests that it may originally have emanated from the Galilee, citing the mention of Capernaum (p. 233). An Antiochene provenance was accepted by *T.W. Manson*, The Sayings of Jesus, London 1949/1971, 20 and *F.C. Grant*, The

candidates.[5] A Galilean provenance is sometimes justified on the grounds that Q mentions the sites of Nazara on the Nazareth Ridge (Q 4:16) and three towns on the north and north-west side of the Kinneret: Capernaum, Khorazin, and Bethsaida. This argument is admittedly not very convincing. These place names occur in only three Q pericopae (Q 4:16; 7:1–10; 10:13–15). But Mark also mentions Capernaum, Bethsaida and other sites around the Kinneret and few scholars would place the composition in Mark in Galilee since Mark seems in other respects to be ignorant of Galilean geography. Moreover, the towns of Nazareth, Capernaum, Khorazin, and Bethsaida also appear in Matthew and Luke, who took the names over from Q. Although a few argue that Matthew is

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Gospels. Their Origin and Growth, New York 1957, 51. *S. Schulz*, Q. Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten, Zürich 1972, 481; Id., Die Gottesherrschaft ist nahe herbeigekommen (Mt 10,7/Lk 10,9). Der kerygmatische Entwurf der Q-Gemeinde Syriens, in: H. Balz (ed.), Das Wort und die Wörter. Festschrift Gerhard Friedrich, Stuttgart 1973, 57–67 on the basis of tradition-historical assumptions located the earliest layers of Q in the Palestinian-Syrian region" and the final redaction in a Hellenistic Jewish-Christian community in the Transjordan or the Decapolis.

5   *H.T. Fowler*, Paul, Q, and the Jerusalem Church, in: JBL 43 (1924) 9–14 proposed Jerusalem as the provenance of Q on the basis of Q's marked theological differences from Paul (evidently assuming that anything that was non-Pauline derived from Jerusalem); *J. M. C. Crum*, The Original Jerusalem Gospel. Being Essays on the Document Q, London 1927 also advocated Jerusalem on the grounds that it represented Judaistic Christianity (and on this assumption attributes to Q much special Matthaean material). *L. T. Johnson*, The Letter of James. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (AB 37 A) Garden City, NY 1995, 119–20 declares that there is no positive reason for locating the development of Q materials in Galilee rather than in Jerusalem, citing as support "the remarkably percipient essay by "H. T. Thatcher" [sic! read H. T. Fowler]." He seems unaware that Fowler did not even consider the possibility of a Galilean provenance, much less refute it. Similarly, Johnson seems unaware of the contents of the article by "Kloppenburg [sic!] 1992" (i.e., *J.S. Kloppenborg*, Literary Convention, Self-Evidence, and the Social History of the Q People, in: J. S. Kloppenborg/ Leif E. Vaage (ed.), Early Christianity, Q and Jesus (Semeia 55) Atlanta (GA) 1991, 77–102 that he cites (p. 120 n. 304) or the various essays of *J. L. Reed*, Populations Numbers, Urbanization, and Economics. Galilean Archaeology and the Historical Jesus, in: E. H. Lovering (ed.), Society of Biblical Literature 1994 Seminar Papers (SBLSP 33), Atlanta (GA) 1994, 203–19; Id., The Social Map of Q, in: J. S. Kloppenborg (ed.), Conflict and Invention. Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q, Valley Forge (PA) 1995, 17–36 defending a Galilean provenance for Q. *B. Pearson*, A Q Community in Galilee? In: NTS 50 (2004) 476–94 also advocates a Jerusalem provenance, but without substantial argument. He dismisses a Galilean origin arguing that it can also safely be assumed that [the Galilean] members [of the Jesus movement] handed down their traditions of Jesus' teachings in Aramaic" (p. 491), apparently not realizing that Greek is well attested in the Galilee. His confident declaration that Q could come from Jerusalem or maybe Antioch has no foundation whatsoever. *M. Frenschkowski*, Galiläa oder Jerusalem? Zum topographischen und politischen Hintergrund der Logienquelle, in: A. Lindemann (ed.), The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus, Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense XLIX (BETL 158), Leuven 2001, 535–559 argued for a Jerusalem provenance on somewhat different grounds: there is no evidence of a 'Christian' group in Capernaum before the Constantinian period; no names of any Galilean Christian leaders are preserved; and that the prominence of anti-Pharisaic polemic in Q points to a southern origin.

Galilean, almost no one would suggest that Luke was. Hence, the mere mention of place names is hardly probative.

A more sophisticated approach to the provenance of Q appeared in the 1995 study by Jonathan Reed on the social map of Q. Drawing on the insight of contemporary theorists of geography that social values are at work in the perception of place, Reed observes that the nine place names mentioned in Q describe three concentric circles. Capernaum is at the centre of the circles, appearing alongside Khorazin and Bethsaida (both within an easy walk of Capernaum). "These three places distinguish themselves from the other six places in Q by the vehemence of their condemnation and by their otherwise anonymity in antiquity."[6] Q 4:16 provides a fourth Galilean place name, "Nazara."[7] Reed suggests that a further Galilean town is implicit in the mention of Jonah (11:32), who came from Gath-Hepher, 3 km from Nazareth.[8] All five, of course, are towns of the Lower Galilee.[9]

Three cities form a second circle, Jerusalem in the south and Tyre and Sidon to the north. It might at first be doubted whether these cities have any significant for determining Q's provenance. The mention of Tyre and Sidon might simply be

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6 *Reed*, Social Map (n. 5) 21.

7 Ναζαρα is attested only in Mt 4:13 and Lk 4:16. Elsewhere, the gospels prefer Ναζαρεθ (Mt 2:23; Mk 1:9; Jn 1:45, 46; Origen, 6x; Eusebius, 11x) or Ναζαρετ (Mt 21:11; Lk 1:24; 2:4, 39, 51; Acts 10:38 and cited by Origen 18x and Epiphanius 45x). Outside the Matthew and Luke Ναζαρα appears only in the *Acta Pauli* (ed. Schmidt) frag. 8: [......]. ὑπ' αὐτῆς ὡς ἀποκυῆσε αὐτὴν καὶ γεννῆσαι [Ἰησοῦν] τὸν Χριστὸν [καὶ σωτῆρα] ἡμῶν ἐκ Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τραφέντα τραφέν [τα ἐν Ν]αζαρὰ προσελθόντα δὲ εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ ὅλην τὴ[ν περίχωρον καὶ] διδάσκοντα, ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τῶ[ν] ο[ὐρανῶν] [a power?] that was conceived by her and borne, Jesus the Christ and our savior in Bethlehem of Judaea, raised in Nazara, but who went to Jerusalem and throughout the whole region teaching that 'The kingdom of the heavens is near'" (evidently citing Matthew); and Origen, *Comm. in Ioh.* 10.2.8 (ed. Blanc, Sources chrétiennes): καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων. καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Ναζαρά, οὖ ἦν τεθραμμένος, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν, citing Lk 4:16. *J. A. Fitzmyer* The Gospel According to Luke (AB 28–28 A), Garden City (NY) 1981–1985, 530; suggest that Q's spelling reflects a more Semitic spelling of the name.

8 *J. L. Reed*, The Sign of Jonah (Q 11:29–32) and Other Epic Traditions in Q, in: H. Taussig (ed.), Reimagining Christian Origins (FS B. L. Mack) Valley Forge (PA) 1996, 130–43; compare *J. Jeremias*, Heiligengräber in Jesu Umwelt (Mt 23: 29; Lk 11:47). Eine Untersuchung zur Volksreligion der Zeit Jesu, Göttingen 1958, 24–28.

9 Jn 12:21 places Bethsaida in the Galilee (Βηθσαϊδὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας), although in the early first century it belonged to Philip rather than Antipas. Nero, however, transferred both sides of the Jordan to Agrippa II in 54 CE (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.159; *Bell.* 2.252). By 140 CE, Ptolemy (*Geography* 5.16.4) located Julias (Bethsaida) in the Galilee, not in Gaulanitis. Thus. *C. C. McCown*, The Problem of the Site of Bethsaida, in: JPOS 10 (1930) 32–58, 46 suggested that John's reference reflects the geographical divisions sometime between the time of Josephus and Ptolemy rather than those of a century earlier. *C. Kopp*, The Holy Places of the Gospels, Freiburg/Montreal 1963, 186 concurs with McCown, but suggests that John's reference, which he takes to be earlier than Ptolemy, reflects "popular speech [which] had never taken much notice … of the constantly changing political boundaries …"

stereotyped literary allusions to Israel's traditional enemies. Tyre and Sidon are, after all, mentioned in Israelite prophecy, although not as frequently as Babylon, Assyria, or Egypt. Reed, however, argues that the two cities were not merely relics of the epic imagination; numismatic analysis makes it clear that Tyre was one of the main influences on the economy of first century Galilee.[10] These twin cities are precisely what one would expect a lower Galilean group to select: they are the closest gentile cities that were both part of the epic traditions of Israel and were still a part of current social and economic situation of the Galilee.[11]

In the south Jerusalem also belongs to Israel's epic tradition; but no less than Tyre, Jerusalem was a real influence on Galilean economy and society. Q's attitude toward Jerusalem, according to Reed, virtually rules out the possibility that Q was penned in Jerusalem or that Jerusalem was at the center of Q's narrative map. The criticism of Jerusalem is strident: it is a pretentious city which kills the prophets, and whose sanctuary is barren.[12]

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10 The coinage of Tyre appears with a special frequency in the Upper Galilee, at Meiron: *E. M. Meyers/J. F. Strange/C. L. Meyers,* Excavations at Ancient Meiron, Upper Galilee, 1971–72, 1974–75, 1977 (Meiron Excavation Project 3), Cambridge (MA) 1981, 260–272; *J. T. Raynor/Y. Meshorer,* The Coins of Ancient Meiron (Meiron Excavation Project 4), Cambridge/Winona Lake 1988; at Khirbet Shemaʿ: *E. M. Meyers/A. T. Kraabel/J. F. Strange,* Ancient Synagogue Excavations at Khirbet Shemaʿ, Upper Galilee, Israel, 1970–1972 (Meiron Excavation Project 1) Durham (NC) 1976, 148–150 and plate 6.1; and Gush Ḥalav: *R. S. Hanson,* Tyrian Influences in Upper Galilee (Meiron Excavation Project 2) Cambridge (MA) 1980, 51–54. For the first century CE, Tyrian coins account for almost one-half of the total supply at Meiron and 62.5 % of the supply in the second century, *Hanson,* Tyrian Influences (n. 10) 53. Tyrian coinage is also frequent in the eastern lower Galilee: at Magdala/Tarichaeae: *Y. Meshorer,* A Hoard of Coins from Migdal, in: ʾAtiqot 11 (1976) 54–71, plates X–XV; at Khorazin: *Y. Meshorer,* המטבעות שנתגלו בחפירות כורזין (Coins from the Excavations at Khorazin), in: Eretz Israel 11 (1973) 158–162 (Heb.); at Sepphoris and Bethsaida: *R. Arav/C. Meier,* Bethsaida Excavations. Preliminary Report 1987–1993, in: Bethsaida. A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee (Bethsaida Excavations Project 1), Kirksville (MO) 1995, 61. Of the 23 pre-Byzantine coins found in connection with the first-century Kinneret boat, 2 are from Sidon, 3 from Akko-Ptolemais, and 4 from Tyre (one is Hasmonean and one from Herod Philip). See *H. Gitler,* The Coins, in: ʾAtiqot 19 (1990), 101–106. According to *A. Kindler,* The Coin Finds at the Excavations of Bethsaida, in: R. Arav/R. S. Freund (ed.), Bethsaida. A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee. Volume 2: Reports and Contextual Studies (Bethsaida Excavations Project 2), Kirksville (MO) 1999, 250–268. The Bethsaida coin finds to 1996 (N=220) showed that the mint of Tyre was dominant during the Hellenistic period, accounting for 43 of the Hellenistic coins and 50 (22.7 %) of all the coins, including Roman coins. Other mints represented are Alexandria (19), Salamis, Cyprus (4), and Sidon (1). The numismatic picture for the 1997–2000 seasons is similar (N=147): Tyre (35); Alexandria (14); Jerusalem (8); Hippos (2) Tiberias (2); Antioch (1); Sidon (3); Rome (2); Constantinople (22 – all Ottoman). See *A. Kindler*, Bethsaida Numismatic Survey. Seasons of 1997 through 2000, in: R.Arav/R. S. Freund (ed.), Bethsaida. A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee. Volume 4 (Bethsaida Excavations Project 4), Kirksville (MO) 2009, 252–266.

11 *Reed*, Social Map (n. 5) 22.

12 *Reed,* Social Map (n. 5) 23.

The third concentric circle touches cities of the mythic and epic past, Nineveh (11:32) to the north and Sodom (10:12; 17:28–30) to the south. Neither was a living city at the time of Q's composition. Nevertheless Q invokes these peripheral cities in order to threaten and shame the center: the spectre of Sodom is employed to threaten non-receptive Galilean towns (10:12). Its destruction looms up from the south to threaten those who "come out" (3:7a; 7:24) to hear John the Baptist.[13] In the other direction, the great Gentile city Nineveh and its repentance stand as witnesses against unrepentant Israelites.

The mental map suggested by Reed is not merely the accidental consequence of the historical Jesus' activity in the Galilee. All of Q's place references belong to its redactional stage (Q[2]) and thus reflects the imaginative map of the framers of Q. Moreover, Q uses the term "Israel" (7:9; 22:30) but never "Judaea" or "Judaeans" (Ἰουδαῖοι), perhaps because "Israel" was a preferable identifier for a Galilean audience.[14]

Two observations about the editing of Q lend some support to Reed's suggestions. Although there are several competing models for understanding the compositional history of Q, there is an impressive consensus that Q 10:13–15, which mention three of the five Galilean locales, belongs to a compositional stage of Q.[15] A brief examination of Q 10:2–16 indicates why this is a reasonable conclusion.

First, whilst most of Q 10:2–16 is ostensibly directed at followers of Jesus engaged in travel throughout the countryside, Q 10:12.13–15 constitute an apostrophe, chastising three Galilean towns. The woes against the Galilean towns not only represent an abrupt shift of rhetorical stance, from instruction to

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13 *J. S. Kloppenborg*, City and Wasteland. Narrative World and the Beginning of the Sayings Gospel (Q), in: Semeia 52 (1990) 145–160.

14 *S. J. D. Cohen,* Josephus in Galilee and Rome. His Vita and Development as a Historian (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 8) Leiden 1979, 206–207; notes that in *Vita*, Josephus only once refers to inhabitants of the Galilee as Ἰουδαῖοι, and this in a context where the contrast is with Gentiles. Elsewhere, Ἰουδαῖοι refers to Judaeans, and Γαλιλαῖοι to Galileans. On "Judaeans" versus "Israelites" as designators, see *J. H. Elliott,* Jesus the Israelite Was Neither a "Jew" nor a "Christian". On Correcting Misleading Nomenclature, in: JSHJ 5 (2007) 119–54.

15 *Sato*, Prophetie (n. 3) 176 argues that 10:12.13–15 are added by Redaction "C", which combined two earlier collections. See also *W. Schmithals,* Das Evangelium nach Lukas (ZBK NT 3.1) Zürich 1980, 123. *A. Jacobson*, The First Gospel. An Introduction to Q (Foundations and Facets. Reference Series), Sonoma (CA) 1992, 143–146 attributes 10:13–15 to the redaction that brought together the materials in 10:2–16, although he also posits two later redactions. More recently, *D. Allison,* The Jesus Tradition in Q, Valley Forge (PA) 1997, 35 acknowledges that 10:13–15 is an interruption in Q 10:2–16 and observes further that this stratum of Q (which he calls Q[3]) shows a very strong geographical interest: Jerusalem (4:9; 13:34); Capernaum (7:1; 10:15); Bethsaida (10:13); Khorazin (10:13), Tyre (10:13–14); Sidon (10:13–14); Nineveh (11:30.32).

prophetic woe, but interrupt an original connection between 10:10–11 and 10:16 based on the term "welcome" (δέχομαι).[16]

> 10 Whenever you enter a town and they do not *welcome* (δέχωνται) you, go outside the town and (11) shake off the dust from your feet.
> 12 I tell you that *it will be more tolerable* for Sodom on that day *than* for *that* town.
> 13 Woe to you, Khorazin; woe to you Bethsaida! For if the wonders that had been done among you had occurred in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. 14 Indeed at the judgment *it will be more tolerable* for Tyre and Sidon *than* for you. 15 And you, Capernaum, will you be exalted to heaven? No, you will be brought down to Hades.
> 16 Whoever *welcomes* (δεχόμενος) you welcomes (δέχεται) me, and whoever welcomes (δεχόμενος) me welcomes (δέχεται) the one who sent me.

The process by which Q 10:13–15 was added can be reconstructed: Q 10:10–11 raised the possibility of the non-reception of the "laborers" of Q 10:2. The issue of inhospitality and the image of exiting the town in turn triggered the reference to Sodom and its fate (10:12). Q 10:13–15, which deals less with inhospitality than with impenitence and *hybris*, is connected to the preceding on the basis of the repeated formula "it will be more tolerable" and the logic of comparing a notorious city to an Israelite town or village. The shift in perspective is dramatic, for 10:13–15 looks back on impenitence and unresponsiveness as *fait accompli*, not as something to be anticipated by the "laborers" of Q 10:2–11. Moreover, the direct address to Capernaum in 10:15 relates back to 7:1 (also belonging to the main redactional stratum), where Jesus marvels at a Gentile's faith as he enters the town. Catchpole rightly notes that "the secondariness of Q 10:13–15 in their present (Luke/Q) context is beyond doubt."[17]

Not only is 10:13–15 an editorial intrusion; 10:12 is one of the best candidates for a saying *created* by the editor of Q.[18] The phrase "for that town" in 10:12 points

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16 The IQP reconstructs Q 10:10.16 as εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν εἰσέλθητε καὶ μὴ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς, ἐξ [[ερχόμενοι ἔξω]] τ[[ῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης·]] . . . 16 ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται, [[καὶ]] ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με. At Q 10:10 Matthew and Luke agree in using δέχομαι; at Q 10:16 the IQP favours Matthew's δέχομαι over Luke's ἀκούω.

17 *D. R. Catchpole*, The Mission Charge in Q, in: J. S. Kloppenborg/L. E. Vaage (eds.), Early Christianity, Q and Jesus (Semeia 55) Atlanta (GA) 1991, 147–174, 162.

18 Thus *Sato*, Prophetie (n. 3) 38; *D. Lührmann*, Die Redaktion der Logienquelle (WMANT 33) Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969, 62–63; *P. Hoffmann*, Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle (NTA NF 8), Münster 1972/1975/1980; *A. D. Jacobson*, The Literary Unity of Q. Lc 10,2–16 and Parallels as a Test Case, in: Logia. Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus (FS J. Coppens) (BETL 59), Leuven 1982, 419–423, 421, 422; Id., First Gospel (n. 15) 145; *J. S. Kloppenborg*, The Formation of Q and Antique Instructional Genres, in: JBL 105 (1986) 443–462, 452; Id., The Formation of Q. Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections (SAC) Philadelphia (PA) 1987, 195–196, 199; *R. Laufen*, Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums (BBB 54), Königstein 1980, 274–275; *F. Neirynck*, Recent Developments in the Study of Q, in: Logia. Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus (FS J. Coppens) (BETL 59),

backward to, and depends on, "town" in v. 10. For this reason, v. 12 cannot have existed independently of 10:10–11. The parallel between 10:12 and 10:14 suggests that v. 12 was created, patterned on v. 14. So long as 10:2–11, (16) and 10:13–15 circulated independently, v. 12 would hardly be needed. Only when the woe oracle was appended to the mission instruction was a transitional phrase necessary. Since 10:12 concerns judgment and evokes the Lot cycle, it is a prime candidate for Q[Red].[19]

Second, it is also crucial to note that Q 10:12 – the editorial clasp that joins 10:2–11, 16 to the woes – , in its invocation of the Lot cycle, belongs to the final stage of Q's composition. As I have noted elsewhere, allusions to the fate of Sodom occur at the beginning of Q (3:2–4, 7), here (10:12) and again at the end of Q, in 17:28–30 – that is, in the *framework* of Q.[20] Two additional editorial themes appearing here are part of the editing of Q. As Dieter Lührmann argued long ago, the theme of the coming judgment unites many of the diverse materials in Q.[21] Second, the mention of "repentance" as the response appropriate to the activities

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Leuven 1982, 65, 69, *M. Sato*, The Shape of the Q-Source, in: J.S. Kloppenborg (ed.), The Shape of Q. Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel, Minneapolis (MN), 156–179, 170; *W. Schenk,* Synopse zur Redenquelle der Evangelien. Q-Synopse und Rekonstruktion in deutscher Übersetzung, Düsseldorf 1981, 55; *Schmithals,* Lukas (n. 15) 123; *R. Uro,* Sheep Among the Wolves. A Study on the Mission Instructions of Q (AASF Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 47), Helsinki 1987, 100, 168; *L. E. Vaage,* Galilean Upstarts. Jesus' First Followers According to Q, Valley Forge (PA) 1994, 108, 112; *D. Zeller,* Redaktionsprozesse und wechselnder 'Sitz im Leben' beim Q-Material, in: Logia. Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus (FS J. Coppens) (BETL 59), Leuven 1982, 395–409, 404; Id., Redactional Processes and Changing Settings in the Q Material, in: J. S. Kloppenborg (ed.) The Shape of Q. Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel, Minneapolis (MN) 1994, 116–130, 125; *Kloppenborg,* Excavating Q (n. 1) 147.

19 F. Neirynck observes the structural similarity between 11:51b; 13:35b; and 10:12 in each case a λέγω ὑμῖν ("I tell you") formula introduces a threat of judgment for those who rejected Jesus' envoys and a condemnation of those who rejected Jesus' ministry, *Neirynck,* Recent Developments (n. 19) 66–67. Since all three evince themes characteristic of the main redaction of Q, he concludes that all three are most likely due Q[Red]. With this judgment I concur. See *J. S. Kloppenborg,* The Sayings Gospel Q. Literary and Stratigraphic Problems, in: R. Uro (ed.), Symbols and Strata. Essays on the Sayings Gospel Q (SESJ Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 65), Helsinki/Göttingen Finnish 1996, 1–66, 19–21, now reprinted as chap. 11 in *J. S. Kloppenborg,* Synoptic Problems. Collected Essays (WUNT 329) Tübingen, 2014, 266–321. The principal dissenters from the view that 10:12 is redactional are *Schulz* Spruchquelle (n. 4) 409 + n. 40, 418 n. 102; who thinks that 10:12 is an integral part of 10:2–12, and *Zeller,* Redactional Processes (n. 18) 125; who holds that v. 12 is secondary, but was part of the preceding unit (10:4–12) because it was this verse that occasioned the addition of Q 10:13–15. This, of course, ignores the parallel between 10:12 and 10:14 which is too striking to be coincidental. *Catchpole,* Mission Charge (n. 17) 163–164 is hesitant: he notes the striking parallels with 10:13–15, which are normally viewed as additions to 10:2–11, but observes that v. 12 is a smooth and uncomplicated continuation of v. 11a, consistent with the topic of (refusal of) hospitality.

20 *Kloppenborg,* Excavating Q (n. 1) 118–121.

21 *Lührmann,* Redaktion (n. 18).

of Jesus and the Q people places Q 10:13–15 in the context of Deuteronomistic theology, also pervasive in Q's redaction.[22] Hence it seems a reasonable conclusion that the woes against the three Galilean towns belong to the final stage of Q's composition.

2.   Khorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum in Q's Editing

The fact that the framers of Q added the woes against the Galilean towns to the earlier collection of mission-related sayings does not necessarily mean that Q 10:13–15 was composed by the editors of Q.[23] It does suggest, however, that there was a reason for the editor of Q to insert 10:13–15 into an existing collection of sayings that is framed as instructions for the *prospective* activities of Q's "laborers" a *retrospective* comment on, apparently, the lack of success that the Q people experience in relation to these three towns.

Q's complaint with Bethsaida and Khorazin seems to have to do with δυνάμεις, that is, wonders, and their lack of appropriate response. Two questions arise:

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22 There is a broad consensus on the redactional nature of these themes. See *Kloppenborg,* Excavating Q (n. 1) 118, 121–122 and the literature cited there. Materials invoking the Deuteronomistic notion of judgment and/or the Lot cycle include Q 3:3.7–9.16–17; 6:23c; 7:18–35; 10:12.13–15; 11:31–32.49–51; 12:39–40.42–46; 13:28–29.34–35; 14:16–24; 17:23–37; 19:12–27; 22:28–30.

23 On the authenticity of the sayings, see *R. K. Bultmann,* The History of the Synoptic Tradition, rev. ed., Oxford 1968, 112; who argues against the authenticity of the saying on three grounds: the woe is retrospective; it presupposes the failure of the preaching of early Jesus followers in Capernaum; and it would have been difficult for Jesus to imagine that Capernaum could be exalted to heaven by his activity. There has been considerable opposition to this, even within Bultmannian circles: Schulz, Spruchquelle (n. 4) 364 n. 275: "Das Wehe über die galiläischen Städte ist also weniger auf den Mißerfolg der Jüngerpredigt in diesen Städten zurückzuführen (so zB Wellhausen Mt zSt; Bultmann, Frage 3), sondern es ist eher gesprochen auf dem Hintergrund der Ablehnung der eschatologischen Wundertaten des Endzeitpropheten Jesus (so zutreffend Neuhäuser, Anpruch 130f); in diesem Sinn ist auch Bultmanns (Tradition 162) Feststellung einer 'indirekten Beziehung zur Person Jesu' in diesem Wort sachgemäß". *G. Theissen,* The Gospels in Context. Social and Political History in the Synoptic Tradition, Minneapolis (MN) 1991, 51 n. 73 and *H. W. Kuhn/R. Arav,* The Bethsaida Excavations. Historical and Archaeological Approaches, in: The Future of Early Christianity (FS H. Koester), Minneapolis (MN) 1991, 77–106; Id., Bethsaida in the Gospels. The Feeding Story in Luke 9 and the Q Saying in Luke 10, in: R. Arav/R. S. Freund (ed.), Bethsaida. A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee (Bethsaida Excavations Project 1), Kirksville (MO) 1995, 249 reply to Bultmann that: (1) it is only Mt 11:20 (τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς ἐγένοντο αἱ πλεῖσται δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ,) that makes the saying retrospective, and Mt 11:20 is redactional, and that even if it is retrospective, it only has in view Jesus' miracle working, not his preaching; (2) there is nothing specifically Christian in Mt 11:20–24; and (3) "if the occasion of Capernaum's pride really was Jesus' work there, the saying would be hard to understand in a post-Easter situation" (*G. Theissen,* Gospels in Context, 51 n. 73). Kuhn adds that Lk10:15 expresses "the consciousness of Jesus … quite typical of his preaching."

First, since the implication of Q 10:13–14 is that such wonders occurred in those towns, have we any evidence for this? And second, should we conclude that these three Galilean towns utterly failed to adhere to the Jesus movement?

A comment attributed to the gospel according to the Hebrews (perhaps the *Gospel of the Nazarenes*)[24] in the ninth century *Historiaca (!) investigatio evangelium (!) secundum Lucam* glosses Bethsaida in Lk 10:13:

> "Bezaida", in qua sanavit paraliticum cata Iohannem. In his civitatibus multae virtutes facte sunt, quae evangelium secundum Hebreos quinquaginta ter (i. e., tres) virtutes in his factas enumerat.[25]

> "Bethsaida", in which the paralytic was healed according to (the gospel of) John. In these cities, many deeds of power (*virtutes*) were done; fifty-three deeds of power done in these (cities) are enumerated in the Gospel of the Hebrews.[26]

This obviously confuses the Βηθζαθα in Jerusalem[27] with Bethsaida in the Galilee/Gaulanitis. The fifty-three miracles of Bethsaida is a detail not otherwise attested and likely a legendary development. None of the extant fragments of the *Gospel of the Nazarenes* confirms this report.

In the fourth century, Jerome was aware of the problem. Citing Mt 11:21–22 in *Commentariorum in Matheum* 2.11.22–24, he asks, where it is written that wonders were done in Khorazin and Bethsaida (*quaerimus ubi scriptum sit, quod in Chorozain et Bethsaida Dominus signa fecerit*). For an answer, he can only cite Mt 9:35:

> Supra legimus: "Et circuibat civitates omnes et vicos, curans omnem infirmitatem", et reliqua. Inter caeteras ergo civitates et viculos, aestimandum est in Chorozain quoque et Bethsaida Dominum signa fecisse.

> We read above, "And he travelled among all the cities and villages, curing all the sick" etc. Among the other cities and villages, therefore, the Lord had done signs in Khorazin and Bethsaida.

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24 So *W. Schneemelcher,* Gospels and Related Writings, in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), New Testament Apocrypha, Louisville (KY)/Cambridge 1991, 163.

25 Clm 6235, fol. 49v–65v, here 56r. Published in *B. Bischoff,* Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese in Frühmittelalter," in: Sacris Erudiri 6 (1954) 262.

26 *F. Strickert,* Philip's City. From Bethsaida to Julias, Collegeville (MN) 2010, 216–217 makes the plausible case that the catch of fish in John 21 is imagined to have occurred near Bethsaida, since John locates Peter's home there (1:44). He suggests further that the 53 miracles of the Gospel of the Nazoreans may be related to the 153 fish of John 21. Even if this were so, however, this does not amount to the kind of public demonstration of power (δυνάμεις) presupposed by Q 10:13–14.

27 The variants for Bethsaida indicate how the confusion arose: βεθεσδα, Βελζεθα, βηθσαιδα [P⁷⁵ B T W it vg syr cop eth Tert Jerome]; βηδσαιδα P⁶⁶ᶜ.

Jerome's discomfort with Q 10:13–15 was in fact felt much earlier.[28] When Matthew placed the woe in his gospel, he introduced it with the redactional comment, τότε ἤρξατο ὀνειδίζειν τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς ἐγένοντο αἱ πλεῖσται δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐ μετενόησαν, "then he began to reproach the cities in which *the majority of his deeds of power* had been done, because they did not repent" (11:20). Matthew, here and elsewhere concerned with what movie directors now call "continuity" – the ability of one scene to build on details introduced in earlier scenes -, lacked stories of wonders performed in the two towns. Since he had no stories of wonders performed in the two towns, his only recourse was to employ a summary statement which told the reader that such wonders indeed occurred, and occurred there.

Earlier traditions cannot be canvassed to solve Jerome or Matthew's problem. Q offers no stories of wonders that were worked in either Bethsaia or Khorazim and, ironically, Q's complaint about Capernaum, the one locale in which a wonder is related, does not have to do with that town's ignoring of δυνάμεις. Nor is Mark of much help: Khorazin is not mentioned at all and whilst Mark mentions Bethsaida, it is not the locale of any publicly witnessed wonders.[29] Matthew omits Mark's reference to Bethsaida entirely in his conclusion to the first multiplication of the loaves (Mt 14:22; cf. Mk 6:45). Since his previous topographical references are to Nazareth (13:58), then Jesus' departure by boat to ἔρημον τόπον, then another boat journey εἰς τὸ πέραν (14:22), it remains quite unclear where Mat-

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28 Origen (*Fragmenta ex commentariis in Exodum*, PG 12:280) offers a rather convoluted argument to the effect that Jesus performed works in "the district of Zin" and Bethsaida, knowing the eventual fates of these towns, and that Tyre and Sidon would fare better: "Οὐαί σοι χώρα Ζίν, οὐαί σοι Βηθσαϊδὰ, … πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ἢ ὑμῖν," καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς·προγνώστης γὰρ ὁ Σωτὴρ ὢν τῆς ἀπιστίας τῶν ἐν χώρα Ζίν, καὶ τῶν ἐν Βηθσαϊδὰ, καὶ τῶν ἐν Καπερναοὑμ, καὶ ὅτι ἀνεκτότερον γίνεται γῇ Σοδόμων ἐν ἡμέρα κρίσεως, ἢ ἐκείνοις, διὰ τί τὰ τεράστια ἐπετέλει ἐν χώρα Ζίν, καὶ ἐν Βηθσαϊδὰ, ὁρῶν ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα ἀνεκτότερον γίνεται ἐν ἡμέρα κρίσεως Τυρίοις, καὶ Σιδωνίοις, ἢ τούτοις· "'Woe to you region of Zin (= Chora-zin), woe to you Bethsaida … But I tell you, it will go easier with Tyre and Sidon than with you' etc.; for the Savior, having foreknowledge of the unbelief of the district of Zin (= Chora-zin) and of those in Bethsaida, and those in Capernaum, and that it will be better for the land of Sodom on the day of judgment than for those cities, wherefore the performed the wonders in the region of Zin and in Bethsaida, knowing that because of these things it would be better on the day of judgment with Tyre and Sidon than for them."

29 Mark first mentions Bethsaida in Mk 6:45 (καὶ εὐθὺς ἠνάγκασεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ προάγειν εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαϊδάν, ἕως αὐτὸς ἀπολύει τὸν ὄχλον) where it is only the disciples' destination following the bread miracle (Mk 6:30–44). Mark apparently imagines that miracle to have occurred somewhere in the vicinity of Capernaum. Although the walking on the water occurs *en route* to Bethsaida, there is no indication that anyone in Bethsaida witnessed this and as soon as they arrive in Bethsaida they depart for Gennersaret (6:53; map ref. 200/252), south of Capernaum, where more healings occur. The only other occurrence of Bethsaida comes in 8:22 where Jesus heals a blind man. But here Jesus leads him outside the town (8:23). Mark seems to suppose that the man does not live in Bethsaida, since when he dismisses him εἰς οἶκον αὐτοῦ he tells him μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθῃς (8:26).

thew imagines Jesus to be. It is not at all obvious that he imagines Bethsaida to be on Jesus' itinerary. Luke is of only slightly more assistance: At 9:10 Luke gives Bethsaida as the locale of the miracle of the loaves, evidently advancing Mark's reference in 6:45 and presenting Bethsaida as a place to which Jesus retreats upon hearing of the execution of John the Baptist by Antipas. As Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn rightly points out, Luke's localization of the feeding miracle and associated healings at Bethsaida also prepares for his version of Q's woe against Bethsaida.[30]

In sum, since neither Q nor Mark locates any wonder in Bethsaida or Khorazin, and since Matthew and Luke's implications that wonders did occur there are redactional, we are left with the first question unanswered: there is no clear testimony of Jesus having performed wonders in either town. Mark's geography is notoriously unrealistic and it is likely that he had no clear understanding of the relationships of the locations around the Kinneret to each other.[31] Moreover, all of Mark's Galilean place names occur in editorial transitions.[32] This suggests that Mark's attachment of various incidents to specific or implied locales is largely a

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30 *Kuhn,* Bethsaida in the Gospels (n. 23) 248.

31 Mk 3:7–8, a summary statement concluding a set of wonder and controversy stories centered on Capernaum, has large crowds coming ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας… καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ περὶ Τύρον καὶ Σιδῶνα. This set of references is a mental representation of space that is socially structured: beginning with the Jewish "centre" (Galilee, Judaea, Jerusalem) and then proceeding to the borders (Idumea, the Transjordan, and the area around Tyre and Sidon). See *D. W. Chapman*, Locating the Gospel of Mark A Model of Agrarian Biography, in: BTB 25 (1995) 24–36, who offers an interesting corrective to the usual approach, which simply uses Mark's geographical errors to conclude that Mark has no knowledge of Palestinian geography. Instead, Chapman argues that Mark's errors are typical of non-Euclidean non-projective geographies, in which the mental reconstruction of space is intuitive (colloidal space). In colloidal space, elements, even areas, are structured in Euclidean fashion, but the context in which they are placed is to-pological and plastic (28). Mark cannot be Galilean – the colloidal area of Galilean geography in his Gospel is too irregular. It was, rather, the combination of his cosmography and the Galileans' colloidal geography that led to the juxtaposition of "correct" geographical refe-rences (e. g., the Sea-Bethsaida – Caesarea Philippi) and gross "errors" (e. g., Gerasa). Since Gerasa lay at the boundary of the Galileans' "homeland", i. e., between their colloidal ge-ography and their cosmography, it was only nebulously positioned in Mark's mind – hence the "telescoping" of the land between the lake and the city. (This would mean, incidentally, that Matthew "corrected" Mark in the wrong fashion. Instead of changing "Gerasa" to "Gadara," he should have written that Jesus "got out of the boat and journeyed to Gerasa")' (p. 35).

32 Mk 1:14 (Galilee), 1:16 (the sea of Galilee), 1:21 (Capernaum), 1:39 (the whole of Galilee); 2:1 (Capernaum), 2:13 (the sea [of Galilee]); 3:7 (the sea [of Galilee]), 13 (τὸ ὄρος), 3:20 (οἶκος [in Capernaum?]); 4:1 (the sea [of Galilee]), 35 (εἰς τὸ πέραν); 5:1 (Gerasa), 21 (εἰς τὸ πέραν); 6:1 (ἡ πατρίς), 6:6b (αἱ κῶμαι), 6:30 (εἰς ἔρημον τόπον), 6:45 (Βηθσαϊδά), 6:46 (εἰς τὸ ὄρος), 6:53 (Γεννησαρετ); 7:24 (τὰ ὅρια Τύρου), 7:31 (διὰ Σιδῶνος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὁρίων Δεκαπόλεως [!]); 8:10 (τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθα), 8:22 (εἰς Βηθσαϊδά), 8:27 (εἰς τὰς κώμας Καισαρείας τῆς Φιλίππου); 9:30 (διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας), 9:33 (Capernaum); 10:1 (τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας [καὶ] πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου).

function of Mark's interest in grouping stories of similar type together: healings and exorcisms in chaps. 1–3 (grouped in or around Capernaum); the parables in chap. 4 "by the sea"; and healings and miracles in vaguely defined Jewish territory (5:21–7:23). Luke's presentation of the geography of Jewish Palestine does not inspire confidence either; and as noted above Matthew has eliminated some of the geographical references. The net result of this is that we are still unable to locate reliably any wonders of the Jesus tradition in Bethsaida.

The Fourth Gospel is of slightly more help. None of the Johannine wonders is expressly located in or near Bethsaida.[33] Famously, however, John claims that Peter, Philip and Andrew were from Bethsaida (1:44; 12:21), contradicting the picture offered by Mark, who locates Peter in Capernaum (1:29–31).[34] It is worth noting that the association of Philip, Andrew and Peter with Bethsaida does not appear in obviously editorial transitions and the very fact that this detail is *not* of any particular significance to John (or to the hypothetical Signs Source), suggests that the association is pre-Johannine.[35] It also means that at least as far as the Johannine reader is concerned, the "sign" of John 21, located on the Kinneret presumably where Peter used to fish, would be assumed to be at or near Bethsaida.[36] I will return to this point shortly.

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33 John's location of the bread miracle (Jn 6:1–13) is unclear. In the present arrangement of the gospel, Jesus has been in Jerusalem and so Jn 6:1, μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῆς Τιβεριάδος, makes no sense. If chaps. 4–7 are rearranged (4–6–5–7; see, among others, *R. Schnackenburg*, The Gospel According to St. John, London 1968–82, 2:5–9; then the locale preceding 6:1 has been Cana. In that case, πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης could refer to any location accessible from the western shore of the Kinneret. Schnackenburg relates Jn 6:1 to Mk 6:31 (εἰς ἔρημον τόπον), but does not speculate further on the location (*John*, 2:13). *B. Lindars*, The Gospel of John, London 1972, 239, on the assumption that 4:46–54 was originally (i.e., prior to Johannine redaction) set in Capernaum (like Q 7:1–10), argues that the location John has in mind is somewhere on the NE coast of the Kinneret; "in any case, it cannot be Tabgha, the traditional site of the miracles". Jn 6:23, ἦλθεν πλοι[άρι]α ἐκ Τιβεριάδος ἐγγὺς τοῦ τόπου ὅπου ἔφαγον τὸν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου, however, seems to suggest that the locale was near Tiberias, There are, however, numerous textual variants, which render the sense of the statement uncertain. Since Capernaum is Jesus' next stop (6:23, 59) all that can be said is the John does not imagine the miracle to have happened there.

34 See also Ps-Clementine, *Rec*. 2.62, which associates Peter with Capernaum.

35 *R. T. Fortna,* The Gospel of Signs. A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source Underlying the Fourth Gospel (SNTSMS 11), Cambridge/London 1970, 185 includes "Bethsaida" in the Signs Gospel at 1,44: "… the gratuitous identification of both Philip's home and that of Andrew and Peter is undoubtedly traditional" (i.e., from the Signs Gospel). Without endorsing a written source underlying the Fourth Gospel, *C. H. Dodd*, Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel, Cambridge 1963, 309–310 also argued that 1:44 was pre-Johannine.

36 See above, n. 26. Jn 21:2 lists the disciples who return to the Galilee as Πέτρος καὶ Θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος καὶ Ναθαναὴλ ὁ ἀπὸ Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο. The two other disciples might (but need not) be Andrew and Philip, also from Bethsaida, but there is no indication from John that the sons of Zebedee were from there. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos* (PG 80:1393) expands the list of disciples form

At this point, it is worth noting that commentators on the Jesus tradition from Matthew and the *Gospel of the Nazoreans* to Jerome, to many modern commentators assume that the *dynameis* of which Q speaks must have been wonders of Jesus, then hence try to detect, or in the case of Matthew and the *Gospel of the Nazoreans*, fabricate such wonders. But no such wonders can be found, unless we follow Jerome's expedient of assuming that the Markan or Matthaean summary statements imply that Jesus performed wonders in virtually every village of the Galilee. Or, we might conjecture that some of the miracles attributed to other locations indeed were originally connected with Bethsaida and Khorazin, but that detail has been lost. The alternate to this approach is to assume – again without any evidence at all – that the *dynameis* are not Jesus' wonders, but those of the early Jesus movement, active in Capernaum, Khorazin and Bethsaida. None of these alternatives is very attractive.

3.   Jesus-followers in Khorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum?

A second issue is how to understand Q's complaint in relation to what is otherwise known (or conjectured) about the three towns. Is it possible that Q 10:13–15 reflects intermural tensions between the framers of Q and other groups of Jesus-followers in the three towns?

3.1.   Khorazin

As far as Khorazin is concerned, we have almost no data. In the fourth century Eusebius assumed (wrongly) that it was deserted[37]:

> Χωραζείν. κώμη τῆς Γαλιλαίας. ἣν ὁ Χριστὸς ταλανίζει κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον. καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ἔρημος, διεστῶσα τῆς Καφαρναοὺμ σημείοις βʼ,

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Bethsaida to include James and John: Πέτρος δὲ, καὶ Ἀνδρέας, καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Ἰωάννης, καὶ Φίλιππος, ἀπὸ Βεθσαϊδὰ τῆς κώμης ἐτύγχανον ὄντες.

[37] Eusebius, *Comm. in Isaiam* 1.54 (ed. Ziegler), treats the three towns, implying that their locations at least can be pointed out: ἥ τε Καφερναοὺμ καὶ ἡ Βηθσαϊδὰ καὶ ἡ Χωραζὶ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κῶμαι, ὧν μέμνηται ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ γραφὴ περὶ τὴν λίμνην τῆς Τιβεριάδος εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν δείκνυνται, "Capernaum and Bethsaida and Khorazi and the other villages, which the gospel writings refer to as around the Lake of Tiberias, can still be pointed out." Similarly, Jerome, *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum: Chorozain, oppidum Galileae, quod Christus propter incredulitatem miserabiliter deplorat et plangit. Est autem nunc desertum in secundo lapide a Capharnaum*, "Khorozain, a village of Galilee, which Christ miserably deplored and cursed because of its unbelief; it is now deserted, at the second milestone from Capernaum."

Chorazin, a village of Galilee, which Christ declared cursed according to the Gospel. And now it is deserted, set apart from Capernaum by two milestones (Eusbius, *Onomastikon* 174.23).

Eusebius' statement seems to be merely an inference from the woe against Khorazin.[38] Even though Khorazin (Arab. Khirbet Karazeh) is in fact 4 km (2.5 miles) north of Capernaum, the village was certainly not deserted in the early fourth century: the town walls had been constructed in the early fourth century; and a large coin hoard dating from 310–340 CE was found under a set of beams in complex E.[39] Whatever site Eusebius had in mind – if he was not simply fabricating a site to fit the woe -, he gives no indication whatsoever of any population connected to the Jesus movement.

Evidence of the existence of the town in the first and early second century CE is scant. Yeivin reported ceramic evidence in the foundation of the synagogue dating from the first and second century, but mainly from the third-fourth.[40] Potsherds from the late I-early II CE were also found in two buildings in the northern part of the site.[41] Although much of the numismatic evidence attests the life of the town in the fourth and later centuries, Donald Ariel reported Hellenistic coins from the III BCE, one coin of Alexander Janneaus, and two of Trajan.[42] The dating of the synagogue now visible is controverted. Yeivin thinks that construction of the synagogue was begun in the early fourth century, and then resumed after a short hiatus, though not on the original plan.[43] Jodi Mag-

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38 Later, Peter the Deacon (ca. 1137 CE), in *Itinerarium de locis sanctis* gives a more fanciful elaboration, *D. Baldi*, Enchiridion locorum sanctorum , Jerusalem 1935, no. 463: Non longe autem inde [ab Heptapegon] est synagoga, quam salvator maledixit; nam cum transiret salvator et illam Iudaei fabricarent, interrogavit eos dicens "Quid facitis?" et illi "nihil". et dominus "ergo si nihil est, quod facitis, nihil erit semper". Quod usque hodie ita permanet. Postmodum enim, quotiens voluerunt illam Iudaei fabricare, quidquid per diem faciebant, per noctem diruebatur et mane semper in ea mensura inveniebatur fabrica eius, in qua fuerat tunc, quando maledicta est, "Not far from there is a synagogue which the saviour cursed; for he passed by whilst the Jews were building it, and asked them, saying, 'What are you building?' They said, 'Nothing'. And the lord (said), 'Therefore, if it is nothing that you are building, it will always be nothing'. Therefore until this day it remains so. For after that, whenever the Jews wanted to build it, the work that they did in the day would fall down in the night, and in the morning they found their building at exactly the same height as it was when it was cursed."

39 *D. T. Ariel*, Coins from the Synagogue at Korazim, in: Zeʾev Yeivin, בית הכנסת בכורזים, The Synagogue at Korazim. The 1962–1964, 1980–1987 Excavations, Jerusalem 2000), 33*-34*.

40 *Z. Yeivin,* בית הכנסת בכורזים, The Synagogue at Korazim. The 1962–1964, 1980–1987 Excavations, Jerusalem 2000, 31*.

41 *Z. Yeivin*, Chorazin, in: New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land 1 (1993) 301–4, 302.

42 *D. T. Ariel,* Coins, in: Yeivin, Synagogue at Korazim (n. 1) 33*-42*.

43 See *Yeivin,* Synagogue at Korazim (n. 40) 31*; *M. J. Chiat*, Handbook of Synagogue Architecture (Brown Judaic Studies 29) Chico (CA) 1982, 97–102; *Yeivin,* Chorazin (n. 41). The basaltic masonry at Khorazin is characterized by pagan hunting scenes, vintage scenes, centaurs, Eros, masks, a suckling lioness, and representations of Medusa, Zeus and Gany-

ness, invoking both ceramic and numismatic evidence, argues for a date in the fifth century for the construction of the synagogue, but notes the presence of third century African Red Slip pottery which, she suggests, was used for fill when the synagogue was constructed.[44] There is no evidence of a Byzantine era church, as there is in other towns on the western side of the Kinneret.

There is, then, some material evidence to suggest that Khorazim was in existence in the first century CE, but the evidence is so scant that we are not left in a position where we can say much more about the size, plan, importance, or economy of the town.[45] There is no direct evidence of the presence of Jesus-followers in Khorazin.

3.2.   Capernaum

Some commentators have argued that Capernaum and Bethsaida had populations sympathetic to the Jesus movement. The first excavators of Capernaum claimed to have found a fourth-century house church underneath the fifth century octagonal church. Beneath this "house church" was a room in insula I with a series of beaten lime floors which the excavator, Virgilio Corbo, argued pointed to modification for cultic purposes.[46] Corbo argued that this pre-fourth century "house church" served Jewish Christians.

Other evidence of Jewish Christianity at Capernaum is sometimes adduced. Writing about 370 CE, Epiphanius (*Haer*. 30.4) reports that a Jew from Tiberias, Josepos, had become attracted to the Jesus movement and had received permission from Constantine – hence, in the early fourth century – to build churches

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mede (some defaced). See *N. N. May*, The Decor of the Korazim Synagogue Reliefs, in: Z. Yeivin (ed.)*,* בית הכנסת בכורזים, The Synagogue at Korazim. The 1962–1964, 1980–1987 Excavations, Jerusalem 2000, 51*-54*. The discovery at Bethsaida in 2010 of masonry with carvings of grape clusters identical in style to those at Khorazin has led to the speculation that the stones from the Roman Temple at Bethsaida were robbed out to repair the Khorazin synagogue after the demise of Bethsaida in the late third or early fourth century.

44 *J. Magness*, Did Galilee Decline in the Fifth Century? The Synagogue at Chorazin Reconsidered, in: J. Zangenberg/H. W. Attridge/D. B. Martin (ed.), Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee. A Region in Transition (WUNT 210), Tübingen 2007, 259–274.

45 The only mention of Khorazin in rabbinic sources is *b. Men*. 85a, commenting on the quality of flour to be used in the *ʿomer* offering. "They would have brought it even from the wheat of Karzaim and of Kefar Ahim [=Capernaum?] if only they had been nearer to Jerusalem; since they may bring the 'Omer-offering only from the fields in the south, and which had been broken up for the purpose, for upon these fields the sun rises and upon these the sun set'". The implication seems to be that the grain of Khorazin and Capernaum (?) was of high quality.

46 *V. Corbo*, The House of St. Peter at Capharnaum, Jerusalem 1969; *V. Corbo/S. Loffreda,* Cafarnao (Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 19, 48) Jerusalem 1975–2005, 1:54–56, 79–98.

in Tiberias, Diocaesarea and in Capernaum and in the other villages.[47] A few rabbinic traditions associate Capernaum with *minim* who might be connected to the Jesus movement.[48] Midrashim associate Ḥanina, a reformed *min* who once had broken the Shabbat by riding a donkey, with that town,[49] and a midrash on Qoh 7:26, "but the sinner shall be taken by her," offers as one of the several glosses for "sinner", "the inhabitants of Capernaum."[50] Since all the other persons glossed as "sinners" in this midrash appear to be heretics, and since Capernaum is closely associated with the Jesus movement, it might seem a reasonable conjecture that the "heretics" in question belonged to the Jesus movement. The rabbinic evidence, however, dates from a time considerably beyond the first century.

A thorough review of the archaeological evidence by Joan Taylor cast considerable doubt on the claims of pre-fourth century use of the house in insula I as a Jewish Christian site. The lime floors are not themselves evidence of a room

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47 Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.4.1: Ἦν δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἰώσηπος, οὐχ ὁ συγγραφεὺς καὶ ἱστοριογράφος καὶ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἀπὸ Τιβεριάδος ὁ ἐν χρόνοις τοῦ μακαρίτου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ γέροντος 'γενόμενος᾽, ὃς καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξιώματος κομήτων ἔτυχε καὶ ἐξουσίαν εἴληφεν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Τιβεριάδι ἐκκλησίαν Χριστῷ ἱδρῦσαι καὶ ἐν Διοκαισαρείᾳ καὶ ἐν Καπερναοὺμ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις, ὃς καὶ πολλὰ πέπονθεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὶν ἢ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐμφανισθῆναι, "One of them was Joseppos, not the antiquarian and historian of old, but a man from Tiberias at the time of the blessed king Constantine, who was deemed worthy by the king himself of the title *comētes* (count), and received authority in the same Tiberias to build a church to Christ and also in Diocaesarea and in Capernaum and in the other villages, who also suffered much at the hands of the Jews before he was recognized by the king".

48 Thus *R. Pritz,* Nazarene Jewish Christianity. From the End of the New Testament Period Until Its Disappearance (StPB 37) Jerusalem/Leiden 1988, 49–50.

49 *Midr. Qoh.* 1.25 [on Qoh 1:8] "Ḥanina, the son of R. Joshua's brother, came to Capernaum, and the minim worked a spell on him and set him riding upon an ass on the Sabbath. He went to his uncle, Joshua, who anointed him with oil and he recovered [from the spell. R. Joshua] said to him, 'Since the ass of that wicked person has roused itself against you, you are not able to reside in the land of Israel.' So he went down from there to Babylon where he died in peace". See *S. Loffreda,* Recovering Capharnaum, Jerusalem 1993, 29–30.

50 *Midr. Qoh.* 7.39 [on Qoh 7:26] "She caught him by his garment, saying: Lie with me [Gen 39,12]. whoever pleases God shall escape from her [Qoh 7,26]: i.e. Joseph, but the sinner shall be taken by her: i.e. Potiphar. Another interpretation of whoever pleases i.e. Phinehas, but the sinner: i.e. Zimri. Another interpretation of whoever pleases: i.e. Palti, but the sinner: i.e. Amnon. R. Issi of Caesarea interpreted the verse as applying to heresy. whoever pleases: i.e. R. Eleazar, but the sinner: i.e. Jacob of Kefar-Nibbuyara. Another illustration of whoever pleases: i.e. Eleazar b. Dama, but the sinner: i.e., Jacob of Kefar-Sama. Another illustration of whoever pleases: i.e. Ḥanina the nephew of R. Joshua, but the sinner: i.e., the inhabitants of Capernaum. Another illustration of whoever pleases: i.e., Judah b. Nakosa, but the sinner: i.e., the minim. Another illustration of whoever pleases: i.e., R. Nathan, but the sinner: i.e. his disciple. Another illustration of whoever pleases: i.e., R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, but the sinner: i.e., Elisha". It appears that most of the names glosses as sinners were *minîm.*

used for cultic purposes; lime floors have been excavated in houses the more affluent Greek Orthodox side of the site.[51] Joan Taylor concluded that

> "in the absence of other significant finds, the very most that could be concluded from the presence of third-century lime pavements is that the family who occupied this house were slightly more wealthy than the rest. … At any rate, there are no grounds for Corbo's view that the lime floors are evidence of Jewish-Christian veneration of the building from the first century onwards."[52]

There is little reason to doubt that Egeria, in 381–384 CE, saw a church that memorialized Peter or that half a century earlier Josepos of Tiberias built a church there. Epiphanius, however, insists that prior to that time, the cities in which Josepos built had no Christian populations at all.[53] The rabbinic statements about Ḥanina the reformed *min* and the inhabitants of Capernaum, moreover, do not clearly point to Jewish Christianity before the fourth century. The story of Ḥanina involves the charge that he had been put under a spell, undoubtedly by Christians, but as Adiel Schremer has observed, the charge that Christians used magic is found "almost exclusively in the Babylonian Talmud and one can hardly find traces of such accusations against Christianity in early Palestinian rabbinic sources."[54] Qohelet Rabbah, moreover, in which both stories occur, is a late midrashic compilation from the seventh or eighth century and was influenced by the Babli.[55] Taylor's conclusion, hence, is probably correct:

> "it is probable that Joseph of Tiberias bought the compound *insula* I sometime before the death of Constantine in 337, when he began building small Christian churches in four Jewish towns, in the hope that he could make converts by encouraging Christian pilgrims to visit certain places…. The old dwellings of the compound were renovated to accommodate Christian visitors and to provide a focus for prayer, even though it would

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51 *J. E. Taylor,* Christians and the Holy Places. The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins, Oxford 1993, 283–284.

52 *Taylor,* Holy Places (n. 51) 284.

53 Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.11 (GCS 25, 346) ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ᾐτήσατο πλὴν τοῦτο μέγιστον χάρισμα τυχεῖν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ἐπιτραπῆναι καὶ διὰ προστάγματος βασιλικοῦ οἰκοδομῆσαι Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κώμαις τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἔνθα τις οὐδέποτε ἴσχυσεν προστήσασθαι ἐκκλησίας διὰ τὸ μήτε Ἕλληνα μήτε Σαμαρείτην μήτε Χριστιανὸν μέσον αὐτῶν εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα ἐν Τιβεριάδι καὶ ἐν Διοκαισαρείᾳ τῇ καὶ Σεπφουρὶν καὶ ἐν Ναζαρὲτ καὶ ἐν Καπερναοὺμ φυλάσσεται ‘τὸ’ παρ’ αὐτοῖς [τοῦ] μὴ εἶναι ἀλλόεθνον, "[Josepos] asked to have nothing [from Constantine] except the great gift from the king to be entrusted and at the king's command to build churches of Christ in the cities and villages of the Jews, where no only has been able to establish because there were neither Greeks nor Samaritans nor Christians in their midst. Especially in Tiberias and Diocaesarea and Sepphoris and in Nazareth and Capernaum they ensured that these cities would not be multi-ethnic (μὴ εἶναι ἀλλόεθνον)".

54 *A. Schremer,* Brothers Estranged. Heresy, Christianity, and Jewish Identity in Late Antiquity, Oxford/New York 2010, 102.

55 *Schremer,* Brothers Estranged (n. 54) 210 n. 9.

have been an unusual, small, and unassuming church where perhaps only a few clergy ministered to its upkeep."[56]

The net effect of this conclusion is that there is no real evidence of groups of Jesus-followers resident in Capernaum in the first century. Whatever population existed, came from the fourth century.

3.3.   Bethsaida

The situation with Bethsaida is not a clear, owing to lack of evidence. While the excavations at Bethsaida (et-Tell) have revealed occupational levels from Iron IIA to the third century CE, with a hiatus between the Assyrian destruction in 732 BCE and the early Hellenistic period,[57] the town was refounded as a polis by Herod Philip as Iulias.[58] The city was severely damaged by an earthquake in 115 CE[59] and

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56 *Taylor,* Holy Places (n. 51) 293.

57 *R. Arav,* Bethsaida (et-Tell), in: New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land 5 (2008) 1611–1615.

58 Josephus, *Bell.* 2.168 (2.9.1) indicates that two Herodian foundations were named "Iulias": μεταβάσης δὲ εἰς Τιβέριον τὸν Ἰουλίας υἱὸν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας μετὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου τελευτὴν … διαμείναντες ἐν ταῖς τετραρχίαις ὅ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πηγαῖς ἐν Πανεάδι πόλιν κτίζει Καισάρειαν κἀν τῇ κάτω Γαυλανιτικῇ Ἰουλιάδα Ἡρώδης δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ Τιβεριάδα ἐν δὲ τῇ Περαίᾳ φερώνυμον Ἰουλίας, "After Roman power had been transferred to Tiberius the son of Julia following the death of Augustus, both Herod and Philip remained in their tetrarchies, the one [Philip] founded Caesarea, a city at the springs of the Jordan, in the area of Paneas and also Iulias in the lower Gaulanitis, while Herod founded Tiberias in the Galilee, and in Peraea (the city) of Iulias". These foundations are again mentioned in *Ant.* 18.27–28 (18.2.1): Ἡρώδης δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος τετραρχίαν ἑκάτερος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρειληφότες καθίσταντο καὶ Ἡρώδης Σέπφωριν τειχίσας πρόσχημα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου παντὸς ἠγόρευεν αὐτὴν Αὐτοκρατορίδα· Βηθαραμφθᾶ δέ πόλις καὶ αὐτὴ τυγχάνει τείχει περι-λαβὼν Ἰουλιάδα ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προσαγορεύει τῆς γυναικός· Φίλιππος δὲ Πανεάδα τὴν πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατασκευάσας ὀνομάζει Καισάρειαν κώμην δὲ Βηθσαϊδὰ πρὸς λίμνῃ τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι πόλεως παρασχὼν ἀξίωμα πλήθει τε οἰκητόρων καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει Ἰουλίᾳ θυγατρὶ τῇ Καίσαρος ὁμώνυμον ἐκάλεσεν, "Herod and Philip, each having received a tetrarchy, established their affairs. Herod, building a wall around Sepphoris, which is the ornament of all the Galilee, named it as 'Autokratoris' [i.e., for Augustus] and established Betharamphtha, which happened to be a city, putting a wall around it, and named it 'Iulias' for the wife of the Emperor. Philip, having rebuilt Paneas at the springs of the Jordan, named it 'Caesarea'; raising the village of Bethsaida on the lake of Gennaseretis to the status of a city by a large number of settlers and for another authority, Julia, her [Julias'] namesake, the daughter of Caesar". The account in *Bellum* implies that these foundations occurred shortly after the accession of Tiberius in 14 CE, whilst the *Antiquities* account suggests that these occurred after the death of Herod the Great (the re-founding of Sepphoris was even later, in 6 CE). The usual dating for the foundation of Bethsaida Iulias is early in the reign of Antipas and Philip (before 2 BCE). *N. Kokkinos,* The Foundation of Bethsaida-Julias by Philip the Tetrarch, in: JJS 59 (2008) 237–251, 241–42 argues that if Bethsaida Iulias was named for the *daughter* of Augustus, the foundation must have occurred before Iulias' banishment by Augustus for

both ceramic and numismatic evidence indicates that it was unoccupied by the late third century.[60]

Unlike many other sites in the Galilee and Decapolis, there is no indication of a Byzantine church on the site.[61] The only indication that we have of a connection with the Jesus movement is the note in the Fourth Gospel that Philip, Andrew and Peter came from that city. Eusebius adds nothing to this statement, which probably reflects both the fact that the town was not in existence in his day, and that he knew of no traditions of Christian occupation there.[62]

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adulterous affairs. Against this, *F. Strickert,* The Founding of the City of Julias by the Tetrarch Philip in 30 CE, in: JJS 61 (2010), 220–233, 221 urges that it is unlikely that Philip would have begun work on a secondary capital (Bethsaida-Iulias) only two years after the founding of Caesarea (Philippi), completing it before the completion of the latter in 1 CE. Strickert's suggestion is that Bethsaida-Iulias was founded between 30–34 CE (Philip died in 34 CE). This involves arguing that Josephus was wrong to claim in Antiquities that Iulias was Augustus' (disgraced) biological daughter; but Strickert also points out that Augustus' wife Livia was adopted into the Julian *gens* and hence named as "Iulia" at the reading of Augustus' will in 14 CE and that after her death in 29 CE she was also known as the "daughter of Augustus" (p. 227). Neither solution is without its problems: an early dating of the foundation means that it was named for the disgraced daughter of Augustus, and continued for a century to bear that name (in Josephus and Pliny). Strickert's later date requires a correction of Josephus' text, in spite of the fact that Josephus clearly knew that Augustus' daughter Iulia was married to Marcus Agrippa (*Bell.* 2.25) and would hardly have confused her with Livia–Iulia.

59 *F. Strickert,* 2 Esdras 1.11 and the Destruction of Bethsaida, in: JSP 16 (1997) 111–122.

60 *C. Savage,* Supporting Evidence for a First-Century Bethsaida, in: J. Zangenberg/H. W. Attridge/D. B. Martin (ed.), Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee. A Region in Transition (WUNT 210) Tübingen 2007, 193–206, 205 notes that the ceramic sequences appears to end at the beginning of the IV CE. *Kindler*, Coin Finds (n. 10) and Bethsaida Numismatic Survey 1997–2000 (n. 10) observes that there is almost a one thousand year gap in numismatic evidence between the late Roman period (evidence of which is scant at Bethsaida) and the Mamluk period (XIII/XIV CE) and a further hiatus until the Ottoman period in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

61 According to the life of Willibaldus (ca. 734 CE) (in: *Baldi,* Enchiridion [n. 38] no. 382): *et inde [de Capharnaum] pergebant ad Bethsaidam, inde erant Petrus et Andreas. Ibi est nunc ecclesia, ubi prius erat domus illorum. Et illic manentes unam noctem, mane pergebant ad Corozaim, ubi Dominus demoniacos curavit, et diabolum mitebat porcorum, Ibi fuit ecclesia Christianorum,* "and from there [Capernaum] they travelled to Bethsaida, in which Peter and Andrew lived; there is now a church there in the place where originally their house stood. When they [Willibald and his companions] had stayed one night there they went on in the morning to Khorazin where the lord healed the people possessed by demons, and sent the devils into the heard of swine. A Christian church is there". It is clear from the comment about Khorazin that Willibald confuses Khorazin with Kursi, where there is a Byzantine church. It is unclear where he thinks Bethsaida is. *Arav*, Bethsaida (n. 57) 1611, thinks that Willibald has confused Bethsaida with Capernaum, and its octagonal church, which would suggest that Willibald has also confused Heptapegon with Capernaum, since Willibald's itinerary goes from Tiberias, north to Magdala (i.e., Migdal: in *Baldi,* Enchiridion (n. 38) no. 365), and then immediately to "Capernaum" without mentioning Heptapegon.

62 Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann GCS, p. 58): Βηθσαϊδά πόλις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Πέτρου καὶ Φιλίππου. κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πρὸς τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι λίμνῃ. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in*

Mark Appold tried to argue that the cross-shaped inscription found in House B is also evidence of Christian occupation.[63] This, however, must be viewed in the context of the comprehensive study by Graydon Snyder, who has shown that there is otherwise no evidence of the use of the cross as a symbol of identity in Christian contexts prior to the time of Constantine.[64]

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

If there were Jesus-groups in Capernaum, Khorazin, and Bethsaida in the first century, as some contend, it might be argued that Q's woes represent a complaint of one group of Jesus followers against others: were the Jesus followers there not sympathetic to the particulars of Q's preaching? Or did the town of Capernaum pride itself on the fact that Jesus was active there and perhaps asserted some precedence on that basis, to the annoyance of other Jesus groups.[65] There is certainly nothing *a priori* implausible about this. There were significant divisions among other groups of Jesus followers in antiquity and rival claims to precedence. This approach might also account for the fact, until now unexplained, of why Q fails to mention of the names of any of Jesus' most prominent disciples. Was it a kind of *damnatio memoriae* of persons associated with rival branches of the Jesus movement?

Neither literary nor material evidence, however, provides a strong basis for supposing that there were Jesus groups in Capernaum or Bethsaida, especially prior to the first revolt and there is no reason at all to suppose that there were Jesus followers in Khorazin.[66]

Psalmos (PG 80:1393) expands the list of disciples from Bethsaida to include James and John: Πέτρος δὲ, καὶ Ἀνδρέας, καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Ἰωάννης, καὶ Φίλιππος, ἀπὸ Βεθσαϊδὰ τῆς κώμης ἐτύγχανον ὄντες.

63 *M. Appold,* Bethsaida and a First-Century House Church? in: R. Arav/ R. S. Freund (ed.), Bethsaida. A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee. Volume 2 (Bethsaida Excavations Project. Reports and Contextual Studies 2) Kirksville (MO) 1999, 373–393, 392–93.

64 *G. F. Snyder,* Ante Pacem. Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine, Macon 1985.

65 Thus *A. F. Loisy,* Les évangiles synoptiques, Ceffonds Près Montier-en-Der 1907–1908, 1:877: "L'idée générale est que cette ville [Capernaum], qui aurait dû se sentir honorée par le séjour de Jésus, sera encore plus punie que les autres".

66 Of course, the caveat here is that *Jewish* Jesus followers are likely to have been "invisible" in Capernaum, Khorazim, and Bethsaida, as far as material remains are concerned prior to the fourth century, when symbols such as crosses came to be used. If baptisms occurred, they surely took place in the lake rather than in specially cut baptistries.

4.   Khorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum in the first century

The alternate to viewing the woes as evidence of intermural conflict among groups of Jesus-followers is to suppose that, as Q 10:13–15 seems to imply, the Jesus movement represented by Q was largely unsuccessful in these three towns.[67] In order to put this into context it is important to grasp what the Q people were doing. They were not preaching a "Jesus Christ, raised from the dead" or, still less, proclaiming a Johannine Jesus-as-Logos. The interest in Christology is in fact negligible in the earliest stratum of Q and even in the redactional level where the christological titles ("son of humanity", "son") appear, these are never connected with content of Q's message to others.[68] Instead, Q's mission speech (Q 10:2–16) is centered on the announcement of the reign of God (Q 10:9) which for Q consists in an almost utopian social experiment of debt forgiveness (6:30; 11:3; 17:3–4), various strategies of conflict avoidance and reduction (Q 6:27–28; 12:58–59), and resource sharing (6:29; cf. also 12:22–31).

Q's envoys were not called "apostles" or "prophets" but rather ἐργάται, "workers", the term used for ordinary agricultural day-labourers. This is not a status term in antiquity. Their dress and deportment was peculiar: they were to travel without a staff (the ordinary means of defence against bandits), a purse, or even sandals.[69] They did not anticipate that their behaviour or their message would be received by all. The sobriquet that the Q people used for their sympathizers was the υἱοὶ εἰρήνης (10:6). Villages that welcomed the Q workers could expect "healing" of the sick and in exchange, provide food and lodging. But Q also imagined non-reception and for such towns it prescribes a foot-shaking ritual outside the village as a sign of dissociation. It is precisely in this context that the woes against the three towns were added redactionally.

In order to imagine the scenario that Q has in mind, we should keep in mind that travellers are visible long before they enter a village or city gate. The Q workers' distinctive appearance meant that they could be identified from a dis-

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67 See, e.g., *Fitzmyer*, Luke (n. 7) 852–853: "The inhabitants of Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, favored with the prophetic preaching and 'mighty deeds' of Jesus, smugly went their own ways, however, and refused belief. What could have contributed to Capernaum's glory at the judgment would lead only to its disgrace"; *D. A. Hagner,* Matthew (Word Biblical Commentary 33 A-B), Dallas (TX) 1993–1995, 2:314; "Capernaum was the headquarters of Jesus' Galilean ministry. … It must have been particularly distressing that Capernaum was in the main unreceptive to Jesus ministry. Capernaum as apparently proud and ambitious, as the question 'Will you be exalted to heaven?' suggests. … Yet her fate would prove to be the opposite: she would go down to 'Hades'. … Capernaum, so privileged with the frequent presence of Jesus, could expect severe judgment at the end of the present age".

68 On the stratigraphy of Q, see *Kloppenborg*, Excavating Q (n. 1) chap. 3.

69 Q 10,4: μὴ βαστάζετε [[βαλλάντιον]], μὴ πήραν, μὴ ὑποδήματα, μηδὲ ῥάβδον· καὶ μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε.

tance. They were not *rochelim* – travelling salesmen with their wares on a long staff[70] – nor where they soldiers nor administrative officials, distinguishable by their clothing and entourage. It would be immediately obvious from their dress that the Q workers were not simply villagers returning home. A decision as to whether to welcome these "workers" or not was likely made long before they reached the outskirts of the village. They represented a notion of the "reign of God" that entailed certain social and economic practices, either to be welcomed or rejected. As an analogy, we can cite Josephus' reports that on the one hand the people of Sepphoris welcomed Vespasian (*Bell.* 3.30–32)[71] and, on the other, Josephus himself was repelled when he tried to enter the city (*Vita* 124, 347–48). The decision to admit or to repel was a choice about the political and social orientation of the city.

What Q 10 appears to have in view, then, is an attempt to define a network of villages and towns sympathetic to Q's vision of the reign of God. There were, no doubt, reasons why some villages might be receptive to Q's utopian program, and others would be unreceptive. We can only speculate why the three towns were uninterested in Q's practices and the reasons, of course, do not have to be same for each.

It is not a simple matter to judge the micro-economies of each of the three Galilean towns, owing to lacunae in the material evidence. In the case of Khorazin the lack of evidence is almost complete: while there is a pottery profile from III–IV ce and some coins from the early second century, there is not sufficient data to draw any conclusions about the economy of the town, its political allegiances, or its social complexion.[72]

In the case of Capernaum, Jonathan Reed has argued that Capernaum was not a wealthy town: he noted the absence of rock-cut *miqvaʾôt* in domestic buildings (in contrast to the many rock-cut *miqvaʾôt* in the so-called priestly quarter of Sepphoris), plaster and frescos, tessarae in domestic settings, and roof tiles; the quality house construction is generally poor, using uncut basalt fieldstones; and there is an absence of imported pottery and fineware.

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70 *D. Adan-Bayewitz*, הרוכל בארץ־ישראל: המאה ה־2 עד המאה ה־4 לספירה (The Itinerant Peddler in Roman Palestine), in: N. Gross (ed.), יהודים בכלכלה: קובץ מאמרים Jews in economic life. Collected Essays, Jerusalem 1985, 67–85 (Hebrew).

71 *Bell.* 3:30–32: "At this city also the inhabitants of Sepphoris of Galilee met him, who were for peace with the Romans. These citizens had beforehand taken care for their own safety, and being sensible of the power of the Romans, they had been with Cestius Gallus before Vespasian came, and had given their faith to him, and received the security of his right hand; and had received a Roman garrison; and at this time they received Vespasian, the Roman general, very kindly, and readily promised that they would assist him against their own countrymen".

72 See above, p. 16.

"The material culture inside the rooms from the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods bespeaks a simple existence that one would expect in a fishing and agricultural village. The pottery is mostly common, much of it from the Upper Galilean village of Kefar Ḥaninya and the lamps were of the simple undecorated Herodian types, without any imports. There are no signs of wealth, such as imported wine vessels or *unguentaria* for perfumes, and almost no finely decorated vessels or even simple glass. One group of artifacts common to each and every domestic unit, however, was the chalk or so-called Herodian stone vessels. Though the chalk vessels are indicative of Jewish ethnicity, the fact that almost all at Capernaum were either handmade or turned on a small lathe bespeaks the inhabitants' lower socio-economic status, or inability to afford the more expensive large lathe-turned vessels."[73]

This view of Capernaum has recently been challenged by Sharon Mattila who argued that contrary to Reed, Capernaum attests luxury goods (ceramics, stamped amphora, glassware) from before the Byzantine period; that the presence of Byzantine fineware is not necessarily an indication of the *increase* in the prosperity of Capernaum; that the widespread assumption that poorer inhabitants lived in the Franciscan (western) side of the site, and the wealthier lived on the Greek Orthodox (eastern) side of the site posits a false dichotomy; and that the construction of walls from undressed basalt is not necessarily an indication of poverty.[74]

Mattila begins with an examination of the ceramics of Capernaum, claiming that the presence of stamped amphora handles from Rhodes dating to the second century BCE indicates that well before Jesus' day wine was imported from Rhodes, pointing to inhabitants well above the subsistence level.[75] Such an observation requires some careful qualification, however. The published amphora stamps date from the second century BCE, and from the "late Roman period."[76] This pattern conforms to that of Bethsaida, where one finds stamped Rhodian amphorae from Hellenistic Bethsaida, but nothing after 100 BCE.[77] On the other

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73 *J. L. Reed,* Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus. A Re-Examination of the Evidence Harrisburg (PA) 2000, 158–160, 160.

74 *S. L. Mattila*, Revisiting Jesus' Capernaum. A Village of Only Subsistence-Level Fishers and Farmers? in: D. A. Fiensy/R. K. Hawkins (ed.), The Galilean Economy in the Time of Jesus (Earl Christianity and Its Literature 11) Atlanta (GA) 2013, 74–138.

75 *Mattila*, Revisiting Jesus' Capernaum (n. 74) 90–91.

76 *Corbo/Loffreda*, Cafarnao (n. 46) 2:65, 209–210: No. 1765 (late Hellenistic); 2091 (late Roman); 1701 (second century BCE), and various undatable fragments because the handle stamp is not extant.

77 *D. T. Ariel*, Stamped Amphora Handles from Bethsaida, in: R. Arav/R. S. Freund (ed.), Bethsaida. A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee. Volume 4 (Bethsaida Excavations Project 4), Kirksville (MO) 2009, 267–292. Up to 2001 fourteen stamped amphorae handles were found, all dating to the III–II BCE. *C. Savage,* Biblical Bethsaida. An Archeolaagical Study of the First Century, Lanham/Boulder (CO)/New York 2011, 80–87 includes a fifteenth amphora handle, but none from the first century BCE.

hand, imported ceramics reappear in the Roman period, probably in the late first or early second century CE. This pattern probably reflects the importance of influence from the coastal cities of Tyre and Sidon up to the time of the Hasmonean conquest in 103 BCE, and later the reassertion of ties with the coast in the early second century CE. The presence of a Roman milestone at Capernaum (dated to the time of Hadrian) and the construction of a Roman bath in the Greek Orthodox sections of the town is ample testimony to the presence of non-Judaean elements in the second century.

The ceramic profile is similar. Corbo and Loffreda reported a large find of Hellenistic fineware, most of which is terra sigillata common to the coast.[78] This is also the profile that appears in Bethsaida, and points to strong contacts with Tyre and Sidon in the early to mid-Hellenistic period. As Adan-Bayewitz points out, terra sigillata tablewares have been recovered in most excavated sites in the Galilee and the Golan that were occupied from II BCE – early II CE. The dominant form of pottery from the I BCE – I CE is Kefar Ḥananya tableware.[79]

The assemblages of chalk vessels show a profile that seems consistent with the ceramic findings. None was found in Capernaum or elsewhere from the late Hellenistic period or earlier; they appear only in the Herodian period and then disappear in strata after 70 CE,[80] probably pointing to the increased importance of purity concerns at the time that the region was oriented towards the Galilee and Jerusalem rather than to the coast. The 150 fragments of stone vessels found at Capernaum comprise fragments of hand-carved mugs and lathe-turned bowls.[81] The tiny number of large vessels turned on industrial lathes and presumably costly, points probably to the relatively modest mean income in the town.[82]

Despite the fact that most of the imported ceramics belong to pre-Hasmonean Capernaum, it would be unreasonable to suppose that somehow the fortunes of the town declined sharply under Hasmonean and later, Herodian, control. The ceramic profile rather suggests that the economic orientation of the town had

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78 *V. Corbo/S. Loffreda*, Resti del bronzo medio a Cafarnao, in: Liber annuus 35 (1985) 375–390, 388–389; *S. Loffreda,* Holy Land Pottery at the Time of Jesus. Early Roman Period, 63 BC – 70 AD (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Museum 14a), Jerusalem 2002, 70–72.

79 *D. Adan-Bayewitz,* Common Pottery in Roman Galilee. A Study of Local Trade, Ramat Gan 1992, 246.

80 *Y. Magen,* The Stone Vessel Industry in the Second Temple Period. Excavations at Ḥizma and the Jerusalem Temple Mount, Jerusalem 2002, 162.

81 *Magen*, Stone Vessel Industry (n. 80) 167; *J. L. Reed,* Stone Vessels and Gospel Texts. Purity and Socio-Economics in John 2, in: S. Alkier/J. Zangenberg (ed.), Zeichen aus Text und Stein. Studien auf dem Weg zu einer Archäologie des Neuen Testaments (TANZ – Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 42), Tübingen 2003, 381–401, 394–95 reports that stone measuring cups were widespread, but large vessels are virtually absent at Capernaum, accounting for only 2 % of the finds (presumably three fragments), but common at Sepphoris, accounting for 15 % of the finds.

82 *Reed,* Stone Vessels (n. 81) 394.

changed from a coastal orientation in the early to mid-Hellenistic period, to a western and southern orientation – i.e., to Galilean sites and Jerusalem – during the first century BCE and first century CE. This is more a matter of the political, economic, and social orientation of the town than it is one of the economic level of the inhabitants of Capernaum.

It is also an error to suppose that fishermen were necessarily poor or that fishing was done only as a casual supplementation of agricultural activities.[83] Although a serious study of the fishing industry in the Galilee is badly needed,[84] comparisons with the organization of the fishing industry in Roman Egypt suggests that fishing was a specialized trade, with expensive equipment. Moreover, fishing was highly organized and controlled: fishing rights to stretches of the lake shore were likely owned by elites in Tiberias or Tarichaeae and leased to groups of fishermen. Boats and nets were also often leased, and the daily catch was monitored by agents of the lessors (called ἐπιτηρηταί), and removed quickly to the market or to garum-processing facilities.[85] The recent discovery of rock-cut fish tanks at Migdal-Tarichaeae suggests that either this was a site for the marketing of live fish, or that garum was processed there.

Fish was an important supplement to a carbohydrate-rich diet based on cereals and legumes. What is not so clear is the cost of fresh or dried fish. Purcell argued that "a taste for fish was something only affordable by the seriously well-to-do; the very wealthy went even further than eating them, and reared them."[86] While this is probably true in regard to larger fish such as seabream, tuna, mackerel, and red mullet, smaller fish were likely routinely eaten by poorer folk who lived near the sea or a large lake.[87] The Kinneret was a good source of the Kinneret sardine (*acanthobrama terraesanctae*), as well as larger fish such as the *Tilapia Galilea* (1.5 kg.), *Barbus longiceps* (6–7 kgs.) and *Barbus canis* (3–4 kgs.).[88]

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83 Thus *T. W. Gallant*, A Fisherman's Tale (Miscellanea Graeca 7) Leuven 1985, 31. See the strong critique of this view by *T. Bekker-Nielsen,* Fish in the Ancient Economy, in: Ancient History Matters (FS J. E. Skydsgaard) (Analecta Romana Instituti Danici. Supplementum 30) Roma 2002, 29–37.

84 See the helpful preliminary study by *K. C. Hanson,* The Galilean Fishing Economy and the Jesus Tradition, in: BTB 27 (1997) 99–111.

85 I here rely on the as-yet unpublished work of a doctoral advisee, Dr. Facundo Troche, who has assembled papyri bearing on the organization of the fishing industry in Roman Egypt. See also the general comments in *Strickert*, Philip's City (n. 26) 91–92.

86 *N. Purcell,* Eating Fish. The Paradoxes of Seafood, in: J. B. Wilkins/D. Harvey/ M. Dobson (ed.) Food in Antiquity, Exeter: 1995, 132–149, 136. See also *J. Davidson,* Fish, Sex and Revolution in Athens, in: CQ 43 (1993) 53–66.

87 Thus *J. M. Wilkins/S. Hill (*ed.), Food in the Ancient World (Ancient Cultures), Oxford/Malden (MA) 2006, 156 citing comparative studies of diet in 19th century Naples, and in the early 20th century Italian countryside.

88 *M. Nun,* The Sea of Galilee and Its Fishermen in the New Testament, Kibbutz Ein Gev 1989.

Excavations of sites not on the Jordan or the Kinneret indicates that fish were transported to Sepphoris and Tel Hesban (on the Madaba plateau in Jordan).[89]

The elite often treated fishermen with contempt, dismissing them as poor.[90] As Thomas Corcoran has shown, however, the reality was quite different: they formed guilds that gave them influence in local affairs – for example, *corpus piscatorum et urinatorum totius alvei Tiberis* (CIL 6:1089) – and in Rome at least were honoured with public celebrations.[91] The fishermen and fishmongers of Ephesus in the first century were not only able to build a toll station in the harbour area, but also to solicit donations from 99–100 donors, almost half of whom were Roman citizens, some of Italian descent, and almost as many free-born Ephesian citizens.[92] That these fishermen were able to attract such donors is an indication that they were not in fact treated as the dregs of society, but represented an important contribution to the economy of Ephesus.[93] Given the widespread consumption and even export of fish from the Kinneret, and the organization of the industry, it is likely that fishermen on the lake enjoyed a degree of income above the subsistence level.

It is impossible to determine what percentage of the population of Capernaum was dependent on fishing. Some clearly were and likely had a not only degree of wealth (at least above the subsistence level), but also strong commercial (and hence social) ties to elite lessors. Hence, it would seem that Capernaum might on the one hand have a reason to boast of its prosperity, at least relative to towns solely dependent on the raising of cereals and legumes, and on the other, not to

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89 *A. Fradkin,* Long-Distance Trade in the Lower Galilee. New Evidence from Sepphoris, in: D. R. Edwards/C. T. McCollough (ed.), Archaeology and the Galilee. Texts and Contexts in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Periods (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 14), Atlanta (GA) 1997, 107–116; *A. von den Driesch/J. Boessneck,* Final Report on the Zooar-chaeological Investigation of Animal Bone Finds from Tell Hesban, Jordan, in: Ø. S. La Banca/ A. von den Driesch (ed.), Faunal Remains. Taphonomical and Zooarchaeological Studies of the Animal Remains from Tell Hesban and Vicinity (Hesban 13) Berrien Springs (MI) 1995, 65–108.

90 *Bekker-Nielsen*, Fish in the Ancient Economy (n. 83) 30.

91 *T. H. Corcoran,* Roman Fishermen, in: The Classical World 56 (1963) 97–102.

92 I.Eph. 20 (Ephesus, 54–59 ce); see *P. A. Harland*, North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor in: Greco-Roman Associations. Texts, Translations, and Commentary II (BZNW 204) Berlin/ New York 2014, 249–260; *G. H. R. Horsley*, A Fishing Cartel in First-Century Ephesus, in: G. H. R. Horsley (ed.), Linguistic Essays (New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity 5), North Ryde (N.S.W.) 1989, 95–114.

93 While *Horsley*, Fishing Cartel (n. 92) 109–110 thought that those listed on the inscription were *members* of the guild, *E. Lytle*, A Customs House of Our Own. Infrastructure, Duties and a Joint Association of Fishermen and Fishmongers [IK, 11.1a-Ephesos, 20], in: V. Chankowski/ P. Karvonis (ed.), Tout vendre, tout acheter. Structures et équipements des marchés antiques. Actes du colloque d'Athènes, 16–19 juin 2009, Bourdieux/Athènes, 2012, 213–224, 220 is probably correct that the individuals listed provided funds *in addition to* the contributions of the association of fishermen and fishmongers and hence, are not members.

wish to welcome the Q-people with their practice of debt-forgiveness and other disruptions of the social order. Q's complaint, indeed, seems to have been that Capernaum was vaunting its position, and so threatened it with a reduction to Hades.

What has been said of the fishing industry in Capernaum applies even more clearly to Bethsaida, where archaeological finds include many hooks, net weights, and anchors.[94] Administrative control of fishing through leases, harbour taxes, and market taxes would only be necessary if the product involved was of economic (and therefore political) significance.[95] The economy of Bethsaida in the first century CE seems to have depended upon both fishing and flax production (for linen), both profitable products.[96]

The pottery profile resembles that of Capernaum, with Hellenistic fineware attested in the mid-Hellenistic period, but replaced with Kefar Ḥananya table ware after the Hasmonean conquest of the north.[97] Carl Savage notes of the ceramics forms from the first century CE:

> "When these forms appear in the assemblage, they are not found with any ESA [Eastern terra sigillata] or other imported wares in concurrent usage elsewhere in the Eastern Empire. That is, we do not find other pottery in use alongside undecorated locally produced Galilean ware typified in Adan-Bayewitz's study. This is a dramatic difference in the material assemblage at Bethsaida as compared to non-Jewish sites where they do find more common Roman types in their assemblage."[98]

Hence, the ceramic profile for the early first century CE, like that in Capernaum, suggests an economic and political orientation of the site towards the Galilee and Jerusalem. All of the oil lamps from the period between 37 BCE and 70 CE are Herodian, undecorated and made from the clay of areas surrounding

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94 See *Strickert*, Philip's City (n. 26) chap. 6; *S. Fortner*, The Fishing Implements and Maritime Activities of Bethsaida-Julias (et-Tell), in: R. Arav/R. A. Freund (ed.), Bethsaida. A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee (Bethsaida Excavations Project Reports and Contextual Studies 2), Kirksville (MO) 1999, 269–280.

95 *Strickert,* Philip's City (n. 26) 91: "A whole pyramid of administrative structure provided control over the individual fishermen as well as those marketing the fish and those producing fish products. This pyramid of control is symbolized in the name Sea of Tiberias that appears in John 6,1 and 21,1. Antipas controlled over half of the shore line, while Philip and Bethsaida had to share the rest with independent cities like Hippos and Gadara". Strickert also cites the general comments of *K. C. Hanson/ D. E. Oakman,* Palestine in the Time of Jesus. Social Structures and Social Conflicts, Minneapolis (MN), 1998, 106–110.

96 *Strickert,* Philip's City (n. 26) 99 reports that in pollen analysis of soundings flax pollen represented a large proportion of the pollen found in several locations. Loom weights were also found, indicating not just the growing of flax, but its production as linen.

97 *S. Fortner,* Hellenistic and Roman Fineware from Bethsaida, in: R. Arav/R. S. Freund (ed.), Bethsaida. A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee (Bethsaida Excavations Project 1), Kirksville (MO) 1995, 99–126.

98 *Savage,* Biblical Bethsaida (n. 77) 111.

Jerusalem.[99] It is only slightly later, in the early Roman period that coastal wares again appear. Carl Savage has noted that from first century CE to the second and third, there seems to be an increase of imported wares, which probably reflects the presence of the Roman army.[100]

The numismatic profile of Philip's tetrarchy is of some interest, for it is beginning in 30/31 CE that Philip issued semis (i. e., one-half an *as*), quadrans, and half-quadrans, with the quadrans bearing the image of Julia (Livia) and the legend ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ and the image of a three heads of barley and ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΟΣ on the reverse.[101] This is a reflection of the fact that Philip refounded Bethsaida as a *polis*, named Iulias in honour of the emperor's wife (who, as a consequence of Augustus' will, was adopted into the Julian *gens* and could be called *sebastē*, in either 2 BCE or (more likely) 30 CE.[102]

Despite the fact that the ceramic profile indicates an orientation of Bethsaida towards the Galilee and Jerusalem, the political horizon of the city included Rome and the imperial household. Even later, during the time of Agrippa II, the emperor belonged firmly to the world of Bethsaida. Three Agrippa coins from 84/85 CE have been found at Bethsaida, more than at any other site.[103] The most recent find, in 2014, a coin minted by Agrippa (at the mint in Caesarea Maritima), and bearing on the obverse the image of Domitian and the legend ΔΟΜΕΤ · ΚΑΙΣ · [ΓΕΡΜΑΝ] and on the reverse a palm tree and ΒΑΣ · ΑΓΡ.[104] Coins of Anthony and Cleopatra and a gold aureus of Antoninus Pius were found in one of the "Roman" houses in Bethsaida.[105] This orientation of Bethsaida to Imperial interests seems compatible with the archaeological finding that there is no evidence of destruction at the time of the first revolt. Like Sepphoris, Bethsaida may have opened their gates to Vespasian.

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99 *Savage,* Biblical Bethsaida (n. 77) 110.

100 In *Savage,* Supporting Evidence (n. 60) 205. Savage argued that the reappearance of imported wares may reflect the general increase in prosperity that occurred in the region during that time. More recently (*per litt.*) Savage suggests now that the increase may be due to the presence of the Roman army and the political orientation of Agrippa II (on which see below).

101 *A. Kindler,* The Coins of Tetrarch Philip and Bethsaida, in: R. Arav/R. S. Freund (ed.), Bethsaida. A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee. Volume 2: Reports and Contextual Studies (Bethsaida Excavations Project 2), Kirksville (MO) 1999, 245–249.

102 *Kindler*, Tetrarch Philip (n. 101) n. 58.

103 Communication from Donald Ariel. Up to 2013, Bethsaida had two Agrippa coins (IAA 95592 and 116292), Tiberias had two and one from each of Sepphoris, Ein Haggit, Horbat Zafzafot, Kafr Qanna, Akko, and Jerusalem.

104 http://www.unomaha.edu/news/2014/07/coin.php and personal communication from Rami Arav. While the initial news stories about this coin labeled it as a Iudaea Capta coin, it lacks the seated woman, which is characteristic of Vespasian's Judaea Capta coins, and the palm tree is in fact a frequent image on issues of Herod Antipas and those of several Roman praefects. (I owe this clarification to Carl Savage, *per litt.*).

105 *R. Arav/C. Savage,* A Rare Aureus of Antoninus Pius at Bethsaida, in: INJ 6 (2011) 135–138.

From these data we might well conclude that Bethsaida at least had little incentive to embrace visitors who advocated debt forgiveness as a response to debt spirals endemic to the area. Neither Capernaum nor Bethsaida was damaged in the first revolt, in sharp contrast to Yodefat and Gamla, the latter only 10 km distant from Bethsaida. This no doubt is an indication that neither showed any resistance to the Romans; indeed, since Capernaum lacked fortifications and its location indefensible, resistance would have been suicidal.[106] The decision not to welcome the Q workers a decade earlier was hardly as consequential, but likely arose from a complex social, economic and political calculus. Q's polemic against possessions (Q 6:20b, 29; 12:16–20, 22–31; 16:13) may have been just too un-palatable to these towns.

Q 13:26–27 indeed recalls that Jesus was once associated with certain towns – almost certainly Capernaum and perhaps Bethsaida. Q fantasizes a judgment scene where these towns claim privilege based on this association:

ἀφ' οὗ ἂν [[ἐγερθῇ]] ὁ [[οἰκοδεσπότης]] καὶ κλείσ[[ῃ τ]]ὴ[[ν]] θύρα[[ν]] [[καὶ ἄρξησθε ἔξω ἑστάναι καὶ κρούειν τὴν θύραν]] λέγοντες· κύριε, ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἐρεῖ ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς. [26] τότε ἄρξεσθε λέγειν· ἐφάγομεν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδαξας· [27] καὶ ἐρεῖ λέγων ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς· ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ [[οἵ]] ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.

From then the householder will arise and lock the door and you will begin to stand outside and pound on the door, saying, "Sir, open to us." And answering he will say to you, "I don't know you." Then you will start saying, "We ate and drank in your presence and you were teaching us in our plazas." And he will say to you, "I don't know you. Depart from me you workers of iniquity."

From Q's perspective at least, these three Galilean locales are not remembered as having been sympathetic to the Jesus movement. The reasons for that lack of sympathy are mostly opaque to us, and will remain opaque, because we have only Q's polemical side of the story. And, despite the material evidence for both sites, we lack a literary record for both sites that might indicate why they had no interest in Q's peculiar vision of the reign of God. One can surmise, however, that as prosperous towns, and in the case of Bethsaida, one that had acquired a political orientation to Rome, there may have been many reasons not to be very sympathetic to the Galilean Jesus movement.[107]

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106 On Bethsaida during the first revolt, see *J. T. Greene*, Bethsaida-Julias in Roman and Jewish Military Strategies, 66–73 CE, in: R. Arav/R. S. Freund (ed.) Bethsaida. A City by the North Shore of the Sea of Galilee (Bethsaida Excavations Project 1), Kirksville (MO) 1995, 203–227.

107 I wish to thank Carl Savage and Rami Arav for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Emily Lafleche assisted in the editing of this paper.

Part II: Sociological Backdrop of the Sayings Source

Gerd Theißen

The Sayings Source Q and Itinerant Radicalism

In November 1972 I developed in my inauguration lecture as "Privatdozent" at the University of Bonn the thesis that itinerant preachers were the first authorities in early Christianity. I coined the term "itinerant radicalism" for their ethos of homelessness and criticism of possessions.[1] The term was in those times a political allusion. On the 28th of January 1972 the so-called "Radikalenerlass" was enacted in Germany. All young people who applied for a job in public administration or schools had to be checked for whether or not they pursued radical tendencies. A whole generation was confronted with a general distrust. My veiled message was that also the first disciples of Jesus were radical. Would they have passed the check? This allusion to politics was surely not the main message of my lecture.[2] The main message was: Socio-historical research can contribute to the interpretation of the New Testament. This was disputed in those times. Today it is accepted.

Today our question is concretely: How can the socio-historical thesis of an itinerant radicalism in early Christianity contribute to an interpretation of the Sayings Source? Our first set of questions (1.) concerns the phenomenon of itinerant radicalism: (1.1) Can we infer from prescriptive statements in the mission discourse in Q real behavior in history? Here the *existence of itinerant messengers* in early Christianity is at stake. (1.2) What was the local radius of the presumed messengers? Did

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1 *G. Theissen*, Wanderradikalismus. Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum, in: ZThK 70 (1973) 245–271 = The Wandering Radicals. Light shed by the sociology of literature in the early transmission of Jesus sayings, in: D.G. Horell (ed.), Social-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation, Edinburgh 1999, 93–122. A comprehensive discussion of this thesis is: *M. Tiwald*, Wanderradikalismus. Jesu erste Jünger – ein Anfang und was davon bleibt (ÖBS 20), Frankfurt 2002. His new contribution in this book gives an instructive survey on all problems with regard to this thesis. I am very grateful to T. J. Lang, Durham, for correcting and improving my English.

2 *W. E. Arnal*, Jesus and the Village Scribes, Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q, Minneapolis (MN) 2001, thinks that the thesis of "itinerant radicalism" was an expression of German "Wandervogelbewegung" and imperialism. The discovery of itinerant authorities in Early Christianity dates back to the publication of the Didache in 1884 by A. Harnack. The "Wandervogelbewegung" was founded fourteen years later 1896 at Berlin. This chronology does not support this thesis.

they return back in the evening? Did they live an *itinerant existence?* (1.3) How were these itinerant messengers able to exercise influence on other people despite their marginal existence? This involves the question of whether or not they would have been considered "*charismatics*", charisma understood (with Max Weber) as a form of authority that can prevail without formal authority structures. (1.4) Are such itinerant charismatics represented in the Sayings Source as having an ethos that can be characterized as itinerant *radicalism?*

Other Questions (2.) concern the historical context of *itinerant radicalism:* (2.1) Are we able to identify a geographic focus of their activities? (2.2) What is the contribution of these itinerant charismatics to the literary history of the Sayings Source – at the level of tradition and the final edition and the reception history of Q? (2.3) How can the message of the Sayings Source be placed in the history of early Christianity? (2.4) How does itinerant radicalism culturally fit into the ancient world as a whole? What can we learn by the analogy of itinerant Cynic philosophers? (2.5) How does itinerant radicalism socially fit into Jewish society in antiquity? Is it a product of some crisis in this society? Or is it the product of a society in peace and prosperity?

1.   Questions concerning the phenomenon of "itinerant radicalism" and the Sayings Source

1.1.   Are there itinerant messengers in the background of Q?

We start with a methodological problem: Is it possible to infer real behavior from prescriptive statements in Q? The mission discourse in Q contains *rules.* Rules are prescriptive. They may describe an ideal far from reality. We can divide these rules into two groups: those that relate to the maintenance of the messengers, such as rules for a storage bag, bread and money; and rules for their equipment such as a staff, shirt and shoes. This distinction is (despite overlaps) important, because both sets of rules are treated differently in the tradition.

The Gospel of Mark is flexible in the equipment rules (Mark 6:8–9). It prohibits two shirts, but permits in contrast to Q a walking stick and shoes. But with the maintenance rules Mark is stricter: He forbids bread, a storage bag and money. In short, maintenance rules are increased, equipment rules are softened.

The Gospel of Matthew, although in both areas strict, is slightly more severe in the maintenance rules: Matt 10:9f. prohibits not only the possession of money but also its acquisition – not only of copper coins as small change but also of gold and silver coins. Do these tighter rules refer to a special type of itinerant missionaries like Paul

and Barnabas who worked hard in order to fund their trips?[3] We may therefor say: The maintenance rules are in Matt 10 a little bit sharper, but the equipment rules are not softened since Matthew also prohibits a staff, shoes, and a second shirt.

The Gospel of Luke is at first glance stricter in both groups of rules. In Luke 9:3 (with Mark as pretext) it undoes the concession of a stick. In Luke 10 he follows Q in forbidding purse, bag, and shoes. Both sets of rules are retained in their severity. But at second glance we discover that at the end of his life Jesus revises the rules for itinerant charismatics:[4] The disciples should have a money purse, a storage bag and should even sell their coat in order to buy a sword (Luke 22:35–38). For the time of the church some maintenance rules are abolished – probably because the author of the Gospel of Luke admires Paul who funded his trips.[5]

Only at one point are Q and the Didache less severe with regard to the maintenance rules: Mark 6:8 and Luke 9:3(with Mark 6:8 as source) prohibit bread, but Q says nothing about bread. I suspect that Q concedes a daily ration of bread because in the Lord's Prayer the disciples are praying for daily bread (Q 11:3). Also the Didache allows such a daily ration (Did 10:6). Q and Did have in common the Lord's Prayer, so it is hard to imagine that they prohibit the wandering messenger bread that God is willing to give them. Mark on the other hand does not know the Lord's Prayer. It prohibits categorically bread on the way.

	Mark 6:8	Matt 10:9f.	Luke 9:3	Luke 10:4
Stick	+	-	-	not mentioned
Shoes	+	-	-	-
Storage bag	-	-	-	-
Bread	-	not mentioned	-	not mentioned
Money	Money in the belt	Acquisition of money	Money purse	Money
Second shirt	-	-	-	not mentioned

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3 Cf. the two types of itinerant charismatics in: *G. Theissen*, Legitimation und Lebensunterhalt. Ein Beitrag zur Soziologie urchristlicher Missionare, in: NTS 21 (1975) 192–221 = Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums (WUNT 19), Tübingen 1979, 201–230. Id., Legitimation and Subsistence. An Essay on the Sociology of Early Christian Missionaries, in: Id. (ed.), The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity, Philadelphia (PA) 1982/Edinburgh 1982/²1988, 27–67.

4 According to *H. Conzelmann*, Die Mitte der Zeit (BHTh 17), Tübingen ⁶1977, 74–75, Jesus abolishes the old rules of Luke 10:4. They were valid for the time when the disciples were sent out (cf. ὅτε ἀπέστειλα ὑμᾶς … Luke 22:35). Therefore it is no contradiction that Luke 22:35–38 presupposes that some disciples have a purse and a bag. According to *M. Wolter*, Das Lukasevangelium (HNT 5), Tübingen 2008, 718f., the disciples should sell purse, bag and coat in order to buy a sword. This would be an intensification of the rules and not an abolishment. But the admonition to sell something refers explicitly only to the coat.

5 The model of Paul and Barnabas does not explain, why the disciples should buy a sword. The explanation may be that Luke gives soldiers a positive place in the congregation. The first Gentile is the centurion Cornelius (Acts 10:1–11:18).

It is remarkable that consensus among the early Christians is most likely to be found in the maintenance rules: money or storage bag are banned in all four mission discourses. This is consistent with the observation that only the maintenance rules are a topic of conflict in Corinth. Paul recognizes explicitly that the Lord had commanded in the Gospel that his missionaries should get their living from the gospel (1Cor 9:14). In spite of this he works in order to fund his voyages. Also the rules of the Didache are dealing only with maintenance rules. They prohibit taking money (Did 11:6) and asking for money (Did 11:12). The conflicts in Corinth and the interpretation of the rules for missionaries in the Didache show that these rules have been practiced by some people. They are not literary fantasies

With regard to the equipment rules (stick, shoes and shirts) we make the corresponding observation: In the few traces of itinerant charismatics in early Christianity besides the Gospels, the equipment rules do not matter; they disappear. They are mentioned neither in Paul nor in the Didache nor in the Gospel of Thomas. It is understandable that rules concerning maintenance and money are core rules. Therefore they are disputed.

We can conclude: The maintenance rules of the mission discourse were not only imaginary norms in early Christian writings; they presuppose followers of Jesus who observed the rules for itinerant missionaries and were supported by their addressees. The symbol of their "maintenance waiver" was the absence of a storage bag. Such a bag was a visible and distinguishing mark of Cynic itinerant philosophers. Other distinguishing features such as the staff, however, were obviously not so important.

1.2.   Can we speak of an itinerant existence?

Here's the crucial question: What was the local radius of the messengers of Q? Did they return in the evening? Or did they stay overnight? Were they short distance apostles or long distance apostles? Probably a limited mission to Israel (as in Matt 10:5 f.) was in retrospect extended after the spread of Christianity throughout the world (Matt 28:19). Also the rigorous maintenance rules could indicate that originally the rules referred only to a small local radius for the messengers. In a small world with the possibility of returning in the evening you can do without a storage bag. In the beginning Jesus perhaps had his base in Capernaum and could return every day. In Galilee many places are accessible by a day's march.[6]

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6 For short distance apostles cf. *J. S. Kloppenborg Verbin*, Excavating Q. The History and Setting of the Saying Gospel, Edinburgh 2000, 211; *J. P. Michaud*, Quelle(s) communauté(s) derrière la

But does this still apply to the disciples of Jesus after Easter? And does it fit the rules for the messengers in the mission discourse? With a return on the same day, a radius of action extending more than 30 km would be unlikely – already 30 km demand a march of 60 km per day. This takes at least twelve hours. Without overnight stay Jesus and his disciples could not even reach all places in Galilee, and certainly not the territories beyond Galilee: Tyre and Sidon, Caesarea Philippi or the Decapolis. Even Sepphoris and Nazareth in Galilee were too far away from Capernaum so as to return on the same day.

The texts speak indeed of trips with overnight stays. What then does it mean in the missionary discourse that the disciples should be "received" in homes and villages (Luke 10:8.10, Mark 6:11)? The word "receiving" (δέχεσθαι) implies elsewhere clearly a night – so in the history of the rejection of Jesus and his disciples in a Samaritan village (Luke 9:51–56) or in receiving the spies by the whore Rahab (Hebrews 11:31 cf. Jos 2). The word is sometimes a term for accepting someone as member of the house. King Kroisos says to a Phrygian who lives in his house: "I have … recieved you in my house" (οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος, Herodot hist. I 41). The term refers also to cynic itinerant philosophers like Krates (Plutarch mor 632e).[7] Therefore, we cannot exclude that "receiving" in the mission discourse means they are welcomed to stay for a night in a house. The admonition not to go from house to house and to stay in one house (Luke 10:7) makes better sense when it refers to nights in different houses. "Stay" means also in Luke 24:29, John 4:40, and Acts 16:15 a stay for one night or several nights.

The statements in Acts about itinerant missionaries presuppose that they stay a night at some places: Peter in Joppa and Caesarea (Acts 10:9–48), Philip in Samaria, Ashdod and Caesarea (Acts 8:4–40). The rapid spread of the Jesus movement to Damascus and Antioch can much better be explained when we expect "long distance apostles". How else is it conceivable that in Antioch there appear in quick succession prophets around Agabus, Peter and finally ambassadors of James (Acts 11:27f.; Gal 2:11–15)?

Paul and Barnabas could much better build on the "long distance model" of these apostles when they started their mission, as opposed to the "short distance model". In Cyprus and Asia Minor they could not return home every day. The same is true for the counter-missionaries of Paul in Galatia, Philippi and Corinth. In addition, the Didache allows Apostles only for a maximum of two nights, presupposing long distance apostles, who did not return the same day. Alternative interpretations of the Didache are very forced.[8] I am therefore sure that the

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source Q, in: A. Lindemann (ed.), The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus, Leuven 2001, 577–606.

7 Cf. *Wolter*, Luke (n.3) 546.

8 *J. A. Draper*, Wandering Charismatics and Scholarly Circularities, in: R. A.Horsley/J. A. Draper

apostles were "Langstreckenapostel". But how could itinerant figures (comparable to vagabonds) exert influence on the local communities? What gives them charisma?

1.3.   Are the messengers of Q itinerant *charismatics*?

Charisma is, according to Max Weber, a form of influence that can prevail without formal authority structures.[9] The Sayings Source knows at least one itinerant charismatic, Jesus himself. Jesus is explicitly and implicitly attributed an itinerant existence and he exerts on his followers charismatic influence. Explicitly and programmatically the Sayings Source attributes to Jesus and his followers an itinerant existence when Jesus says to the man who wants to follow him: "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man has nowhere he can lay his head" (Q 9:58). This itinerant existence includes nights under the open sky. Implicitly, the traveling existence of Jesus is implied in Q elsewhere. In the temptation story Jesus goes into the desert (Q 4:1–13). In the story of the centurion of Capernaum, he comes to Capernaum (Q 7:1). Words about John the Baptist assume that he went out into the desert, as when he says to the crowd: "What did you go out into the wilderness to see?" (Q 7:24–28). But it is not sure where he locates himself in this Logion. The woes against the Galilean towns show that Jesus has visited Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum – possibly also the district of Tyre (Q 10:13–15). In rejecting the demand for a sign, Jesus refers typologically to the prophet Jonah (Q 11:29–32), who had come as an itinerant prophet to Nineveh. Jonah was undoubtedly a "long distance prophet".

According to Q the disciples share the itinerant existence of Jesus. They are connected to him in three ways: by discipleship, by their mission and by sharing his eschatological rule. Firstly they are followers of Jesus. They must be willing to waive *stabilitas loci* and to break with family ties – even refusing to bury a father (Q 9:60). Secondly they are messengers of Jesus. One indication of their having been sent out is found in the parable of the banquet (Q 14:16–23), when the angry owner sends his servants outside: "Go out to the roads, and invite all you find, so that my house will get full." Thirdly, they share his eschatological rule. This is particularly evident in the saying at the end of Q: "You who have followed me will sit on thrones and judge the twelve tribes of Israel" (Q 22:28–30).

The authority of the disciples is charismatic authority. They are stigmatized and persecuted outsiders: "Blessed are you when they revile you and persecute

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(ed.), Whoever hears you hears me. Prophets, Performance and Tradition in Q, Harrisburg 1999, 29–45.

9 *M. Weber*, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Tübingen ⁵1972, 140f.

you and say all sorts of evil against you because of the Son of Man. Rejoice, for your reward in heaven is great; for so they persecuted the prophets before you." (Q 6:22f.). Charismatic authority is often increased by self-stigmatization.[10] Those who identify themselves emphatically and publicly with their roles despite a general denigration of these roles unsettle those who oppose them: The rejected could be right. Stigma is converted in this way into charisma.

So we can conclude: The messengers of Q led an itinerant lifestyle on the margins of society. Homelessness was characteristic of their existence, even though all had probably some "home ports", places to which they could return. They had, as marginal figures, a charismatic effect on the people who lived in the middle of society. What made them so attractive? Was it their ethos?

1.4.   Did the itinerant charismatics represent a *radical ethos*?

In the Sayings Source we find four characteristics of itinerant radicalism: homelessness, non-violence, waivering of possessions, and a distance from family life. These features have analogies with ancient itinerant Cynics.[11]

The first analogy is the itinerant existence without home and family. In Epictetus' discourse on cynicism[12] the cynic says: "Look at me, I am without a home, without a city, without property, without a slave; I sleep on the ground; I have neither wife nor children, no miserable governor's mansion, but only earth, and sky, and one rough cloak. Yet what do I lack? Am I not free from pain and fear, am I not free?" (diss. III 22,47).

Secondly we find the exhortation to love one's enemies and to renounce violence (Matt 5:38–48). Epictetus says about the Cynic: "For this too is a very pleasant strand woven into the Cynic's pattern of life; he must be flogged like an ass, and while he is being flogged he must love the men who flog him, as though he were the father or brother of them all" (diss. III 22,54).

Thirdly Jesus demands renunciation of possessions (Mark 10:21). The cynic philosopher Krates (4th century BCE) is told to have sold his possessions and to have distributed the money to the citizens of his town (Diog. Laert. VI 87).

Fourthly Jesus criticizes the physical family and praises the "family of God". He says, "My brother and sisters are those who do God's will" (Mark 3:35). The

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10 Cf. *M. N. Ebertz*, Das Charisma des Gekreuzigten. Zur Soziologie der Jesusbewegung (WUNT 45), Tübingen 1987; *H. Mödritzer*, Stigma und Charisma im Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt. Zur Soziologie des Urchristentums (NTOA 28), Fribourg/Göttingen 1994.

11 An excellent discussion of the Cynic interpretation of Jesus is provided by the forthcoming book of *M.-O. Goulet-Cazé*, Kynismus und Christentum, 2014/2015: Cynicism did not influence early Christianity, but there was a concurrence between them.

12 Cf. the commentary of *M. Billerbeck*, Epiktet, Vom Kynismus, Leiden 1978.

true Cynic does not marry, but he has all human beings as family. Epictetus underscores this point: "Man, the Cynic has made all mankind his children; the men among them he has as sons, the women as daughters; in that spirit he approaches them all and cares for them all […] It is as a father he does it, as a brother, and as a servant of Zeus, who is Father of us all" (diss. II 22,81f.).

Of course we must take into regard the fact that Epictetus admires the Cynics of past times and despises the Cynics of his own time. The old Cynics of Hellenistic times were often educated people, whereas the Cynics of the Roman time were often uneducated beggars. Epictetus's concept of the Cynic is therefore idealizing. But just this idealizing tendency reveals the function of the Cynics in their culture. They represent the ideal norms of the Hellenistic society: autonomy and independence – only they were able to practice these ideals in a consequent way. That explains the charismatic attraction of radicalism. The same is true for the itinerant followers of Jesus: In a Jewish culture their radicalism represents common values. Their faith was radical monotheism. They practiced not only social autonomy but above all a total religious dependency from the one and only God and his coming reign. They were admired. We can now deal with the second set of questions of how this phenomenon can be contextualized historically.

2.   How shall we contextualize itinerant radicalism?

2.1.   The local focus of itinerant radicalism in Q

Our first question is: Can we identify a geographical focus of itinerant Charismatics in early Christianity? To answer that, we need to pursue their traces in the writings of early Christianity. Can we lead these traces back to Q and can they roughly be localized?

The Didache calls the lifestyle of itinerant radicalism the "lifestyle of the Lord" (Did 11:8). The more one explains itinerant radicalism by the life of the historical Jesus himself, the more likely Galilee was a center of itinerant radicalism since Jesus was active in this area. There he had appointed disciples to be his followers and had sent them out into the villages of Palestine. If one tends to see the itinerant charismatics as short distance apostles, we could think of a small and limited area such as Galilee as the center of their activities – even after Easter. A localization of Q or its traditions in Galilee is therefore not excluded. But itinerant charismatics are not tied to a territory. If one regards them as long distance apostles, one will be sceptical of too narrow a localization. Then a larger sphere comes into question.

Quite remarkable is the reception history of the sayings of the Sayings Source (or their traditions): The Gospel of Matthew takes up and develops the theology

of Q and adds traditions of itinerant charismatics to its special material, e. g., the admonition: "He who receives a prophet because he is a prophet will receive a prophet's reward" (Matt 10:41), or: "When they persecute you in this city, flee to the other! For I say you, you shall not come to an end with the cities of Israel until the Son of man comes" (Matt 10:23). There is a consensus that the Gospel of Matthew originated in Syria – the region he added as the homeland of those who listen to the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 4:24). The Gospel of Matthew in turn is probably the "gospel" of the Didache (Did 8:2; 11:3; 15:3.4).[13] In the Didache we find evidence for itinerant charismatics. Some echoes of them are also found in the Gospel of Thomas in Lg. 14: "And if you go into any country and travel in the region and they receive you, eat what is set before you is! Heal those who are sick among them". The Gospel of Matthew and the Didache are both localized in Syria,[14] the Gospel of Thomas mostly in eastern Syria.[15] If we add the letters on virginity with their own wandering charismatics as from Syria as well,[16] there is then substantial evidence that Syria was a local focus of itinerant charismatics in early Christianity. But of course they also acted beyond its boundaries. Otherwise there could not have been a dispute in Corinth about their maintenance rules.

2.2.   The literary significance of itinerant radicalism and the Sayings Source

We ask further: How did the itinerant charismatics contribute to the literary history of the Sayings Source? We must make a distinction. Firstly we have to look at the traditions in Q, secondly at the final redaction of Q, and thirdly at its reception history.

2.2.1.   Itinerant charismatics and their traditions in Q

The Sayings Source has collected and preserved many traditions of itinerant charismatics. We hear the call to discipleship – an invitation to enter the itinerant lifestyle. It underlines the difficulties of this lifestyle: homelessness (Q9:57f.), the break with the family (Q9:59f.; 12:51–53, 14:26), the hardships of a life without possessions (Q12:22 b–31). They have to knock at alien doors hoping that they

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13 Cf. the arguments of *K. Wengst*, Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet, Darmstadt 1984,24–32.

14 The arguments for a Syrian origin of Matthew *U. Luz*, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus (Matt 1–7) (EKK I/7), Düsseldorf/Zürich/Neukirchen ²2002, 100–103; *Wengst*, Didache (n. 13) 61–63, arguments for the Syrian Origin of the Didache.

15 Cf. *R. Uro*, Thomas at the Crossroads. Essays on the Gospel of Thomas, Edinburgh 1998.

16 *H. Duensing*, Die dem Klemens von Rom zugeschriebenen Briefe über die Jungfräulichkeit, in: ZKG 63 (1950–51), 166–188.

will be opened (Q11:9f.).[17] Following Jesus means carrying the cross (Q14:27). Severe requirements have always exercised a secret attraction. That is the attraction of radicalism, the seduction of bridge burning. Many would agree that there are some traditions of itinerant charismatics in Q. But can we therefore attribute Q as a whole to itinerant radicalism?

2.2.2. Itinerant charismatics and the final redaction of Q

Therefore, let us try to read Q with the eyes of itinerant charismatics. There are some indications that this collection of traditions contains not only memories of a past itinerant lifestyle, but also advertises for the lifestyle of itinerant charismatics – hoping to win new adherents.

Q begins by introducing two figures: John the Baptizer and Jesus. Both figures are good models of marginal social status and of "bridge burning" with normal life. The temptation of Jesus (Q 4:1–13) can serve as a model for all those who will break with the world. They cannot rely on miracles to acquire bread and shelter, but they are free from the power of Satan.

(1) This introduction is followed by the *programmatic discourse* with the ethos of itinerant radicalism (Q6:20–49). When they read or hear the beatitudes for the poor, the hungry, the sorrowing, and the persecuted prophets, itinerant charismatics could apply all this to themselves. They themselves were stigmatized prophets. The central demands of the programmatic discourse – love of enemies (Q6:27–28) and the prohibition against judging one another (Q6:37, 38) – make them immune to experiences of aggression and criticism. At the end it is emphasized that only someone who acts according to these words has built on rock (Q 6:47–49).

(2) After this, Jesus' *effect on various contemporaries* is depicted: the Gentile centurion from Capernaum underscores the power of Jesus' words (Q 7:1–10). The Baptizer takes a wait-and-see attitude toward him (Q 7:18–23); "this generation" rejects Jesus and the Baptizer, even though both are messengers of Wisdom (Q 7:31–35). In the same way itinerant charismatics could cope with different reactions to them. These reactions could reinforce their conviction that they are true messengers of God's Wisdom.

(3) The third section is introduced by the *mission discourse*, which is directly addressed to itinerant charismatics. Jesus calls them to follow him (Q 9:57–62), sends them on mission (Q 10:1–16), and offers them a special relationship with God (Q 10:21–24). The Lord's Prayer gives them the assurance of their daily bread (Q 11:2–4). Before the mission discourse Jesus demands prayer for God to call people to be his messengers: "He said to his disciples: The harvest is plentiful, the

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17 The itinerant philosopher Krates was called the "door opener" (DiogLaert 6,86).

workers are few; therefore ask the Lord of the harvest to send workers into his harvest" (Q 10:2). Here it is evident: The Sayings Source wants people to join the itinerant mission. Therefore, we may suppose that Q was created also for their self-recruitment.

(4) The expulsion of a demon (Q 11:14–15) introduces a section in which Jesus argues with *opponents.* Jesus rejects the accusation that he is in alliance with Satan (Q 11:17–26) and attacks Pharisees and Scribes in a series of "woes" (Q 11:39–52). Punishment will fall on "this generation" because they have rejected Wisdom and her messengers. Again it will help itinerant charismatics to remain immune against criticism.

(5) The fifth section is about *the life of disciples in light of the end* (Q 12:2–59). It begins with sayings about fearing human beings and about public confession of Jesus (Q 12:8–9). An admonition not to worry is addressed to itinerant charismatics. They should not worry more about the source of their livelihood than the birds (Q 12:22–31). Their eccentric way of life is possible because the end of the world is near. The conclusion of this section is a little "apocalypse" on the end of the world (Q 17:22–35). It announces the appearance of the "Son of Man," who will break unexpectedly into a time of peace. Q then ended with the saying about the twelve tribes of Israel. In the new world the disciples will rule the people of God. Those who were often condemned by their contemporaries will rule over them.

We can read Q as a collection of traditions of itinerant charismatics, but Q can also as a whole be interpreted as a unified document of them. If the tradition from Papias regarding Matthew, who is said to have written down the words of the Lord (Eus, h. e. III 39,16), originally refers to the Sayings Source, then it is even conceivable that an itinerant charismatic was the redactor of the Sayings Source in its final shape. But this is only a probability, not a certainty. The meaning of the Papias tradition is disputed.

But is it not difficult to conceive of itinerant people writing books? Here the analogy of the Cynics is revealing. Cynics clearly wrote books despite their unstable lives, even if we often know only the titles. This literary activity is true especially for the former Cynics.[18] The Cynics of the roman imperial era were often illiterate vagabonds, who only superficially slipped into the role of Cynics, without a developed Cynic philosophy. The followers of Jesus were "uneducated" much like them, as Acts 4:13 states. But of course a tax collector among them must have been able to write.

But it is also conceivable that Q was written by a Christian in a local community who wanted to preserve the traditions of the itinerant charismatics for

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18 Cf. the cynic authors in *M.O Goulet-Cazé*, Art. Kynismus, DNP 6 (1999) 969–977 and the Cynics in Diog. Laert. VI.

future generations or for a different milieu – comparable to Papias, the bishop of Hierapolis, who in the first part of the second century in Asia Minor wrote down oral Jesus traditions that he received from passing itinerant preachers (Eus. h. e. 3,39,3f.). Papias not only wrote down the words of the Lord, he also interpreted them. This model – a member of a local community writing down the traditions of itinerant preachers – applies much better to the Gospel of Mark. Mark considers local Christians also as true "followers" of Jesus. In his Gospel Levi is the fifth disciple (Mark 2:13–17). But we miss Levi among the twelve, who should always be with Jesus (Mark 3:13–19). Did Mark forget Levi? Probably not! Levi is in this Gospel the model for all Christians who stay at home and follow Jesus in this way.[19] If they prepare like Levi a banquet for the congregation, it is considered to be a form of following Jesus. Those who follow their invitation to a common meal are also "following" Jesus (Mark 2:15). Such evidence for the existence and the significance of local Christians is missing in Q. Also therefore I think it was written down in order to keep alive an itinerant radicalism.

I should add that the Gospel of Luke also knows itinerant charismatics. But in this Gospel Jesus himself revises the basic rules for itinerant charismatics (Luke 22,35–38). Luke's ideal is that the authorities in the church maintain themselves by their work like Paul. The only Gospel without a reservation against itinerant charismatics is therefore the Gospel of Matthew.

2.2.3. Itinerant charismatics and the reception history of Q

What was the historical impact of Q? Oral tradition survives even after it is written down. Written and oral versions of a Saying may co-exist. Sometimes we observe a "secondary orality", which are oral traditions based on writings.

It cannot be excluded that Q triggered such a secondary oral tradition. It had possibly been a manual for itinerant charismatics. There is evidence that some Cynic itinerant philosophers had a book in their hand. Lucian describes even the popular, uneducated Cynics of his day in this way: "Do you not see all these coats, these beggar rods and beggar-bags?" They have "a long beard, *a small book in the left hand*, and all philosophize … yet they were formerly shoemakers or carpenters, now they roam around you while they praise your virtue" (Lucian, bis accusatus 6).

The Sayings Source was perhaps a scroll or a little codex in the hands of itinerant charismatics. With such a symbol in their hand, they increased their prestige. But we must be aware: If oral traditions are fixed, they can still be used in many ways – even against the intent of the final edition. So Q was integrated

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19 *G. Theissen*, Gospel Writing and Church Politics. A Socio-rhetorical Approach, Hong Kong 2001, 25f.

against its intention into Matthew and Luke, and disappeared in this way. All gospels address local communities. If Q was a special writing for itinerant missionaries we can explain why Q disappeared as an independent writing. It lost its function together with the disappearance of itinerant radicalism.

Let us sum up: The literary history of Q connects this writing with itinerant charismatics on three levels. With regard to the traditions, I am quite sure that they witness to an itinerant radicalism. At the level of the final editing, the author appreciated at least the traditions of itinerant radicalism, but it is probable that his writing will also keep alive itinerant radicalism. At the level of the reception history, it is only imaginable that itinerant charismatics used the Sayings Source.

2.3. The historical context of itinerant radicalism in the history of early Christianity

Where can we place the Sayings Source historically? When and where did it originate? Here I can only briefly summarize what I have deployed elsewhere.

I think that the Sayings Source is a document from the first generation. The temptation story seems to mirror the Caligula crisis 39/40 CE.[20] Gaius Caligula had required he be worshipped as God – by kneeling down before him. He (his statue together with the statue of the Goddess Roma) should take the place of God in the temple of Jerusalem. And he had given small regions to his client-kings, like Galilee and Peraea to his friend Herod Agrippa I.

Often the statement about Jerusalem in Q 13,34f. is interpreted as evidence that the destruction of the Temple is presupposed. However, it says only that the temple is "left" (ἀφίεται); Matthew adds that it will left "desolate" (ἔρημος). Originally the teaching about Jerusalem announced only the "absence" of the deity in the temple which will soon be changed into a new presence of God. The absence of the deity was expected according to Josephus already before the destruction. Before the war a voice was heard in the temple: "Let's get out of here!" (Jos bell 6,299). Already forty years earlier in the Caligula-crisis this fear must have been alive.[21] If a statue of the Emperor was erected within the temple, it would be no longer the home of the one and only God. Then God had to leave the temple. This fear remained alive in the following years. Tacitus says (Tac. Ann

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20 *G. Theissen*, Lokalkolorit und Zeitgeschichte in den Evangelien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition (NTOA 8), Fribourg/Göttingen 1989/ [2]1992, 215–232 = The Gospels in Context. Social and Political History in the Synoptic Tradition, Minneapolis 1991.

21 According to bSota 33a Simon the Just heard a voice in the Holiest of Holy: "The idolatry is cancelled, that the enemy would bring into the temple. In those days Gaius Caligula was killed and his decrees were cancelled." The motif of the voice of God connects the crisis under Gaius Caligula with the end of the temple 40 years later.

54.1) that after the assassination of Gaius Caligula there was a concern that another Emperor would accomplish what he had planned. The Sayings Source was therefore written before the Jewish War 66–70 AD. While Mark 13 says that the world dissolves at the End of Times in crises and wars, and thus reflects the Jewish War, in the little apocalypse of Q the Son of man invades a peaceful world in which people do their everyday business (Q 17:23–35). The origin of the Sayings Source can therefore be dated between 40 and 65.

Consensus is at least that Q is a Jewish-Christian writing. Any criticism of the Law is absent. But Gentiles are mentioned positively – the centurion of Capernaum is a model of faith (Q 7:1–10), the Ninevites a model for conversion (Q 11:32), and the people in Tyre and Sidon would have converted would they have experienced Jesus' miracles (Q 10:13f.). True, Q does not witness to a Gentile mission by those who follow its teachings, but simply for their willingness to accept the faith of Gentiles. If the teaching about the followers of Jesus as judges of the twelve tribes (QLk 22:28–30) once formed the final conclusion of Q, then we have here a testimony to a mission to the twelve tribes of Israel – to the lost sheep of Israel in the Diaspora, in Syria and beyond. Therefore, the Sayings Source is a document that supports a mission to Israel from the first generation of early Christianity, as the letters of Paul are documents of the Gentile mission from this generation. It is a mission to Israel that could and has accepted the validity of the Gentile mission.

2.4.   The cultural-historical place of itinerant radicalism of Q: The analogy of the Cynics

Can the itinerant radicalism of Q be explained by analogies in Cynicism? I summarize my views briefly:[22] It is striking that Jesus in his mission discourse seems to demarcate his followers from other comparable people: Firstly he says that they should enter a house with the greeting of peace (Q 10:5). In the Lucan version they should only enter a house of a "son of peace" (Luke 10:6). It is not necessary to date such a statement to the time of the Jewish War in which Christian missionaries had to distinguish themselves from the war party (P. Hoffmann)[23]. It is more probable that the mission discourse demarcates Jesus' disciples from Judas Galilaios. His refusal to pay taxes was a declaration of war.

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22 Cf. *G. Theissen*, Jesus as an Itinerant Teacher, Reflections from Social History on Jesus' Roles, in: J. H. Charlesworth/P. Pokorný (ed.), Jesus Research. An International Perspective. The First Princeton-Prague Symposium on Jesus Research, Grand Rapids/Cambridge U.K. 2009, 98–122.

23 *P. Hoffmann*, Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle (NTA 8), Münster ³1982, 296–302.310–311.

The Jesus messengers should make clear from the outset that they were not reviving his campaign.

Secondly Jesus forbids the typical equipment of Cynic wandering philosophers: rod and storage bag. This makes sense only if such Cynics were known among the addressees. Cynic traditions were indeed alive in the neighborhood of Galilee. In Gadara we can trace them through several centuries. It is therefore possible that the visible identity markers of Cynic philosophers were well known in Galilee and Palestine.

Both demarcations must be seen together. I assume that Judas Galilaios (and his followers) stylized themselves as itinerant Cynic philosophers. Josephus represents Judas Galilaios as the founder of a "fourth philosophy" in Judaism (Ant 18,23). He compares the Essenes with the Pythagoreans (Ant 15,371), the Pharisees with the Stoics (Vita 12), and suggests that the Sadducees are comparable to Epicureans. Then the Cynics are left as the model for his fourth philosophy. Josephus underlines that Judas Galilaios follows the Pharisees in everything – but he deviates by his irrepressible love of freedom. In his eyes, the philosophy of Judas Galilaios is a radicalized Pharisaic or stoic "philosophy".[24] Cynicism was indeed deemed in those times to be a radicalized stoicism. Seneca describes their relationship thus: The Stoics wanted human nature to triumph (*hominis naturam cum stoicis vincere*), but the Cynics wanted to go beyond human nature (*cum cynicis excedere*) (Seneca, De brevitate vitae 14,2). A Cynic influence is thus possible. Judas Galilaios came from Gamala, a Jewish city in the Golan hills not far away from Gadara, where Cynic traditions were alive for several centuries.[25] His Cynic outfit must have been very superficial. In those times you could walk around with a beard, storage bag and walking stick without being a true Cynic. Jesus had distinguished himself from the teaching of Judas Galilaios. This is seen by the conversation about the tax issue (Mark 12:13–17). Only Judas Galilaios had raised this question prior to Jesus. Jesus and Judas Galilaios shared the message of radical monotheism that the one and only God should reign alone. When Jesus sent his disciples with the message of God's kingdom in the nearby villages of Galilee and Judaea, he did well to give them instructions on how not to be confused with the representatives of the last

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24 In the eyes of Josephus Judas Galilaios was probably a Jewish Cynic. Cf. *M. Hengel*, Die Zeloten. Untersuchungen zur jüdischen Freiheitsbewegung in der Zeit von Herodes I. bis 70 n. Chr. (AGJU 1), Leiden [2]1976, 83 n. 1.

25 Cynic philosophers in the neighborhood of Judea are Menippus of Gadara in the third century BCE, Meleager of Gadara in the second century BCE (ca. 130–70 BCE); Oenomaus of Gadara in the second century CE. Since Gamala, the hometown of Judas Galilaios, was not far away from Gadara, it is possible that Cynic philosophers were known in Gamala. But there was the deep valley of the Jarmuk separating Gadara and Gamala.

campaign against the Romans. Hence the emphasis on a message of peace; and hence the prohibitions against the Cynic "outfit".

This hypothesis could be the *particulum veri* of the controversial interpretation of Jesus as a Jewish cynic.[26] I assume only an indirect influence by demarcation and concurrence.[27] My version does not require that Judas Galilaios was a real cynic. He was as unlike a Cynic as the Pharisees or the Essenes were unlike Stoics or Pythagoreans.

2.5.   The social place of the itinerant radicalism of Q

Can itinerant charismatics be classified as a phenomenon of social dislocation? Are they an expression of a crisis in this society? Or are they products of a society in peace and prosperity?[28] The interpretation that views them as products of crisis is represented in two ways: Either the itinerant charismatics were stimulated by poverty or they arose as a result of social changes upwards *and* downwards. The difference is that the second interpretation may well accept that some disciples may have been driven from their homes because of economic emergencies, but not necessary all of them. On the contrary, crucial for the emergence of "anomie" (É. Durkheim), which is the dissolution of traditional social bonds and mentalities, are rapid social changes – even in a society where the economy flourishes. There are always some who profit by changes, but other experience loss. Such a crisis can increase social dislocation – and as soon as some social roles and patterns of behavior have developed for "dropouts" in society, then those who are not economically in need but are looking for a new life can adopt these roles as well. Social dislocation was additionally caused by persecution. The persecution of Stephen led some of his followers, such as Philip, to become itinerant missionaries.

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26 The Cynic thesis has been developed by *F.G. Downing*, Cynics and Christians, in: NTS 30 (1984) 584–93; *F.G. Downing*, Cynics and Christian Origins, Edinburgh 1992. It was supported by *B. L. Mack*, A Myth of Innocence. Mark and Christian Origins, Philadelphia 1988, 53–77, 69; *L. E. Vaage*, Galilean Upstarts. Jesus' First Followers According to Q, Valley Forge 1994, 102–106; *J. D. Crossan*, The Historical Jesus. The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant, San Francisco 1991. The most convincing form of this thesis is: *B. Lang*, Jesus der Hund. Leben und Lehre eines jüdischen Kynikers, München 2010.

27 *G. Theissen*, Jesus unter den Philosophen. Über die kynische Interpretation Jesu, in: EvTh 74 (2014), 262–274. A demarcation vis à vis the Cynics is assumed also by *P. Hoffmann*, Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle (NTAbh 8), Münster 1972, 318; *R. Uro*, Sheep Among The Wolves. A Study of the Mission Instructions of Q (AASF 47), Helsinki 1987, 122f.

28 In *G. Theissen*, Jesus und die symbolpolitischen Konflikte seiner Zeit. Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte der Jesusforschung, EvTh 57 (1997) 378–400.

We indeed find in the Sayings Source these three factors: social decline, social advancement and persecution. Downward social mobility is mirrored in the beatitude of the poor, the hungry and those who mourn (Q 6:20f, or in the admonition to agree out of court Q 12:58f.); upward social mobility is found in the parable of the talents (Q 19:12–26), which presupposes a profit-orientated mentality. Only those who increase their wealth are good servants.[29] Both upward and downward mobility are connected in the parable of the faithful and unfaithful servants (Q 12:42–46). Traces of persecution and social pressure are found in the beatitude of those who are persecuted (Q 6:22f.) and in the admonition to renounce violence (Q 6:29f.).

Galilee was probably not the poorest region in Palestine. Josephus describes it as a thriving landscape. Bones of people from that time do not have malnutrition. If the society could maintain a group of itinerant charismatics at those times, many people must have had a surplus of resources to give to "itinerant beggars" (G. Schöllgen).[30] If these "beggars" criticized wealth and possessions, they could find sympathy with both the rich and the poor. The criticism of wealth is also found in the upper classes although it would be an exaggeration to say that we find such criticism only here.[31]

There are therefore many indicators to suggest that the homeland of the Jesus movement flourished economically, but that for just this reason it experienced crisis. Traditional values are questioned in times of economic flourishing as well as in times of decline and decay. In times of rapid social changes we have both developments upwards and downwards. In such a time, the proclamation of Jesus would fit well. Before him Judas Galilaios had seen the ultimate alternative in the choice between God and the Emperor. Jesus sees the same alternative in the field of economics. For Jesus and the Sayings Source, the radical theocratic alternative is: God or Mammon (Q 16:13).[32]

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We can now give a summary: The homelessness of itinerant charismatics was constitutive of their existence. They were able to travel long distances. Although they lived a marginal existence, they exercised a charismatic influence on their sympathizers in local communities. They represented and practiced a radical

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29 A new profit-orientated mentality is the social background of this parable. The parable does not support this mentality. Cf. *L. Schottroff*, Die Gleichnisse Jesu, Gütersloh 2005, 239–246.292–294; *Ch. Münch*, Gewinnen oder Verlieren (Von den anvertrauten Geldern), in: R. Zimmermann (ed.), Kompendium der Gleichnisse Jesu, Gütersloh 2007, 240–254.

30 G. Schoellgen in an oral communication.

31 *Th. E. Schmidt*, Hostility to Wealth in the Synoptic Gospels (JSNT.S 15), Sheffield 1987.

32 *A. Merz*, Mammon als schärfster Konkurrent Gottes – Jesu Vision vom Reich Gottes und das Geld, in: S. J. Lederhilger (ed.), Gott oder Mammon. Christliche Ethik und die Religion des Geldes (Linzer philosophisch-theologische Beiträge 3), Frankfurt 2001, 34–90.

ethos of homelessness, a criticism of family, labor and possessions. They were non-violent. This itinerant radicalism originated in Jewish areas, but spread very early beyond its boundaries with a focus in Syria. The traditions of these itinerant charismatics are preserved in Q. Q tries to motivate people to take on the role of itinerant charismatics. Perhaps one of them had written down their oral traditions – perhaps to equip the messengers of Jesus with such a collection of traditions. As a written source Q had a life of its own and became part of two Gospels which address local congregations. In the history of early Christianity, Q represents a testimony from the first generation, a document related to a Jewish-Christian mission to Israel that is willing to accept Gentiles as well. Contacts with Cynics are based on competition: Q refuses some cynic identity symbols – perhaps because Judas Galilaios had slipped into the role of a Cynic philosopher in order to propagate an uprising. Jesus and his followers had to distance themselves from him. But they are in one regard comparable to Cynics: The Cynics lived at the margins of society, but they maintained accepted values like autonomy and self-sufficiency; in the same way the itinerant charismatics embodied the core values of Judaism, particularly a radical monotheism. Their origin is due to changes in society which led to upper and lower mobility and thus to social uprooting by "anomy". This uprooting was caused by an irritation of traditional values and norms. The general values that cannot be practiced under normal conditions of life are practiced consistently in the social role of outsiders. Social change created that spiritual restlessness that makes people open to radical lifestyles like itinerant radicalism. An interpretation that sees the Jesus movement and its itinerant charismatics as a renewal movement differs from a pauperistic interpretation, but it does not exclude that economic pressures may also have been a factor.

Markus Tiwald

The Brazen Freedom of God's Children: "Insolent Ravens" (Q 12:24) and "Carefree Lilies" (Q 12:27) as Response to Mass-Poverty and Social Disruption⸮

The sociological backdrop against which the Sayings Source Q could develop has been the subject of fierce debates.[1] It was G. Theißen, who in the early seventies of the last century developed the thesis that the first followers of Jesus consisted of itinerant prophets following the ethos of poverty, homelessness, nonviolence and the eschatological expectation of God's kingdom.[2] Before him, it was already observed by P. Hoffmann that the authorities behind the Sayings Source were charismatic prophets, who lived up to a special ethos of poverty and peacemaking as signs of the beginning reign of God.[3] Hoffmann and Theißen were followed by many scholars in this, e. g., by D. Zeller, M. Tiwald, U. Schnelle, I. Broer, who also underlined the emblematic lifestyle of the Q-prophets.[4]

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1 For a detailed *status quaestionis* see: *W. Stegemann*, "Hinterm Horizont geht's weiter". Erneute Betrachtungen von Gerd Theißens These zum Wanderradikalismus der Jesusbewegung, in: P. Lampe/H. Schwier (ed.), Neutestamentliche Grenzgänge. Symposium zur kritischen Rezeption der Arbeiten Gerd Theißens, Göttingen 2010, 76–95; *C. Heil*, Die Missionsinstruktion in Q 10,2–16. Transformationen der Jesusüberlieferung im Spruchevangelium Q, in: W. Eisele/C. Schaefer/H.-U. Weidemann (ed.), Aneignung durch Transformation. Beiträge zur Analyse von Überlieferungsprozessen im frühen Christentum (FS M. Theobald) (HBS 74), Freiburg 2013, 25–55, 48–54; *G. Theißen*, Kynische und urchristliche Wandercharismatiker. Zu W. Stegemann: "Hinterm Horizont geht's weiter", in: Id., Von Jesus zur urchristlichen Zeichenwelt. "Neutestamentliche Grenzgänge" im Dialog, Göttingen 2011, 101–116.

2 Cf. *G. Theißen*, Wanderradikalismus. Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum (first published in 1973), in: Id., Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums (WUNT 19), Tübingen ³1989, 79–105; *G. Theißen*, "Wir haben alles verlassen" (Mc. X,28). Nachfolge und soziale Entwurzelung in der jüdisch-palästinischen Gesellschaft des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. (first publication in 1977), in: Id., Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums (WUNT 19), Tübingen ³1989, 106–141; *G. Theißen*, Die Jesusbewegung. Sozialgeschichte einer Revolution der Werte, Gütersloh 2004, 33–98. Regarding the background of Theißen's thesis cf.: *Heil*, Missionsinstruktion (n. 1) 52.

3 *P. Hoffmann*, Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle (NTA.NF 8), Münster ³1972 (first published in 1971), 312–334.

4 *D. Zeller*, Redaktionsprozesse und wechselnder "Sitz im Leben" beim Q-Material (first published in 1982), in: Id., Jesus – Logienquelle – Evangelien (SBAB 53), Stuttgart 2012, 101–117, 114; *D. Zeller*, Kommentar zur Logienquelle (SKK 21), Stuttgart 1984; *M. Tiwald*, Der Wanderradikalismus als Brücke zum historischen Jesus, in: A. Lindemann (ed.), The Sayings

The pillars on which the thesis of G. Theißen is built can be described as consisting of the following presuppositions:

1ˢᵗ presupposition: Due to the Roman oppression of the region there were *massive social conflicts* resulting in the development of two classes, dividing society into collaborators and profiteers of the Romans on the one hand and in active or passive resistance fighters as result of mass poverty in the lower social strata[5] on the other hand. According to Theißen, this caused a disruption of social structures[6] in Galilee and triggered patterns of social deviance,[7] as identified by Josephus: banditry, insurrections, fierce religious disputes over collaboration and a cultural split between the Hellenistic lifestyle and Jewish identity.

2ⁿᵈ presupposition: Theißen's thesis maintains that the phenomenon of social deviance and disintegration was adapted in a creative way by Jesus and his followers in the Q-movement. The breaking up of social peace had led to eschatological expectations since the time of the Maccabees[8] and it now found expression in the announcement of God's reign by Jesus. In opposition to the violent uprisings (as practiced by the Zealots) or the expectation of an eschatological war against God's enemies (as proclaimed in the manuscripts of Qumran), he announced a peaceful new order of the world under God's reign. Thus the Q-missionaries were only following the instructions of Jesus when they proclaimed eschatological peace and the kingdom of God (cf. Q 10:5, 9[9]). The authorities behind this mission were *itinerant charismatics, living out a deliberately chosen ethos of poverty, nonviolence, and homelessness.*[10] Their lifestyle reflected their

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Source Q and the historical Jesus (BETL 158), Leuven 2001, 523–534; *M. Tiwald*, Wanderradikalismus. Jesu erste Jünger – ein Angang und was davon bleibt (ÖBS 20), 2002, 246–257; *U. Schnelle*, Theologie des Neuen Testaments (UTB 2917), Göttingen 2007, 364: "Wanderradikalismus"; "Ethos der Heimatlosigkeit (Q 9,58; Q 10,4e), der Familienlosigkeit (Q 14,26) und der Gewaltlosigkeit (Q 6,29f.)"; *I. Broer/H.-U. Weidemann*, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Würzburg ³2010, 70.

5 Cf. *Theißen*, Nachfolge (n. 2) 138: "Wir haben also Grund zu der Annahme, daß im 1. Jh. n. Chr. in Palästina wenige Reiche noch reicher geworden sind, während die kleinen Leute – Kleinbauern, Pächter, Fischer und Handwerker – in Bedrängnis gerieten."

6 Cf. *Theißen*, Nachfolge (n. 2) 106: "Soziale Entwurzelung".

7 *Theißen*, Nachfolge (n. 2) 112–133 distinguishes here between evasive, aggressive, collaborative and subsiditive patterns. Cf. also *Theißen*, Soziologie (n. 2) 142.

8 *T. Hieke*, Am Ende der Tage wird es geschehen … Zur Eschatologie des Alten Testaments, in: Id./R. Kühschelm/M. Striet/B. Trocholepczy, Zeit schenken – Vollendung erhoffen. Gottes Zusage an die Welt (Theologische Module 8), Freiburg i. Br. 2013, 7–52, 10–27, 37f. For the question if Q contains "apocalyptic" patterns cf. *C. Tuckett*, Apocalyptic – in Q?, in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Q in Context I. The Separation between the Just and the Unjust in Early Judaism and in the Sayings Source – A New Look at the "Parting of the Ways" (BBB 172), Bonn 2015, 107–121.

9 The quotation of the Sayings Source Q follows: *J. M. Robinson/P. Hoffmann/J. S. Kloppenborg* (ed.), The Sayings Gospel Q in Greek and English with Parallels from the Gospels of Mark and Thomas, Leuven 2001.

10 Cf. *Theißen*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 2) 83: "wandernde christliche Charismatiker"; 86: "Wanderradikalismus"; 105: "Ethos des Wanderradikalismus".

programmatic aims: like the OT-prophets, they not only preached in words but also by prophetic actions. Their explicit poverty (not even sandals, no provisions, no money, cf. Q 10:4) homelessness (cf. Q 9:57–60) and nonviolence (cf. Q 6:29) are indicative of the "brazen freedom of God's children"[11], who – like insolent ravens (Q 12:24), carefree lilies (Q 12:27), and pertinacious begging children (Q 11:9–13) demonstrate the uncompromising confidence in God and in his forthcoming salvation even against all odds in the underprivileged region of Galilee. In this way, the lifestyle of Jesus and the Q-prophets can be seen as אות like in the times of the OT-prophets.[12] An אות symbolically anticipates a reality that has not yet arrived, but is imminent.[13] Hosea marries "a wife of whoredom" (Hos 1:2) to underline the unfaithfulness of Israel; Ezekiel bakes his bread on human dung (Ezek 4:12) to symbolize how unclean Israel has become; and Jeremiah puts a yoke on his neck to illustrate the future fate of Israel (Jer 27:2). Poverty and nonviolence were thus an ethos deliberately chosen by itinerant mavericks[14] to symbolize the forthcoming reign of God.

3rd presupposition: Theißen draws *parallels between the itinerant charismatics of the Sayings Source and the itinerant prophets of the Didache.*[15] Here he further develops ideas of G. Kretschmar, who in the nineteen-sixties observed that itinerant charismatic prophets must have been common in early Christian communities of Syria-Palestine.[16] Kretschmar draws from the Didache, Lucian of Samosata and the Pseudo-Clementine Literature. G. Theißen now completes the picture by putting the itinerant charismatics of the Sayings Source in line with the itinerant prophets of the Didache. He interprets the τρόποι κυρίου mentioned by *Did.* 11:8[17] as the distinctive lifestyle of a true prophet in contrast with the false prophets, as constituting the ethos of Jesus and the Q-preachers: poverty,

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11 Cf. *M. Tiwald*, "Blickt auf die Vögel des Himmels" – Die unverschämte Freiheit der Kinder Gottes, in: Bibel heute 195 (3/2013) 7–9.

12 Cf. *Tiwald*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 4) 156.

13 Cf. *F. J. Helfmeyer*, Art. אות, in: ThWAT I (1973) 182–205, 183, 202.

14 Cf. *Theißen*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 2) 96: "Nach all dem dürfte klar sein, daß die urchristlichen Wandercharismatiker Außenseiter waren. Sie werden in den Orten einige Sympathisanten gehabt haben. Aber es ist nicht schwer, sich vorzustellen, wie die Mehrheit über sie geurteilt hat …"

15 Cf. *Theißen*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 2) 83. 86f. 91.

16 Cf. *G. Kretschmar*, Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem Ursprung frühchristlicher Askese, in: ZThK 61 (1964) 27–67, 36f. Kretschmar's article is anteceded by *A. von Harnack*, Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts (TU 2), Berlin 1991 (reprint, first published in 1886), 154–157, where he muses about the polarity between charismatic and hierarchic structures in the Didache.

17 The quotation of the Didache follows *I. H. Hall/J. T. Napier* (ed. by *M. B. Riddle*), The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, in: A. Roberts/J. Donaldson (ed.), The Ante-Nicene fathers. Translations of the writings of the fathers down to A.D. 325 (American reprint of the Edinburgh edition. Revised and chronologically arranged, with brief prefaces and occasional notes, by A. C. Coxe), Buffalo 1885.

peacemaking/nonviolence and homeless itinerancy. By doing so he opens up the possibility of interpreting the Q-prophets by using features of the Didache and *vice versa* – but also runs the risk of circular logic by mixing up two different text corpora.

Summing up, all of these three presuppositions have been in for heavy criticism, but they have also gained wide approval in other circles. I myself tried to reshape some of these ideas in my doctoral thesis, published in 2001. Now, nearly fifteen years later, it seems to be appropriate to ask whether the old approach still is viable.

1. The Thesis of the disruption of social structures in Galilee at the time of Jesus

Especially R. Horsley and D. Oakman have depicted Jesus as a social revolutionary. They both reject the idea that Jesus might have been inspired by an ethos of itinerancy and poverty[18] and instead point out the "political aims of Jesus"[19]. They particularly focus on the strong injustice that was inflicted on poor Jewish peasants by "overlapping layers of Roman and Jewish rulers"[20] or resulting from "urbanization, monetization, commercialization, and tenancy promoted by the Roman elites …"[21] Jesus was concerned with alleviating the "serious problems of hunger and poverty" and fighting against "social malaise".[22] According to Horsley and Oakman there was a clear-cut borderline "between the powerful rulers, on the one hand, and the hapless peasants that they exploit, on the other".[23] "The country people … displayed a hostility … to the administrative cities"[24] – as can be seen in the numerous rebellions, mentioned in Josephus' *Vita* (34f., 38f., 66f., 97–100, 102–104, 124f., 154, etc.[25]). Even if the depiction of Horsley and Oakman seriously underestimates Jesus' primarily religious moti-

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18 Cf. *R. A. Horsley*, Sociology and the Jesus Movement, New York ²1994, 43–46; *D. E. Oakman*, The Political Aims of Jesus, Minneapolis 2012, 71, even denies the religious aims of Jesus: "… Jesus' message about the Power of God … was about its presence and workings, not about its future arrival or apocalyptic fireworks."

19 Cf. the title of *Oakman's* book (n. 18) and 127: "Jesus had, in fact, been a *lēstēs* in advocating rearrangements of debts and tax resistance. And, Pilate historically had perceived things correctly and rendered judgment." Cf. *Horsley*, Sociology (n. 18) 132 ("sharp conflict between the Jesus movement and the ruling institutions").

20 *Horsley*, Sociology (n. 18) 93.

21 *Oakman*, Aims (n. 18) 42.

22 *Horsley*, Sociology (n. 18) 67.

23 *Horsley*, Sociology (n. 18) 86; cf. *Oakman*, Aims (n. 14) 39–43.

24 *Horsley*, Sociology (n. 18) 87; cf. *Oakman*, Aims (n. 14) 49–57.

25 The quotations from Josephus' works follow: *W. Whiston* (ed.), The genuine works of Flavius Josephus, New York 1828.

vation, some passages in Josephus' writings seem to hint in the direction of a socio-cultural split between the Hellenistic cities and the Jewish peasants.

In *Ant*. 18:36–38 we read:

> [36] And now Herod the tetrarch, who was in great favour with Tiberius, built a city of the same name with him, and called it Tiberias. He built it in the best part of Galilee, at the lake of Gennesaret. There are warm baths at a little distance from it, in a village named Emmaus. [37] Strangers came and inhabited this city; a great number of the inhabitants were Galileans also; and many were necessitated by Herod to come there out of the country belonging to him, and were by force compelled to be its inhabitants; some of them were magistrates. He also admitted poor people, such as those who were collected from all parts, to dwell in it. Nay, some of them were not quite freemen; [38] and these he was benefactor to, and made them free in great numbers; but obliged them not to forsake the city, by building them very good houses at his own expense, and by giving them land also; for he was sensible, that to make this place a habitation was to transgress the Jewish ancient laws, because many sepulchres were to be here taken away, in order to make room for the city of Tiberias; whereas our laws pronounce, that such inhabitants are unclean for seven days.

Herod Antipas built the city on a burial ground, violating Jewish law and rendering Jewish visitors unclean for seven days – not to mention the perpetual status of uncleanness in which its inhabitants were placed. No wonder that he had to gather the future inhabitants from everywhere – namely poor persons – and forced them to live in the city. The rest of the inhabitants were strangers (foreign landlords) or magistrates (retainers of the foreign rulers). This clearly illustrates the strong cultural split between Hellenism and Jewish way of life and certainly explains the hate stirred up against the Romans and the resulting insurgency.

In *Vita* 30 we read:

> When I had therefore received these instructions, I came into Galilee, and found the people of Sepphoris in no small agony about their country, by reason that the Galileans had resolved to plunder it on account of the friendship they had with the Romans; and because they had given their right hand and made a league with Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria: …

Cf. *Vita* 375

> The Galileans took this opportunity, as thinking they had now a proper time for showing their hatred to them, since they bore ill will to that city [sc. Sepphoris] also. They then exerted themselves, as if they would kill them all utterly, with those who sojourned there also.

Sepphoris is plundered by the Galilean peasants because of their friendship with the Romans – obviously the city was identified as collaborating with the Romans.

Nevertheless the depiction of Horsley and Oakman is too schematic, because it neglects the complexity and plurality in the interplay between Hellenism and the

Jewish way of life. To begin with, we must concede that the cultural split was not so much between the rural Jewish population and pagan Hellenistic cities, but between diverging conceptions of Jewish identity. We have to acknowledge that only cities like Scythopolis, Caesarea Maritima and Paneas were pagan non-Jewish cities.[26] In contrast to this, Sepphoris and Tiberias were mainly Jewish cities, as archeological findings in Sepphoris – like ossuaries, mikvaot, stone vessels – and the records of Josephus concerning the population of Tiberias and Sepphoris clearly have indicated![27] Hellenisation in Galilee was not primarily induced by foreign forces, but in first line by the Hasmoneans – it was the "indigenous elite who embraced the 'new fashions'."[28] Under the Herodean dynasty, settlements on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee reached an unprecedented density.[29] Therefore, the thesis of mass poverty and social disruption needs to be rethought just as well as the assumption that the Hellenistic and Jewish ways of life were two diametrically opposed attitudes. The situation was far more complex, Galilee has to be considered as a "kaleidoscope of different groups but not as a monolith."[30] We have to reckon with diverging conceptions of Jewish life that intermingled in the Galilee at this time.[31] Therefore, the question becomes even more virulent as to why neither Sepphoris nor Tiberias are mentioned in the New Testament – Jesus seems to have avoided these cities, which is even more striking, as Sepphoris was in the direct vicinity of Nazaret and Tiberias since the year 19 CE was the residence of Antipas and capital of Galilee. The question thus arises concerning how selective Jesus' geographical radius was and how representative his ministry might be considered for the whole of Galilee.[32] – Freyne, Meyers, Zangenberg and Berlin assume that there was a deep split inside

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26 Cf. *M. A. Chancey*, The Myth of a Gentile Galilee (SNTS 118), Cambridge 2002, 168 and 180, even if some of Chancey's positions are overdrawn, e.g., when he states that pagans in first-century CE Galilee were only a small minority (167) and that Galileans only would have occasionally encountered gentiles from adjacent territories, but not in Galilee (169).

27 Cf. *Chancey*, Myth (n. 26) 79f., 93–95. Cf. *J. K. Zangenberg*, Jesus – Galiläa – Archäologie, in: C. Claussen/J. Frey (ed.), Jesus und die Archäologie Galiläas (BThSt 87), Neukirchen-Vluyn 2008, 7–38, 27–29. Cf. also *S. Freyne*, Jesus and the Urban Culture of Galilee, in: Id., Galilee and Gospel. Collected Essays (WUNT 125), Tübingen 2000, 183–207, 190f.; *C. A. Evans*, Jesus and His World. The Archeological Evidence, London 2012, 24–26, especially 26: "… Sepphoris in Jesus' day was a thoroughly Jewish city."

28 *J. K. Zangenberg/D. Van de Zande*, Art. Urbanization, in: C. Hezser (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine, Oxford 2010, 165–188, 174. Cf. also *Zangenberg*, Jesus (n. 27) 26f.

29 Cf. *Zangenberg*, Jesus (n. 27) 28f.

30 *Zangenberg*, Jesus (n. 27): "Galiläa wird mehr und mehr als 'Kaleidoskop' unterschiedlicher Gruppen verstanden, weniger als Monolith."

31 Cf. *Zangenberg*, Jesus (n. 27) 33: "Überhaupt ist damit zu rechnen, dass durchaus auch in Galiläa unterschiedliche Interpretationen dessen nebeneinander und zum Teil auch gegeneinander existierten, was Judentum war und zu sein hatte."

32 *Zangenberg*, Jesus (n. 27) 37f.

the Jewish population.[33] They posit the "simultaneous existence of a seemingly very traditional rural world next to strongly urbanized centres of Hellenism beginning already in the 2nd century BCE (Magdala) and continuing well into the 1st century CE (Tiberias)."[34] The strong Hellenisation and urbanization in Galilee certainly tipped the scales of sociological equilibrium and triggered not only a crisis of socio-religious identity but also led to an atmosphere of social instability. In these complex social structures different political and religious conceptions seem to have coexisted and competed against each other.[35] "What remained was an atmosphere of distrust and alienation between some Jewish circles and their Hellenized elites, and a Jewish population that was divided about the blessings and curses of Hellenism and the increasing urbanization of their country."[36] This can be shown in the case of Tiberias in the dawn of the revolution: in Tiberias there were three factions (*Vita* 32–42): *1) the peace party* – rich and honoured men who had their wealth to lose; *2) the war party* – "ignoble persons" (*Vita* 35) who had nothing to lose; and *3) persons who wanted to gain personal profit by the change of affairs*, like "Justus, the son of Pistus, who was the head of the third faction, although he pretended to be doubtful about going to war, yet was he really desirous for sedition, as supposing that he should gain power to himself by the change of affairs" (*Vita* 36). In his speech Justus laments that Tiberias now has become capital of Galilee instead of Sepphoris, and that the royal treasury and the archives were now removed from their town (*Vita* 38). – Personal interests here mingle with politics and religion! And besides: Josephus himself changed his mind from rebel against to kinsman of the Romans in the course of the revolt! So there certainly were "fundamental fissures … [in the] Jewish population",[37] as Berlin/Overman have stated. And Freyne adds: "The causes for these deep divisions in Jewish society were manifold, and certainly cannot be laid at the door of the Romans alone. Some Jews had benefited greatly from the increased op-

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33 Cf. *Freyne*, Jesus (n. 27) 192f.; *E. M. Meyers*, Sepphoris. City of Peace, in: A. M. Berlin/J. A. Overman (ed.), The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History, and Ideology, London/New York 2002, 110–120, 114; *Zangenberg/Van de Zande*, Urbanization (n. 28) 174; *A. Berlin*, Romanization and anti-Romanization in pre-Revolt Galilee, in: Ead./J. A. Overmann (ed.), The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History, and Ideology, London/New York 2002, 57–73, 67.

34 *J. K. Zangenberg*, Archaeological News in the Galilee. Tiberias, Magdala and Rural Galilee, in: Early Christianity 1 (2010) 3–14, 481.

35 Cf. *Zangenberg*, Jesus (n. 27) 32f.

36 *Zangenberg/Van de Zande*, Urbanization (n. 28) 174. Cf. also *J. Wilker*, "God is with Italy Now". Pro-Roman Jews and the Jewish Revolt, in: B. Eckhardt (ed.), Jewish Identiy and Politics between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba. Groups, Normativity, and Rituals, Leiden/Boston 2012, 157–187, who portraits different types of Jewish collaborators with Rome and shows how quickly the political sides might have been switched.

37 *A. M. Berlin/J. A. Overman*, Introduction, in: Ead./Id. (ed.), The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History, and Ideology, London/New York 2002, 1–14, 9.

portunities of the Hellenistic age, thus creating a wider gap than had existed at any other period previously."[38] Against this backdrop, small, family-run holdings risked impoverishing because they could not compete with the extended urban economy of wealthy estate owners.[39] The New Testament depicts such absentee landlords (Mark 12:1), exploitative stewards (Luke 16:1–8), publican collaborators (Mark 2:16f; Matt 18:17; 21:31; Luke 5:30; 18:11.13) and day laborers (Matt 20:1–16; Luke 15:19; Jas 5:4). Especially "tenancy became an important instrument of the agricultural economy in Jewish Palestine … The growth of large estates had important effects on the structure of labour: not only were smallholders forced to cede their plots in favour of large estates, … but the labour demands of such properties also distorted established agricultural patterns. … There is evidence of a shift from small-scale polycropping to large-scale monoculture oriented to export…"[40] Jesus' response was "a prophetic critique of the dominant prevailing ethos, based on covenantal ideals for a restored Israel, within an apocalyptic framework that made it possible to imagine and propose a radically different life-style and values."[41] This is the reason why Jesus – obviously deliberately – avoided cities like Tiberias and Sepphoris. His "selective geographical radius"[42] cuts out Sepphoris and Tiberias as a prophetic statement of the upcoming counter-society of the *basileia*. Therefore, G. Theißen's latest notice (2011) concerning the question of poverty and social disruption might be right. He affirms that Galilee at the time of Jesus had *not* been one of the poorest regions, but that it rather was the economic success of some groups and the hereby resulting urbanization of some places that actually caused the problems: a deep cultural, religious and political crisis within the Jewish society of those days. Jesus' theological assumptions are an attempt to respond to these socio-religious challenges by imposing a counter-reality, that of the upcoming *basileia*.[43] Under these circumstances we have to conclude that *the Galilee of Jesus* as depicted in the New Testament is not representative for the *whole of Galilee in these times*. Quite the contrary, it's the world of the marginalized losers (small farmers, fishers and craftsmen) that the Bible zooms in on, disregarding the wider focus of

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38 *S. Freyne*, The Revolt from a Regional Perspective, in: A. M. Berlin/J. A. Overman (ed.), The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History, and Ideology, London/New York 2002, 43–56, 51.

39 Cf. *Freyne*, Jesus (n. 27) 196.

40 *J. S. Kloppenborg*, The Growth and Impact of Agricultural Tenancy in Jewish Palestine (III BCE – I CE), in: JESHO 51 (2008) 33–66, 61.

41 *Freyne*, Jesus (n. 27) 198.

42 *Zangenberg*, Jesus (n. 27) 38 ("So selektiv Jesu geographischer Radius nach dem NT ist … so begrenzt ist sein Adressatenkreis").

43 *Theißen* Wandercharismatiker (n. 1) 115: "Vieles spricht dafür, dass das Heimatland der Jesusbewegung damals wirtschaftlich aufblühte und eben deswegen eine Krise erlebte. In solchen Zeiten werden traditionelle Werte genauso in Frage gestellt wie in Zeiten des Abstiegs und Verfalls."

Hellenistic-Jewish city life and the socially upwardly mobile milieus of those who succeeded in harmonizing Jewish and Hellenistic life. Jesus' primary aim is not a revolution against social injustice but the prophetic announcement of the forthcoming *basileia*. Nevertheless, this *basileia* can only be inherited by the poor, the hungry, and the nonviolent (cf. the Beatitudes, Q 6:20–23.27f.). In these guidelines we can detect the special ethos of Jesuanic theology, Jesus' personal theological fingerprint: God's option for the poor and marginalized.

2. Itinerant Prophets following a special ethos as authorities behind the Sayings Source

The thesis that Jesus and his first followers used homeless itinerancy, peacefulness and poverty as prophetic signs of the forthcoming reign of God, has been repeatedly criticised. For R. Horsley and D. Oakman – as seen before – itinerancy is only a means of communicating the political resistance that Jesus preached.

For W. Stegemann, Jesus' itinerancy does not follow an ethos, but is rather nothing more than the poor daily existence typical for beggars in those times.[44] By deliberately adopting this poverty (cf. Q 10:4), Jesus and the Q-prophets offer an alternative in the struggle for survival.[45] For Stegemann, it was the evangelist Luke who adopted this model and transformed it into a concept of ethical radicalism by forming the ethos of itinerancy and poverty. This ethos is thus nothing more than a literary fiction created by Luke as a means of formulating social critique and social ethics.[46]

J. Draper also perceives "the wandering charismatics thesis" to be "a modern scholarly construct".[47] He underlines that there is not sufficient evidence to interpret the text of Q by drawing parallels from the Didache[48], a point we will return to later.

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44 Cf. *W. Stegemann*, Wanderradikalismus im Urchristentum? Historische und theologische Auseinandersetzung mit einer interessanten These, in: W. Schottroff/Id., Der Gott der kleinen Leute. Sozialgeschichtliche Bibelauslegungen, München 1979, 94–120, 111 ("bettelarme Existenz von Hungerleidern, doch nicht infolge eines Ethos der Besitzlosigkeit"). Cf. also *Stegemann*, Horizont (n. 1) 86.94f.

45 *Stegemann*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 44) 113 ("In diesem Kontext bildet die Botschaft der Q-Propheten eine Alternative zur Existenzsorge armer Menschen").

46 *Stegemann*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 44) 115f. und 117 ("sozialkritisches und sozialethisches Programm").

47 *J. A. Draper*, Wandering Charismatics and Scholarly Circularities, in: R. A. Horsley/Id., Whoever Hears You Hears Me. Prophets, Performance, and Tradition in Q, Harrisburg 1999, 29–45, 45.

48 *Draper*, Charismatics (n. 47) 40–45.

J. Kloppenborg proceeds in a more nuanced way. Not itinerant charismatics,[49] but "village and town notaries and scribes"[50] are the authorities behind Q. In the socio-economic struggles of these times they feared the loss of influence and opted for some sort of "scribal resistance to a southern, hierocratically defined vision of Israel."[51] For Kloppenborg there is actually an "ethos" in Q, however, not the ethos of itinerancy, but rather that of scribal resistance, "the 'alternative tradition' against the dominant (ruling) exposition of the tradition".[52] For Kloppenborg "'[i]tinerancy' should not be imagined on the model of Paul's journeys; it would have looked more like morning walks."[53] – I guess that Kloppenborg makes a point with both presuppositions! Homeless itinerant prophets, who, according to Q 10:4, were not even allowed to carry provisions with them, certainly had *no means* of framing such a text like the Sayings Source – not to mention the fact that they most probably were illiterate.[54] And indeed the mission journeys of Q-prophets must *not* be compared with those of Paul. In the small countryside of Northern Palestine the distances from village to village were indeed no more than "morning walks". But this does not invalidate the thesis of itinerancy. Itinerancy – in my opinion – was an emblematic sign underlining the nearness of the forthcoming *basileia*, as Jesus says in Q 9:58–60:

> And Jesus said to him: Foxes have holes, and birds of the sky have nests; but the son of humanity does not have anywhere he can lay his head. But another said to him: Master, permit me first to go and bury my father. But he said to him: Follow me, and leave the dead bury their own dead.

Therefore, not the number of miles made the true prophet, but an emblematic lifestyle (*Did*. 11:8 calls this the τρόποι κυρίου – the lifestyle of the Lord).

The thesis of village scribes as composers of the Sayings Source has been further developed by Kloppenborg's disciple W. Arnal. Arnal – as his teacher Kloppenborg as well – sees Galilee as being in the midst of a profound socio-economic crisis: villages in rural Galilee lose out to the urbanization of centres like Sepphoris and Tiberias.[55] Thus, not only the underclass is threatened by

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49 *J. S. Kloppenborg*, The Sayings Gospel Q. Recent Opinion on the People behind the Document, in: Currents in Research: Biblical Studies 1 (1993) 2001, 9–34, 22.

50 *Kloppenborg*, Gospel (n. 49) 25.

51 *Kloppenborg*, Gospel (n. 49) 27.

52 *Kloppenborg*, Gospel (n. 49) 27.

53 *Kloppenborg*, Gospel (n. 49) 22.

54 Regarding literacy in early Judaism cf.: *C. Hezser*, Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 81), Tübingen 2001, 45–47. Coming from the underclass of society also Jesus most probably was illiterate, cf. *C. Heil*, Analphabet oder Rabbi? Zum Bildungsniveau Jesu, in: ders. (ed.) Das Spruchevangelium Q und der historische Jesus (SBAB 58), Stuttgart 2014, 265–291, 290f.

55 Cf. *W. E. Arnal*, Jesus and the Village Scribes. Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q, Minneapolis 2001, 198–203.

poverty, but also the middle class fears social decline. Village scribes are part of this middle class and accordingly some of them willingly adopt the social counter-reality of the Jesus-movement.[56] The framing of Q most certainly was done by "village scribes (κωμογραμματεύς [sic]), that is, by rural scribes who were moderately, but not spectacularly, educated."[57] G. Bazzana has further developed this thesis[58] and recently J. Kloppenborg has returned to the subject matter:

> "Those responsible for the framing of Q were likely low-level scribes – the sorts of agents who, in a setting where the vast majority of the population was illiterate, routinely served to mediate the relationship between the majority of the population and various levels of bureaucracy."[59]

In my opinion, the thesis that village scribes framed the document Q does not stand in striking opposition to the assumption that itinerant charismatic prophets were the authorities behind the Sayings Source.[60] Jesus himself most likely was illiterate.[61] The Q-prophets adopted his emblematic ethos – itinerancy, poverty, non-violence – and his lifestyle – wandering preachers who were supported by local sympathizers who sustained the prophets with food and offered them a place to stay overnight. Q 10:4–7a reflects this situation quite well:[62]

> Carry no purse, nor knapsack, nor shoes, nor stick, and greet no one on the road. Into whatever house you enter, first say: Peace to this house! And if a son of peace be there, let your peace come upon him; but if not, let your peace return upon you. And at that house remain, eating and drinking whatever they provide, for the worker is worthy of one's reward.

There certainly was a strong interplay between poor itinerant prophets and a supporting-group of local residents, who clearly had possessions.[63] The interwoven relationship between these two groups might not only have included providing food and a sleeping-place, but we may assume that it extended to cooperation in the composition of the Sayings Source. In Q we certainly have to reckon with approximately 30 years of oral transmission before the text was

56 Cf. Kloppenborg, Gospel (n. 49) 27f. ("local scribal resitance"); Arnal, Jesus (n. 55) 158f.
57 Arnal, Jesus (n. 55) 159.
58 G. Bazzana, Kingdom of Bureaucracy. The Political Theology of Village Scribes in the Sayings Gospel Q (BETL 274), Leuven 2015. See also his contribution in this volume.
59 J. S. Kloppenborg, A "Parting of the Ways" in Q? in: M. Tiwald (ed.), Q in Context I. The Separation between the Just and the Unjust in Early Judaism and in the Sayings Source – A New Look at the "Parting of the Ways" (BBB 172), Bonn 2015, 123–143, 137.
60 Cf. Tiwald, Wanderradikalismus (n. 4) 69, 94–101.
61 Cf. Heil, Analphabet (n. 54) 290f.
62 Cf. Tiwald, Wanderradikalismus (n. 4) 98–175.
63 This already has been pointed out by T. Schmeller, Brechungen. Urchristliche Wandercharismatiker im Prisma soziologisch orientierter Exegese (SBS 136), Stuttgart 1989, 93–98. Cf. also Schnelle, Theologie (n. 4) 365.

written down. The text indeed reveals some hints of a long oral growth process: in Q we find catchword techniques, chaining together sayings to thematic clusters and framing these passages in a beginning chronological order.[64] The chaining of catchwards offers possibilities of reconstructing different layers of oral growth – as I have tried to show in the case of the mission speech.[65] But the composition of larger clusters and the general framing clearly points to a written redaction. In my view, itinerant charismatic prophets continued to be the "authorities" behind the Sayings Source, but they were so in connection with scribal activity provided by village scribes. The prophetic theology in Q is too eminent for leaving itinerant prophets completely out of the picture, as it is done by W. Arnal.[66] The *theologumenon of the violent fate of prophets in Israel* (an extrapolation of the Deuteronomistic fate of prophets) is the most central theological conception in Q, affirming that all true prophets in Israel have been rejected and even murdered (Q 6:22f.; 11:47–51; 13:34f.).[67] Jesus here is interpreted as prophet (Q 13:34) and his messengers as well (Q 6:22f.). The failure of the Q-mission to Israel now is interpreted as a sign of confirmation: Only true prophets are persecuted (Q 6:22f.). The prophetic element is thus still dominant in Q! But on the other hand, there certainly are a lot of sapiential instructions in Q too: "… exhortation is made about both giving (Q 6:30) and receiving (10:7), both borrowing (12:57–59) and lending (6:34–35); the wealthy are directly addressed (12:33–34; 16:13), as are the poor (6:20–21; 12:22–31 …)."[68] Jesus himself is not only depicted as prophet, but also as child of divine wisdom (Q 7:35). In early Judaism, prophetic eschatology and sapiential theology no longer stood in opposition but sometimes formed a unity – as can be seen in *Musar leMevin* of the Qumran Manuscripts.[69] Thus, in the development of Q "teamwork" between itinerant prophets as guarantors of the old Jesus tradition and village scribes as a theological-sapiential backbone appears to be quite plausible.

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64 Starting with the Baptist, Jesus' programmatic speeches, instructions for disciples following Jesus, prayer, conflicts of Jesus, judgment.

65 *Tiwald*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 4) 169–175. Cf. also *Arnal*, Jesus (n. 55) 181; *Zeller*, Redaktionsprozesse (n. 4) 105–108.

66 *Arnal*, Jesus (n. 55) 172–180.

67 Cf. *Tiwald*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 4) 94–97; *M. Tiwald*, Hat Gott sein Haus verlassen (vgl. Q 13,35)? – Das Verhältnis der Logienquelle zum Frühjudentum, in: Id. (ed.), Kein Jota wird vergehen. Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie (BWANT 200), Stuttgart 2012, 63–88, 69–75.

68 *Arnal*, Jesus (n. 55) 173.

69 Cf. *J. S. Kloppenborg*, Sagesse et Prophétie dans l'Évangile des Paroles Q, in: Dettwiler/ Marguerat (ed.), La source des paroles de Jésus (Q), Paris 2008, 73–98, 73f.86.92–98; and *J. Kampen*, Wisdom Literature (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls). Michigan/ Cambridge 2011, 12–23.

Before concluding this second point, I would like to make a short remark concerning the interpretation of Jesus as "peasant Jewish Cynic"[70] (J. D. Crossan and B. Lang) or regarding the identification of Jesus' wisdom as a "Cynic approach to life"[71] (B. Mack) or the sole comparison of the social critique of Q with that of Cynics[72] (L. Vaage). Apart from the fact that Q 10:4 demands the omission of staff and purse – an explicit *contradiction* of the Cynic dress-code,[73] embedding Q in its Jewish background has the highest plausibility and the first priority – as shown by C. Tuckett.[74] Cynical Jews most likely are a figment of scholars' imaginations![75]

3.   Is there one trajectory from the itinerants in Q to the Didache?

It is definitely a weak point in Theißen's thesis that he needs to draw from the Didache in order to complete his picture of itinerant charismatics. Indeed, the Didache imposes strict criteria for distinguishing between true and false prophets. In *Did*. 11 we read:

> [4] Let every apostle that cometh to you be received as the Lord. [5] But he shall not remain except one day; but if there be need, also the next; but if he remains three days, he is a false prophet. [6] And when the apostle goeth away, let him take nothing but bread until he lodgeth; but if he ask money, he is a false prophet. [7] And every prophet that speaketh in the Spirit ye shall neither try nor judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. [8] But not every one that speaketh in the Spirit is a prophet; but only if he hold the ways of the Lord (τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου). Therefore from their ways (ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων) shall the false prophet and the prophet be known.

Theißen uses the reference to the τρόποι κυρίου to explain that itinerancy was not only a means of contact keeping in the Q-network (thus Kloppenborg[76]) and poverty not only the unalterable situation of have-nots (thus Stegemann[77]), but should really be considered as an ethos – the ethos of the succession of Christ, the "ways of the Lord", the τρόποι κυρίου. Not only Theißen but later also K. Niederwimmer and T. Schmeller have established a link between the itinerant

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70 *J. D. Crossan*, Der historische Jesus, München 1994, 553. In the same way *B. Lang*, Jesus der Hund. Leben und Lehre eines jüdischen Kynikers, München 2010, who also talks about "jüdischen Kynismus" (63).
71 *B. L. Mack*, A Myth of Innocence, Philadelphia 1988, 69.
72 *L. E. Vaage*, Gallilean Upstarts. Jesus' First Followers According to Q, Pennsylvania 1994, 10–12, 103.
73 Cf. *Tiwald*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 4) 145f.
74 Cf. the critique of *C. Tuckett*, A Cynic Q?, in: Bib 10 (1989) 349–376.
75 Cf. *Tiwald*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 4) 138–146.
76 Cf. *Kloppenborg*, Gospel (n. 45) 22.
77 Cf. *Stegemann*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 44) 111.

prophets of Q and these of the Didache,[78] perceiving them as situated on the same trajectory. It is certainly clear that Q, the Gospel of Matthew and the Didache stem from the same geographical and religious setting: Jewish Christianity in Syria/Northern Palestine.[79] According to U. Luz, the community behind the Gospel of Matthew was founded by itinerant prophets of Q,[80] and the Gospel of Matthew influenced the community of the Didache.[81] We can therefore reckon with a trajectory beginning with Q, continuing to Matthew and extending to the Didache. The time of composition for these documents matches the trajectory: 60s for Q, 80s for Matthew and about 100 for the Didache.[82] This timeline also fits in with the theological developments: in Q the community has not yet broken with the synagogue,[83] in the Gospel of Matthew the "parting of the ways" has already occurred,[84] but the community is still observant to the Tora,[85] in the Didache the Jewish roots are still visible (e. g., *Did.* 13:3: first-fruit, high priests) but the distance to Jewish customs widens (e. g., *Did.* 8:1).[86] The itinerant prophets of the Didache thus seem to be a later version of their predecessors in the Sayings Source. This development seems logical: in Q, the Mission Speech announces emblematic poverty (Q 10:4: "no purse, nor knapsack, nor shoes, nor stick"), nonviolence (Q 10:3: "I am sending you out like lambs into the midst of wolves"; Q 10:4: no stick – the stick served primarily as a weapon and not as a

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78 Cf. *K. Niederwimmer*, Die Didache (KAV 1), Göttingen 1989, 77–80; *K. Niederwimmer*, Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wanderradikalismus im Traditionsbereich der Didache, in: W. Pratscher/M. Öhler (ed.), Quaestiones theologicae. Gesammelte Aufsätze, Berlin 1998 (BZNW 90), 70–87, 70f. *Schmeller*, Brechungen (n. 63) 78–83.

79 Regarding the origin of Q cf. *Tiwald*, Gott (n. 67) 64 ("Nordpalästina"; "galiläisch-syrischen Grenzraum"). For the origin of Matt cf. *U. Luz*, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus, vol. 1: Mt 1–7 (EKK I/1), Zürich ³1985, 73–75 ("aus dem syrischen Raum"; "Antiochien nicht die schlechteste Hypothese"). For the origin of the Didache cf. Niederwimmer, Didache (n. 78) 80 ("Syrien oder palästinensisch-syrischen Grenzraum").

80 Cf. *Luz*, Matthäus (n. 79) 66 ("daß das Matthäusevangelium aus einer Gemeinde stammt, die von den wandernden Boten und Propheten des Menschensohns der Logienquelle gegründet worden ist").

81 Cf. *Luz*, Matthäus (n. 79) 75: "Die Didache ist in einer durch Mt geprägten Gemeinde entstanden." But it might also be that the Didache drew from material similar to the Sayings Source Q; cf. *Niederwimmer*, Didache (n. 78) 77.

82 For Q cf. *Tiwald*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 4) 70–73; for Matt cf. *Luz*, Matthäus (n. 79) 76; for the Didache cf. *Niederwimmer*, Didache (n. 78) 78 f., who reckons with two strata, the pre-didachistic dating back to the end of the 1st century and the didachistic redaction dating to 110–120 CE.

83 Cf. *Tiwald*, Gott (n. 67) 85.

84 Cf. *P. Foster*, Matthew's Use of 'Jewish' Traditions from Q, in: *M. Tiwald* (ed.), Kein Jota wird vergehen. Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie (BWANT 200), Stuttgart 2012, 179–201, 199.

85 Cf. *Luz*, Matthäus (n. 79) 239f.: The commandment of love is central but the community of Matthew still observed the ritual laws!

86 Cf. *Niederwimmer*, Didache (n. 78) 165f., 232.

walking-device[87]; Q 6:29: "The one who slaps you on the cheek, offer him the other as well; and to the person wanting to take you to court and get your shirt, turn over to him the coat as well") and homelessness (Q 9:58: "Foxes have holes, and birds of the sky have nests; but the son of humanity does not have anywhere he can lay his head"). So it is intriguing to interpret the τρόποι κυρίου in *Did.* 11:8 as the follow-up version of Q-prophets' lifestyle. At least we can conclude that in the Didache the τρόποι κυρίου served as a means to distinguish between true and false prophets. As we know from Lucian's *De morte Peregrini* 11–16, there were many itinerant charlatans in the second century CE who abused the good faith of Christians.[88] It is therefore quite understandable that the Didache narrowed down the status of a prophet to very special criteria: the τρόποι κυρίου. In *Did.* 11:3, the prescription on how to deal with itinerant apostles and prophets is realized "according to the decree of the Gospel". Gospel here does not focus on the kerygma of Jesus' death and resurrection but refers to the "handed-down words of the *kyrios*"[89] – "gospel" for the Didache focuses on the "*regula Christi*".[90] Therefore, it seems convincing that the τρόποι κυρίου can be identified with the lifestyle of Jesus that his disciples also adopted in the mission account Q 10:2–12.

Drawing parallels between Q prophets and prophets of the Didache becomes even more likely when one opens up the horizon to itinerant prophets in the whole Syrian region. Here the old attempt by G. Kretschmar to put the Syrian itinerant charismatics of Didache, Lucian of Samosata, and Pseudo-Clementine Literature into one picture[91] must not only be opened up by inserting the Q prophets as well, but also by taking into consideration the wandering emissaries of the Johannine Corpus and the itinerant author of Revelation. Concerning the latter two, it is agreed that they have their theological and geographical roots in Syria-Palestine:

As far as the Johannine community is concerned, the most convincing theory assumes a Jewish habitat in Syria near the border to Palestine.[92] According to M. Theobald the Gospel of John seems to have drawn from oral Jesus-traditions very similar to the Sayings Source[93] – this he has shown in a painstakingly analysis of

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87 *Tiwald*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 4) 160.
88 Cf. *Tiwald.* Wanderradikalismus (n. 4) 296–298.
89 Cf. *Niederwimmer*, Didache (n. 78) 75 ("überlieferten *Worte des Kyrios*").
90 *Niederwimmer*, Didache (n. 78) 76.
91 Cf. *Kretschmar*, Askese (n. 16) 36f. Kretschmar's article is anteceded by *von Harnack*, Lehre (n. 16) 154–157, where he muses about the polarity between charismatic and hierarchic structures in the Didache.
92 Cf. *M. Theobald*, Das Evangelium nach Johannes. Kapitel 1–12 (RNT), Regensburg 2009, 98 ("Syrien in der 'Nachbarschaft Palästinas'"). Here (94–97) one can also find a detailed *status quaestionis*.
93 Cf. *M. Theobald*, Herrenworte im Johannesevangelium (HThK 34), Freiburg i. Br. 2002, 197f. 545.

old Jesus-logia in the Fourth Gospel. But Theobald even goes one step further: though excluding a relationship of direct dependency between Q and the Fourth Gospel,[94] he identifies the roots of the Johannine logia-tradition in the milieu of itinerant prophets operating in the region of the Syrian-Palestine border.[95] These results find a parallel in an article of C. Tuckett, who also excludes a direct dependency between Q and the Gospel of John, but who underlines that the "FG [sc. Fourth gospel] certainly seems to share a significant, and distinctive, christological trajectory with Q, even if FG may be further 'advanced' along it."[96] This opinion also is shared by E. Broadhead, who states, "While specific lines of dependency may or may not exist, FG [sc. Fourth Gospel] and Q certainly root in the same pool of primitive Christian traditions."[97] – Consequently, the emissaries of the Johannine letters (e.g., 2 John 10 and 3 John 5–8.10) must be understood as a remnant of the old itinerant habits in incipient Syro-Palestinian Christianity. It seems G. Theißen and I. Broer are correct when they interpret the messengers of 2/3 John in the context of the itinerant charismatics as we have them in Q and in the Didache.[98]

But there are even more parallels: like the Didache, 2 John 10 also decrees special norms according to which a true itinerant brother can be distinguished from a false one. Unlike the Didache, for 2 John 7 the false messengers are not so much parasitic freeloaders (whom *Did.* 12:5 calls χριστέμποροι – "Christ-mongers") but rather supporters of a beginning Gnosis, "who do not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh". But the general tendencies remain the same: establishing strict rules to distinguish between true and false itinerant preachers.

Another parallel between Q, Johannine literature and Didache can be found in the high esteem for prophets and the reluctance to introduce bishops and deacons as leading authorities. Bishops and deacons emerged in the *Gentile* Christian Communities, whereas in *Jewish* Christian communities prophets and

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94 Cf. *M. Theobald*, Das Johannesevangelium und Q. Wie groß ist ihre gemeinsame Schnittmenge und wie erklärt sie sich?, in: *C. Heil/G. Harb* (ed.), Built on Rock or Sand? Q Studies: Retrospects, Introspects and Prospects (BETL), Leuven (forthcoming), ("Weder der Vierte Evangelist noch auch die von ihm verarbeitete 'Zeichenquelle' fußt *unmittelbar* auf dem Spruchevangelium").

95 Cf. *Theobald*, Q (n. 94): "Logienquelle und Johannesevangelium bzw. der Trägerkreis eines wichtigen Segments johanneischer Wortüberlieferung wurzeln in einem vergleichbaren Milieu, dem der Wandermissionare des syrisch-palästinischen Grenzgebiets " (original in italics).

96 Cf. *C. Tuckett*, The Fourth Gospel and Q, in: *R. T. Fortna/T. Thatcher* (ed.), Jesus in Johannine Tradition, London/Leiden 2001, 281–290, 289.

97 *E. K. Broadhead*, The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptic Sayings Source. The Relationship Reconsidered, in: *R. T. Fortna/T. Thatcher* (ed.), Jesus in Johannine Tradition, London/Leiden 2001, 291–301, 301.

98 Cf. *Theißen*, Nachfolge (n. 2) 109; *Broer/Weidemann*, Einleitung (n. 4) 70.

presbyters were in charge of leading functions.[99] Thus, it is not surprising that in the Johannine Corpus itinerant prophets (e. g., 2 John 10 and 3 John 5–8.10; cf. 1 John 4,1 and John 4,19) and a πρεσβύτερος (2 John 1:1; 3 John 1:1) hold leadership ministries.[100]. For H.-J. Klauck, the difficulties between Diotrephes and the Presbyter in 3 John 10 result in the same situation as we have it in *Did.* 15:1 f.:

> Appoint, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek, and not lovers of money, and truthful and proved; for they also render to you the service of prophets and teachers. Despise them not therefore, for they are your honored ones, together with the prophets and teachers.

"Prophets and teachers" here clearly are the older institution – the author has to play down the differences between the "bishops and deacons" as newcomers on the one side and the "honored" prophets on the other. Some groups in the community of the Didache even seem to "despise" bishops and deacons. – In 3 John 10 Klauck sees the same problem. Here it is Diotrephes – whom Klauck puts in line with the "monarchic bishops" that we know from Ignatius of Antioch – who imposes the rule of a bishop against the charismatic authority of the Presbyter and his itinerant emissaries.[101] The old ethos of itinerant prophets as leading authorities in the Jewish Christian communities – as we find it in the Sayings Source – persisted tenaciously and led to tensions between local bishops and itinerant prophets.

In Revelation we encounter a similar situation. The author behind this book identifies himself as a prophet (Rev 1:3; 22:9) who is in charge of seven communities (Rev 1:4.11: Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea) that he most likely visits as an itinerant preacher, wandering from one community to the next. Geographically the seven communities are situated in a circle with not too long distances from one location to the next.[102] The scheme follows the same pattern as Q: itinerancy here does not mean "long-range mission" for the purpose of evangelizing completely new territories (as in the case of Paul), but rather covering smaller distances to maintain the contact between Christian communities. When J. Kloppenborg correctly noticed that

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99 Cf. *M. Tiwald*, Die vielfältigen Entwicklungslinien kirchlichen Amtes im Corpus Paulinum und ihre Relevanz für heutige Theologie, in: T. Schmeller/M. Ebner/R. Hoppe (ed.), Neutestamentliche Ämtermodelle im Kontext (QD 239), Freiburg i. Br. 2010, 101–128, 110 f., 117 f.

100 Cf. *H.-J. Klauck*, Gemeinde ohne Amt? Erfahrungen mit der Kirche in den johanneischen Schriften, in: Id., Gemeinde – Amt – Sakrament. Neutestamentliche Perspektiven, Würzburg 1989, 195–222, 207–209.

101 *Klauck*, Gemeinde (n. 100) 220: "Damit gleicht er von seiner Stellung her dem monarchischen Bischof, wie er uns etwa gleichzeitig in den Briefen des Ignatius von Antiochien entgegentritt."

102 The distance between Ephesus (today Selçuk) and Smyrna (today İzmir) is about 70 km and one of the longer distances between the seven cities.

itinerancy in Q serves the purpose of maintaining a "network of localized groups"[103] and not long-range mission as in the case of Paul, then the same is true with the itinerants of Didache, 2/3 John and Revelation. However, this does not contradict the assumption that itinerancy was seen as an emblematic lifestyle, but even fosters such a conception: itinerancy in the case of Paul follows the means of missionary efficiency – but in the case of Q, Didache, 2/3 John and Revelation not *mission* but *spiritual guidance* is needed. According to the τρόποι κυρίου in *Did.* 11:3 only a prophet who follows the lifestyle of the Lord is worthy of exercising such spiritual authority. Itinerancy reflects an emblematic lifestyle that was honoured by the communities – as can be seen in the high esteem of itinerant prophets in *Did.* 11:7; 13:1; 15:1f.: they are the "honored ones".

Unlike the Didache, in Rev there is no mention of bishops – which is astonishing for a book written in the final decade of the first century CE and addressing the community of Ephesus, where at this time most certainly bishops existed. At least in Acts 20:17 Luke mentions the "elders" of Ephesus, whom he also calls ἐπίσκοποι in v. 28. The fact that such ἐπίσκοποι are not mentioned in Rev seems to be a sign of "resisting a change in church order", as demonstrated by P. Trebilco.[104] The author of Revelation most certainly was a Palestinian Jew who left Israel before or shortly after the Jewish war.[105] In Asia Minor he continues adhering to the old itinerant ethos and obviously refuses to acknowledge the authority of bishops. Parallels to the Didache, which asks its readers not to "despise" bishops and deacons, might be drawn! Furthermore, Paul is also criticized in 2 Cor 11:7; 12:13 (cf. 1 Cor 9:12) for not sticking to the ethos of poverty, but earning his own money. Perhaps here we can see best that poverty and itinerancy not only served the purpose of missionary efficiency, but followed even more the rules of an emblematic lifestyle. This seems only possible if for Jesus himself a poor and itinerant life was not only functional as a means of higher missionary mobility, but was also already charged with a deeper message. The picture of ravens who "neither sow nor reap nor gather in barns, and yet God feeds them" and the example of the lilies, who "do not work nor do they spin. Yet … not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed like one of these" (Q 12:24.27), becomes a Jesuanic paradigm of faith in the Lord's provision and the upcoming

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103 *Kloppenborg*, Gospel (n. 49) 22.
104 *P. Trebilco*, The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius (WUNT 166), Tübingen 2004, 715.
105 *M. Stowasser*, "Dies spricht für dich, dass du die Werke der Nikolaiten hasst" (Offb 2,6) – Ein frühes Zeugnis für den Konflikt um Anpassung oder Widerstand? in: R. Klieber/M. Stowasser (ed.), Inkulturation. Historische Beispiele und theologische Reflexionen zur Flexibilität und Widerständigkeit des Christlichen, Wien 2006, 203–227, 223: "dass der Prophet Johannes aus dem syrisch-palästinischen Raum stammte, den er im Gefolge des ersten jüdischen Krieges (66–70 n. Chr.) verließ, um seine Tätigkeit nach Kleinasien zu verlegen."

basileia. Later on a prophet, who did not follow this lifestyle, might easily be confronted with the reproach of being a "person of petty faith" (Q 12:28).

All this shows that the old Palestinian ethos of poor and itinerant prophets persisted quite tenaciously in the early Church – simply because it was the lifestyle exemplified by the Lord himself – the τρόποι κυρίου. Q interprets this lifestyle by depicting Jesus as true prophet (Q 13:34) and as child of divine wisdom (Q 7:35); the title Messiah is still missing. The identification with Jesus' lifestyle and his prophetic mission was constitutive for Q – the first followers of Jesus saw their own fate interwoven with the fate of Jesus: the *theologumenon of the violent fate of prophets* says that all true prophets in Israel have been rejected and even murdered (see above). So not only the lifestyle of Jesus, but also his rejection becomes emblematic for a true prophet (Q 6:22 f.): the failure of Q-missionaries is interpreted as a confirmation of being a true prophet and as participating in the fate of the master: Q 6:40 states, "A disciple is not above the teacher, it is enough for the disciple to be like his teacher." The conception of following the τρόποι κυρίου is thus already present in Q, even without the wording of *Did.* 11:8.

This ethos even prevailed when it was "exported" from Palestine to Syria and to Asia Minor, and survived until the second and third century in Syria: here the Gospel of Thomas, Lucian of Samosata, the Pseudo-Clementine literature and the Acts of Thomas give proof of itinerant disciples as well as of wandering ascetics and homeless charlatans.[106] In the Didache, the "ways of the Lord", the τρόποι κυρίου (*Did.* 11:8), became the dominant criterion for a true prophet and helped to distinguish between right and wrong. In the Johannine literature and in Revelation we also encounter a struggle for criteria enabling one to distinguish between true and false prophets, but here the criteria are of theological nature. Nevertheless the old ethos of Jesus' itinerant ministry is still operative, although the situation has changed: especially in Gentile Christian communities that were not accustomed to Jewish prophetic traditions, local residentiary bishops and deacons now fulfil the ministry of spiritual guidance. Rivalry between the old Jewish Christian system and the new Gentile Christian ministry is an obvious consequence – conflicts were predetermined (as before the conflict between "Hebrews" and "Hellenists" in Acts 6:1–6). Certainly all of this remains a re-construction – but the better a thesis is interwoven with its historical background, the higher its plausibility is. At the very least, we have been able to show the following: the emblematic lifestyle of Jesus – itinerancy and poverty – persisted with great tenacity and survived as the "ways of the Lord" for a longer time span than one would judge *prima facie.* Here our vision is certainly influenced by the harmonizations carried out in Luke's Acts, who tried to project the actual min-

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106 Cf. *Tiwald*, Wanderradikalismus (n. 4) 289–310.

istry of bishops and deacons into this own account of church history (e. g., Acts 20:17.28: the mentioning of bishops/elders in Ephesus at the time of Paul, or Luke's tendency to bring the Hellenistic septemvirate of Acts 6:1–6 in line with the later ministry of deacons[107]). But in reality, the old prophetic institution of itinerant preachers prevailed for a much longer time than such a harmonized church history might make us believe.

Conclusions

1) The economic situation in the Galilee at the time of Jesus was complex. Hellenisation, urbanization and collaboration with the Romans caused a deep split within the Jewish population – leading some to wealth and luxury, but forcing others into tenancy and poverty.

2) Jesus' expectation of the reign of God cannot be separated from the socio-economic backdrop in Palestine. Even if Jesus understands his ministry primarily in a religious way, his theological conceptions respond in a very creative way to the socio-economic challenges. The forthcoming reign of God – which Jesus announces and prepares – will create a counter-reality by restoring the prelapsarian world that God created in the beginning. In early Judaism, the expectation was common that in eschatological times the pro-tological world-order would be restored.[108] For Jesus, the process of escha-tological transformation has already started, but, unlike many other groups in early Judaism, he does not espouse violence or rebellion by armed force as necessary – the *basileia* is realized by God like "yeast, which a woman took and hid in three measures of flour until it was fully fermented" (Q 13:21).

3) Jesus not only announces this reign of God in his parables, but he also prefigures the coming salvation in symbolic actions: forgiveness of sins, fraternal banquets, miracle healings, and last, but not least, in his lifestyle: his emblematic poverty and itinerancy express Jesus' uttermost confidence in God's providence and in his forthcoming reign – his lifestyle and his program are the same!

4) Especially Jewish Christian circles in Syro-Palestine adopted the lifestyle of Jesus and transformed it into an ethos of imitating Christ: the Q-mission speech, the τρόποι κυρίου in Didache, itinerancy in the Corpus Johanneum and the book of Revelation attest to such an ongoing tradition. Hereby

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107 Cf. *P. Gaechter*, Die Sieben (Apg 6,1–6), in: ZThK 74 (1952) 129–166.

108 Cf. *M. Tiwald*, ΑΠΟ ΔΕ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΚΤΙΣΕΩΣ … (Mk 10,6). Die Entsprechung von Protologie und Eschatologie als Schlüssel für das Tora-Verständnis Jesu, in: U. Busse/M. Reichardt/M. Theobald (ed.), Die Memoria Jesu. Kontinuität und Diskontinuität der Überlieferung (BBB 166), Bonn 2011, 367–380, 368–372, 379f.

itinerancy should be imagined in tight interconnection with local residentiary supporting groups. This refers not only to material support for itinerants, but might also be imagined as including far-reaching theological interchange. Thus, in the composition of the Sayings Source, oral traditions of itinerants were most likely revised, framed and written down by local residentiary village scribes.

5) The trajectory of Jesus' ethos of itinerancy and poverty can be traced until the second and third century: the Gospel of Thomas, Lucian of Samosata, the Pseudo-Clementine literature, and the Acts of Thomas. But in reality, this ethos has never ceased to exist throughout the course of church history and has been frequently "reinvented": Anthony the Great (+ 356, selling all his possessions, and giving it to the poor; cf. Matt 19:21), the Hiberno-Scottish mission and their "*peregrinatio religiosa pro Christo*" (6th and 7th centuries), Francis of Assisi (+ 1226, preacher of humility and poverty), Liberation Theology in modern Latin America and the latest attempts of Pope Francis to re-establish a poor and socially-committed church can be seen as vivid signs of life of the old Jesuanic ethos.

Giovanni B. Bazzana

Galilean Village Scribes as the Authors of the Sayings Gospel Q

In recent years, particularly in the seminal works of John Kloppenborg and William Arnal,[1] Galilean "village scribes" have been identified as the social group responsible for the composition and early circulation of the Greek text of Q. The present contribution intends to build on these proposals in order to strengthen and refine the original hypothesis by moving forward in two main directions. First, by referring to a few significant examples, I will show that some features of the linguistic and terminological makeup of Q are in all likelihood dependent on the authors' familiarity with the specific quasi-technical idiom of Greek Hellenistic bureaucracies. Second, I will sketch what the acquaintance with such variety of Greek may indicate concerning the educational and socio-cultural placement of the Q scribes.

The term "village scribes" must be understood in a loose sense. Already under the Ptolemies village officials whose formal title was κωμογραμματεῖς existed in Egypt and are attested – with the same designation – in the Land of Israel at the time of Herod the Great through Josephus's witness. However, the very same Egyptian evidence reveals the presence – at the village level – of many other individuals trained in writing, such as managers of private estates, priests of local shrines, and even people who would offer their limited expertise for hire to the illiterate majority. I will employ the designation "village scribes" to indicate this broader social group, because it is impossible to restrict the composition of Q merely to those who held the position of κωμογραμματεύς (even if it were possible to prove that Galilean κωμογραμματεῖς held exactly the same title and functions that are attested for their Egyptian counterparts). Such "village scribes" occupied a social position that can be defined as middling or sub-elite,[2] since their being literate distinguished them from the majority of the villagers, while their activity

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1 *W. E. Arnal*, Jesus and the Village Scribes. Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q, Minneapolis (MN) 2001, and *J. S. Kloppenborg*, Literary Convention, Self-Evidence, and the Social History of the Q People, in: Semeia 55 (1991) 77–102.

2 *S. E. Rollens*, Framing Social Criticism in the Jesus Movement. The Ideological Project in the Sayings Gospel Q (WUNT 2/374), Tübingen 2014.

within the royal bureaucracy or in the administration of private estates rendered them dependent on the largely urban elites that controlled the means of production.

Clearly, papyrological materials of Egyptian provenance will play a central role in the present treatment. An additional methodological assumption is indeed that Egypt should be considered an appropriate comparandum for other eastern Mediterranean regions. In particular, for the specific purposes of the present argument, both administrative structures and bureaucratic terminology were largely similar – despite regional variations – in the Hellenistic kingdoms even before the relative homogenization brought about by the Roman conquest.[3]

1.   Ἐκβάλλω in Q 10:2

A brief saying, which probably originated as a self-standing unity, opens the Q pericope on advice for missionary activities. Matthew's and Luke's texts are, in this instance, quite similar, so that their antecedent can be reconstructed with a high degree of assurance:

> Mt 9:37b–38
> Ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολύς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι·
> δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὅπως ἐκβάλῃ ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ.

> Lk 10:2
> Ὁ μὲν θερισμὸς πολύς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι·
> δεήθητε οὖν τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὅπως ἐργάτας ἐκβάλῃ εἰς τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ.[4]

The saying envisages a situation that would have been quite common in the Land of Israel as well as in Egypt in antiquity. Come harvest time, the crop is plentiful and the peasants working on it need help immediately to avoid the risk of ruining the entire fruit of their labor. It is commonly observed by commentators that Q 10:2 presupposes the hiring of short-term laborers. The reference to a "master of the harvest" leads one logically to infer that the owner of the crops (and arguably of the land) is not directly present on the field. Thus, the request for additional hands comes from some sort of manager or foreman.[5]

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3 *R. S. Bagnall*, Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East (Sather Classical Lectures 69), Berkeley 2011.

4 "The harvest is plentiful, but the workers are few. So ask the lord of the harvest to dispatch workers into his harvest".

5 *R. Zimmermann*, Folgenreiche Bitte! (Arbeiter für die Ernte). Q 10,2 (Mt 9,37f./Lk 10,2/Ev-Thom 73), in: R. Zimmermann (ed.), Kompendium der Gleichnisse Jesu, Gütersloh 2007, 111–118.

An element not usually noted in Q 10:2 is the oddity of the Greek term chosen to indicate the "dispatching" of laborers to the field. Indeed, an occurrence of ἐκβάλλω is not what one would expect here;[6] better lexical choices might have been the more neutral ἀποστέλλω or, suited specifically for the hiring of laborers, μισθόω. Fortunately, documentary papyri provide an interesting hint at the reasons behind such odd choice.

The analysis may begin with BGU 16 2602 [14/13 BCE]:[7]

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    οἱ ἀπὸ Τεχθὼ γεωργοὶ
    Ἀθηνοδώρῳ τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ
    καὶ διο<ι>κητῇ πλεῖστα χαίρειν
    καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν·
5   γείνωσκε Ἔρωτον τὸν παρὰ
    Λ<ο>ύπου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγβάλ-
    λειν ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα·
    καὶ τὰ νῦν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
    γεωργούς σου καὶ ἀνάνκασε
10  αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο ἐκεῖ ἐρ-
    γάζεσθαι· Πτολλᾶς ὁ σὸς ἦλ-
    θεν ἐκ Θμοναχὴ κ[αὶ] ἐκώλυ-
    σεν αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀπά[γειν] ἡμᾶς
    ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα ὡς   […]
15  αὐτῷ ἀποστείλης· τὰ δ[ὲ νῦν ἀξι-]
    οῦμέν σε, ἐπ<ε>ὶ ὁ ἀγρὸς ἡ[μῶν …]
    παρέσταται, ἀποστεῖ[λαι ἢ]
    σφραγειταν Πτολλᾶτι τῶ[ι σῶι]
    ἢ \γ/ραπτὸν ἵνα κωλύσῃ τὸν Ἔρωτα
20  ἀπάγ<ε>ιν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα.
    ἔρρω(σο)
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The farmers from Techtho to Athenodoros, *epistates* and *dioiketes*, many greetings and continual health. You should know that Eros, the man of Lupos, the *strategos*, has dispatched some people to the dikes. Now again he came to your farmers and forced them to work for two days there. Your Ptollas came from Thmonache and forbade him from driving us to the dikes, as (…) you sent to him. Now we ask you, since our field is located nearby (…), to send either (…) or a written message to your Ptollas, so that he can forbid Eros from driving us to the dikes. Farewell.

The short message is preserved in the archive of Athenodoros, an office holder of the Herakleopolite nome. The letter comes from a group of farmers from Techtho

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6 For a more detailed analysis of the valences of ἐκβάλλω, see *G. B. Bazzana*, Village Scribes behind Q. The Social and Political Profile of the Sayings Gospel in Light of Documentary Papyri, in: C. Heil/G. Harb (ed.), Built on Rock or Sand? Q Studies: Retrospects, Introspects and Prospects (BETL), Leuven (forthcoming).

7 Papyri are referred to according to the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (at http://papyri.info/docs/checklist accessed on 05/02/2015).

who request Athenodoros's help because they have been "forced" to go to work on the dikes by a certain Lupos, an unidentified subordinate of the *strategos*. Well-functioning dikes and canals were extremely important in maximizing and regulating the effects of the annual flood of the Nile.[8] Obviously, the maintenance of this complex system was a significant, yet necessary burden. In Ptolemaic times the workforce for its continuous upkeep was mobilized as a compulsory service. Villagers were compelled to offer their unpaid work for days at a time either in case of emergency or regularly for the routine maintenance of canals serving their village plots. Of course, we have plenty of evidence that this liturgy was resented by the farmers, in particular when the service took away precious time from direct work on their own land. Furthermore, such an arrangement opened up significant space for mismanagements and favoritisms on the part of the officials assigning groups of farmers to work.[9] Even without specific knowledge of the situation presupposed in BGU 16 2602, clearly some conflict has occurred and thus the villagers of Techtho are seeking the help of Athenodoros, who was their patron.

In BGU 16 2602 ἐκβάλλω is the verb employed to indicate the assignment to compulsory work. Is this a unique lexical choice on the part of the farmers of Techtho? This seems unlikely, since the same verb appears in a later document dealing with a very similar issue, P.Mich 11 618 [166/169 CE]:

> Λοκκηίῳ Ὀφελλιανῷ
> τῷ κρατ[ί]στῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ
> παρὰ Ψεν[α]μούνεως Ψεναμού-
> νεως τοῦ Ψεναμούνεως
> 5 ἀπὸ κώμης Βακχιάδος ἱερέ-
> ος. ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ιη (ἔτους) θεοῦ Αἰ-
> λίου Ἀντωνείνου ἐξ ἐνκε-
> λεύσεως Σεμπρωνίου
> Λιβελαρ[ί]ου τοῦ ἡγεμονεύ-
> 10 σαντος ἀπελύθην ἅμα
> ἄλλοις [ἀν]δράσιν ὡς ἀσ-
> θενὴς τ[ο]ῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς· ὁ
> οὖν τῆς [Β]ακχιάδος κομο-
> γραμματ[ε]ύς καὶ ἐκβολεὺς
> 15 χωμάτ[ω]ν ὑπογύως ἐξέ-
> βαλέν με [ε]ἰς τὸ ἐργάσασ[θαι]
> εἰς τὰ χ[ώματα …]

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8 *A. K. Bowman/E. Rogan* (ed.), Agriculture in Egypt: From Pharaonic to Modern Times (PBA 96), Oxford 1999.

9 *W. Brashear*, Before the Penthemeros. Government Funds for the Canals, in: BASP 16 (1979) 25–29, and *O. M. Pearl*, Hexathuros. Irrigation Works and Canals in the Arsinoite Nome, in: Aegyptus 31 (1951) 223–230.

To the noblest *epistrategos*, Lucceius Ofellianus from Psenamounis, son of Psenamounis and grandson of Psenamounis, from the village of Bakchias, priest. Already since the 18th year of the god Aelius Antoninus, according to an order of the prefect Sempronius Liberalis, I have been exempted, together with other men, because of the illness of my eyes. However, the village scribe and *ekboleus* of the dikes of Bakchias has recently dispatched me to work on the dikes (…).

In P.Mich 11 618 the situation is very similar to that of the farmers of Techtho. A priest from the village of Bakchias, in the Arsinoite nome, addresses the *epistrategos*, Lucceius Ofellianus, because he has been unlawfully "dispatched" to work on the canals. Psenemounis states that he had been exempted from this liturgical service for a rather long period of time (ostensibly since the 18th year of the reign of Antoninus Pius, which was 154 CE), on account of his poor eyesight.

Unusually Psenemounis declares that he has been conscripted by the κωμογραμματεύς of Bakchias. In fact, assigning people to work on the canals was apparently never part of the responsibilities of "village scribes". Indeed, when one looks more closely at P.Mich 11 618, it becomes clear that the unnamed κωμογραμματεύς of Bakchias is also designated as *ekboleus*. The latter term indicates a different liturgy, which, in principle, should not have been performed at the same time of the κωμογραμματεῖα.[10] The *ekboleus* is attested only at a relatively late date and probably the position was instituted after the Roman government created the system of the *penthemeros* with the five-days turns on the dikes (indeed, P.Mich 11 618 is at the moment the earliest document witnessing to the existence of the post).

This analysis established a solid connection between the verb ἐκβάλλω (and its lexical domain) and the conscription of villagers to perform liturgical work linked to agriculture.[11]

P.Cair.Zen 3 59451 [middle of the III BCE] illustrates that liturgical work involved also harvesting as in Q 10:2 (even though without the terminology linked to ἐκβάλλω, which seems to have been restricted, at least in Egypt, to the work on the dikes):

> Ζήνωνι χαίρειν οἱ ἱερόδουλοι τῆς Βου-
> βάστιος ὄντες αἰλουροβοσκοί. καλῶς
> ποιῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφεῖκεν τὸ γένο[ς]
> τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀλειτούρ-

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10   On such liturgical abuses, see *N. Lewis*, Exemption from Liturgy in Roman Egypt, in: Atti dell'XI congresso internazionale di papirologia, Milano 1966, 508–541, here pp. 523–526.

11   SB 22 15783 [196/198 CE] contains the letter of a κωμογραμματεύς reporting the names of villagers eligible for liturgies; here the task of dispatching people to dike works is designated as χωματεκβολία. See *P. J. Sijpesteijn*, Known and Unknown Officials, in: ZPE 106 (1995) 203–234, here pp. 218–219.

5 γητον, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώ-
   νιος. ἐσμὲν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐκ <Σ>ώφθεως. Λε-
   οντίσκος οὖν ἡμᾶς βιασάμενος ἀπέσ-
   τειλεν ἐπὶ τὸν θερισμόν, καὶ ἵνα
   μή σε ἐνοχλήσωμεν, ἀπελειτουρ-
10 γήσαμεν τὸ γινόμενον ἡμῖν. νυ-
   νὶ δὲ ἐγ δευτέρας πάλιν ἡμᾶς
   Λεοντίσκος ἀπέσταλκεν ἵνα ⟦θε⟧ -
   ⟦ρίζωμεν⟧ \πλινθουλκῶμεν· ἐσμὲν δὲ δύο ·/ τοὺς δὲ πλινθουλκοὺς
   σκεπάζει \τοὺς ἐν Σώφθει Ἀμερῶιν καὶ Βησᾶν,/ οὓς ἔδει νῦν λειτουρ-
15 γεῖν, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῶι. κα-
   λῶς ἂν οὖν ποιήσαις, καθὰ καὶ ὁ βασι-
   λεὺς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ διοικητὴς
   συντέταχεν, καὶ σὺ ἐπακολουθήσας
   ὡσαύτως· πρὸς ὃγ γὰρ καταβοή-
20 σωμεν οὐκ ἔχομεν σοῦ παρόντος.[12]
   εὐτύχει.

Greetings to Zenon from two *hierodouloi* from Bubastis, who are feeders of cats. The king, acting well, left our profession in the entire *chora* free from compulsory services, and the same was done by Apollonios. We are from Sophthis. However, Leontiskos, acting illegally, sent us to the harvest and, in order not to bother you, we performed the service that was assigned to us. But now, for the second time, Leontiskos sent us again to make bricks (there are, indeed, two of us). For he is sheltering Amerois and Besas, the brick-makers who are in Sophthis and who should perform the service now, for his own advantage. Therefore, you would be acting well, according to what has been ordered by the king and by the *dioiketes* Apollonios, if you did the same. For we do not have to ask anyone else for help, if you are at our side. Farewell.

Two *hierodouloi*[13] write a letter to Zenon, the manager of the large estate of the *dioiketes* Apollonios in the Arsinoite nome. They complain that a certain Leontiskos has unlawfully sent them first to harvest and then to make bricks. These are both compulsory services, in the first case quite probably the collection of crops from royal lands. Thus, even before the Roman transformation of most public posts into liturgies, already the Hellenistic administration employed such terminology for a wide array of services (well beyond, then, the work on the Egyptian canals). Hence, it could be naturally applied to harvesting, as indeed happens in Q 10:2.

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12 *H. Heinen*, Ägyptische Tierkulte und ihre hellenische Protektoren. Überlegungen zum Asy-lieverfahren SB III 6154 (= IG Fay. II 135) aus dem Jahre 69 v. Chr., in: *M. Minas/J. Zeidler* (ed.), Aspekte Spätägyptischer Kultur. Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65. Geburtstag (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 7), Mainz 1994, 157–168, p. 168, n. 21, proposes the conjectural emendation σοῦ <μὴ> παρόντος that would render the final sentence "for we could not ask anyone for help, if you were not at our side".

13 People who were consecrated to the service of a god; here with the responsibility of feeding the sacred animals: see *R. Scholl*, "Hierodoulos" im griechisch-römischen Ägypten, in: Historia 34 (1985) 466–492.

The use of ἐκβάλλω to indicate a harvest in urgent need of a larger workforce makes most sense if we think that the authors of Q were people acquainted with the specific terminology of liturgies. Documentary papyri illustrate that these were not primarily κωμογραμματεῖς, since compulsory work was not part of their responsibilities until late in the Roman period. Therefore, it is methodologically safer to treat Kloppenborg's and Arnal's proposal in a loose way, including – as the potential authors of Q – not only those administrators formally invested of the title κωμογραμματεῖς, but also all the other Galilean villagers who had some measure of literary training.

2.   Φθάνω in Q 11:20

The lexicon of Q often contains references to the ancient discourse on sovereignty that would be lost without an adequate consideration of the papyrological record. For example, Q 11:20 presents a phrase that has been the subject of lively interpretive debates for quite some time. Here Jesus states that, through the performance of exorcisms, the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ "has come" upon the audience. The Greek verb φθάνω does not take the classical meaning of "anticipating" or "acting first", but rather the nuance of "reaching" or "achieving", more common in the *Koine* period. Since most scholars assign the Q verse to the historical Jesus, the somewhat ambiguous connotation of φθάνω has transformed Q 11:20 in a veritable battlefield between those who attribute to Jesus a presentist eschatology and those who do not.[14] However, the occurrence of φθάνω in Q 11:20 finds a very significant parallel in a group of documentary papyri. BGU 2 522 is a petition presented to a Roman centurion sometime in the second century CE. The petitioner is Taouetis, a widow living in the village of Soknopaiou Nesos, in the Arsinoite nome:[15]

> [Ο]ὐαλερ[ί]ῳ Μαξ[ί]μῳ τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν τοπ(ῶν)
> (ἑκατοντάρχῳ)
> παρ[ὰ] Ταουήτεως Στ[ο]τοήτε[ως] ἱερείας
> ἀπὸ κώμην Σοκνοπ(αίου) Νήσου τῆς Ἡρακλ(είδου)
> μερίδος. Τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα[16] σου φιλαν-
> 5 θρωπία[ς], κύριε, φθανούσης καὶ αὐτὴ δέο-
> μαι, γυ[νὴ] χήρα καὶ ἀβοήθετος[17],

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14 On the relationship with ἤγγικεν in Q 10:9, see *T. Lorenzmeier*, Zum Logion Mt 12,28; Lk 11,20, in: *H. D. Betz/L. Schottroff* (ed.), Neues Testament und christliche Existenz. Festschrift für Herbert Braun zum 70. Geburtstag am 4. Mai 1973, Tübingen 1973, 289–304.

15 Published by *S. Daris*, Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto, Milano 1964, n. 80.

16 The papyrus reads απαντος.

17 The papyrus reads αθοητητος.

ἐπιτ[υχε]ῖν τῆς αὐτῆς φιλανθρω-
πίας. Τ[ὸ δὲ πρᾶγ]μα οὕτως ἔχει […]

To Valerius Maximus, the local centurion, from Taouetis, daughter of Stotoetis, priestess from the village of Soknopaiou Nesos of the division Herakleides. Since your love towards humans, lord, reaches to all, I too, a widow and helpless woman, beseech you that I may benefit from this very love towards humans. The matter is as follows (…)

Due to the fragmentary status of the document, we cannot determine more precisely the subject of the complaint. Nevertheless, using a form of *captatio benevolentiae* that is fairly typical for such pleas, Taouetis describes the φιλαν-θρωπία of the Roman official as "reaching to all". The phrase strikingly recalls what one reads in Q 11:20. The similarity between the two passages is all the more significant since φιλανθρωπία is also a hallmark of ideal βασιλεία in the Hellenistic philosophical reflection on sovereignty. It is worth noting that Ptolemaic amnesty decrees (whose terminology is clearly echoed, for example, in the Lord's Prayer[18]) were technically designated as προστάγματα φιλανθρωπῶν.

Again, it would be wrong to treat the phrasing of BGU 2 522 as a chance creation of Taouetis's mind. In the very formalized rhetorical structure of complaints, similar formulae occur in several other texts belonging to the same genre. P.Mich 3 174, 1–3 is another petition, addressed to the prefect of Egypt, Lucius Valerius Proclus, and dated to the period between 145 and 147 CE:

Λουκίωι Οὐαλερίωι Πρόκλωι ἐπάρχωι Αἰγύπτου
παρὰ Πτολ[ε]μαίου Διοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Διοσκόρου τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου νομοῦ. Τῆς ἐμφύτου σ[ο]υ, ἡγεμὼν κύριε, εὐεργεσίας εἰς πάντας φθανούσης καὐτὸς τυχεῖν δέομαι.

To Lucius Valerius Proclus, prefect of Egypt, from Ptolemy, son of Diodorus, alias Dioskoros, one of the inhabitants of the Arsinoite nome. Since your innate beneficence, lord governor, reaches to all, I beseech that it may touch me too.

Ptolemy's case is rather complicated and a full illustration of it should not detain us here. However, it will suffice to note that Ptolemy has recourse to typical *topoi* of ancient petitioning, as, for instance, the mention of his condition of lessee of public land and of the damage that the treasury would face if he were to suffer from Isidoros's mistreatments (at lines 12–15). More to the point, the petition's introduction carries the formula already encountered in Taouetis's complaint and Q 11:20. P.Mich 3 174, moreover, appeals not to the prefect's φιλανθρωπία, but to his εὐεργεσία. The latter is one of the constitutive elements of the Hellenistic and Roman discourses on good sovereignty. These two papyri and other

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18 *G. B. Bazzana*, Basileia and Debt Relief. The Debts' Forgiveness of the Lord's Prayer in Light of Documentary Papyri, in: CBQ 73 (2011) 511–525.

examples[19] demonstrate that the phrase occurring in Q 11:20 evokes an ideal representation of God's rule that is close to the models of Greco-Roman sovereignty. Moreover, the distinctive wording of Q and the petitions confirms that such phrasing most probably derives from writers who, as administrators active at the village level, were well acquainted with the typical expressions of royal ideology embedded in highly formulaic documents as those examined here.

3.   Greek in Galilee in the first century CE

The two preceding case studies show that the people who authored and circulated the Sayings Gospel had to be acquainted with Greek and specifically with the variety of quasi-technical Greek in use in the administration. Unfortunately, in recent years several scholars have challenged the assumption that Greek was actually employed in Galilee before the Roman takeover or even that writing was at all used for administrative purposes in the Herodian period.[20] Whereas the latter hypothesis is very unlikely, rethinking the modes of use of Greek, particularly in rural Galilee, might prove a worthwhile exercise.

While Aramaic was certainly the means of communication employed by the majority of the population, it is difficult to build a credible historical scenario in which Greek was not present in the villages, at the very least as merely an administrative language. Surely the Ptolemies introduced Greek in their bureaucracy in the Land of Israel in the third century BCE as they did in Egypt at the same time.[21] The extant evidence suggests that the Seleucids did not bring about significant changes in this respect, but adopted a multi-lingual administrative practice as they did elsewhere throughout their empire.[22] Despite the lack of

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19 Another instance is in P.Mich 6 426 [199/200 CE], a complaint addressed to the *epistrategos* Arrius Victor by Gemellus, alias Horion, from Karanis, who had been forced by the elders of his village to render a liturgical service, while he, as a citizen of Antinoopolis, should have been exempted. In the opening lines (5–6), Gemellus mentions the "righteous judgment that reaches all human beings" (τῆς εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους φθανούσης δικαιοκρισίας).

20 An extreme form of this argument in *R. A. Horsley*, Introduction, in: Id. (ed.), Oral Performance, Popular Tradition, and Hidden Transcripts in Q, Atlanta 2006, 1–22. However, it strains credulity to assume that all private and public transactions in Galilee were performed orally and face-to-face. One can hardly imagine how such a practice could have enabled the Herodian elite to build the extremely exploitative fiscal system that the same Horsley considers a primary reason for the rise of the Jesus movement as an impulse toward social reform and spiritual renewal.

21 *X. Durand*, Des Grecs en Palestine au IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ. Le dossier syrien des archives de Zénon de Caunos 261–252 (CRB 38), Paris 1997.

22 See the Phoenician and Greek seals excavated from the ruins of a Seleucid administrative archive at Kadesh in Galilee see *D. T. Ariel/J. Naveh*, Selected Inscribed Sealings from Kedesh in the Upper Galilee, in: BASOR 329 (2003) 61–80.

direct evidence, in all likelihood neither the Hasmonean nor the Herodians changed this state of affairs, in particular if one considers the philo-Hellenic and philo-Roman stance that characterized Herod the Great's reign.[23] In sum, the situation obtaining in Galilee over the decades under consideration was similar to that of Egypt in the early Ptolemaic period.

The plentiful papyrological documentation at our disposal shows that a large part of the administrative activities were performed in Greek even at the village level, while the vast majority of the rural population in all likelihood spoke only Egyptian. Moreover, recent advances, particularly in the study of Demotic papyri, demonstrate that the traditional historical reconstruction pitting Greek (conceived as a language exclusively used by the conquerors) against Egyptian (conceived as a mere means of oral communication among the oppressed) hardly captures the complexity of the socio-linguistic situation.[24] The amount of published Demotic papyri is constantly on the increase and they show that the Ptolemies did indeed favor Greek as the language of the administration. However, they could never eradicate the centuries-old Egyptian tradition of employing the native idiom in bureaucratic proceedings, so much so that the obtaining situation was one of veritable multilingualism, even at the level of the village administration.[25] In such a context, one can see the growth of a social group of Greco-Egyptians, who must be familiar with both languages and, even more so, with both cultural traditions. Such hybrid positionality was all but a requirement for people holding official posts at the village level, where they had to manage the yearly administrative practices in Greek in their relationship with the urban centers, but also the day-to-day dealings with the majority of the villagers who could use only Egyptian. Thus, it is far from surprising that the papyrological record reveal the existence of several figures like that of Menches, the famous κωμογραμματεύς of Kerkeosiris at the end of the second century BCE. Menches, who carried an unmistakably Egyptian name, has left a rich archive containing long Greek registers of the yearly agricultural production in the village. The archive yields precious systematic information about the responsibilities of a "village scribe" within the Ptolemaic administration.[26] How-

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23 A lead weight excavated in Tiberias and carrying a Greek inscription dated to 29/30 CE and giving the name of an *agoranomos* witnesses to the use of Greek in civic bureaucratic practices exactly for the period at issue here; see *S. Qedar*, Two Lead Weights of Herod Antipas and Agrippa II and the Early History of Tiberias, in: INJ 9 (1986/1987) 29–35.

24 On the ideological factors behind such historiographical representation, see *A.K. Bowman*, Recolonising Egypt, in: T.P. Wiseman (ed.), Classics in Progress. Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome, Oxford 2006, 193–223.

25 *D. J. Thompson*, The Multilingual Environment of Persian and Ptolemaic Egypt. Egyptian, Aramaic, and Greek Documentation, in: R.S. Bagnall (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology, Oxford 2009, 395–417.

26 *A. M. F. W. Verhoogt*, Menches, Komogrammateus of Kerkeosiris. The Doings and Dealings of

ever, until very recently the extent of Menches's "double-identity" had not been fully understood. Verhoogt's studies show that the "village scribe" wrote in Demotic at least as much as he did in Greek and, in some cases, could employ a Greek name (Asklepiades) alongside the Egyptian Menches. All of these features indicate a situation of "code-switching" that was fairly common for ancient speakers of multiple languages in elite and sub-elite social locations.[27] Moreover, these observations reveal that village officials such as Menches created complex hybrid identities for themselves by combining the elements of the Greek and the Egyptian cultures according to different social needs.

In all likelihood the Q people occupied a socio-cultural location similar to that of Egyptian village scribes. They employed Greek for their trade, but most of their lives took place in an environment in which the overwhelming majority of the population spoke only Aramaic. Thus, the production of a hybrid text such as the Sayings Gospel (which combines creatively Hellenistic bureaucratic terminology and Jewish traditions) becomes understandable.

4.   Greek literary education for Galilean village scribes

Our knowledge of the educational *curricula* through which ancient students began to learn Greek and eventually developed sophisticated rhetorical skills has progressed significantly over the last decades, in particular thanks to the seminal work of Raffaella Cribiore on the papyrological materials preserving school exercises and other similar documents.[28] Cribiore has shown that all ancient education proceeded in three broad phases from the initial instruction on the basic Greek alphabet to the exercises on the most complex rhetorical *tropoi*. Most importantly for the present purpose, all school activities required students to work and rework over and over again the same selected texts in ways appropriate to their placement within the curriculum. This school "canon" counted few cardinal texts: obviously Homer and the classic playwrights of fifth and fourth century Athens (in particular, Euripides and Menander, because of their pithy and easily remembered sentences), but an important role was played also by Demosthenes and Isocrates. Such observation is of great relevance, because it implies that anyone who was literate in Greek (even though not at the highest levels of sophistication as in the case of the Q people) must have had a good

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a Village Scribe in the Late Ptolemaic Period (120–110 B.C.) (PLB 29), Leiden 1997, and *Idem*, Regaling Officials in Ptolemaic Egypt. A Dramatic Reading of Official Accounts from the Menches Papers (PLB 32), Leiden 2005.

27 On "code-switching", see the first chapter in *A. Wallace-Hadrill*, Rome's Cultural Revolution, Cambridge 2008.

28 *R. Cribiore*, Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt (ASP 36), Atlanta 1996.

familiarity with the above-mentioned texts and their ideological thrust (a con-
clusion that is borne out by an analysis of the Sayings Gospel itself).

While our knowledge of ancient school practices is growing, it remains dif-
ficult to establish how scribes were trained in the composition of documents and
in the cursive handwriting that – at various degrees of fluency and clarity –
characterized them. In this area most of the work remains to be done, particularly
because it is far from easy to identify scribal exercises and training pieces. The
few archives coming from scribal offices contain several examples of documents
that were written out only in their more formulaic parts leaving blank spaces for
the specifics of the involved parties and of the transactions (names, dates, and so
on). In all likelihood some of these pieces were used for the training of new
scribes who had to learn how to put together the basic structure of a given
document.[29] In some other cases these scribes were trained through copying
official documents, with which they were expected to be familiar in order to carry
on their day-to-day professional activities. This happened for instance to
Menches, because within his archive one finds three different copies of the same
amnesty decree promulgated by Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II, and Cleopatra III in
118 CE at the end of a long period of civil war. The first and complete copy of the
decree (P.Tebt 1 5) was needed in the office of the κωμογραμματεύς because of the
many fiscal provisions that it contained, but other two copies carry only the first
few lines of the edict (C.Ord.Ptol 53*bis* and 53*ter*) and ought clearly to be un-
derstood as writing exercises.

There is also a third type of learning materials that seems to have been used by
administrators and that can help shed light on the reasons why some Galilean
village scribes decided to compose a text with the generic features of the Sayings
Gospel. I will treat rapidly two examples that in my opinion provide a good
illustration of the potentiality of papyrological materials with respect to this
issue.

The first papyrus is rather well-known in the field of New Testament studies,
because it contains one of the earliest ancient definition of the *chreia.* PSI I 85
(Pack[2] 2287; LDAB 5248) is a little fragment of papyrus that was excavated in
Oxyrhynchos during the Italian digs there in 1910 and is datable paleographically
between the end of the second and the beginning of the third century CE.[30] The

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29 Several good examples can be found in the archive of Kronion, son of Apion and head of the
    grapheion of Tebtynis, which contains almost 200 papyri spanning in their dating from 20
    BCE to 56 CE (for a description of the archive and bibliography, see at http://www.
    trismegistos.org/arch/detail.php?tm=93 accessed on 05/04/2015).

30 The papyrus has been republished several times, notably (for the section concerning the
    chreia) in *R. F. Hock/E. N. O'Neil*, The Chreia and Ancient Rhetoric. Classroom Exercises,
    Atlanta 2002, 94–97, but see now the fundamental analysis of *G. Bastianini*, PSI 85 e la

first 22 lines of the side written against the fibers of the papyrus (*verso*) carry a sequence of short questions and answers that is usually designated as a "catechism" on the nature of the *chreia*. The first question is "what is the *chreia*?" (τί ἐστι ἡ χρία), to which the text answers by way of a short definition ("the *chreia* is a concise memorial associated with a given character", ἀπομνημόνευμα σύντομον ἐπὶ προσώπου τινὸς ἐπενε<κ>τόν). Then the text continues with another question ("why is the *chreia* a memorial?", διὰ τί ἀπομνημόνευμα ἡ χρία) until the sequence is abruptly interrupted.

There is little question about the importance of this short text for scholars interested in early Christian writings, since the format of the *chreia* seems to have been so influential for the composition of many other works besides the Sayings Gospel. However, one must also note that a good deal of important information is lost when and if these lines are taken out of their material context, as unfortunately happens in Hock and O'Neil's book. In fact, the nature of papyri is such that scholars can draw crucial information on the socio-cultural locations of their writers and users when due attention is given to the artifactual features of the pieces (even when they are not part of archives, as it often happens).

Under this respect, PSI 85 provides a very interesting case study. First of all, it is worth noting that on the other side of the papyrus, the one written alongside the fibers (*recto*), one finds the remains of a documentary text, apparently a register of immovable properties, which can be dated shortly after the month of August of 192 CE. In the majority of the cases, the *verso* of a given papyrus was inscribed after the *recto* and often after the contents of the *recto* had lost their importance for the owner. Thus, one can be relatively sure that our "catechism" was written down in the early decades of the third century. But there is even more to be observed in this case. The *recto* of PSI 85 continues after the "catechism" ends on line 22 and the remaining lines (23–27) contain – as noted by Bastianini – part of the address of a request sent by a woman to a *strategos*, quite probably the *strategos* of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The writing styles of the two portions of the *verso* are very different: the "catechism" is inscribed in a bookhand akin to the so-called "severe style" and not very expert or fluid, while the last lines on the sheet are in a very irregular and hurried cursive. However, despite their differences, it is not unlikely that both texts were written by the same person.[31]

These observations lead to some interesting conclusions concerning the identity of the scribe who wrote these two apparently disparate texts on the *verso* of PSI 85. This unknown scribe was in all likelihood not a professional copyist of

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definizione di *chreia*, in: M.S. Funghi (ed.), Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico II (Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere "La columbaria" Studi 225), Firenze 2004, 249–263.

31 *Bastianini*, PSI 85 (n. 30) 252, for example, notes that some of the *alpha*s in the "catechism" have the same triangular shape that occurs in the final lines.

literary bookrolls, because his bookhand is quite uncertain. Nevertheless, he or she had an interest in practicing more complex writing styles and, more importantly, in the *chreia* as a rhetorical tool. The fact that the same writer wrote also lines 23–27 might give some additional clues about his or her identity, since the cursive hand is much more fluid and skilled. We are dealing here with a professional scribe, who used this scrap of papyrus both to practice his or her bookhand and to annotate a few names that he or she was going to fit into the previously prepared template of an official petition. Despite what Hock and O'Neil say in their edition, PSI 85 is not a school papyrus, but the "private" copy of a professional scribe interested in theoretical reflections on the *chreia*. This observation has obvious consequences for an inquiry on the formation of the Sayings Gospel, given the relevant role that the *chreia* plays in it.

A second very interesting piece is PSI II 120 (Pack² 1994; LDAB 5633), another papyrus presumably coming from the Italian excavations in Oxyrhynchos,[32] but dated between the end of the second and the beginning of the first century BCE.[33] PSI 120 has an unusual aspect, since it is much longer than high, so that its side written alongside the fibers (*recto*) was inscribed with five irregular columns that have a roughly square appearance. The really intriguing feature of PSI 120 is that in all likelihood this is an almost exceptional case of a papyrus whose *verso* has been inscribed before the *recto*. Indeed, the side written against the fibers (*verso*) contains the remains of columns from an account whose upper parts are missing, ostensibly because they have been cut out.[34] Evidently, the cut must have been performed before the five columns on the *recto* were inscribed, since they fit the space perfectly. It is reasonable to conclude that such an odd situation has come to be, because someone cut out a strip from a much larger papyrus sheet. In all likelihood the strip was blank on the *recto* and thus provided the most suitable surface on which to copy the five columns of text that are interesting us here.[35]

But let us come to the text itself that has been written by two different hands in a clear cursive style, which evidently depends on contemporary bureaucratic graphic practices. The five columns themselves are composed by a sequence of sayings that are not found together in any other ancient witness, but seem to be

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32 Some papyri published in the early volumes of PSI are not identified as coming from the Oxyrhynchos excavations and might have been bought on the antiquities market, so that establishing their actual provenance is not easy or possible any more.

33 The original editor of the papyrus, Teresa Lodi, wrongly attributed it to the fourth century CE, a mistake that has now been corrected by *P. Pruneti*, Nuove datazioni di papiri isocratei, in: I. Andorlini (ed.), Studi sulla tradizione del testo di Isocrate (Studi e Testi per il Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici 12), Firenze 2003, 7–20, here pp. 7–10.

34 The few legible lines from the *verso* have now been published by Gabriella Messeri as P. Pintaudi 20.

35 On such a scenario, see *G. Messeri*, Osservazioni su alcuni gnomologi papiracei, in: Funghi, Aspetti II (n. 30) 339–368, here pp. 341–353.

taken from several disparate collections (Isocrates's *Ad Demonicum*, the so-called *Gnomica Democritea*, and the *Sayings of the Seven Sages*). Maria Teresa Funghi has noted that the sayings are grouped in clusters connected in a more or less loose way to common themes.[36] For instance, in lines 17–27, one reads the following four sayings that are linked by the topic of dealings with friends and enemies:

[4] Τοὺς (…)ους μὲν ἐπαίνει πάντας,
χρῶ δ[ὲ] τοῖς ἀρίστοις. [5] Ἀμύνου
τὸν ἐ[χθ]ρὸν ἄνευ τῆς σεαυτοῦ
βλάβη[ς]. [6] Εἰ<ς> μὲν τὰς εὐτυχίας τῶν
φίλων [π]αραγείνου χαίρων, εἰς δὲ
τὰς δυστυχίας α[ὐτεπ]άγγελ-
τος γείνου· καὶ δόξεις [ἑτ]αῖρος
εἶναι τῶν σωμάτων, [οὐ] τῶν
χρημάτων. [7] Τοῖς φίλοις πίστευε
καὶ τὰ [ἄπ]ιστα, τοῖς δ᾽ ἐχθροῖς
ἀπίστει καὶ τὰ πιστά.

[4] Praise all (…), but be intimate with the best. [5] Defend yourself from the enemy, avoiding your own damage. [6] Participate joyfully in the good fortunes of friends and be ready to offer your help in case of bad fortunes; thus you will appear to be a companion of persons and not of material goods. [7] Trust your friends even with those things that cannot be trusted, but do not trust your enemies even with those that can be trusted.

The quoted sample conveys an apt representation of the composite nature of this collection. Saying 4 is a combination of advices that occur in *Ad Demonicum* (20 and 32); number 5 appears among the *Sentences of Menander*; saying 6 is an amplification of a maxim that occurs in the *Gnomica Democritea* with the addition of *Ad Demonicum* 25; finally, number 7 resembles what Plutarch puts on Thales's mouth in the *Banquet of the Seven Sages*.[37] It bears noticing that such collection of maxims has not been put together as a haphazard patchwork of materials, but – as observed by Funghi – does show clear signs of careful composition and intellectual engagement[38].

Papyrologists still debate whether the collection of sayings on PSI 120 came to be as an incomplete draft of a *gnomologion* or as a model for the training of professional scribes who had to learn the cursive style appropriate for bureau-

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36 *M. S. Funghi*, Su alcuni testimoni di *chreiai* di Diogene e di *Detti dei sette sapienti*, in: Eadem, Aspetti II (n. 30), 369–401, here pp. 381–401.

37 A more detailed discussion with precise references can be found in *Funghi*, Testimoni (n. 36) 396–397.

38 The papyrus carries also marginal notations, which are not reading aids and whose function is still unclear (see, the discussion of several possible explanations in *ibidem*, pp. 391–392.

cratic pieces.[39] For the present purposes, it will suffice to establish that a group of arguably professional scribes of documentary texts decided to reemploy an unwritten papyrus piece cut out from an old survey of unflooded land that was lying about in their office.[40] It is significant that they did not use the papyrus merely for the mechanical copying of a collection of sayings, but for a consciously elaborated new composition in the tradition of wisdom literature. In this case, as in that of the previously discussed PSI 85, the analogies with the Sayings Gospel and the socio-cultural environment in which it was produced are significant.

5.   Conclusions

The present contribution has developed a twofold argument to support the hypothesis that the Sayings Gospel Q was composed and circulated by Galilean professional scribes in the central decades of the first century CE. First of all, the Sayings Gospel contains linguistic and terminological features that in all likelihood stem from authors who were familiar with the quasi-technical language of Greek bureaucratic writing. This observation constitutes an important clue towards the socio-cultural location of the Q people. Quite probably it drew its "membership" (understood in a very loose sense) from among the few Galilean villagers who knew how to read and write Greek and used such skill in their everyday trade. Through the comparison with Egyptian papyrological materials it becomes possible to know more on the intellectual and literary interests of these sub-elite administrators. In particular, it appears that among village scribes the attention to basic rhetorical tropes (such as the *chreia*) and to gnomological literature was very lively, an observation that has important implications for an understanding of the formation of a text like the Sayings Gospel.

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39 The two hypotheses are discussed once more by *F. Pordomingo*, Antologías de época helenística en papiro (Papyrologica Florentina 43), Firenze 2013, 152–153.

40 On the identification of the text inscribed on the *verso*, see now *G. Messeri*, Registro dell'*episkepsis* dei terreni, in: D. Minutoli (ed.), Inediti offerti a Rosario Pintaudi per il suo 65° compleanno (P. Pintaudi), Firenze 2012, 96–107. Intriguingly enough, the composition of these long reports on the yearly flooding and sowing of village fields was the most important administrative responsibility of Egyptian κωμογραμματεῖς.

Sarah E. Rollens

Persecution in the Social Setting of Q

1.   Introduction

There exists a pervasive assumption that persecution was an integral part of the pre-Constantinian Christian experience, but what "persecution" is meant to imply is not always clear. When one looks closely, it becomes clear that "persecution" is often applied to a range of situations, such that the category conflates interactions between early Jesus followers and their contemporary Jews with those between later Christians and imperial authorities: all these points of conflict are situated within the broader narrative that Christians were persecuted from the beginning. Although certainly those professing a Christian identity did indeed suffer at the hands of imperial authorities, the best evidence for these cases appears rather late, for example, during the so-called "Great Persecution" under Diocletian. Whatever troubles people may have experienced based on their affiliations with the Jesus movements and Christ groups in earlier periods is something of a different phenomenon. Compounding the problem, "persecution" is often treated in a rather narrowly focused way; sociological, psychological, and rhetorical functions of persecution are frequently neglected in the interest of describing the historical reality of persecution. While historical circumstances are important, we are largely dealing with *textual reflections* of them, and so other dimensions of interpretation and representation must be explored as well.

2.   Studying Persecution in the Roman Empire[1]

Most comprehensive studies of the persecution that Christians experienced in the Roman Empire begin with Nero and separate his treatment of Christians from later imperial persecution,[2] a classification scheme that is probably in-

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1 An early draft of this essay was presented at the annual meeting of the Context Group in March

debted to Tertullian (*Apol.* 5). There should be little doubt that some eventually experienced trouble related to their identity (or behavior) as Christians, whether it followed from their refusal to participate in the imperial cult or from scandalous rumors about their unconventional behavior.[3]

Even though Nero is treated as the first real instance of "imperial persecution,"[4] the idea that Christians were persecuted before this period has proved difficult to shake. This perspective was certainly the case in older treatments of Christian history. For instance, William Bramley-Moore resolutely claimed in the introduction to John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* that "[t]he history of Christian Martyrdom is, in fact, the history of Christianity itself."[5] So also, L. H. Canfield noted, "Almost from its very inception, the new religion had to struggle against the jealously and the hatred of its mother cult [Judaism]"[6] and observed that "taunts and insults [were] hurled at them from all sides" from later pagans.[7] Although G. E. M. de Ste. Croix mainly focused on the stages of persecutions between Nero and Decius, he still assumed a first "phase" of persecution before 64 CE, though it was on a "small scale and came out mainly as the result of Jewish

2 *G. E. M. de Ste. Croix*, Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted?, in Id./M. Whitby/J. Streeter (ed.), Christian Persecution, Martyrdom, and Orthodoxy, Oxford 2006, 105–152, 106–107; *L. H. Canfield*, The Early Persecution of the Christians, New York 1913, 43; *P. Middleton*, Martyrdom. A Guide for the Perplexed, London 2011, 37; *R. Stark*, The Triumph of Christianity. How the Jesus Movement Became the World's Largest Religion, New York 2011, 137–152; *C. Moss*, Current Trends in the Study of Early Christian Martyrdom, in: Bulletin for the Study of Religion 41:3 (2012) 22–29, 25; *J. E. Salisbury*, The Blood of the Martyrs. Unintended Consequences of Ancient Violence, New York 2004, 10–12.

3 These and other reasons have been proposed as explanations for why Christians suffered at the hands of Romans; see *C. Moss*, The Myth of Persecution. How Early Christians Invented a Story of Martyrdom, New York 2013, 163–188. Many of the ostensibly scandalous rumors about early Christians were not especially unique to Christians, though. As Philip Harland has demonstrated, the charges of cannibalism, human sacrifice, and sexual perversion that many people assume characterize pagans' perceptions of Christians are part of a wider "othering" strategy in which people depicted unfamiliar and foreign peoples are uncivilized and morally depraved (*P. A. Harland*, Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians. Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities, London 2009, 161–181).

4 Nero's actions probably do not reflect an official "policy" for treating Christians, but rather his own personal proclivity. The historical foundations for Nero's famous torture of Christians after the Great Fire of Rome are rather weak; Tacitus informs us of these events in the context of all the other disreputable things Nero did (Tac., *Ann.* 15:37–41). The point is thus more to illustrate Nero's disgraceful personality than to record the social history of Christians. That Nero's actions were not and did not become official policy is supported by Trajan's later comments that he knows of no legal precedence for dealing with Christians (Pliny, *Ep.* 10:96–97).

5 *J. Foxe*, The Book of Martyrs (revised, with notes, by W. Bramley-Moore), Oxford 1872, np.

6 *Canfield*, Persecution (n. 2) 43.

7 *Canfield*, Persecution (n. 2) 23.

hostility."[8] This picture of Christian origins has been disrupted recently, but it is occasionally found even in contemporary studies. In his recent assessment of Christian persecution and martyrdom, Paul Middleton asserts that "[f]rom its beginning, Christianity was a religion that had to contend with the experience of suffering, persecution, and martyrdom … [It] was a religion with no natural allies."[9] This view is echoed in a recent claim by James H. Charlesworth: "[T]he social setting of early 'Christians' was torturous; they were persecuted by Romans, as in the martyrdom of Peter and Paul by the emperors, and by their fellow countrymen, as witnessed by the martyrdom of John the Baptizer, Jesus, Stephen, and James."[10] We see especially in this last instance how easy it is to conflate all these experiences of rejection, hostility, social pressure, even punishment by death, into similar sorts of events, collected under the interpretive umbrella of "persecution." This classification, perhaps inadvertent, has the effect of assuming that the treatment of Jesus followers by their Jewish contemporaries was the same sort of social phenomenon as the later legal punishment of Christians by Roman authorities.

Whereas it was once typical to identify a first "phase" of persecution as being carried out by "the Jews" against Christians, as several of the above (older) statements reflect, Candida Moss notes, "This perspective is now almost universally rejected, on the basis that until the end of the first century Jesus' followers were widely regarded as another small sect within the complex web of practices and traditions that made up Judaism."[11] Since it is difficult to identify two discrete groups of "Jews" and "Christians" during this period, most now avoid perpetuating the idea that there was any systemic persecution of the early Jesus movements by their Jewish contemporaries. In fact, given the recent efforts to demonstrate how Jewish Jesus and many of the first "Christians" were, the position that they were persecuted by "Jews" leads us almost in the direction of the nonsensical.

Furthermore, when considering especially older perspectives on this subject, one wonders why it was so easy to conclude that this early period was one of "persecution" when we have only a handful of named people purported to experience violence. One simple reason is that nearly all the texts that claim to represent these early moments in Christian origins agree on one point: suffering and rejection should be expected by people who follow Jesus. This perspective can be found in many of Paul's letters, which have historically loomed large in

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8 *de Ste. Croix*, Early Christians (n. 2) 106–107.
9 *Middleton*, Martyrdom (n. 2) 31.
10 *J. H. Charlesworth*, The Romans and 'Enemies.' Reflections on Jesus' Genius in Light of Early Jewish Thought, in: T. Holmén (ed.), Jesus in Continuum (WUNT 289), Tübingen 2013, 211–222, 217.
11 *Moss*, Current Trends (n. 2) 25.

studies on the subject of persecution. In particular, Paul's description of his pre-conversion life feeds into this narrative: he was a zealous Jew who enjoyed persecuting Christians before reorienting his life toward Christ. The author of Acts highlights the "severe" nature of Paul's pre-conversion persecution activities, such as imprisoning Christians, forcing them to blaspheme, or trying to have them killed.[12] Paul's own understanding of persecution may be broader, including both "oral and physical abuse,"[13] but Acts' depiction is useful for demonstrating the schematic development of the spread of Christianity, going first to the Jews and then to the Gentiles. It becomes easy, then, to use Paul's narrative as a framework for understanding the experience of early Jesus people, but as many have pointed out, Paul's own conversion narrative is no doubt tied to his attempt to construct his identity as someone who underwent a 180-degree turn upon encountering Christ. Aside from Paul, the evidence for violent persecution comes down to a few reports of Jesus followers who were visibly put to death, interpretations of which become inextricably intertwined with rejection, hostility, and aggression that the authors of various texts perceived or experienced. The Gospel of Mark[14] and Q both stand at the early end of this continuum of creating this mythic identity of rejection, and both feed into later interpretations of the suffering and rejection that would accompany the spread of Christianity.

Since the collection of ideas related to suffering and rejection seems to be a common core among many early Christian texts, another question emerges: if all the texts portray Christianity's origins as bound up with an experience of rejection, how do we know that any of these actually reflect historical circumstances? Is not one major goal of the authors of the gospels to show that following Jesus entailed suffering and rejection by their contemporaries (e. g., Mark 8:34–38; Matt 16:24–27; Luke 9:23–26)? Is not one of Paul's goals to demonstrate his own great prowess and diligence in spreading his gospel against all setbacks and challenges posed by outsiders (e. g., 1 Thess 2:18; 2 Cor 1:3–10, 6:4–10; Gal 5:11)? Why should we assume that *any* of this rhetoric is an accurate reflection of historical events?

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12 *A. J. Jultgren*, Paul's Pre-Christian Persecutions of the Church. Their Purpose, Locale, and Nature, in: JBL 95 (1976) 97–104, 107.

13 *Jultgren*, Paul's Pre-Christian Persecutions (n. 12) 109.

14 So *B. L. Mack*, A Myth of Innocence. Mark and Christian Origins, Minneapolis 1988.

3.   Recent Advances

Several recent studies have attempted to disentangle some of these issues, although most of the reevaluations have been aimed at later periods of imperial persecution. Moreover, the psychological and sociological dimensions of persecution are beginning to be appreciated, generating questions about what language of persecution *does* rather that what persecution *is*.[15] Some have called into question the utility of the concept "persecution" altogether; Moss, for example, has wondered whence the "myth of persecution" (the idea that Christians have always been persecuted) stems, given that it is so easily disrupted when scholars assess individual social settings of texts. The notion of Christians being persecuted, she argues, rests on exaggerated situations of persecution during the "Age of Martyrs" and the conflation of a variety of experiences of violence and rejection.[16] Her advice is not only to disentangle these disparate phenomena, but also to interrogate the ideologies which sustain their treatment as the same sort of social experience. However, a similar reappraisal is badly needed for the period *before* the avalanche of martyr tales and trials, especially the first century. Too often "persecution" is simply assumed to be the proper explanation for all manner of anxieties and troubles that the earliest Christian texts evince.

4.   Redescribing Persecution

There is no doubt that the circumstances of persecution have been exaggerated by authors to serve polemical ends – such as showing how Jesus' followers, like Jesus himself, would experience hostility, rejection, even death – which has encouraged many to try to reconstruct what forms of persecution may have con-

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15 There have also been several recent attempts to evaluate martyrdom in the ancient world, especially to appreciate its constructed and contested dimensions: *Moss*, Myth (n. 3); *C. Moss*, Ancient Christian Martyrdom. Diverse Practices, Theologies, and Traditions, New Haven and London 2012; *J. Perkins*, The Suffering Self. Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era, London 1995; *E. A. Castelli*, Martyrdom and Memory. Early Christian Culture Making, New York 2004; *D. Boyarin*, Dying for God. Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism, Stanford (CA) 1999.

16 *Moss*, Myth (n. 3) 161. Moss' caution is not entirely new, though. As Pohlsander once noted, "[C]ertain problems … may arise from the use of the word 'persecution.' 1. The term is an exclusively negative one, obscuring the fact that anti-Christian measures could serve positive ends. 2. The term is a decidedly one-sided one, viewing events from the Christian perspective only … 3. The term covers a large variety of different measures. The anti-Christian measures of Nero have little in common with the anti-Christian measures of Decius" (*H. A. Pohlsander*, The Religious Policy of Decius, in: ANRW[2] 16.3 [1986] 1826–1842, 1831).

tributed to the rhetoric.[17] Yet we must be clear: persecution is not a *thing* or an *object* to be inquired about; it is an *interpretation* of conflict. So the first issue that must be clarified, which can help make sense of the variety of approaches above, is that there is a difference between *what happened* and *how what happened was interpreted*. A pellucid window into the historical conflicts that precipitated rhetorics of persecution in Judaeo-Christian texts is not possible; we are thus limited to dealing with textual interpretations of conflict. Therefore, a new question emerges: *What else* is language of persecution doing in these texts besides reflecting the hostility that the Jesus movements received from outsiders? In what follows, I explore two alternative dimensions of "persecution," emphasizing the social-psychological functions of this language. These two dimensions, as the final portion of the essay will show, become useful methodological guideposts for understanding how Q uses tropes of persecution.

4.1. Identity

Language of persecution is often closely bound up with attempts to create an identity, specifically, a *persecuted* identity. For instance, Burton L. Mack has identified the centrality of victimhood in the Gospel of Mark, which in turn influenced texts that depended on it and even Western cultural ideals that invest its myth of origins with such esteem.[18] Similar to the Gospel of Mark, much of the Gospel of Matthew's styling of persecution has to do with the author's interest in connecting the persecution of the Twelve to the experiences of persecution in his own community. "The disciples' suffering," Kelhoffer argues, "becomes an archetype for the condemnation of contemporary or anticipated opponents of the Matthean community."[19] Judith Perkins has also observed how the experience of persecution becomes closely connected to early Christian identity in the martyr acts.[20] These ideals of innocence and victimhood become well-entrenched by medieval Christendom, as Anthony Bale describes:

> "To strike a pose of weakness and the play the role of martyr is to play the 'philopassionist' card, that is, to describe oneself as loving and welcoming pain, to welcome persecution of the body and mind … [T]hey can also be seen in terms of a well-

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17 *Moss*, Current Trends (n. 2) 25. This is certainly the case with Paul, who champions of a model of imitating Christ (e.g., 1 Thess 2:14; Phil 2)

18 *Mack*, Myth (n. 14) 353–376.

19 *J. A. Kelhoffer*, Persecution, Persuasion and Power. Readiness to Withstand Hardship as a Corroboration of Legitimacy in the New Testament (WUNT 270), Tübingen 2010, 252.

20 *Perkins*, Suffering Self (n. 15).

developed Christian culture of … clemency and gentleness which actively sought out an image of cruelty *in order to confirm its own mildness.*"[21]

But cultivating these values began in the much earlier period when New Testament texts were being written (with many precedents in Jewish and Graeco-Roman literature, of course).[22] For instance, Kelhoffer demonstrates that the discourse of persecution becomes a rhetorical tool wielded by nearly all New Testament authors. Whereas most studies of persecution have dealt with historical reconstruction – how many people were persecuted, how they were persecuted, why they were persecuted – his interest lies more with the *discourse* of persecution and how it functions for each author. "[C]laims to persecution and unjust suffering," he argues, "offer a lens through which scholars can study Christian responses to, and constructions of, oppression, as well as the identity derived from such claims."[23] He concludes that the ability to undergo persecution becomes a kind of cultural capital within early Christian groups, which is valuable for confirming or supporting one's Christian identity.[24]

Painting oneself and one's wider group as a victim, especially if that victimhood is part of an on-going narrative of persecution, authorizes one's identity and grounds it in history. Brian Stock analyzes the process of creating a new community identity and finds that the intellectual work of relating a group to predecessors is a crucial moment in that process.[25] He uses the medieval Waldensians to illustrate this process, because they were able to historicize their group by linking it with figures in the *Life of St. Alexis* and the *Life of St. Antony.* By this deliberate connection, their founder, Peter Waldo, "gives a latent discourse a tangible form, breathes life into it, and … recreate[s] the old pattern of authority and tradition anew."[26] So also, we observe something similar in texts such as Mark and Q with the deliberate effort to connect the present experience of the group to respected predecessors in Jewish tradition (rejected prophets) and to thus establish authority on the basis of those connections. Their persecuted

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21 *A. Bale*, Feeling Persecuted. Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages, London 2009, 25, emphasis added.

22 On these precedents, see *Moss,* Myth (n. 3) 23–82.

23 *Kelhoffer*, Persecution (n. 19) 6.

24 In his study, the treatment of each New Testament text takes into account socio-historical context in order to explore the social experiences of the author(s) or group(s) that encouraged them to style their concerns through this matrix of persecution and hardship. For the most part, he works with widely accepted opinions of each text's social context; for instance, the Gospel of Mark (esp. Mark 13) represents a community's crisis, whether during the time of Caligula or during the Jewish War; Revelation reflects acute conflict with the imperial cult; the Gospel of John responds to a group in tension with a local synagogue.

25 *B. Stock*, Listening for the Text. On Uses of the Past (Parallax/Re-Visions of Culture and Society), London 1990, 25–26.

26 *Stock*, Listening (n. 25) 29.

identity becomes their connection to history and the authorization for their message.

In some cases, the claim to have experienced violence may have been so ideologically valuable that the persecution was deliberately sought out. The clearest example here would be Ignatius, who pursues martyrdom with such a suicidal passion that he still makes many modern interpreters uncomfortable. Bale notices that the claim to have experienced violence becomes a strong form of cultural capital again in the Middle Ages, and it was likewise intentionally sought out. Medieval authors, he observes, "willingly subjected [them]selves to narratives of *terror*, religious fear and valorized images of suffering, of identity under attack."[27] Similarly, Moss offers the example of the Circumcellions in North Africa in the 4th c. who deliberately attacked and raided travelers in hopes that they would be martyred in the resulting skirmish.[28] In other words, instead of just working negative social experiences into a narrative of systematic persecution by opponents, another option was evidently to *seek out* experiences of persecution or perhaps even fabricate them altogether for their rhetorical currency.

When it comes to earlier Jesus groups, we might thus ask, to what extent was adopting a persecution identity so ideologically attractive that narratives were deliberately styled to reflect a persecuted identity? And is it possible to disentangle this myth-making from reality? These answers will differ depending on the texts under question, but for now we may simply observe that undergoing suffering – or claiming to have undergone it – has historically been a form of valuable cachet which serves to bolster one's stature in the eyes of others. One's identity transforms from a victim who experiences violence to a martyr who has the power to endure it.

4.2.   Agency

Negotiating a situation of real or perceived persecution in the textual realm also offers opportunities for agency. Here we must keep in mind that understanding one's identity as persecuted is *not natural*; it results from efforts to interpret one's experience through a lens of injustice. That interpretation takes intellectual effort, and as suggested earlier, it may flourish with some connection to historical precedents in order to underscore the chronic nature of the persecution and rejection. So, related to the desire to define one's identity with the cultural capital of withstanding persecution is the notion that *this assertion in itself* is one kind of agency available to those who may have otherwise felt powerless.

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27 *Bale*, Feeling Persecuted (n. 21) 12.
28 *Moss*, Myth (n. 3) 189–190.

In his discussion of pre-modern Christianity, anthropologist Talal Asad has argued that accepting pain is a kind of agency.[29] Asad is here speaking of actual pain and suffering, but the idea of *representing* oneself as undergoing suffering reflects one's power and ability to control one's image.[30] Similar to Asad, Kelhoffer observes that persecution and its connection to early Christian identity formation creates opportunities for authors to assert power and make claims to social status, on the basis of having undergone persecution. In his words, "numerous NT passages construe the withstanding of persecution as a form of cultural capital convertible to power, authority, legitimacy, or standing within the Christian community."[31] Bale comes to a similar conclusion when assessing medieval Christian rhetorics of persecution (often at the imaginary hands of the Jews). He argues, "[A] rhetoric and aesthetic of fear not only does not necessarily connect with an experience of disempowerment, but actually reverses this power-dynamic … To adopt the pose of a victim, or to identify with a martyr was, paradoxically, one of the most empowering kinds of subjectivity in medieval culture."[32] In other words, the one who is able to control the discourse of conflict and make it meaningful as part of a narrative of "persecution" is particularly powerful.

The appeal to having experienced violence thus becomes a kind of *currency* that people cultivated for early Christian identity formation. This is evident as early as Paul's letters. Paul legitimates his gospel by showing that he consistently overcomes setbacks and challenges from people who oppose him (1 Thess 2:18; 2 Cor 1:3–10, 6:4–10; Gal 5:11). His struggles function to persuade the audience that his mission is all the more important and worthwhile. Parenthetically, this strategy is not unique to New Testament authors; we find it elsewhere in the ancient world as well. Ari Z. Bryen has analyzed the way in which the demonstration of having suffered visible violence was critical to successful legal petitions.[33] Petitioners seem to go out of their way to represent their dispute in terms of physical, bodily violence. Thus, showing how much one has suffered is a form of persuasion even in routine documents dealing with ordinary affairs.

Creating and negotiating a discourse of persecution through a text is one mode of asserting agency, but the way one *responded* to perceived persecution, even in a narrative, could be empowering for the audience as well. Perkins has drawn attention to the connection between a discourse of suffering and power. She focuses mainly on martyr acts, especially the accounts of Perpetua and

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29 *T. Asad*, Formations of the Secular. Christianity, Islam, Modernity, Standford (CA) 2003, 79.
30 *Asad*, Formations (n. 29) 82.
31 *Kelhoffer*, Persecution (n. 19) 16.
32 *Bale*, Feeling Persecuted (n. 21) 24.
33 *A. Z. Bryen*, Visibility and Violence in Petitions from Roman Egypt, in: GRBS 48 (2008) 181–200.

Felicitas. As she points out, Perpetua's character is depicted as withstanding suffering and transforming it into a kind of social capital or prestige.[34] This is evident in Perpetua's statement that her "prison had become a palace." Her suffering carried out a new purpose in the Christian context: "Christianity offered converts a useful function for pain and a structure for understanding human suffering … [Perpetua] sees her suffering as powerful and redemptive."[35] Perkins goes on to identify the moments in the story where Perpetua asserts her agency in response to persecution: she defies male figures, she refuses objectification by the blood-thirsty crowd, and she is "an active agent even appointing her own death."[36]

Thus, in addition to being a rhetorically valuable tool for constructing identity, there is also a way in which mobilizing a persecuted identity becomes a form of power to many who were denied access to other, more traditional forms of power such as wealth, status, or political prestige. In fact, by controlling a discourse of persecution, persecution becomes its own form of prestige.

5.   "Persecution" in the Context of Q?

There are probably events in the early first century that many Jews and Jesus people may have interpreted as "persecution," and there is no doubt that later authors perceived first-century Palestine to be a context rife with persecution and tribulation. This is built into the narratives about Jesus and also reflected in Josephus' reports about what befell many of his fellow Judaeans and Galileans. The Acts of the Apostles is a highly stylized portrait of what the earliest Christians experienced in Roman Palestine. Acts, of course, gives us the account of the first "Christian martyr" Stephen (Acts 7:58–8:3) in Palestine, whose death the author uses to illustrate the resistance that the Christian movement encountered from its contemporaries in Judaea. This incident is difficult to use for considering historical cases of persecution, though. As is widely accepted, Acts is less a historical account of the origins of the Christian movement than an idealized account of it, and so should not be used as a historical report of incidents that we might consider "persecution." In addition, Shelly Matthews has shown how Stephen's death in Acts epitomizes the death of a "perfect martyr" who is "perfectly suited" to the author's interests of illustrating the ever-widening chasm between Christianity and Judaism. Since it is likely the story is a rhetorical fabrication crafted to act as a pivotal moment in Paul's conversion and since it lacks any external

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34 *Perkins*, Suffering Self (n. 15) 105–106.
35 *Perkins*, Suffering Self (n. 15) 109.
36 *Perkins*, Suffering Self (n. 15) 112.

attestation until Irenaeus' writing, Matthews doubts whether this incident has any historical reality.[37] Besides these later Christian recollections, Josephus' recounts many acts of violence perpetuated against Jews during Roman occupation (*Ant.*, 17:10, 20:5; *War* 7:43–53), which may have been interpreted by some as systematic persecution.

Trying to match any of these specific circumstances with Q's setting is bound to fail, however, because for one, we are dealing with tendentious interpretations of events, not historical reports. For another, it is in the interest of early Christian authors such as Paul or Acts' author to depict their experiences as marked by great struggle, which they miraculously overcame. For these reasons, it may well be impossible separate fact from fiction. This does not, however, mean that we cannot study the concept of persecution as I have outlined above with respect to Q.

6. Q, Persecution, Identity, and Agency

Q is imbued with a sense of rejection and no doubt places a strong premium on suffering. The experience of persecution lurks in the background of many pericopae (Q 6:29–30; 10:10–12; 14:27), and in some cases, expectations of persecution are deliberately announced (Q 6:23, 27–28; 11:49; 12:11–12). What might have occasioned this preoccupation with suffering? Mack argues that the shifting rhetorical posture in Q (between Q^1 and Q^2) moves from the enthusiasm of spreading the Jesus movement to the vehement defense of it against external attack; this stark change, he suggests, reflects resistance that the Q tradents received.[38] It is generally agreed that some social experience, whether or not it is understood as Mack outlines, precipitated this stance. But what sort of social experience? In Harry T. Fleddermann's commentary on Q, he sees the beatitudes in Q 6 reflecting the real, violent persecution suffered first by the Son of Man and then by Christians: "No Christian reading the beatitude … could fail to connect the persecution of the Christian with the persecution that the Son of Man himself faced."[39] Thus in his interpretation, the social experience under question seems to be one akin to Jesus' experience in the canonical gospel narrative: systematic pursuit by enemies taking both verbal and physical forms.

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37 *S. Matthews*, The Need for the Stoning of Stephen, in: S. Matthews/E. L. Gisbon (ed.), Violence in the New Testament, New York 2005, 124–139, 124.

38 *B. L. Mack*, The Kingdom that Didn't Come. A Social History of the Q Tradents, in: D. J. Lull (ed.), Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers (SBLSP), Atlanta (GA) 1998; *B. L. Mack*, The Lost Gospel. The Book of Q & Christian Origins, San Francisco 1993.

39 *H. T. Fleddermann*, Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary (Biblical Tools and Studies 1) Leuven 2005, 133.

The problem of Fleddermann's interpretation and others like it is that they assume a situation of persecution without trying to prove it. Based on the theoretical caveats above, which describe persecution as an *interpretive lens* instead of an *objective phenomenon*, the question should not be: were the Q people persecuted? Instead, we should reframe the issue in terms of what language of persecution *does* in Q. I suggest that persecution in Q carries out precisely the functions that I have outlined above: it contributes to Q's sense of identity and provides a source of agency and authority to the authors. The remainder of this essay employs the "identity and agency" model for understanding three passages from Q that many have taken to reflect persecution in its social setting.

6.1.   Q 6:22–23

Q 6:22–23 is part of a unit ostensibly aimed at Jesus' disciples (Q 6:20), but its advice in the second-person plural applies to anyone in the audience. Jesus advises the audience to anticipate persecution, on one hand, but on the other, to *appreciate* it, for it means that they have shared an experience with Jesus and the previous prophets.

These verses perfectly illustrate the "identity and agency" model of persecution. First, central to the passage is the claim to experience persecution: the anticipated audience is imagined to undergo insult or perhaps even physical violence. Moreover, this claim is made rather matter-of-factly; one should not resist or oppose this conflict but simply endure it because it is to be expected. Second, as the model suggests, the experience results in a new identity: the audience, like Jesus and those who suffered before, *are prophets.* Thus, it both acknowledges the persecution that Q's audience may have perceived, and it connects it to a prestigious identity. This is a crucial strategy of identity formation, which, fascinatingly, is accomplished in only a few sentences. Third, it is clear how new agency and authority follow from this claim. If the Q people suffer like prophets of past and for all intents and purposes *are new incarnations* of those prophets, then their message and interpretation of Jesus must be taken seriously. The authority is justified thus: "Listen to us and entertain our ideas about the kingdom, because we are prophets, which is evident through our suffering." Suffering is transformed into proof about the validity of Q's teachings.

6.2. Q 6:27–28, 35

Q 6:27–28, 35 unfolds in almost the same fashion. As with Q 6:22–23, the claim to experience persecution is stated matter-of-factly; the maxim initially offers no advice about how to challenge the situation or react to the perceived persecution.[40] Instead, persecution becomes an experience that is transformative for one's identity. Here the stakes are even higher: if one endures persecution and prays for the persecutors, the reward is becoming "sons of the father" (υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν[41]). We may leave aside what precisely that metaphor is meant to imply, but it is no doubt an identity with great esteem, indicating a close affiliation with and endorsement by God. Whereas Q 6:22–23 implied that those who suffer would become prophets, Q 6:35 now envisions them as children of God.

Again new agency and authority follow from these verses. Authority comes from the affiliation with God and the recognition that he sanctions the Q people based on their suffering. Q 6:35 suggests that this identity allows the Q people to participate in the power that the Father has; this is suggested also by Q 6:36 – Q's audience can become, not just like prophets, but *like God himself* through their experience of suffering. The following injunctions in Q 6:29–30 provide specific examples of how one can cultivate this identity, that is, how one can endure so-called persecution and thus craft their own identity as "sons of the Father." The sayings ensure the audience that there is something *proactive* and *powerful* about the passive resistance that is recommended in v. 29–30; on the contrary, Q seems to suggests, this passive endurance can actively cultivate one's identity as a child of God.

6.3. Q 10:5–9, 10–16

The so-called Mission Instructions in Q 10:5–9, 10–16 are well elucidated by the "identity and agency" model as well. Once again, we are presented with a situation in which the Q people feel rejected and persecuted. This time, the cause seems rather specific: in attempting to enter people's homes as envoys of Jesus, the reception is sometimes lukewarm or even outright hostile. This rejection is underscored by the harsh woes against the specific Galilean towns that have not welcomed them in vv. 13–15. In their efforts to communicate their interpretation

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40 These verses should, of course, be read with the following verses 6:29–30, which expand on what situations of mistreatment might entail. In the examples of physical violence, of having one's belongings seized, and of being conscripted to service, the advice amounts to enduring the abuse and even volunteering oneself to be exploited more than the original demand.

41 "Sons of the (lit. 'your' pl.) Father" (υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν) comes from Matthew's version of this saying (5:45). Luke 6:35 has "sons of the Most High" (υἱοὶ Ὑψίστου).

of Jesus' message, the Q tradents have encountered severe hostility, likely understood as "persecution" similar to situations presupposed by Q 6:22–23 and 6:27–28. Even in this vivid pericope, the rhetoric of persecution works similarly to construct the Q people's identity. The new identification promoted here is again a *prophetic* identity: the Q people are sent like the prophets who were sent before and who were similarly rejected. Moreover, this identity again signals that the Q people are extensions of Jesus and the Father.[42] As such, this means that their authority to interpret the teachings of Jesus is automatically endorsed, otherwise they would not have been commissioned in the first place. Thus, the "mission" instructions paint the Q group as authoritative and powerful.

This pericope also asserts agency is another way. In the face of rejection from local villagers, the envoys are advised to "shake off the dust from [their] feet" (10:11) if the town does not accept them. This advice recommends far more than simple acceptance of rejection and endurance of verbal or physical persecution, which were the strategies encouraged by Q 6:22–23 and 6:27–29, 35. On the contrary, Q 10:11 is a kind of passive-aggressive strategy against their enemies, wherein the Q people symbolically "get the last word" in the disagreement. As with the previous cases where Q controls the discourse of persecution to assert agency, a similar tactic occurs here. Q's authors control the scene of rejection and portray themselves, although rejected, as the ones to "win" the argument and best their enemies.

Thus, these passages demonstrate that motifs of persecution in Q function precisely as outlined above: they contribute to identity formation, especially since they help construct the Q people as rejected prophets, children of God, and envoys of Jesus; and they provide an opportunity for them to cultivate power and authority, by controlling the discourse of persecution and by aligning themselves more closely with earlier prophets, Jesus, and the Father. In a setting in which Q's authors could probably not have advanced their public status and may have been rejected by many of their contemporaries, controlling this discourse within a text would provide them a venue to assert some degree of power.

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42 Both Matthew and Luke seem to conflate Jesus and God's roles in sanctioning the missionary activity. Both frame the instructions as if spoken by Jesus (Matt 9:37; Luke 10:2), but they state that the workers are sent by the "Lord of the Harvest" (τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θερισμοῦ), who is no doubt God. By the time the instructions have completed, the concern is that by rejecting the envoys, they have also rejected "the one who sent" (Matt 10:40 has τὸν ἀποστείλαντά, while Luke 10:16 has τὸν ἀποστείλαντά) them – this figure probably represents both Jesus and God.

7. Persecution and Deuteronomistic Theology

Complicating our efforts to understand how persecution works in the text is the realization that these themes are closely tied to its Deuteronomistic theology: the collection of ideas centered around Israel's on-going disobedience against God, which requires the sending of a series of prophets to enact periodic reform.[43] Q weaves its own experiences of rejection into this mytho-historical arc: Jesus, his disciples, and the people whom Q represents are at the tail end of a long line of rejected prophets (as in Q 7:31–35; 11:49–51; 13:34–35). Thus, understood with this interpretative lens, their current experience of rejection by their contemporaries comes as no surprise. Because Deuteronomistic theology is a *claim* about one's identity and the validity of one's message (not a report about events experienced), the intertwining of myth and contemporary events makes it difficult to access the real historical situations of persecution in Q's social context.

In fact, due to the focus on Deuteronomistic theology, which dictates the presentation of Jesus' fate and that of the Q group, I would argue that Q itself is not even concerned with the socio-historical dimensions of its experience of persecution. That is to say, *this theological framework is itself the reason for rejection.*[44] Q does not entertain the idea that its subversive or countercultural ideas might be the root of its rejection; instead, the legacy of the past prophets is the only explanation necessary. This explains why Q gives almost no details about the particular settings in which it expects to encounter conflict. Thus, language of persistent persecution becomes an explanatory framework to make sense of a range of problems that many people faced.

Even though Q reflects this mythic identity tied to innate suffering, it also hints that there were serious social pressures associated with its movement, as do Mark and Matthew. All three, one observes, expected to encounter hostility in the synagogue (Q 12:11–12; Mark 13:9; Matt 10:17, 23:34). Q also expects this hostility in the course of whatever "mission" activity is presupposed in Q 10. What mainly seem to be implied in both situations are ordinary public settings in which the Q people's activities or ideas are challenged. This is also evident in hints that public accusations were waged against Jesus and the Q people (Q 7:33–34). Similarly,

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43 See *A. Jacobson*, The Literary Unity of Q, in: JBL 101 (1987) 365–389; *J. S. Kloppenborg*, Excavating Q. The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel, Minneapolis 2000, 121–122; *R. A. Horsley*, Covenant Economics. A Biblical Vision of Justice for All, Lousiville (KY) 2009, 112. On this concept more generally, see *O. H. Steck*, Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchistentum (WMANT 23), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1967.

44 Douglas Hare makes the same observation regarding Matthew: *D. Hare*, The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew (SNTS.MS 6), Cambridge 1967, 170.

when Hare examines persecution behind the Gospel of Matthew, he finds that Matthew presupposed rather ordinary situations; most of the experiences probably amounted to "verbal abuse and social ostracism"[45] and other forms of "non-acceptance."[46] The *public* nature of these encounters, both in Matthew and in Q, is important, for it indicates that the sense of "persecution" might stem as much from the acute shame of public dishonor as it does from real situations of violence. In short, whether or not we can conclude anything about the historical circumstances of persecution in first-century Galilee and Judaea, motifs of persecution helped the Q people style themselves as prophets, as children of God, and as envoys of Jesus, who were authorized and empowered to disseminate Jesus' teachings.

8.   Conclusion

"Persecution" in the social setting of Q is a concept that needs robust description – even *redescription* in order to wrest the text from the meta-narrative that "Christians" were persecuted from the beginning and that all forms of it were comparable phenomena. To reiterate: persecution is *not a thing, but an interpretation*. Nor should we assume that it is only a matter of collecting the proper historical evidence to prove or disprove claims to be persecuted. Whether or not we can assess the historicity of the claims, we can agree that Q contains evidence for the *perception* and *use* of persecution – no doubt very real to the authors, who use it to construct their identity, agency, and authority. The analysis demonstrates how important it is to think differently about "persecution" in the earliest forms of the Jesus movement, lest we perpetuate ahistorical depictions of this formative period.

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45 *Hare*, Jewish Persecution (n. 44) 167.
46 *Hare*, Jewish Persecution (n. 44) 168.

Beate Ego

Different Attitudes to the Temple in Second Temple Judaism – A Fresh Approach to Jesus' Temple Prophecy

Several texts in the New Testament bear witness to the fact that Jesus talked about the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem. The first text that comes to mind is the lament over the destruction of Jerusalem from Luke 13:34 par. Matthew 23:37–39, in which Jesus predicts the destruction of the sacred site and expresses his deep grief over the events that are about to take place. Mark 13:1–4 and its parallel, Luke 21:5–7, point in a similar direction when they report Jesus' statement that no stone of the temple will remain untouched, that all will be thrown down. Further evidence is the *logion* about the temple in Mark 14:58 par. Matthew 27:61, in which a third party bears witness against Jesus before the High Priest. According to this source, Jesus did not only speak about the destruction of the temple in general, but said about himself that he would "disband" the temple and would erect another one within three days, one that is not made by human hands. John integrates this word in his narrative about the cleansing of the temple in John 2:19. The same motif appears in the words of the passersby who witness Jesus hanging on the cross. They mock Jesus and confront him with this exact same statement: "Aha! You who would destroy the temple and built it in three days, save yourself, and come down from the cross!" (Mark 15:29–30 according to NRSV, par. Matthew 27:39–44). Finally, Stephen is accused to have claimed that Jesus of Nazareth would destroy the temple (Acts 6:14).[1]

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1 For an overview, see *V. Gäckle*, Allgemeines Priestertum. Zur Metaphorisierung des Priestertitels im Frühjudentum und Neuen Testament (WUNT 331), Tübingen 2014, 290f.; *J. Ådna*, Jesu Stellung zum Tempel. Die Tempelaktion und das Tempelwort als Ausdruck seiner messianischen Sendung (WUNT II/119), Tübingen 2000, 111f.; *G. Theißen/A. Merz*, Der historische Jesus. Ein Lehrbuch, Göttingen ²1997, 380f.; *J. Schlosser*, La parole de Jesus sur la fin du Temple, in: J. Schlosser (ed.), A la recherche de la parole. Études d'exégèse et de theologie biblique, Paris 2006, 101–118. The available corpus of literature is large and can only be named in part. Only the most prevalent works will be named here in chronological order: *G. Theißen*, Jesu Tempelwort im Spannungsfeld von Stadt und Land, in: ThZ 32 (1976) 144–158; *Th. Söding*, Die Tempelaktion Jesu. Redaktionskritik – Überlieferungsgeschichte – historische Rückfrage (Mk 11,15–19; Mt 21,*12–17; Lk 19,45–48; Joh 2,13–20), in: TThZ 101 (1992) 36–64; *K. Paesler*, Das Tempelwort Jesu. Die Tradition von der Tempelzerstörung und Tempelerneuerung im Neuen

The broad witness to Jesus' temple prophecy, which is nevertheless rather diverse, makes it probable that we deal with an authentic saying by Jesus.[2] These different texts in the tradition of the New Testament also raise the question how these critical statements aimed at the temple fit into contemporary Jewish views and whether they could be understood as evidence for the so-called "parting of the ways" between Judaism and Christianity. This view, brought forth by H.-T. Fleddermann in connection with Q[3] was rejected by M. Tiwald who argued for a view of integration, namely, that these New Testament texts should be understood within the world of ancient Judaism.[4] As the lament over Jerusalem is closely connected to the *logion* about the temple in Mark 14:58, Tiwald's statements about the latter can also be enlightening on his view on the former. In this context, Tiwald reminds us that even a few Jewish sources from Second Temple times contain concrete critique of the temple although they do not dismiss the authority of the temple altogether. He states:

Testament (FRLANT 184), Göttingen 1999. For further literature, see Gäckle, Allgemeines Priestertum, 290–310.

2   On this question, see Gäckle, Allgemeines Priestertum, 291: "Es macht jedoch keinen Sinn, das Wort einfach als eine Fälschung den Gegnern anzulasten, denn sämtliche Evangelisten (auch Lukas in Act 6,14!) verarbeiten das Wort durchaus hintergründig und vielschichtig in ihren Evangelien. Zudem hätte eine frei erfundene Fälschung ohne jeden Anhalt am historischen Jesus und seiner Verkündigung kaum diese Wirkungsgeschichte hervorbringen können bzw. wäre von den Evangelisten klarer zurückgewiesen worden. Auch die Annahme einer Gemeindebildung kommt nicht in Frage: Welchen Sinn würde es machen, Jesus ein Wort zuzuschreiben, es dann in den Mund falscher Zeugen zu legen und es im Falle des Lukas wieder zu streichen und eine anderen Kontext (Act 6,14) zu platzieren? Gerade diese Undeutlichkeit und uneinheitliche Wiedergabe spricht für die Authentizität. Schließlich scheidet auch eine Interpretation als vaticinium ex eventu von vornherein aus, denn nach der Zerstörung des Tempels wäre die Bildung einer Ansage der Tempelzerstörung durch die Hand Jesu sinnlos gewesen." See also *Ådna*, Jesu Stellung (n. 1) 151–153. *Theißen*, Jesu Tempelwort, 144f. points out that Jesus' *logion* about the temple can claim sources neither in ancient Judaism nor in early Christianity. *Terminus ad quem* is the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E., as the saying is not *vaticinuum ex eventu*. Finally, the *logion* fits well "in den Rahmen des Wirkens Jesu": "Wort- und Erzähltradition weisen in dieselbe Richtung: Tempelreinigung und -weissagung bringen beide Aggression und Identifikation hinsichtlich des Tempels zum Ausdruck, die Tempelweissagung als prophetisches Wort, die Tempelreinigung als die zu ihr gehörende Symbolhandlung. Das Wort passt gut zur Naherwartung Jesu; nur im Rahmen kosmischen Wandels wären Zerstörung und Erneuerung des Tempels denkbar. Schließlich fügt sie sich gut in den geschichtlichen Ablauf. Sie motiviert, warum Jesus und seine Anhänger nach Jerusalem zogen – auch andere vergleichbare Propheten des 1. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. zogen mit ihren Anhängern an den Ort des von ihnen angekündigten Wunders. Sie motiviert ferner, warum die Jünger nach Ostern ihr Zentrum in Jerusalem hatten: Hier erwarteten sie die entscheidende eschatologische Wende." Furthermore, see Gäckle, Allgemeines Priestertum,

3   *H. T. Fleddermann*, Q – A Reconstruction and Commentary (Biblical Tools and Studies 1), Leuven 2005.

4   *M. Tiwald*, Hat Gott sein Haus verlassen (vgl. Q 13,35)? Das Verhältnis der Logienquelle zum Frühjudentum, in: Id. (ed.), Kein Jota wird vergehen. Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie, Stuttgart 2012, 63–88, here: 64.67f.

"Jesus' criticism of the temple is not directed against the temple itself, as the great number of positive Jesus traditions linked to the temple clearly show. But when worship in the temple conflicts with the approaching *basileia*, the temple service has to be corrected. Therefore, the reason for Jesus' cleansing of the temple might have been a criticism of the false security it offered to the believers. […] The temple logion in Mk 14.58, announcing the destruction of the temple, shows no intention of *abolishing* the temple, but of *replacing* the temple made by human hands. […] This fits in well with the ideas of early Judaism, as we have seen in the temple theology of Qumran, Philo, the book of Jubilees and many others. In all these early Jewish traditions, there is no doubt that in eschatological times the temple in Jerusalem, built with human hands, will be replaced by the eschatological temple of God and an eschatologically renewed temple community. In Q 13.29 Jesus announces that 'many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the basileia'. This is the concept of God's eschatological gathering of his holy people (Isa. 43.5; 49.12; 59.19) combined with the pilgrimage of Gentile nations to the holy Zion (Isa. 2.3). In Jesus' thought, the new eschatological community of the universalistic basileia fulfils the biblical prophecies about a new, eschatological temple and an eschatologically renewed temple community. Now – at the time of inaugurating the basileia – not the man-made institution of a human temple is necessary, but instead the living community of believers in God's reign. This does not lead to an abolishment of the temple itself, but rather, the living community of believers now substitutes the man made temple."[5]

The most important sources that support this view from a traditio-historical point of view have been sufficiently discussed in scholarly literature.[6] Most instructive in this regard is the insight that the temple prophecies by Jesus are closely connected to his Messianic sayings.[7]

What is still lacking in research, however, is a fresh glance at this topic, which combines the *Traditionsgeschichte* of Jesus' temple theology with the role and the concept of the temple in Jesus' current *Lebenswelt*. In this contribution, I will use a deductive approach. This means that I will start with a general description of the main outlines of the traditional Zion theology on the one hand (1.) and of

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5 *M. Tiwald*, Jewish-Christian Trajectories in Torah and Temple Theology, in: T. Holmén (ed.), Jesus in Continuum (WUNT 289), Tübingen 2012, 385–409, here: 404f. On the question of an intentional abrogation of the temple and its cult in the traditions of the New Testament, see *M. Tiwald*, Christ as Hilasterion (Rom 3:25). Pauline Theologie on the Day of Atonement in the Mirror of Early Jewish Thought, in: T. Hieke/T. Niklas (ed.), The Day of Atonement. Its Interpretation in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions, Leiden/Boston 2012), 189–209, here: 195–198.

6 Cf. the important resource by Ådna, Jesu Stellung (n. 1) 25–89. Also cf. the collection of witnesses in *C. A. Evans*, Opposition to the Temple: Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls, in: J. H. Charlesworth et al. (ed.), Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls, New York et al. 1992, 235–253; *C. A. Evans*, Predictions of the Destruction of the Herodian Temple in the Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Scrolls, and Related Texts, in: JSP 10 (1992) 89–147; *Paesler*, Tempelwort (n. 1) 150–166.

7 *A. M. Schwemer*, Jesus Christus als Prophet, König und Priester. Das *munus triplex* und die frühe Christologie, in: M. Hengel/A. M. Schwemer (ed.), Der messianische Anspruch Jesu und die Anfänge der Christologie (WUNT 138), Tübingen 2001, 165–230, here: 223.

the meaning of the Jerusalem temple in Jesus' days on the other hand (2.). After this general overview, I will address the question whether this broad *tour d'horizon* can contribute to our understanding of temple prophecies in the Jesus tradition (3.).

1.   The General Framework – The Temple in Jerusalem and its Symbolic Dimensions

The main features and dates regarding the Jerusalem temple are well known and do not need to be elaborated on by way of lengthy footnotes: After the destruction of the Temple of Solomon by the Babylonians, the so-called Second Temple was built during Persian rule and probably also with the support of the Persians during the years 520–515 BCE. As the Temple of Solomon was the blueprint for this building project, one can assume that the main structure of the area was more or less the same as the one that had been destroyed. The temple consisted of the ʿulam or entrance hall, the *Hekhal* or Holy Place, and the *Qodesh ha-Qodashim* or Holy of Holies. The courtyard of the priests was located in front of the building and featured an altar for burnt offerings. This was the location of the public cult. Further courtyards were located in front of the courtyard of the priests.

There were, however, a few differences between the First Temple and the Second that should be mentioned. After the loss of the ark and of the throne of the cherubim, the Holy of Holies now remained empty and was separated from the remainder of the building by a curtain. Furthermore, the Menorah and a gilded altar, from which smoke could rise, were added to the inventory of the temple.[8]

One should also take into consideration that there might have been certain changes in the cultic activities that happened within the temple. The motif of atonement became much more prominent than it had been in the Temple of Solomon. In his famous work "Religionsgeschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit", Rainer Albertz pointed out that the addition of the Day of Atonement into the calendar of festivals was one of the most important additions to the cult. After the traumatic experience of the destruction of the First Temple and the Exile, it was important to create rituals which aimed at the prevention of a recurrence of such a national catastrophe.[9]

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8 See *R. Albertz*, Religionsgeschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit; vol. II: Vom Exil bis zu den Makkabäern (ATD 8/2), Göttingen 1992, 487–490; see also *Paesler*, Tempelwort (n. 1) 136.

9 *Albertz*, Religionsgeschichte II (n. 8) 493: Atonement was "das entscheidende Mittel, mit dem die Reformpriesterschaft auf die traumatische Erfahrung der nationalen Katastrophe trotz

Furthermore, one has to take into account that the experience of the Exile caused a change in the idea of the presence of God. While the sources from pre-exilic times focus on God being present in God's earthly sanctuary, texts that originated after the exile avoid concrete statements about God's habitation in the temple. Bernd Janowski was one of the first scholars who described this change in perception in his article about *Shekhina*-Theology from 1987[10], and several other works added to this observation.[11] The tendency to create a distance between God and the earthly temple led to an emphasis of different ideas about the presence of God, one of which being the idea that God is enthroned in heaven (cf. Psalms 11:4; 103:19; also see 1 Kings 8:30–61). The presence of God among God's people, or, as Bernd Janowski calls it, the "Selbstbindung Jahwes an sein Volk Israel"[12], is now more important than the presence of God in the actual temple building. This led to a changing perception of the cult as well since there is no longer a theology of permanent presence at work but rather the idea that God "meets" Israel in the act of sacrifice. In this context, we read in Exodus 29:43–45:

> "I will meet the Israelites there (sc. in the tent of meeting), and it shall be sanctified with my glory; I will consecrate the tent of meeting and the altar; Aaron also and his sons I will consecrate, to serve me as priests. I will dwell among the Israelites, and I will be their God."

A monograph that compares and contrasts these different new concepts of the presence of God in the temple is still a *desideratum*. One example in this regard is the view in 2 Maccabees that sees God being in heaven and protecting the temple in Jerusalem, which, in turn, is seen as the location of purity and of the sacrificial cult. Ideas such as this one show that the idea of God's heavenly enthronement should not be played off against the importance of the earthly temple. Nevertheless, we still find a new understanding of the temple building, namely a careful relativizing of the importance of the building especially when one compares it to the utmost importance that was attributed to the temple building in earlier times. Since events such as the destruction of the temple by Nebukadnezzar or – much later – the desecration of the temple by Antiochus IV were deeply embedded within the collective and individual memory, it is easy to understand why the theology of Zion developed and changed over time.[13] In any case: The temple was

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funktionierendem Kultbetrieb reagierte und das sie dem Gemeinwesen zur Abwendung der Gefahr einer möglichen Wiederholung anbot."

10 *B. Janowski*, "Ich will in eurer Mitte wohnen". Struktur und Genese der exilischen Schekina-Theologie, in: JBTh (1987), 165–193.

11 See, for example, *B. Ego*, Der Herr blickt herab von der Höhe seines Heiligtums. Gottes himmlisches Thronen in alttestamentlichen Texten aus exilisch-nachexilischer Zeit, in: ZAW 110 (1998) 556–569.

12 *Janowski,* "Ich will in eurer Mitte wohnen" (n. 10) 141.

13 On Zion theology, see *B. Ego*, Vom Völkerchaos zum Völkerkosmos. Zu einem Aspekt der

a symbol of power and status that was attributed universal importance. Textual witnesses supporting this fact can already be found in some biblical texts from the Persian period (e. g. Hag 2:6–9 et al.) as well as in the Books of the Maccabees (cf. 2 Macc 2:19; 3:2 f.; 5:15–16).

In this context, we should also refer to the fact that the temple had a cosmic dimension. Aside from the ideas mentioned above, there also existed the idea that the earthly temple had a heavenly counterpart. This concept was widespread in the ancient Near East, biblical examples for it can be found in Ps 104:3 or Amos 9:5–6.[14] This idea is based on the view that the earthly temple was an image of the entire cosmos.[15] Within early Judaism, this idea was first expressed in the Book of the Watchers of 1 Enoch, which is generally dated to the 3rd century BCE. In the narrative concerning the angels who had left the heavenly world and had sinned on earth (because they brought with them heavenly secrets and bonded with the human women), Enoch begins a heavenly journey. His goal is to ask for forgiveness on account of the watchers who face divine judgment. After Enoch is lifted up into heaven by winds, stars, and lightning, he finally reaches the heavenly sanctuary, which is surrounded by a wall of hailstones and consists of two individual buildings. In the second building, he views the heavenly throne and God sitting there pronouncing judgment upon the watchers. I analyzed this passage in detail elsewhere so that I only need to mention one observation here: The description of the heavenly temple appears to be a collage combining biblical models of the temple in Jerusalem, the tabernacle, and elements of visions of the divine as in Ezekiel and Isaiah.[16]

The so-called "Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice" provide further proof for the existence of the motif of the heavenly sanctuary in early Judaism. This collection of 13 hymns, which can be found in eight manuscripts from cave 4, one manuscript from cave 11, and one manuscript from Masada, was written for the first 13 Sabbaths of the Qumran solar calendar and is dedicated to the praise and worship

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Jerusalemer Kultkonzeption, in: A. Grund/A. Krüger/F. Lippke (ed.), Ich will dir danken unter den Völkern. Studien zur israelitischen und altorientalischen Gebetsliteratur (FS B. Janowski zum 70. Geburtstag), Gütersloh 2013, 122–141, here: 123–126.

14 See *F. Hartenstein*, Wolkendunkel und Himmelsfeste. Zur Genese und Kosmologie des himmlischen Heiligtums JHWHs, in: B. Janowski/B. Ego (ed.), Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte (FAT 32), Tübingen 2001, 125–179.

15 On the cosmological aspects of the temple building, see *J. Maier*, Tempel und Tempelkult, in: Id./J. Schreiner (ed.), Literatur und Religion des Frühjudentums. Eine Einführung, 371–390; *J. Maier*, Ideale Planungsziele und Realarchitktur in der Tempelrolle und an der herodianischen Tempelanlage, in: J. Frey (ed.), Qumran und die Archäologie. Texte und Kontexte (WUNT 278), Tübingen 2011, 421–438; *C. Werman*, God's House: Temple and Universe, in: R. Deines/K.-W. Niebuhr (ed.), Philo und das Neue Testament. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen (WUNT 172), Tübingen 2004, 309–320.

16 For literature, see *B. Ego*, Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit, Herrlichkeit und Richtermacht – Himmelsvorstellungen im antiken Judentum, in: JBTh 20 (2005), 151–188, here: 160–168.

in the heavenly sanctuary. Within this text we find impressive 3rd person descriptions of the heavenly worship of angels, Elim and Elohim, priests, saints, and spirits or leaders of the heavenly world. Occasionally, these beings are also called to praise the deity. The 13th hymn does not only speak of the praise of the heavenly ones but also of a sacrifice by the saints and the scent of their meat and libation offerings. Within the text of the "Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice", the term "sacrifice" (t^e*ruma*) is usually only used in connection with the term "tongue" (*lashon*), which leads to the conclusion that this constitutes a metaphorical use of sacrifice terminology. The heavenly praise is here understood as a kind of sacrifice.[17]

Aside from the high importance that the temple has in the system of religious symbolism in Israelite and early Jewish religion, both the critique of the Jerusalem temple and the hopes for a new temple are, nevertheless, integral parts of this traditional world of ideas. One can already find critique of the temple and the business connected to it in the writings of the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who denounce the missing social integrity as well as syncretistic practices in connection with the temple. During the times of the Maccabees and the Hasmoneans, the critique of the temple is based on the idea that the Second Temple was defiled during the reign of Antiochus IV, by the events during Jonathan's "coup" attaining the position of High Priest (cf. Jubilees 23:9–32, Apocalypse of Weeks [1 Enoch 93:1–9 and 91:11–17], and texts from Qumran), and, according to the author of the Animal Apocalypse, even during a time before the aforementioned events (1 Enoch 85–90).[18]

It is this line of critique that led to hopes for a new sanctuary in the eschatological era, an idea that of course necessitated the destruction of the actual temple. Exod 15:17b–18, which mentions the sanctuary that God's hands established, plays an important role when it comes to hopes for a future temple. According to 4QFlorilegium (4Q174), the sanctuary mentioned in this text refers to the eschatological temple, which was not made by human hands. It will be erected at the end of days and will contrast the current temple of Israel in more than one way.[19]

Finally, it should be mentioned that the idea of a heavenly temple, which originally was a cosmic concept, could be linked to eschatology hopes. Thus, some traditions from the time of the Second Temple and later, such as 4 Ezra 13:36, connect the heavenly sanctuary with the new temple. Also, in the New

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17 See *C. Newsom*, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. A Critical Edition (HSSt 27) Atlanta/Georgia 1985. For further literature, see *B. Ego*, Der Gottesdienst der Engel – Von den biblischen Psalmen zur jüdischen Mystik. Traditionskritische Überlegungen zu den Sabbatopferliedern in Qumran, in: ThLZ 140 (2015), 886–900.

18 *Ådna*, Jesu Stellung (n. 1) 35–89; 41.

19 Cf. *Ådna*, Jesu Stellung (n. 1) 99–106.

Testament, the Apocalypse of John appears to use such a model for its image of the New Jerusalem albeit changing it somewhat when stating that the New Jerusalem comes down from heaven and does not contain a temple (Rev 21:22).

2. The Temple in the Days of Jesus: Herod's Temple Building Project and Its Symbolical Dimensions

Against this broader framework, we now turn to Herod's Temple. In regard to the actual temple building, we first need to mention that Herod the Great initiated major changes beginning in the year 20 BCE. The holy area was enlarged through extremely large substructures and earth deposits creating the district we see today when observing the temple mount from the Mount of Olives. The area was also enclosed by halls of pillars, gateways, and other buildings. The resulting area consists of 150,000 m^2 and is now comparable to the large temple areas of Baalbek and Palmyra.

In light of these imposing additions, one can easily forget that Herod also had the old temple building demolished and the new building enlarged to 100 cubits height (about 50 m), activities described in Josephus' *Antiquities* 15:380–425. For our purposes, it is of utmost importance that the erection of the temple was an immense building effort. In order to calm down the population and to show that the removal of the old temple was but the first stage for the erection of the new one, Herod had the entire building material brought to the construction site ahead of time. Furthermore, Josephus tells us, that Herod finished the construction of the porticoes and the outer courts in eight years and that the temple itself was built by the priests in a year and six months (*Ant.* 15:420 f.). After that time,

> "all the people were filled with joy and offered thanks to God, first of all for the speed (of the work) and next for the king's zeal, and as they celebrated they acclaimed the restoration. Then the king sacrificed three hundred oxen to God, others did similarly, each according to his means. The number of these (sacrifices) it would be impossible to give, for it would exceed our power to give a true estimate. And it so happened that that day on which the work of the temple was completed coincided with that of the king's accession, which they were accustomed to celebrate, and because of the double occasion the festival was a very glorious indeed."[20]

Even if the completion of the sanctuary was celebrated after nearly 10 years of building activities, further construction was necessary until the year 64 CE ("Albinus heard that Gessius Florus was coming to succeed him" – *Ant.* 20:215).

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20 Josephus, *Ant.* 15:421–423; quoted according to LCL.

Josephus remarks, that after the actual completion of the building, 18,000 workmen were suddenly unemployed (*Ant.* 20:219). If this number is correct, one has to assume that after the official inauguration more than just a few small building efforts had to be accomplished.[21] In the New Testament, John 2:20 refers to the long time it took to build the temple, namely 46 years.

As described above, the temple and the cult were of utmost importance within the context of the religious symbol system of Second Temple Judaism. This fact, however, covers but one aspect of the temple, which also had political and economic functions as was common for this and other sanctuaries in antiquity. We may assume, however, that the political and economic importance of the temple seemed to have risen even more during the reign of Herod. To give some examples which testify to the political dimension of Herod's temple project:

– Herod's connection to the building of the temple was a very close one, which can be seen in the fact that he celebrated the completion of the building activities together with the anniversary of his reign (*Ant.* 15:423).

– Herod described his architectural measures as a reconstruction of the temple of Solomon that, according to him, also attempts to improve the architectural deficits of the Second Temple since it did not have the original height of the First Temple. Herod explicitly points out that this was only possible with the agreement of the ruling Romans (*Ant.* 15:387).

– He also understood the building of the temple as proof for his veneration of God that goes beyond the efforts of the Hasmoneans (*Ant.* 17:162).[22]

The economic importance of the Jerusalem temple in connection to the temple building project of Herod was already discussed by G. Theißen in his 1992 article on the temple saying of Jesus. If one were to believe Josephus' account about the numbers of construction workers busy erecting the temple, one could propose the following statistics. Based on a total population of 220,000, 8.2 % of the inhabitants of Jerusalem would have laboured as construction workers, and 20 % of the inhabitants of Jerusalem would have been directly dependent on the earnings from the construction work (taking into account the fact that two or three family members depended on one worker).[23]

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21 For details about the building efforts of Herod the Great see *A. Lichtenberger*, Die Baupolitik Herodes des Großen (ADPV 26), Wiesbaden 1999, 131–142; see also *G. Faßbeck*, "Unermeßlicher Aufwand und unübertreffliche Pracht" (bell 1,401). Von Nutzen und Frommen des Tempelneubaus unter Herodes dem Großen, in: S. Alkier/J. Zangenberg (ed.), Zeichen aus Text und Stein. Studien auf dem Weg zu einer Archäologie des Neuen Testaments (TANZ 42) 232–249, here: 241.

22 *Lichtenberger*, Baupolitik (n. 21) 135.

23 *Theißen*, Jesu Tempelwort (n. 1) 155: Danach "wären am Ende des Tempelbaus 8,2 % aller

Since the temple owned sufficient resources – the diaspora situation continuously added to this supply -, the erection of the temple was also an enterprise based on "economic intelligence". As the construction of the temple brought work and bread to so many people, among them 1000 of the poorer priests, it also had a social component that should not be underestimated.[24]

As mentioned above, temple criticism has been an important aspect in the world of the Bible and in Ancient Judaism. Just as important as witnesses that critique the temple, however, – and this brings new light into our investigation – is the phenomenon of missing critique. In order to correctly understand the view of the temple as it is formulated by the temple *logion*, one must take into consideration that this traditional critique of the Jerusalem temple does not appear in the context of the Herodian temple. In this regard, Gabriele Faßbeck's article dealing with Herod's temple project is very enlightening.[25] In this article, she poignantly remarks that Josephus' descriptions is without critique of the Herodian reconstruction efforts and views the temple as a holy entity that has not lost its value by the architectural changes throughout the centuries.[26]

In *Antiquities*, which in general paints a much more negative picture of Herod than *Jewish War* does, Herod is portrayed as the protector of the temple and its sanctity who makes sure that sacrifices can be performed without problems. According to Gabriele Faßbeck, Josephus never allows doubts concerning the legitimacy and dignity of Herod's temple. In addition to the account of the building of the temple given in his *Jewish War*, in his *Antiquities* he stresses the fact that Herod conducted all building activities in accordance with the Jewish law. Thus, he had priests trained as construction workers in order not to violate the Jewish law that did not allow laymen to enter the inner temple area. In any case, it should be underscored that Josephus' description of the Herod's building project did not contain any critique at all.[27]

Jerusalemer Bauarbeiter am Tempel gewesen. Ca. 20 % wären direkt vom Tempelbau abhängig gewesen, wenn man auf jeden Arbeiter zwei bis drei Familienangehörige rechnet. Und damit wäre erst ein Teil der vom Tempel abhängigen Bevölkerung verfasst."

24 On the importance of the temple during the lifetime of Jesus, see Paesler, Tempelwort (n. 1) 136.

25 *Faßbeck*, Unermeßlicher Aufwand (n. 21). Also see Gäckle, Allgemeines Priestertum (n. 1) 172–174, who agrees with Faßbeck.

26 *Faßbeck*, Unermeßlicher Aufwand (n. 21) 229: "Deutlich wird …, daß ein Priester wie Josephus ganz in der bewundernden Schilderung der Gebäudeanlage verharren konnte – keine wie auch immer geartete Kritik an der herodianischen (oder irgendeiner anderen) Erneuerung lässt sich diesen Zeilen entnehmen. Dem entspricht, dass Bell 5,189 auf die gewaltigen Anstrengungen des Volkes, die zum Tempelbau erforderlich waren, verweist. Der Tempel wird als kontinuierliche heilige Größe wahrgenommen, die durch die architektonischen Veränderungen im Laufe der Zeit nichts an Würde verloren hat."

27 *Faßbeck*, Unermeßlicher Aufwand (n. 21) 234.

Gabriele Faßbeck also noticed that this attitude towards Herod's temple is supported by further sources. In retrospect, the destruction of the Jerusalem temple is often connected with the sins of the people comparable to the way this was understood in Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic literature. There is no attempt, however, to find reasons for this destruction that are based on the building itself or on the activities of Herod.[28]

The high appreciation of Herod's temple project is also expressed by a legend which is passed on by Josephus:

> "And it is said that during the time when the temple was built no rain fell during the day, but only at night, so that there was no interruption of the work. And this story, which our fathers have handed down to us, is not at all incredible if, that is, one considers the other manifestations of power given by God."[29]

Moreover, after the destruction of the temple, we encounter textual passages within Rabbinic literature that praise the beauty of the Jerusalem temple in rather enthusiastic terms. Thus, we read in *b. B. Bat.* 4a:

> "It used to be said: He who has not seen the Temple of Herod has never seen a beautiful building. Of what did he build it? Rabbah said: Of yellow and white marble. Some say, of blue, yellow and white marble. […] He originally intended to cover it with gold, but the Rabbis advised him not to, since it was more beautiful as it was, looking like the waves of the sea."[30]

These observations lead to the question why Herod's temple was seen in such positive light. Here, A. Lichtenberger's thoughts prove most helpful. As this author has showed convincingly in his study of the architectural politics of Herod, this building project also had an eschatological component as it met the expectations of certain Jewish groups who hoped for a new, eschatological temple. According to Lichtenberger, it has to be doubted that Herod aimed at arousing eschatological hopes by the restoration of the temple. It seems plausible, however, that he was aware of the fact that his temple building project could be understood as the beginning of a new, triumphal era.[31]

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28 *Faßbeck*, Unermeßlicher Aufwand (n. 21) 237. Lichtenberger takes on a more moderate view. He points out that the question of the furnishing of the temple caused a conflict with the population. The specific provocation was a golden eagle attached to the temple by command of Herod. Certain youths, egged on by the scribes, allegedly destroyed this image, which had been interpreted by them as a breach to the law against images. This protest does not seem to have had wide support as the population distanced itself from the youths (*B.J.* 1:648 f.; *Ant.* 17:151 f.); see Lichtenberger, Baupolitik (n. 21) 136–137 with references to further literature. In any case, one can thus assume that the building efforts of Herod were received positively by large parts of the population.

29 *Ant.* 15:425; quoted according to LCL.

30 Quoted according to Soncino edition.

31 *Lichtenberger*, Baupolitik (n. 21) 142.

3.   Conclusion: Jesus' Saying about the Temple in the Context of History and Theology

At the end of this contribution, I would like to connect my previous observations with Jesus' prophecies against the temple. Since the *logion* in Mark 15:38 is the clearest and most radical of all the sayings about the temple, I will focus my attention on this particular text.

In my view, and this is the specific thesis of this article, Jesus' saying about the temple should be viewed *both* in front of the backdrop of traditional Jerusalem temple theology and in direct connection to the building efforts of Herod. As far as I understand the history of scholarship on this point, this has only been touched upon in previous years. G. Theißen alludes to the fact that in the year 20/19 BCE when Herod had the old temple removed prophetic imagination received the gift of a new model for their visions of the future.[32] In addition, he points out the immense economic importance of the temple building project, which provided work and food for many Jerusalemites throughout several decades and concludes that critique of the temple would not have been well received neither among the priestly establishments nor among the wider population of Jerusalem.[33]

Furthermore, one also has to take into account that Herod's building project was far from being finished during the lifetime of Jesus. During his times, the temple mount was a huge construction site, which constantly confronted him and his contemporaries with the motifs of the demolition and the re-erection of the temple.

In front of this backdrop, the *logion* about the temple bears several implications. When it speaks of the demolition of the temple, and thus alludes to the temple building project by Herod, it first and foremost stands within the context of the entire ideology of power. By means of the *logion*, Jesus of Nazareth is characterized as a person who opposes Herod's claim of absolute power that he had voiced and demanded just a few years before Jesus' appearance on the stage of history. Such an interpretation further leads to the thesis that Jesus' prophecy about the temple bears the mark of his own messianic claims.[34] As it is connected to the building project of Herod, such an interpretation is concretized within a historic framework. Thus, Jesus appears as a person who claims to be above such human ideologies of power. His saying about the temple characterizes Jesus as the true emissary of God's kingdom whose power goes far beyond any earthly

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32 *Theißen*, Jesu Tempelwort (n. 1) 145: "die prophetische Phantasie ein Modell hatte, nach dem sie ihre Zukunftsvision gestalten konnte".
33 *Theißen*, Jesu Tempelwort (n. 1) 155.
34 See above p. 167.

ruler's might. If Jesus indeed uttered the saying of the temple himself, his enemies certainly used it against him and transmitted it further. Shortly before his crucifixion, they then mock him as the "king of the Jews" and give him a crown of thorns (Mark 15:16–20).

Furthermore, Jesus' prophecy about the temple contradicts his own contemporaries who greeted Herod's efforts willingly and, according to A. Lichtenberger, connected eschatological hopes with it. The eschatological temple is not Herod's temple but a different building, which is not erected by several decades of human work but has metaphorical qualities.[35] When the Temple *logion* contrasts Herod's temple with a different temple not made by human hands, it calls upon the older religious traditions of Judaism[36], and more so than was common among Jesus' contemporaries. To say it differently and in a provocative manner: The temple *logion* characterizes Jesus not as someone who leaves the religious belief system of Judaism but as an advocate of the older and more traditional view that the new temple will not be erected by human hands. Therefore, Jesus saying can be described as an expression of a more conservative worldview. With regard to Q I would like to conclude: As the temple *logion* appears in close connection to the lament over Jerusalem, this observation supports the thesis that this lament also has to be understood in light of the cultural and religious context of Judaism in the first century CE.[37]

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35 Gäckle, Allgemeines Priestertum (n. 1) 296, speaks of the temple, which is not made by human hands, as a metaphorical entity ("wie auch immer gearteten metaphorischen Größe").

36 This fits the ideas brought forth by the New Testament scholar Volker Gäckle. According to him, Jesus of Nazareth did not critique the temple in the ways early Jewish temple critics did (298); also cf. p. 307: "Von einer direkten, den frühjüdischen Vorbehalten äquivalenten Kritik am Tempel selbst, geschweige denn an der Priesterschaft, kann kaum die Rede sein, im Gegenteil, Jesu Haltung ist vielmehr von einer innigen Leidenschaft für den Tempel geprägt und seine Wehklage über die erwartete Zerstörung Jerusalems und des Tempels (Mt 23,37–39/ Lk 13,34f) darf nicht nur als rhetorisch stilisiertes Lamento, sondern muss als echte Trauer verstanden werden. …. Jesu Verhältnis zu Priesterschaft und Tempel war ein differenziertes. Von einer grundsätzlichen Aggression, Feindschaft oder auch nur Opposition Jesu gegen das priesterliche Amt und/oder das Heiligtum erfahren wird in den Evangelien nichts. Weder den Heilungsgeschichten oder seiner Lehrtätigkeit im Tempel, noch dem Tempelwort oder der Tempelaktion Jesu lässt sich eine direkte oder indirekte Kritik an der zeitgenössischen Priesterschaft und dem Tempel entnehmen …"

37 I want to thank Claudia D. Bergmann, University of Erfurt, for the translation of this article.

Jodi Magness

"They Shall See the Glory of the Lord" (Isa 35:2): Eschatological Purity at Qumran and in Jesus' Movement

Jesus' world view is widely characterized as apocalyptic and eschatological.[1] The main features of this outlook typically include the expectation of the imminent arrival of a messiah, the violent overthrow of the current world order, and the establishment of a utopian kingdom of God where earthly fortunes will be reversed and the "last will be first" (Matt 20:16). As Bart Ehrman says:

> "Jesus stood within a long line of Jewish prophets who understood that God was soon going to intervene in this world, overthrow the forces of evil that ran it, and bring in a new kingdom in which there would be no more war, disease, catastrophe, despair, hatred, sin, or death. And Jesus maintained that this new kingdom was coming soon, that in fact his own generation would see it."[2]

In preparation for the kingdom, Jesus reportedly emphasized the importance of moral or ethical behavior.[3] But Jesus is portrayed above all in the Gospel accounts as performing miracles, in particular exorcising demons and healing the sick, traditions which feature prominently in the earliest Gospel traditions.[4] What was the significance of these exorcisms and healings to Jesus and his Jewish followers during his lifetime and in the decades after his death, including the sources of the earliest Gospel traditions? Were they intended to situate Jesus within a long line of biblical prophets who are said to have performed similar miracles? Or, were

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1 For overviews see *J. J. Collins*, The *Apocalyptic* Imagination, An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature, Grand Rapids, MI 1998, 257–263; *A. L. A. Hogeterp*, Expectations of the End. A Comparative Traditio-Historical Study of Eschatological, Apocalpytic and Messianic Ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, Leiden, 2009, 7–10, 133, 156–161. I am grateful to Bart Ehrman, Bennie Reynolds, Jason Staples, and Cecilia Wassen for their comments on this paper, although I am responsible for its contents.
2 *B. D. Ehrman*, Jesus, Apocalyptic Prophet of the New Millennium, Oxford 1999, 21; also see 177, 180.
3 *Ehrman*, Prophet (n. 2) 165–167.
4 Mark and Q; see *Ehrman*, Apocalyptic Prophet (n. 2) 197–99; *M. Smith*, Jesus the Magician, San Francisco 1978, 10–12; *T. Kazan*, Jesus and Purity *Halakhah*, Was Jesus Indifferent to Purity? Stockholm 2002, 332.

they signs indicating that the eschaton was underway, signaling the arrival of a kingdom of God in which there would be no disease and death?[5]

Jesus' reputation as a miracle-worker was examined by *M. Smith* in Jesus the Magician, in which he concluded that Jesus' performance of healings, exorcisms, and other miracles reflects his rejection of biblical law: "Jesus' rejection of the Law can be understood as a consequence and manifesto of his supernatural claims."[6] In this paper I argue the opposite: that Jesus' exorcisms and healings as well as his emphasis on moral or ethical behavior should be understood within the context of biblical purity laws.[7] These laws mandate that only perfect, unblemished, pure creatures (Israelites and sacrificial animals) may enter the presence of the God of Israel.[8] By definition, then, only creatures who fulfil these criteria will be admitted to the eschatological kingdom of God on earth. The author of the apocalyptic work *1 En.* 10:20–22 describes the elimination of impurity in the eschaton: "And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all godlessness: and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth destroy from off the earth … And the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement…"[9] Although all ancient peoples had purity laws similar to those of the Jews, Judaism was distinguished by the development of an apocalyptic outlook, according to which God's kingdom would be established on earth, leading to an expansion of requirements for purity and perfection (a consequence of Judaism's peculiarities, including monolatry; a

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5 See *Ehrman*, Apocalyptic Prophet (n. 2) 198–199; *É. Puech*, Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology, in: E. Ulrich/J. VanderKam (ed.), The Community of the Renewed Covenant, The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Notre Dame 1993, 235–256, 244. *Kazen*, Purity (n. 4) 324–325, says, "While it is possible to look at magic and miracles outside an eschatological context, this is not likely in the case of Jesus. This applies especially to his exorcisms. The overall context for Jesus' activities, according to the Synoptic gospel traditions, is the kingdom of God."

6 *Smith*, Magician (n. 4) 144. For Jesus' miraculous healings, see *Kazen*, Purity (n. 4) 91–198.

7 For demons as causes of diseases and disabilities, see *C. Wassen*, What Do Angels Have against the Blind and the Deaf? Rules of Exclusion in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in: W. O. McCready/A. Reinhartz (ed.), Common Judaism, Explorations in Second-Temple Judaism, Minneapolis 2008, 115–129. For Jesus' attitude towards ritual purity laws, see *Kazen*, Purity (n. 4). For the importance of purity – both ritual and moral – in God's presence and kingdom, see *B. Chilton*, Pure Kingdom, Jesus' Vision of God, Grand Rapids (MI) 1996, 38–40. However, Chilton frames Jesus' purity concerns with regard to the kingdom of God mainly in relation to table fellowship; see 80, 90, 98. For a critique of Chilton's position see *Kazen*, Purity (n. 4) 24–25.

8 See *J. Klawans*, Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple. Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism, New York 2006, 58, 63, 112. For the extension of this requirement within the sacred area of the temple to all Israelites and not only priests, see *A. Shemesh*, "The Holy Angels Are in Their Council": The Exclusion of Deformed Persons from Holy Places in Qumranic and Rabbinic Literature, in: DSD 4.2 (1997) 179–206, 185–86.

9 From *R. H. Charles*, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, Vol. 2, Pseudepigrapha, Oxford 1969, 195.

written scripture containing God's laws [the Torah]; and the biblical Holiness Code, which extends to all Israel the requirement to be holy).[10]

I suggest that Jesus' exorcisms and healings were not intended merely as apocalyptic signs, but were performed by Jesus and his disciples as God's agents to effect the entry of the diseased and disabled into the kingdom of God. In addition to attributing diseases and physical disabilities to evil spirits or demons, the Qumran sect considered these evil forces impure.[11] Cecilia Wassen has highlighted the connection between apocalyptic expectations and demons and evil spirits, diseases and disabilities, and impurity, describing the Qumran sect's concern "to maintain purity and perfection in the presence of angels for the short time remaining before the final destruction of all the evil powers and the beginning of a new, glorious era."[12] The New Testament references to Jesus exorcising unclean spirits show that beliefs connecting demons and evil spirits, diseases and disabilities, impurity, and apocalyptic expectations were widespread among the Jewish population.[13]

Similarly, Jesus' emphasis on moral or ethical purity should be understood as reflecting his concern to ensure Israel's entry to the kingdom of God. Jesus' seeming indifference to ritual purity may be due to the fact that it is an impermanent condition which can be remedied relatively quickly and easily.[14] In contrast, certain moral violations (sexual transgressions, idolatry, and bloodshed; see Num 35:30–34) are abominations which defile the land and cause God to abandon his sanctuary and people.[15] The severe consequences of these violations explain why Israel's ethical behavior was of such concern to the biblical prophets.[16] Moral impurity cannot be cleansed through a process of ritual purification but instead requires punishment or atonement, or, as Jonathan Klawans says, "best of all, by refraining from committing morally impure acts in the first place."[17] Jesus' repeated exhortations to refrain from immoral or unethical behavior reflect a fear of pollution that had the potential to repel God's presence. Similarly, the people who Jesus reportedly cured suffered from long-term or permanent afflictions that could not be reversed by ritual purification. Not only

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10 *Smith*, Magician (n. 4) 132, acknowledges that the expectation of a coming kingdom of God is peculiarly Jewish.

11 *Wassen*, Angels (n. 7) 125.

12 *Wassen*, Angels (n. 7) 129.

13 *Wassen*, Angels (n. 7) 125. Also see *Kazen*, Purity (n. 6) 300–313; *Chilton*, Kingdom (n. 9) 70.

14 Whereas *Kazen*, Purity (n. 4) 338, concludes that, "In view of God's coming reign, and the powers of authority associated with it, Jesus did not regard impurity in the form of contact-contagion as menacing enough to give it much attention."

15 *Klawans*, Purity (n. 8) 54–55, 70–71, 93. *Kazen*, Purity (n. 4), 204–235, 261 criticizes Klawans' equation of literal with ritual purity and metaphorical with moral impurity.

16 *Klawans*, Purity (n. 8) 93.

17 *Klawans*, Purity (n. 8) 55.

were skin diseases such as leprosy a source of impurity, but the Temple Scroll indicates that in some Jewish circles, the blind were considered impure:[18]

> "No blind person shall enter it [Jerusalem] all their days, so they shall not defile the city in which I dwell; for I, the Lord, dwell among the children of Israel forever and ever." (11QT XLV, 12–14)[19]

Yigael Yadin noted that the Temple Scroll expands purity requirements to all of Jerusalem because it is the city where God's presence dwells, and understood the reference to the blind as denoting physical defects in general.[20] Jesus seems to have been preparing Israel for entry to the Kingdom of God through exorcisms and healings, and by admonitions to behave morally.

Like Jesus, the Qumran sect had an apocalyptic world view and anticipated the imminent arrival of the eschaton. They too believed that only perfect, unblemished, pure creatures may enter the divine realm. However, in contrast to Jesus, the Qumran sect effected this by excluding the blemished and impure from the sectarian assembly in their day and from the messianic assembly/eschatological council of the community.[21] I begin by examining the evidence from Qumran.

Eschatological Purity in the Qumran Sect

The Qumran sect believed that the end of days was imminent and would be marked by the arrival of two messiahs: a royal messiah (of Israel) (referred to as the "prince" [*nasi*] or "prince of the congregation" in the War Rule, War Scroll, and Damascus Document [CD VII, 20–21]) and a priestly messiah (of Aaron). One or both messiahs would play a leadership role in a violent upheaval – a forty-year long eschatological war – which would obliterate evil and usher in a utopian era with the establishment of an eschatological temple in a new and purified Jerusalem (see 1QM; 4Q285).[22]

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18 See *Klawans*, Purity (n. 8) 154; *S. M. Olyan*, The Exegetical Dimensions of Restrictions on the Blind and the Lame in Texts from Qumran, in: DSD 8.1 (2001) 38–50, 40 n. 6; 43 n. 18.
19 From *Y. Yadin*, The Temple Scroll, Vol. 2, Jerusalem 1983, 193.
20 *Yadin*, Temple Scroll, Vol. 1 (n. 19) 278–281, 289–291, who notes that the basis is Isa 52:1. *Shemesh*, Angels (n. 8) 189, observes concerning priests that "the notion of individuals with deformities appearing before God is intolerable. It proclaims lack of perfection and is perceived as hurling defiance at God. There can be no grater profanation of the sacred." Yadin's interpretation of this passage as referring not only to the blind but to the physically disabled in general has been rejected by some scholars; see *Olyan*, Dimensions (n. 18) 41.
21 *L. H. Schiffman*, The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Atlanta 1989, 37, 51; *H.-W. Kuhn*, Jesus, in: L. H. Schiffman/J. C. VanderKam (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Vol. 1, New York 2000, 404–408. 405.
22 *J. J. Collins*, The Scepter and the Star, The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient

Apocalyptic literature is well-represented among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and although none of the major sectarian works is written in the form of an apocalypse, they express a typically apocalyptic world view. These works include the following genres: the *serekh* or rule book, the *pesher* or commentary, and thanksgiving hymns (Hodayot).[23]

The Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), which Lawrence Schiffman characterizes as "Among the most significant documents of apocalyptic speculation deriving from the Qumran sect," describes the community in the messianic era.[24] He says that "the sect lived on the verge of the eschaton, with one foot, as it were, in the present age and one foot in the future age. The messianic era would happen in their lifetime. Their life in the sect was dedicated to preparing for that new age by living as if it had already come."[25] As Heinz-Wolf Kuhn notes, the Qumran sect transposed future eschatological concepts into the present.[26] Referring to the War Rule, John Collins says, "Here again the sense that the community is already living the angelic life renders the conventions of apocalyptic revelation superfluous. While the readers of an apocalypse might glimpse the heavenly world as through a glass darkly, the sectarians of Qumran believed that they encountered it face to face."[27] According to Schiffman, "The Rule of the Congregation presents an eschatological 'mirror image' of the Community Rule, which contains legislation that attempted to create messianic conditions even before the eschaton."[28]

Literature, New York 1996, 59, 76, 109; *J. J. Collins*, Eschatology, in: L. H. Schiffman/J. C. VanderKam (ed.), Encyclopedia (n. 21) vol. 1, 256–261; *J. J. Collins*, Teacher and Messiah? The One Who Will Teach Righteousness at the End of Days, in: E. Ulrich/J. VanderKam (ed.), Community (n. 7) 195–196, 199; *Collins*, Imagination (n. 1) 157; *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 6–7. For an overview, see *M. A. Knibb*, Eschatology and Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in: P. W. Flint/J. C. VanderKam (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years, Vol. 2, Leiden 1999, 379–402. For the term "end of days" see *Collins*, Scepter (n. 22) 104–109; *J. J. Collins*, Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, London 1997, 151.

23 See *Collins*, Imagination (n. 1) 147; *D. Dimant*, Apocalyptic Texts at Qumran, in: E. Ulrich/J. Vanderkam (ed.), Community (n. 5) 175–191, 179–180, 188–189; *Hogeterp*, Expectations (n. 1) 336–339.

24 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 8.

25 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 7. *Collins*, Teacher (n. 22), 196, argues (contra G. Brooke) that the sect did not believe the end of days was underway. According to *Puech*, Messianism (n. 5) 253, "the Essenes did not adopt a purely realized eschatology." For a critique of Puech's view, see *Knibb*, Eschatology (n. 22) 384; also see *J. J. Collins*, Apocalypticism and Literary Genre in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in: P. W. Flint/J. C. VanderKam (ed.), Scrolls, Vol. 2 (n. 22), 403–430, 426–427.

26 *Kuhn*, Jesus (n. 21) 407; also see *H.-W. Kuhn*, Qumran Texts and the Historical Jesus: Parallels in Contrast, in: L. H. Schiffman/E. Tov/J. C. VanderKam (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After their Discovery, Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997, Jerusalem 2000, 573–580, 579; *Ehrman*, Prophet (n. 2) 177, 180.

27 *Collins*, Apocalypticism (n. 22) 152–153.

28 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 9.

To achieve these conditions, both works envision communities of absolute purity and perfection.[29]

The Rule of the Congregation opens:

"And this is the rule of all the congregation of Israel in the final days, when they gather [in community to wa]lk in accordance with the regulation of the sons of Zadok, the priests, and the men of their covenant who have turn[ed away from the] path of the nation. These are the men of his counsel who have kept his covenant in the midst of wickedness to ato[ne for the ear]th." (1QSa I, 1–3)[30]

The congregation of Israel consists of members of the sect led by the Sons of Zadok, the priests, and the men of the counsel.[31] All the people of this new Israel, including women and children, are to assemble for a renewal of the covenant ceremony, to be instructed in the Torah according to sectarian interpretation. This ceremony is modeled after Deuteronomy 29, where Moses assembled "all of Israel" in Moab for the renewal of the covenant:[32]

"When they come, they shall assemble all those who come, including children and women, and they shall read into [their] ea[rs] [a]ll the precepts of the covenant, and shall instruct them in all their regulations, so that they do not stray in [the]ir e[rrors.]" (1QSa I, 4–5)

"You stand assembled today, all of you, before the Lord your God – the leaders of your tribes, your elders, and your officials, all the men of Israel, your children, your women and the aliens who are in your camp, both those who cut your wood and those who draw your water – to enter into the covenant of the Lord your God, sworn by an oath, which the Lord your God is making with you today, in order that he may establish you today as his people, and that he may be your God…" (Deut 29:10–15)[33]

Schiffman assumes that the instruction described in 1QSa would have involved a process of initiation analogous to the admission of new members into the sect.[34]

The Rule of the Congregation continues by detailing the duties of adult males who are full members (described as "the hosts [or armies] of the congregation … every native-born in Israel") at various stages of life, proceeding from youth to old age (1QSa I, 6–19). Men were eligible for full membership only upon reaching the age of twenty, when they were also permitted to marry (1QSa I, 8–11). Mentally incompetent men were excluded from administrative, judicial, and military service:[35]

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29 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 7, 9.
30 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of Dead Sea Scrolls are from *F. G. Martínez/E. J. C. Tigchelaar*, The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, Vol. 1, Grand Rapids (MI) 2000.
31 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 12.
32 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 13.
33 All biblical passages are from the NRSV.
34 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 13.
35 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 25.

> "No man who is a simpleton shall enter the lot to hold office in the congregation of Israel for dispute or judgment, or to perform a task of the congregation, or to go out to war to subdue the nations; he shall only write his family in the army register, and he will do his service in the chores to the extent of his ability." (1QSa I, 19–22)

1QSa I, 25–27 and II, 1–3 define the functions and composition of the assembly, which will be convened for the purposes of judgment, council of the community, and to declare war.[36] The assembly will include sages and wise men (described as "ones of perfect path and men of valor"), the officers over tribes, judges, Levites, and will be led by "the Sons of Zadok, the priests."[37] The fact that the assembly would decide when to declare war indicates that 1QSa describes conditions at the dawn of the eschaton – a messianic era preceding the final war which would obliterate evil and Israel's enemies.[38] This is the setting for the legislation in this document.

1QSa I, 25–27 specifies that everyone participating in meetings of the assembly must be in a state of absolute purity, reflecting the sectarian belief that the assembly was divinely inspired and operating in the presence of angels:[39]

> "And if there is a convocation of all the assembly for a judgment, or for the community council, or for a convocation of war, they shall sanctify themselves during three days, so that every one who comes is pre[pared for the cou]ncil."

Due to purity concerns, 1QSa I, 3–9 excludes all adult men who are impure or imperfect due to physical deformities, disease, or old age:[40]

> "No man, defiled by any of the impurities of a man, shall enter the assembly of these; and no-one who is defiled by these should be established in his office among the congregation: everyone who is defiled in his flesh, paralysed in his feet or in his hands, lame, blind, deaf, dumb or defiled in his flesh with a blemish visible to the eyes, or the tottering old man who cannot keep upright in the midst of the assembly; these shall not en[ter] to take their place [a]mong the congregation of the men of renown, for the angels of holiness are among their [congre]gation."

The "impurities of a man" (human impurities) denotes any kind of ritual impurity, and, in my opinion, this phrase reflects the ideal of *imitatio Dei* (or more accurately, angelic imitation) which underlies this passage.[41]

The blanket prohibition excluding all ritually impure men from the assembly is followed by a list that expands upon this ban. Defilement of the flesh refers to

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36 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 32–33.
37 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 33–35, who notes the parallels to Exodus and Deuteronomy.
38 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 31.
39 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 32, noting parallels to Exod 19:10–15.
40 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 36.
41 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 38–39. For *imitatio Dei* and *imitatio angeli*, see *Klawans*, Purity (n. 10), 58, 62–63, 112–113.

impurities from causes other than seminal emissions, including gonorrhea, skin disease and other diseases, and corpse-impurity.[42] Physical deformities and blemishes also disqualified men from admission to the assembly, specifically, being crippled in the legs or hands (physical deformities), being lame (walking with a limp), and being blind, deaf, or dumb.[43] Men afflicted with temporary blemishes (those defiled in the flesh with a blemish visible to the eyes) were excluded. Schiffman understands "the tottering old man" as denoting anyone over the age of sixty, at which age members were excluded from the council of the community.[44] As noted above, 11QT XLV, 12–14 indicates that some Jews considered the blind (and perhaps people with other disabilities) not only blemished but impure.

The physical disabilities listed in this passage are permanent or semi-permanent conditions that cannot be remedied by ritual purification. Nevertheless, like ritual impurity they disqualified men from the assembly.[45] The underlying rationale is based on biblical law, according to which only ritually pure and unblemished creatures may enter God's presence (e. g. his tabernacle or sanctuary), with even stricter requirements for the priests who serve him.[46] 1QSa makes this explicit by explaining that impure, deformed, and diseased men are excluded from the assembly due to the presence of "the angels of holiness." In other words, anyone with any kind of human impurity or physical affliction – conditions which distinguish humans from angels – was excluded from the assembly. The idea is that humans in God's presence should be like angels – absolutely pure and physically perfect. The Qumran sect applied this ideal to the present as well as the future, as Collins notes: "The goal of the Qumran community … was an angelic form of life."[47] Klawans argues that this does not mean the sectarians believed the divine presence dwelt among them in the present age, as "there is a clear difference between dwelling among the angels and dwelling among a divine presence."[48] However, a passage in the War Scroll suggests that the sectarians did not make this distinction:[49]

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42 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 39, 42.
43 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 43–46.
44 *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 49.
45 See *Olyan*, Dimensions (n. 18) 48, who attributes the exclusion of the blind and the lame in 1QSa and 1QM to profanation rather than pollution, but notes that these categories are based on biblical legislation concerning pollution.
46 See *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 40–49.
47 *Collins*, Imagination (n. 1) 176; also see *Wassen*, Angels (n. 7) 128.
48 *Klawans*, Purity (n. 8) 166.
49 Also see *Shemesh*, Angels (n. 8) 194: "As in rabbinic law, the proximity of 'holy angels' [in 1QM, 1QSa, and CD] … stands for the divine presence itself …"; and 194 n. 37. On 195, Shemesh says in relation to 1QSa, "Due to the presence of God within the Qumran community the aforementioned individuals [the disabled] cannot stand there."

"You, God, are awe[some] in the splendor of your majesty, and the congregation of your holy ones is amongst us for everlasting assistance. We will [treat] kings with contempt, with jeers and mockery the heroes, for the Lord is holy and the King of glory is with us the nation of his holy ones are [our] he[roes, and] the army of his angels is enlisted with us; the war hero is in our congregation; the army of his spirits is with our steps." (1QM XII, 7–9)

Parallels to the exclusionary list in 1QSa I, 3–9 are found in other works such as 11QT and CD.[50] The War Scroll, which describes the forty-year long eschatological war, provides the largest number of parallels and the closest parallels. These include banning from the war camp all women and children (1QM VII, 3–4), men who are impure due to seminal emissions and are defiled in the flesh (1QM VII, 4–6), and men who are lame, blind, crippled, or have a permanent blemish (1QM VII, 4):[51]

"And no young boy or any woman at all shall enter the camps when they leave Jerusalem to go to war, until they return. And no lame, blind, paralysed person nor any man who has an indelible blemish on his flesh, nor any man suffering from uncleanness in his flesh, none of these will go out to war with them. All these shall be volunteers for war, perfect in spirit and in body, and ready for the day of vengeance." (1QM VII, 3–5)

Women and children were banned from the eschatological assembly and war camp to avoid the possibility of sexual activities that could cause ritual impurity.[52] As Klawans puts it, "By separating from sex and death – by following the ritual purity regulations – ancient Israelites (and especially ancient Israelite priests and Levites) separated themselves from what made them least God-like. In other words, the point of following these regulations is nothing other than the theological underpinning of the entire Holiness Code: *imitatio Dei.*"[53] Like the Rule of the Congregation, 1QM makes explicit that these exclusions are due to the presence of angels:

"And every man who has not cleansed himself of his 'spring' on the day of battle will not go down with them, for the holy angels are together with their armies." (1QM VII, 5–6)

The underlying concern is to keep God's presence, represented by his angels, among the army to ensure victory. Violations of the exclusionary ban had the potential to drive away God and his angels.

1QSa describes a messianic era which precedes the eschatological war and the time of salvation that would follow it. Collins notes that, "The conditions of human existence are not greatly altered by the coming of the Messiahs. Provision

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50 See *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 40–41, 47–49; *Wassen*, Angels (n. 7) 121.
51 See *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 39, 46–47, 51.
52 See *Wassen*, Angels (n. 7) 127, who attributes the exclusion of boys from the war camp in M to age requirements; *Collins*, Scepter (n. 22) 97; *Schiffman*, Community (n. 21) 51.
53 *Klawans*, Purity (n. 8) 58.

must still be made for the education of children and for community meals and regulations."[54] The arrival of the messiahs was expected to precede, not follow the eschatological war, as indicated by the fact that the royal messiah (the "prince" [*nasi*] or "prince of the congregation") would have a leadership role in the conflict.[55]

The War Rule, represented by fragments from Caves 4 and 11, not only refers to the royal messiah in connection with the eschatological war but provides a rare glimpse into the utopia expected to follow the war:

> "May God Most High bless you, may he show you his face, and may he open for you his good treasure which is in the heavens, to cause to fall down on your earth showers of blessing, dew, and rain, early and late rains in their season, and to give you fru[it,] the harvests of wheat, of wine and of oil in plenty. And for you the land will yield [de]licious fruits. And you shall eat (them) and be replete. In your land there will be no miscarriage nor will one be sick; drought and blight will not be seen in its harvests; [there will be no disease] at all or [stum]bling blocks in your congregation, and wild animals will vanish from [the land. There will be no pesti]lence in your land. For God is with you and [his holy] angels [are] in the midst of your Community." (11Q14 [11QSM] Frag. 1 Col. II = 4Q285 Frag. 1 3–9)

This vision of utopia is characterized by plentiful rain and bountiful harvests, without drought, blight, pestilence, or wild animals. Moreover, there will be no more miscarriages (death), sickness, or disease. In other words, the conditions that cause human suffering – and which distinguish humans from angels – will be eliminated. This is because only pure and perfect creatures may dwell in the kingdom of God, for only they may enter his presence: "For God is with you and [his holy] angels [are] in the midst of your Community." According to this view, absolute human purity and perfection are prerequisites for the kingdom of God, not merely consequences of its establishment. This is the reason for the exclusionary bans in the Rule of the Congregation and the War Scroll, and it explains why the apocalyptic Qumran sect was so concerned with the scrupulous observance of these laws.

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54 *Collins*, Eschatology (n. 22) 258; also *Collins*, Teacher (n. 22) 199.
55 *Collins*, Scepter (n. 22) 59; *Collins*, Imagination (n. 1) 167; *M. G. Abegg*, Messianic Hope and 4Q285. A Reassessment, in: JBL 113.1 (1994) 81–91, 86; also see 11Q14; 1QM V, 1; CD VII, 20–21.

Jesus and Eschatological Purity

The Gospel accounts indicate that Jesus shared apocalyptic expectations similar to those of the Qumran sect, including a distinction between a messianic era and a violent upheaval that would usher in the kingdom of God on earth.[56] Jesus believed that the end of days was already underway, with the arrival of a messianic figure (who Jesus identifies as himself in Mark).[57] Ehrman notes that, "The very first thing that Jesus is recorded to have said in our very earliest surviving source [Mk 1:14–15] involves an apocalyptic pronouncement of the coming Kingdom of God."[58] Jesus' exorcising of demons, healing of the sick, and raising of the dead are presented as signs that the kingdom of God has arrived:[59]

> "When the men had come to him, they asked, 'John the Baptist has sent us to you to ask, 'Are you the one who is to come, or are we to wait for another?' Jesus had just then cured many people of diseases, plagues, and evil spirits, and had given sight to many who were blind. And he answered them, 'Go and tell John that you have seen and heard: the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, the poor have good news brought to them'." (Lk 7:20–22 = Mt 11:2–5 [Q])[60]

Jesus reportedly even performed healings on the Sabbath (Mk 3:1–6; Lk 13:10–17), imparting a sense of urgency to his mission while drawing the criticism of his opponents.

The messianic era would be followed by a violent upheaval overseen by the Son of Man, which would eliminate evil and reverse the current world order, leading to the establishment of God's kingdom on earth (see Mk 8:38–9:1; 9:35; 10:24–31; 13:7–8; 13:19–20; 13:24–27; 13:30).[61]

In Mark's account, Jesus embarked on a campaign of exorcisms and healings immediately after being baptized by John and assembling a group of disciples.[62] Already in Mk 1:21, while teaching in the synagogue at Capernaum, Jesus exorcised a man with an unclean spirit. This was followed by the performance of many more exorcisms and the healing of numerous people who suffered from

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56 See *Puech*, Messianism (n. 5); 255; *Ehrman*, Prophet (n. 2) 142.

57 For the imminence of the end, see *Ehrman*, Prophet (n. 2) 160–161; *Chilton*, Kingdom (n. 7) 15, 16, 57–66, 97.

58 *Ehrman*, Prophet (n. 2) 141–142.

59 See *Kuhn*, Jesus (n. 21) 407; *Puech*, Messianism (n. 5) 244; *Smith*, Magician (n. 4) 11.

60 For other Q passages indicating that the end of days was underway, see Lk 11:19–20 = Mt 12:28; Lk 10:23–24 = Mt 13:16–17; Mk 2:19a = Mt 9:15a = Lk 5:34. For Q passages with Jesus' apocalyptic predictions, see. *Ehrman*, Prophet (n. 2) 129 (Lk 17:24; 26–27, 30; Mt 24:27, 37–39; Lk 12:39 = Mt 24:44).

61 For the identity of the Son of Man, see *Ehrman*, Prophet (n. 2) 145–148; *Collins*, Imagination (n. 1) 261–263; *Collins*, Scepter (n. 24) 173–189, 209; *Chilton*, Kingdom (n. 7) 25.

62 See *Ehrman*, Prophet (n. 2) 137; *Smith*, Magician (n. 4) 106. For a summary of Jesus' exorcisms and healings see *Ehrman*, Prophet (n. 2) 197–200.

various diseases and disabilities. Early on, Mk 1:40–45 refers to Jesus healing a leper:[63]

> "A leper came to him begging him, and kneeling he said to him, 'If you choose, you can make me clean.' Moved with pity, Jesus stretched out his hand and touched him, and said to him, 'I do choose. Be made clean!' Immediately the leprosy left him, and he was made clean. After sternly warning him he sent him away at once, saying to him, 'See that you say nothing to anyone; but go, show yourself to the priest, and offer for your cleansing what Moses commanded, as a testimony to them'."

This passage describes Jesus as "cleansing" rather than healing the leper, reflecting an underlying concern with purification. Jesus then referred the leper to a priest, as biblical law gives priests alone the authority to diagnose leprosy and pronounce someone cured, at which point the former leper was required to undergo a process of ritual purification (see Lev 13–14; Deut 24:8).[64] This suggests that rather than rejecting ritual purification, Jesus took it for granted.[65]

According to the Gospel accounts, the afflictions that Jesus cured are leprosy, paralysis, a withered hand, hemorrhages, deafness, dumbness, and blindness.[66] These correspond with afflictions mentioned in 1QSa I, 3–9 as disqualifying men from admission to the sectarian eschatological assembly. This correspondence suggests that like the Qumran sect, Jesus assumed that all creatures entering God's presence must be absolutely pure and perfect. Therefore, Jesus' exorcisms and healings were intended to enable those suffering from diseases, physical deformities and disabilities, and "unclean spirits" or demonic possession to enter the kingdom of God.

Whereas Jesus' attitude towards the diseased and disabled can be characterized as inclusive and proactive, the Qumran sect was exclusive and reactive. During his Galilean ministry Jesus went out of his way to heal as many unfortunates as possible, even empowering his disciples to perform exorcisms and healings.[67] In contrast, the Qumran sect established strict admission criteria which excluded the diseased and disabled from full membership. The Qumran sect attempted to create a demon-free congregation by banning the diseased and disabled: "Living at the dawn of the eschaton, the sectarians were deeply aware of the evil forces' destructive and deceiving abilities and therefore developed coping strategies to protect themselves and join forces with the angels in combat."[68] In contrast, Jesus sought to overcome demons by casting them out. According to Q,

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63 For a discussion of this passage, see *Kazen*, Jesus (n. 4) 100–104.
64 Also see *Kazen*, Jesus (n. 4) 108.
65 *Kazen*, Jesus (n. 4) 197–198, 249–250.
66 For a discussion see *Kazen*, Jesus (n. 4) 91–198.
67 See *Smith*, Magician (n. 4) 113.
68 *Wassen*, Angels (n. 7) 116; for the Qumran sect's strategies to combat demons, see 116–120.

Jesus' first act after his baptism by John was to overcome Satan's temptation (Mt 4:1–11; Mk 1:12–13; Lk 4:1–3), thereby establishing his ability to defeat demons.[69] The eschatological dimension of Jesus' exorcisms is expressed clearly in another Q passage: "But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come to you." (Lk 11:20; Mt 12:28)[70]

The Community Rule makes clear that impurity stemming from immoral or unethical behavior cannot be cleansed by means of ritual purification, but instead requires repentance:

> "And anyone who declines to enter [the covenant of Go]d in order to walk in the stubbornness of his heart shall not [enter the Com]munity of his truth, since his soul loathes the disciplines of knowledge of just judgments. He has not the strength to convert his life and shall not be counted with the upright… In the source of the perfect he shall not be counted. He will not become clean by the acts of atonement, nor shall he be purified by the cleansing waters, nor shall he be made holy by seas or rivers, nor shall he be purified by all the water of ablution. Defiled, defiled shall he be all the days he spurns the decrees of God, without allowing himself to be taught by the Community of his counsel." (1QS II, 25 – III, 1–6)

> "He should not go into the waters to share in the pure food of the men of holiness, for one is not cleansed unless one turns away from one's wickedness, for he is unclean among all the transgressors of his word." (1QS V, 13–14)

> "However, to the spirit of deceit belong greed, sluggishness in the service of justice, wickedness, falsehood, pride, haughtiness of heart, dishonesty, trickery, cruelty, much insincerity, impatience, much foolishness, impudent enthusiasm for appalling acts performed in a lustful passion, filthy paths in the service of impurity, blasphemous tongue, blindness of eyes, hardness of hearing, stiffness of neck, hardness of heart in order to walk in all the paths of darkness and evil cunning … And the visitation of all those who walk in it will be for an abundance of afflictions at the hands of all the angels of destruction, for eternal damnation by the scorching wrath of the God of revenges …" (1QS IV, 9–12)

Similarly, Jesus must have been concerned with immoral or unethical behavior because it causes impurity which cannot be cleansed by means of ritual purification. Jesus focused on conditions which cannot be reversed through ritual purification alone, specifically, permanent and semi-permanent diseases and physical deformities and disabilities (which he and his disciples tried to heal), and immoral and unethical behavior (which he urged his followers to avoid):

> "He said to them, 'Then do you also fail to understand? Do you not see that whatever goes into a person from outside cannot defile, since it enters, not the heart but the stomach, and goes out into the sewer!' And he said, 'It is what comes out of a person that

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69 See *Kazan*, Jesus (n. 4) 331, on Jesus' ability to bind Satan.
70 See *Chilton*, Kingdom (n. 7) 67; *Kazan*, Jesus (n. 4) 330–332.

defiles. For it is from within, from the human heart that evil intentions come: for-
nication, theft, murder, adultery, avarice, wickedness, deceit, licentiousness, envy,
slander, pride, folly. All these things come from within, and they defile a person." (Mk
7:18–23)

According to Mark, Jesus claimed to be the messiah:

"Again the high priest asked him, 'Are you the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed One?'
Jesus said, 'I am; and 'you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of the Power,'
and 'coming with the clouds of heaven'." (Mk 14:61–62)

If true, this means that Jesus' vision of the end of days included a messianic figure
whose healings and exorcisms were intended to enable the diseased and disabled
to enter the coming kingdom of God.[71] In contrast, the messiahs in 1QSa do not
heal the diseased and disabled, who were excluded from the eschatological as-
sembly and table fellowship.[72] However, 4Q521 (the "Messianic Apocalypse"),
which might not be a sectarian work, displays striking parallels to the Gospel
accounts, and in particular Q:[73]

"… [for the heav]ens and the earth will listen to his anointed one, [and all th]at is in
them will not turn away from the precepts of the holy ones. Strengthen yourselves, you
who are seeking the Lord, in his service! Will you not in this encounter the Lord, all those
who hope in their heart? For the Lord will consider the pious, and all the righteous by
name, and his spirit will hover upon the poor, and he will renew the faithful with his
strength. For he will honor the pious upon the throne of an eternal kingdom, freeing
prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the twisted [my translation: those
who are bent over] … And the Lord will perform marvelous acts such as have not
existed, just as he sa[id], [for] he will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead
live …" (4Q521 Frag. 2 II, 1–12)

Both 4Q521 and Q contain references to healing the blind, raising the dead, and
preaching to the poor that are drawn from Isa 35:5; 29:18; 26:19; 61:1 and Ps
146:1–8.[74] Kuhn suggests that these commonalities indicate there was "a common
Jewish tradition that describes the time of salvation."[75] In 4Q521, it is God
himself, not a messiah (like Jesus), who performs "these marvelous acts."[76] The

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71 *Collins*, Scepter (n. 22) 204, argues "The messianic identity of Jesus must be grounded in
    some way before his crucifixion."
72 See *Kuhn*, Texts (n. 26) 574–575.
73 See *Hogeterp*, Expectations (n. 1) 277–281, 446–448; *Kuhn*, Jesus (n. 21) 407; *Puech*, Mes-
    sianism (n. 5) 245; *Collins*, Scepter (n. 22) 117–123. *Kazen*, Purity (n. 4) 168–169, 247, 327,
    suggests that the messiah in this work might heal, though the reference seems to be to God.
74 *Kuhn*, Texts (n. 26) 575; *Puech*, Messianism (n. 5) 244–245; *Collins*, Scepter (n. 22) 117.
75 *Kuhn*, Jesus (n. 21) 407; also see *Collins*, Scepter (n. 24) 122.
76 See *Puech*, Messianism (n. 5) 245; *Collins*, Scepter (n. 22) 118, 120, 205, suggests "it is likely
    that God acts through the agency of a prophetic messiah" (120), either Elijah or a prophet like
    Elijah.

oracle in Isa 35 makes clear the connection between salvation, perfection, and purity:

> "The wilderness and the dry land shall be glad, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom … They shall see the glory of the Lord, the majesty of our God … Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped; then the lame shall leap like a deer, and the tongue of the speechless sing for joy … A highway shall be there, and it shall be called the Holy Way; the unclean shall not travel on it, but it shall be for God's people; no traveler, not even fools, shall go astray."

Morton Smith suggested that the "mystery [or secret] of the kingdom" mentioned in Mk 4:11 "was a magical rite, by which initiates were made to believe that they had entered the kingdom and so escaped from the realm of Mosaic Law."[77] This view de-Judaizes Jesus and anachronistically assumes that he envisioned a kingdom of God (the God of Israel!) without the Torah.[78] How could Jesus act as God's agent to bring about his kingdom without observing the laws that God gave his people Israel? Collins notes that, "The 'apocalyptic' character of a community lies in this hope for angelic support and eschatological vindication, not in its specific practice or its understanding of the Law."[79] In this paper, I have argued that Jesus' exorcisms and healings, as well as his exhortations to behave morally and ethically, reflect his concern with the observance of biblical law, as absolute purity and perfection were prerequisites for the establishment of the kingdom of God.[80]

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77 *Smith*, Magician (n. 4) 135.

78 Also see *Smith*, Magician (n. 4) 144, where he says that Jesus claimed to be a supernatural being on whom the Law was not binding. However, *Ehrman*, Prophet (n. 2) 164–165 shows that the Gospel accounts indicate that the Torah was central to Jesus' life; also see 172.

79 *Collins*, Apocalypticism (n. 22) 154.

80 See *Ehrman*, Prophet (n. 2) 162–163, who notes that Jesus' ethical views were not intended to create a just society but were necessary to prepare for the kingdom of God.

Tal Ilan

The Women of the Q Community within Early Judaism

In this paper I will revisit the Q texts about women, which have been extensively discussed by feminist scholars, and will attempt to present them, and consequently the Q community, within a Jewish-Palestinian context of the Roman period.

In her article, "Itinerant Prophetesses: A Feminist Analysis of the Sayings Source Q" the recently departed Luise Schottroff wrote: "Throughout the sayings source Q, an androcentric language, corresponding to a patriarchal ideology is spoken. Women are never acknowledged as independently operative outside of the home."[1] In reading through the Robinson-Hoffman-Kloppenborg 2000 edition of Q,[2] this proclamation seems to be justified over and over again. Nevertheless, Schottroff ended her article with the claim that "despite the androcentrism of the sayings source, one can conclude from those passages dealing with women's family conflicts that itinerant prophetesses did exist. In the sayings source, as in the rest of the synoptic tradition, a Jesus movement is presupposed in which women were independently operative – whether sedentary or itinerant."[3] In Schottroff's view, a tension between an androcentric world view and a liberating feminist impulse are at work in Q and a feminist scholar must work between these two poles.

Coming to Q from Jewish studies, and from a focus on Jewish women, I will, in the following presentation, attempt to contextualize the Q women, with the tension they display, as described by Schottroff, within the Jewish society that gave birth to this movement. Some of my conclusions will necessarily be taken over from my previous research and only be newly placed side by side with the

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1   *L. Schottroff*, Itinerant Prophetesses. A Feminist Analysis of the Sayings Source Q, in: Ronald A. Piper (ed.), The Gospel behind the Gospels. Current Studies on Q (Sup. NT 75), Leiden, 1995, 347.
2   *J. M. Robinson/P. Hoffmann/J. S. Kloppenburg*, The Critical Edition of Q, Minneapolis/Leuven, 2000.
3   *Schottroff*, Itinerant Prophetesses (n. 1) 360.

woman of Q, but others turn out to be complete innovations, since old wine in new sacks may turn out to be a completely new beverage.

In scouring the Q traditions associated with women and gender, I have identified three aspects that feminist scholars address, and that can be further investigated within a Jewish context. I will move here from the bottom up – literature, history and sociology, and finally theology.

1.   Literature

One of the features that were, early on, discovered by feminists as typical of the literary style of Q is the use of parallel parables. In order to drive home the message of the parable, it was told twice – once of a man doing something, and once of the woman, doing something else. Why would a parable-teller use this technique? The most obvious answer would be, to make the message clear to all his audience, including women. In the following lines I will show the attractiveness as well as the problematic nature of this suggestion.

Let us look at Q's parallel traditions. In one of them, we read of "a mustard seed, which a man took and planted in his garden" and of "yeast that a woman took and mixed into about sixty pounds of flour" (Luke 13:18–20; Matthew 13:31–33). In another we read of "two men [who] will be in the field" at the same time that "two women will be grinding with a hand mill" (Matthew 24:39–40).[4] As Luise Schottroff observed, these two texts are not necessarily heralds of a liberating or equalizing message, since "women are only acknowledged as operative within the domestic realm in their chores (by milling; by baking)."[5] But they are, nevertheless, mentioned. Thus, here is exactly the place to note that the literary genre of gender-paralleled descriptions is probably not an innovation of Jesus, or of the Q source, for it has parallels in near-contemporary Jewish sources. In the Mishnah we read:

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4 Luke 13:34–5 has here "at night two people will be in one bed" instead of in the field, which requires some thinking about the parable's meaning, but in any case it seems secondary. I intentionally do not quote Luke 15:3–10, about the male lost sheep and the female lost coin, because it appears only in Luke I do not want to rehearse the feminist argument (*E. Schüssler-Fiorenza*, In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins, New York, 1983, 131) that it was removed by Matthew in 18:12–14, see *A. J. Levine*, Women in the Q Communit(ies) and Traditions, in: R. S. Kraemer/M. R. D'Angelo (ed.), Women and Christian Origins, New York/Oxford, 1999, 150–170, 163, 169, n. 53. We have enough examples for our purpose with these two.

5 *Schottroff*, Itinerant Prophetesses (n. 1) 347.

> How does [a priest] observe [signs of] leprosy? In a man, as though he were digging in
> the field, or picking olives; in a woman, as though she were kneading [dough] or nursing
> her son, or weaving standing up (*m. Neg.* 2:4).

Here we note the similarity. In a clearly halakhic context, with no apparent social
message, and with no need to assume that the mention of the woman is asso-
ciated with women in the texts' readership, we see that a man is described by his
typical male activities outside of the house – working in the field, and the woman
is described by her typical female activities inside the house – working with
dough, nursing and weaving.

Another halakhic example will drive the message home. In a tradition from the
Babylonian Talmud, albeit one that claims ancient origins, we also read:

> An Israelite man leaves meat on the coals and a gentile comes and turns it over before
> the Israelite returns from the synagogue or the house of learning, and he does not
> suspect [the gentile of having sacrificed the meat to idols in his absence]; a woman
> places a pot on the stove, and a gentile woman comes and stirs it before the woman
> returns from the bath-house or the synagogue, and she does not suspect [the gentile
> woman of having sacrificed the contents of the pot to idolatry in her absence] (*b. ʿAbod.
> Zar.* 28a-b).

Here again, in a halakhic context, we meet a woman engaging in typical female
activities (cooking in a closed cauldron, and going to the bath-house, and even
going to the synagogue) and the man engaging in typical male activities (going to
the house of learning, and to the synagogue, and even – very much like men today
– barbequing). In this example too, I do not think that a social message of
equality, or a female audience, is necessary in order to explain the parallel. Thus,
as Schottroff observed, with regard to the Q parables, they do not necessarily
convey a liberating or equalizing message.

In both the halakhic examples shown, the purpose of placing a woman next to
the man was evidently to explain to the student of Jewish law that the laws cited
apply to both men and women, even as they lead stereotypically different life
styles. In the following lines, however, I will bring examples, to demonstrate that
male-female parallels were also employed by rabbinic storytellers in genres closer
to the parables of Q.[6] In *Leviticus Rabbah* we read the following parallel:

> A man says to his fellow: Lend me a *qab* of wheat, and he says: I have none; a *qab* of
> barley, I have none; a *qab* of dates, and he says: I have none. A woman says to her
> (female) fellow (חברתה): Lend me a sieve (נפה) and she says: I have none; a sifter (כברה),
> and she says: I have none (*Lev. Rab.* 17:2).

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6 The next three examples are taken from *T. Ilan*, Mine and Yours are Her. Retrieving Women's
   History from Rabbinic Literature (AJEC 41), Leiden 1997, 269–273.

Leviticus Rabbah is a homiletical midrash, built on the portions of the book of Leviticus read on a given Sabbath that "appears to follow the Palestinian reading cycle."[7] In our case the chapter is 14, and on verse 33 a new issue begins – leprosy. Before the midrashist begins expounding the verses in question, several introductory sermons (proems – *petihtot*) are presented, expounding a biblical verse from elsewhere (in our case Job 20:28) which leads the reader (or listener) through the use of various literary techniques, to the verse under discussion.[8] In our case, the text is taken from a proem that introduces the issue of leprosy. Here again a parable is told first of a man and then of a woman, and we encounter typical women utensils, a sieve and sifter used for processing wheat into dough, in a story about a woman borrowing from a woman, and the foodstuffs harvested in the field or orchard in one about a man borrowing from a man. Thus far the formal similarity to the halakhic texts cited above is evident. As to the context, it seems however, to be much closer to the concerns of Q than to the rabbinic halakhic texts just cited, because midrash, usually forming part of a sermon, is moralistic literature. Although the description of leprosy in the Bible is neutral, bearing no censor, in this sermon it is brought about as punishment for indecent behavior – the man and the woman who refuse to lend their utensils, or share in their plenty will be punished with leprosy. The midrash continues (in a section not cited above) by stating that when the people who had refused to share with their neighbors are hit by the disease, they will be forced to take all they have out of their house and they will be publicly shamed, for everyone in their neighborhood will see that they had in fact possessed the items and foodstuffs they had refused to share with others.

Obviously there is a social message behind this story; a message that God's plenty should be shared among all members of the community, and God hates and punishes selfish behavior. This message comes quite close to some of the ideas about riches and poverty held by the Q community. I think, however, that use of the male and female stereotypes in *Leviticus Rabbah* is taken over from the (older) halakhic examples (like the Mishnah) presented above. Women cooking, women grinding wheat, women doing household chores are common to both Q, the Mishnah and *Levitcus Rabbah*. Yet the Mishnah, when using this literary technique, had no social message to convey, while *Leviticus Rabbah* and Q clearly did.

Why is it necessary for both Q and *Leviticus Rabbah* to demonstrate a similar social message with a male and with a female protagonist? Schottroff wrote of the

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7 *G. Stemberger*, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, Edinburgh 1996, 289.
8 On this literary form see e.g. *J. Heinemann*, The Proem in the Aggadic Midrash. A Form-Critical Study, in: Scripta Hierosolymitana 22 (1971) 100–122; *N.J. Cohen*, Structure and Editing in the Homiletic Midrashim, in: AJS Review 6 (1981) 1–20.

Q parallels: "… a woman's household chore is coupled with a man's chore as an equitable pair. An acknowledgement of women's labor is unusual in patriarchal societies. Normally, a woman's labor is not even considered 'labor' in a sense that man's is … [yet] the sayings source embraces … a conspicuously equitable perception of women's household chores …"[9] I think in light of the examples presented above, and in light of the sort of message the gender-paralleled parables of Q broadcast, the judgment about the uniqueness of this genre for Q should be modified. It is not so unique in acknowledging women's labor, or in pairing and comparing it to male labor. Perhaps the idea that this genre developed as a result of the fact that women were among the audience both of the *Levitucus Rabbah* sermon and among the community members of Q is the best and simplest explanation for this phenomenon.

I want to move on, however, to another male-female parallel from another classical rabbinic midrash, often seen as the closest counterpart of *Leviticus Rabbah – Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*.[10] Here we read:

> Said Rabbi Brechya: It was said that a woman's pot was stolen and, when she went to complain about it to the judge, she found it warming on [the judge's] stove. It was said that a man's cloak/prayer shawl (טלית) was stolen and, when he came to complain about it to the judge, he found it spread on [the judge's] bed (*Pesiq. Rab Kah.*, *eikha* 9).

These stories are told in the context of verses from Lamentations, and were apparently associated with the period around the 9th of Av (the destruction of the Temple), when catastrophes were mourned, but it is actually based on Isaiah 1:23: "your rulers are rogues." They are told in order to raise the question, how can a wronged person seek justice from a justice system that is itself corrupt? The judge in the stories has himself robbed his client. A story of a corrupt judge, as we see, is told twice – once of a man and once of a woman. Again, the two are differentiated by their stereotypical tools of occupation – the woman is characterized by her cooking pot, and the man by his outdoor cloak/praying shawl. Yet this story is somewhat different from the pervious ones – it is not just a moralizing tale about a corrupt justice system, it also has a strong gender aspect, which only becomes evident once we read the next stories in this midrashic cluster.

Following the story of the thieving judge we have a story of a bribable judge. A woman brings him a bribe, but her opponent, a man, brings him a higher bribe – so he rules against the woman. Of course, the story could have been told the other way around – the woman could have brought the higher bribe, or a man could have brought a higher bribe than another man, or even one woman could have brought a higher bribe than another woman. The reason why the story is told the

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9   *Schottroff*, Itinerant Prophetesses (n. 1) 350–351.
10   See *Stemberger*, Introduction (n. 7) 295.

way it is cannot be derived from the story itself, but in the progression of stories told here, it is important that, unlike the first story, in which the evil attitude of the system toward persons of both sexes is equal, here the woman loses, and she will go on losing in the next two stories.

In the third story, a dying father nominates a guardian to his orphans. When his widow and the orphans come to a judge, to demand a fair division of the father's inheritance, it turns out that the judge and the guardian, obviously an appointee of the court, had already divided the spoils among them. Both widow and orphans are victims of the system. Here we have no recognized male protagonist confronting the female one, because the orphans, even if males, are minors, with no more power inside the system than the widow. In this story we encounter for the first time the subjects of the verse that is expounded throughout the short homily – widows and orphans. In Isaiah 1:23 we read: "Your rulers are rogues … They do not judge the case of the orphan, and the widow's cause never reaches them."

Thus it should come as no surprise that the last story in this chain is again a male-female parallel, but the woman here is a widow. It tells of a man who goes up to Jerusalem to demand justice. The judge asks him for gifts and services, which he renders until he runs out of money and leaves without accomplishing anything. On his way down from Jerusalem he meets a widow who inquires of him how he had fared with the judge. He has to admit that he had achieved nothing. The widow then draws a logical inference from his case, what we technically call in the study of rabbinic literature, a *qal va-homer*, i. e. learning from something light something much heavier. The widow says: if you, a man, had achieved nothing, how can I, a woman, and moreover a widow, hope to achieve anything. This story, and with it the entire chain, is a very pessimistic observation on a corrupt legal system and on the plight of women within it, which is even worse than the plight of men. And widows are of course at the very bottom of the ladder.

In Luke's Gospel four traditions are related about Jesus' concern for widows,[11] but none of them is found in Matthew, and so we cannot list this concern as common to the homily in *Pesiqta de Rab Kahanah* and Q. What they show more clearly is the common world of literary ideas about social justice in which Q and this text, and indeed the authors of the Gospels, functioned.

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11 1) Luke 21:1–4; cf. Mark 12:41–44; 2) Luke 20:45–47; cf. Mark 12:38.40; 3) Luke 18:1–8; 4) Luke 7:11–17.

2. Social History

Unlike the literary perspective of Q, which was in general judged by feminists, despite the male-female parallels just discussed, as disappointingly patriarchal, the description of the sort of social unrest Jesus of Q is supposed to have brought to the world was applauded by them as destabilizing the patriarchy of Jewish society in which it grew. Thus, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza writes: "Insofar as the new 'family' of Jesus has no room for 'fathers,' it implicitly rejects their power and status, and thus claims that in the messianic community all patriarchal structures are abolished. Rather than reproducing the patriarchal relationships of the 'household' in antiquity, the Jesus movement demands a radical break from it."[12] Even Luise Schottroff, whose views on the androcentric world view of Q were described above, argues that "the sayings source criticizes the reality of patriarchal domination in a radical way."[13]

This feminist view is supported by a Q saying of Jesus: "Do not suppose that I have come to bring peace to the earth. I did not come to bring peace, but a sword. For I have come to turn 'a man against his father, a daughter against her mother, a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; a man's enemies will be the members of his own household. Anyone who loves their father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; anyone who loves their son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me" (Matthew 10:34–37; cf. Luke 12:51–53).

Instead of noting the disturbing call to hate family members, feminists identified in father and mother, even in children, oppressive actors in the patriarchal machine from which Jesus seeks to free the members of the Q community. Yet even as we turn to the obvious intertext of this statement – Micah 7:5–6, which reads: "Trust no friend, rely on no intimate, be guarded in speech with her who lies in your bosom; for son spurns father, daughter rises up against mother, daughter-in-law against mother-in-law – a man's own household are his enemies," we are made aware of the horrific picture it draws. Micah is bemoaning rather than applauding this family breakdown. If this picture of disaster is ironically employed by the Q community to celebrate the dissolution of the family, it is certainly doing a disservice to the prophet and his vision.[14]

Be that as it may, while feminists eagerly accepted the violent revolutionary breakdown of the patriarchal household envisioned in this statement, they have been at pains to explain how, in a parallel text in Luke 14:26 (usually explained as deriving from Q), Jesus also urges his disciples to abandon their wives: "if any

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12 *Schüssler-Fiorenza*, In Memory of Her (n. 4) 147–148.
13 *Schottroff*, Itinerant Prophetesses (n. 1) 348.
14 I myself have identified in the past another misuse of these verses in Second Temple literature, see *T. Ilan*, Integrating Women into Second Temple Literature (TSAJ 76), Tübingen 1999, 166.

man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." Schüssler-Fiorenza writes: "a careful scrutiny of the synoptic texts, which speak about leaving one's house and family for the kingdom, or Jesus' sake, clearly shows that it is not the Q traditions (but rather Lukan redaction), which count the wife among those family members who are to be left behind in following Jesus."[15] This sort of argument derives from the fact that, while feminists would like to see in ancient Christianity a model for a society without the extended patriarchal family, they do not wish to support the notion of the dissolution of the husband-wife partnership. However, I believe that delving into Jewish society in the time of Jesus (or of Q) will reveal what it is that Jesus is asking of his disciples here.

While feminists have concentrated on the first part of this Q saying, I would like to concentrate on the last part. Here we read: "Anyone who loves their father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; anyone who loves their son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." The issue here is not the dissolution of the household. It is a question of loyalty. The family requires loyalty and Jesus requires loyalty. If there is no clash, all is well. But what if there is a clash? Then it is imperative, so Q, that the loyalty to Jesus overrides the loyalty to one's kin – father, mother, son, daughter (and according to the version in Luke – also wife).

My claim is that this verse places the Q community squarely within the social definition of a sect. In 1995 I published an article about Jewish women's attraction to Pharisaism (in the days of Jesus) and in an appendix I referred to the Dead Sea sect. One of the most perplexing texts found in the corpus of that sect was one that states that, only after the age of 20, is the male member (זכר) of the sect allowed to engage in sex with a woman. Following this statement the text performs a complex linguistic switch from the male, who is forbidden to go near a woman (יקרב), to the female who, after he is allowed to go near her, is now expected to give evidence against him (תקבל להעיד עליו).[16] While many scholars have attempted to explain away this unusual, some would say revolutionary, affirmation of this woman's legal personhood, I explained it, in the above mentioned article differently: "In the final analysis, this text, taken at face value,

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15 *Schüssler-Fiorenza*, In Memory of Her (n. 4) 145. For a summation of this debate see *Levine*, Women in Q (n. 4) 167–168, n. 36. Schüssler-Fiorenza views Luke as the most restrictive and patriarchal of the Gospels. This opinion, however, is a reaction to previous scholarship, such as that of *L. Swidler*, Biblical Affirmations of Women, Philadelphia 1979, 280: "…beyond the fact that Jesus himself was a vigorous feminist, Luke's Gospel reflects this feminism most intensively of all the Gospels." Swidler too (on p. 279) wonders about Luke's listing of wives in this Jesus tradition.

16 See Law of the Congregation 1:10–11; and *T. Ilan*, Reading for Women in 1QSa (Serekh ha-Edah), in: A. Lange/E. Tov/M. Weigold (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context. Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures. Vol. 1 (Sup. VT 140), Leiden 2011, 61–76.

tells more about the sect than about its attitude to women. The text suggests that the wife turn informer on her husband's degree of compliance with the sect's laws. The Qumran sect thus favors loyalty to it over loyalty to one's spouse. It displays a system which values regulating the lives of its members over respecting their privacy and conjugal intimacy."[17]

At the risk of making enemies in the Christian feminist community, I wish to suggest a similar interpretation of this Q saying. It is not about dissolving patriarchal structures or creating an imagined family of equals. It is about loyalty. A sect is always a totalitarian social structure, and the Q community was no different. Its critique of patriarchal structures comes only when these clashed with the laws and requirements of the sect. If a father or mother or son or daughter or brother or sister or even the wife asked the man for something that Jesus (or those who transmitted his word) found to be contradictory to his wishes, all family members should be overruled. Love for Jesus has to supersede love of all these.

3. Theology

Elisabeth Schüssler-Fiorenza, in her ground-breaking *In Memory of Her* wrote: "The earliest Jesus movement perceived its God of gracious goodness in a woman's *Gestalt* as divine *Sophia* (wisdom)."[18] She is only the most articulate among scholars who have made much of Matthew 11:19/Luke 7:35, where the feminine Wisdom (Sophia) is portrayed as mother of all humankind, rich and poor, ascetic and epicurean, righteous and sinner. Who is Sophia here? Schüssler-Fiorenza continues, arguing that Jesus understood himself "as Sophia's messenger and later as Sophia herself."[19] In this statement, issued over 30 years ago, she stands somewhere in a long line of scholars who have discussed this issue back and forth so often that either they have forgotten what the terms of reference for this claim are, or are already basing their argument on so much speculation that was built on top of the initial foundation, that the basis for the argument is completely lost. So – let us retrace our steps. In Matthew and Luke, the reference to Sophia (which appears but once) is found at the end of an almost identical pericope about Jesus and John the Baptist:

> For John came neither eating (bread) nor drinking (wine), and they/you say: He has a demon. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say: Here is a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners. But wisdom is proved right by her deeds (Matthew 11:18–19) / all her children (Luke 7:33–35).

17 *T. Ilan*, The Attraction of Aristocratic Jewish Women to Pharisaism, in: HTR 88 (1995) 32–33.
18 *Schüssler-Fiorenza*, In Memory of Her (n. 4) 132.
19 *Schüssler-Fiorenza*, In Memory of Her (n. 4) 134.

Perhaps correctly, Sophia here is identified as her Hebrew namesake (חכמה), who makes her debut in the biblical books of Proverbs and Job. I have previously written a little about the career of this lady on her way from the Bible to Second Temple literature,[20] and I am well aware that I am not the only one who has referred to her. What is obvious from a quick glance at *hokhmah* of Proverbs is that she is occasionally personified and feminine. In chapter 8 she is God's child, sitting in his lap while he creates the world. In chapters 1 and 9 she is an independent householder who calls all to come to her and holds a banquet for them. She chides the fool and the foul, and exalts the wise and diligent. What she is not is a sexually attractive woman, who allures men to her.

Yet this is what she becomes in Second Temple literature, especially in the Book of Ben Sira. This sage tells his students to court wisdom, like one courts a beautiful woman. Some of his expressions seem to be taken directly from the speeches of the male lover in the Song of Songs. She, however, like the typical feminine stereotype, loses her voice. She has nothing to say to her lover.[21]

Thus, personified wisdom of Proverbs is indeed God's daughter, and indeed an independent assertive woman, while wisdom of Ben Sira is a desired woman, to be wooed and won; Jewish tradition knows her not as a mother.[22] If the Luke version of Jesus' saying about Sophia, that she is justified by all her children, is the original version, this, I think, is an innovation of Q. Perhaps feminists were right. Perhaps a mother-wisdom is less patriarchal than a daughter or beloved –

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20 See *T. Ilan*, Canonization and Gender in Qumran. 4Q179, 4Q184, 2Q218 and 11QPSALMS[A], in: A. Roitman/L. H. Schiffman/S. Tzoref (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture (STDJ 93), Leiden 2011, 528–545.

21 Ben Sira 24 is indeed a long speech assigned to wisdom, but it is completely absent from all Hebrew versions of Ben Sira, see: *Z. Ben-Ḥayyim/Academy of the Hebrew Language and Shrine of the Book* (ed.), The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language, The Book of Ben Sira. Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary, Jerusalem 1973, 24. It may not be Jewish or Palestinian.

22 As opposed to *Schüssler-Fiorenza*, In Memory of Her (n. 4) 133, who claims: "Sophia is called sister, wife, mother, beloved and teacher." In Ben Sira 15:2 wisdom is described as accepting her acolyte with the words, "she greets him as a mother" (קדמתהו כאם), but these are immediately followed in the parallel with the words "and as the wife of his youth she accepts him" (וכאשת נעורים תקבלנו). Obviously, the mother is an afterthought. My colleague, Noah Hacham informed me that in Proverbs 2:3 we read כי אם לבינה תקרא, לתבונה תיתן קולך, which could be translated as "for to understanding (בינה) call 'mother,' (אם) to discernment (תבונה) give your voice" but the masoratic vocalization in the Bible requires that we translate (with the JPS) "for if (אם) you call to understanding (בינה), and cry aloud to discernment (תבונה)." Note also that *hokhmah* is not mentioned in this verse (although in LXX בינה is indeed translated as *sophia*, but it too does not identify her in this verse as mother). I intentionally do not refer to the Wisdom of Solomon and Philo here (see *P. Schäfer*, Mirror of His Beauty. Feminine Images of God from the Bible to the Early Kabbalah, Princeton 2002, 33–57), because this composition is contemporary with Q but was obviously created in Egypt. There she is occasionally described as a spouse of god, who gave birth to his creatures, but she is not described as a loving, merciful mother.

for she at least has authority over her children as the father, and she is on a more equal footing with him. In the Ten Commandments, the Israelites are commanded to honor both mother and father. In Proverbs 1:3 the wise are instructed to listen to a father's admonitions, but not to forget the mother's teaching (actually Torah). This advice is apparently so important, that it is repeated in Proverbs 6:20 and paraphrased in 23:22.

Q scholars, however, who have made much of this feminine aspect of the Q community theology, have insisted on identifying the Sophia of Q in at least one other location.[23] In Luke 11:49 we read (and I cite here the New International Version): "Because of this, God in his wisdom said, I will send them prophets and apostles, some of whom they will kill and others they will persecute." I realize that this is not a very exact or preferred translation to *sophia tou theou* and that for example in the King James version the reading is: "said the wisdom of God," which is much less abstract and more personified. If we harmonize Proverb's daughter-wisdom, who speaks in her own voice and declares: "The LORD possessed me in the beginning of his way … When he prepared the heavens, I *was* there etc. Then I was by him, *as* one brought up *with him:* and I was daily *his* delight, rejoicing always before him" (Proverbs 8:22–30) with the words of Jeremiah, "he has established the world by his wisdom" (10:12) or those of Psalms' "How manifold are your works, in wisdom you have made them all" (104:24), than we do indeed have a mythological, female partner of God, his female child if you will, who helped him with the creation of the world. But it seems to me that this is an upside-down way of interpreting the verses. I think that wisdom was initially an attribute of God, which he could share with humans (like King Solomon), and only later was it personified, and made female, merely because the word *hokhmah* in Hebrew is feminine. God in his wisdom made the world, God in his wisdom created humans.

Only Luke (and not Matthew), reports God in his wisdom sending out the prophets. Well-wishers of the Q Sophia theology have interpreted this as Sophia herself sending out the prophets – John the Baptist and Jesus, who were then persecuted and killed. Here, I think, scholars have made a great leap of faith. Wisdom literature and prophetic literature in Jewish circles are not really akin one to the other. The root נבא/prophecy, does not show up even once in the crystalized wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible (Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiates). Conversely, *hokhmah*, as an undeclined noun, shows up in the entire prophetic corpus of the later prophets only four times – once in Isaiah (11:2); once in Jeremiah (49:7); once in Ezekiel (28:12) and once in Zachariah (9:2). None of

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23 See e.g. *G. Corrington Streete*, Women as Sources of Redemption and Knowledge in Early Christian Traditions, in: R. S. Kraemer/M. R. D'Angelo (ed.), Women and Christian Origins, New York/Oxford, 1999, 330–354, 339.

them refer to God's wisdom. In declined forms it appears several more times,[24] but here too in only three cases, once in Isaiah (Isa 33:6) and twice in Jeremiah (Jer 10:12; 51:15) is the wisdom of God implied. Peter Schäfer sensed this when, in his book on the feminine aspect of the divine in Judaism he wrote: "In Proverbs God no longer speaks about his human prophets. Instead he reveals the mystery of his creation through his daughter of divine origin."[25]

I am much more inclined to interpret *sophia* of God in Luke as meaning his attribute than in any other way, and I think it makes more sense that Luke added it than that it was deleted by Matthew. I think it is hard, if not impossible, to see the God of Q, or the God of Jesus as being imbued with feminine aspects, as taken from a Jewish *sophia* theology.

So I come back full-circle, to the male-female parallels of Q. In one of the parallels the kingdom of heaven is compared to a man planting a mustard seed, but also to a woman hiding leaven in a bowl of dough. If we move from the parable to what it signifies, we observe, again with Luise Schottroff, that "this particular parable directs attention to the hands of the woman, who *takes* the leaven and *covers* the dough and then waits with clasped hands. Her hands are compared to God's hands; in them the hungry see a sign from God."[26] In other words, here is feminist theology; here a simple woman is compared to God. God of the Q community can be, without offence, compared to a working woman.

In this too Q is not really unique, but a product of its environment. In another male-female parallel preserved in *Leviticus Rabbah* we find a similar phenomenon. I read the woman side of the parallel:[27]

> Said Rabbi Aha: There are women who know how to borrow, and there are women who do not know how to borrow. The one who knows how to borrow goes to her female

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24 Nine times to be exact. חכמת– 1. Isa 29:14 (of the wise men); 2. 33:6 (parallel to God); 3. Jer 8:9 (God); חכמתו – 4. Jer 9:22 (of the wise man); 5. 10:12 (of God); 6. 51:15 (of God); חכמתך – 7. Isa 47:1 (of personified Babylon); 8. Ezek 28:4, 5, 7, 17 (of the ruler of Tyre); חכמתי – 9. Isa 10:17 (of the king of Assyria).

25 *Schäfer*, Mirror of His Beauty (n. 22) 28.

26 *Schottroff*, Itinerant Prophetesses (n. 1) 352.

27 The man's side: "Said Rabbi Hanina: There are tenants who know how to borrow and there are tenants who do not know how to borrow. The one who knows how to borrow, when he sees that he may be late in paying rent, puts on his best appearance: combs his hair, cleans his garments, puts on a cheerful face, takes a staff in hand and puts rings on his fingers. Then he goes to his landlord. The landlord says to him: Peace be with you my tenant, how are you doing? I am doing well. How is the land? You will enjoy its plentiful harvest. How are the oxen? You will enjoy their abundant fat. How are the goats? You will enjoy their many young. What do you need? Can you give me ten *denari*? Take twenty, if you need them. One who does not know how to borrow goes to his landlord with hair unkempt, dirty clothes and a gloomy face. The landlord says to him: How is the land? The tenant answers: May we be able to get out of it what we put into it. How are the oxen? Weak. What do you need? Can you give me ten *denari*? Go away and give me back what you already owe me" (*Lev. Rab.* 5:8).

neighbor. Even if the gate is open she knocks. She says to her: Peace be with you, my neighbor. How are you doing? How is your husband doing? How are your sons doing? Shall we go in or not? Do you have a pot you can lend me? (The neighbor) says to her: Yes. One who does not know how to borrow goes to her female neighbor. If the gate is closed she opens it. She says to her: Do you have a pot you can lend me? She says to her: No! (*Lev. Rab.* 5:8)

This tradition is similar to the Q tradition, which Schottroff singled out, on two counts – 1. It is a male-female parallelism, in which men and women are characterized by typical gendered aspects – the woman goes to her female neighbor – this is an internal female affair, not involving men; the man goes to his landlord; the woman wants to borrow a household utensil – a pot – the man needs to borrow the universal money. 2. Like in the Q tradition, the female neighbor on the female side of the equation represents God just as the male landlord on the male side of the parable does.

The female neighbor's representation of God here is indicated by the context in which this parable is told. *Leviticus Rabbah* deals in this sub-chapter with the question how to petition God. The parable of how to borrow from a neighbor (or a landlord) indicates how this should be done – one need be first of all polite (and in the case of the man – well dressed and kempt). That the female neighbor represents God here is somewhat obscured by the many details of the parable and by the male side of the parable presented next to it. But it is instructive to note that this male-female parable pair is preceded by another parable in which God, being represented by a woman, is even more striking:

> Said Rabbi Shimeon ben Yohai: Israel know how to appease their maker. Said Rabbi Yudan: Like hagglers … One of them went to a woman and said to her: Do you have an onion to give me? When she brought it to him, he said to her: Does one eat onion without bread? When she brought it to him, he said to her: Does one eat without drinking? Through this process he eats and drinks (*Lev. Rab.* 5:8).

In this early midrashic version of the "stone soup" folktale, the situation where the Israelites pray to God, to provide for their daily needs is compared to a wandering man petitioning a woman to give him supper. Israel is the wanderer. God is the woman. I would almost say that, if the Q community was indeed one of itinerant wandering preachers, this parable could easily have been told by them. God provides for those who know how to ask, like he provides for the lilies of the field and the birds in the air.

There must be many more parables in rabbinic literature in which a woman represents God. My last example of this phenomenon comes from the sister midrash *Genesis Rabbah*.[28] In order to explain how God rained from heaven fire

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28 I am grateful to my friend, Ronit Nikolsky, who drew my attention to this text (see *R. Nikolsky*, From Palestine to Babylonia and Back. The Place of the Bavli and the *Tanhuma* on the

and brimstone on Sodom and Gomorrah but rained Manna from heaven on the Israelites, the following parable is told:

> Rabbi Abun said: This is similar to a slave-woman who was taking out bread from the oven. The son of her mistress came [to her], and she took out bread and gave it to him. When her own son came to her, she gave him coals (*Gen. Rab.* 51:2).

In this parable, not only is God represented by a woman, he is actually represented by a slave woman – the lowest human in the social ladder of antiquity. The parable raises many problems, because in it the signifier does not always faithfully represent the signified. The parable, in the words of Ronit Nikolsky, "explains how two objects with completely different value can come out of the same oven" i.e. fire and brimstone on one side and manna on the other. It does not explain why, if the slave woman represents God, she gives her child (i.e. Israel) something inferior to what she gives the child of her mistress. After all, God gave Manna to Israel and fire and brimstone to Sodom and Gomorrah. And who is God's master anyway. Obviously this parable is older than the context in which it was placed here, but someone who used it in this context had no qualms representing God as a slave woman.

4. Conclusions

My conclusions will be very brief. In all the aspects that feminist scholars identified unique trends in Q, a Jewish background can be observed.

1) The literary genre of parallel parables, positing a male and a female protagonist, comes from the Jewish background of Q. The use of such imagery was used neutrally (as in the Mishnah), but already in Jewish circles it was also used to draw moralistic conclusions about social justice. In this Q is not foreign to its Jewish roots.

2) The Q community was not especially anti-patriarchal. Sayings that were interpreted as such should, in the Jewish context of the end of the Second Temple period, be interpreted as sectarian. Q was a sect. Anti-familial sayings in Q are about loyalty to the sect, not about dissolving the patriarchal household. In this it is not different from the Dead Sea Sect, which also demanded of its members, loyalty over and against family ties.

3) It is doubtful that Q had a Sophia theology, because the one (and a half) references to her in Q do not yet signify a theology, and certainly not of a goddess-like figure in a monotheistic religion. If it did, though, the innovation

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Rabbinic Cultural Continuum, in: Ead./T. Ilan (ed.), Rabbinic Traditions between Palestine and Babylonia (AJEC 89), Leiden, 2014, 286–290. I am using her translation here.

it displays is addressing Sophia (as in Luke) as mother. Contemporary and earlier Jewish sources address Sophia (wisdom, *hokhmah*) as daughter or beloved, but not as mother.

4) Perhaps the Q community had no qualms representing God with feminine similes in their parables, but in this too it was deeply rooted in its Jewish context. A feminine simile for God is not absent in Jewish midrashim.

5) All this together may make Q less feminist than some feminists would have liked us to think, but it certainly makes it more Jewish.

**Part III: Opening up the Horizon –
Q in the Context of Ancient Diaspora**

Paul Trebilco

Early Jewish Communities in Asia Minor and the Early Christian Movement

1.   Introduction

In this paper I will focus on the similarities and differences between Jewish and Christian communities in Asia Minor. I will then consider the various ways in which these two groups of communities interacted. In this way I will seek to widen the horizons of our discussion from Palestine to Asia Minor, and so to help us to put the Palestinian picture we have considered in other papers into a wider frame. But firstly, some introductory comments are in order.

Philo, in his *Legatio ad Gaium* 214 writes that the Jewish people are "spread abroad over all the continents and islands so that it seems to be not much less than the indigenous inhabitants". This and other evidence[1] indicates that the Jewish Diaspora in the first century CE was very extensive. Population figures are at best a guess, but van der Horst estimates that in the first century there were one and a half to two million Jews living in Palestine and three to three and a half million in the Diaspora. Of these he suggests that about one million lived in Asia Minor.[2]

Certainly, there is no doubt that the Jewish Diaspora in Asia Minor was "very large"[3] and very significant. Van der Horst notes that we know of fifty places in Asia Minor where it is certain that Jews lived in the Imperial period and adds that "of course we know only a fraction of the reality".[4] The cities where there were significant Jewish communities included Acmonia, Andriake, Apamea, Aphro-

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1 See also *Leg.* 281–282; Josephus *J.W.* 2:398; 7.43; *Ant.* 14:115 (quoting Strabo); *Sib. Or.* 3:271.
2 *P. W. Van der Horst*, Jews and Christians in Aphrodisias in the Light of their Relations in Other Cities of Asia Minor, in: NTT 43 (1989) 106–121, 106–107. See also *W. Ameling,* Die jüdischen Gemeinden im antiken Kleinasien, in: R. Jütte/A. P. Kustermann (ed.), Jüdische Gemeinden und Organisationsformen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, Wien 1996, 29–55, 30.
3 *Van der Horst*, Jews (n. 2) 107.
4 *Van der Horst*, Jews (n. 2) 107. The evidence for the fifty places is from *E. Schürer*, revised and edited by *G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black, M. Goodman*, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135) Volume III.1. Edinburgh 1986, 17–36.

disias, Ephesus, Hierapolis, Priene, Sardis and Smyrna.[5] Settlement in some places goes back at least to the third century BCE,[6] so by the first century CE many communities were well established.

Gruen makes a very helpful comment on the significance of the Diaspora at the end of the first century BCE: "Even without explicit figures we may be confident that Jews abroad far outnumber those dwelling in Palestine – and had done so for many generations. The fact needs to be underscored. Diaspora life in the Second Temple period was no aberration, not a marginal, exceptional, temporary, or fleeting part of Jewish experience. In important ways it constituted the most characteristic ingredient of that experience. The Temple stood in Jerusalem. Yet the vast majority of Jews dwelled elsewhere."[7]

Asia Minor was also a very significant area for the early Christian movement. Early Christian communities grew quickly in Asia Minor, and these communities have left us a significant portion of the New Testament. David Aune notes that "In the aftermath of the fall of Jerusalem following the first Jewish revolt in A.D. 66–73, Anatolia had become perhaps the most important geographical center of Christianity in the ancient world."[8]

What do we learn, then, if we consider the early Jewish communities in Asia Minor alongside and together with the early Christian movement in the region?

2.   Evidence

Part of the challenge in undertaking this discussion is the different nature of our evidence for Jewish and Christian communities, and that in both cases evidence is fragmentary. This means that we need to be cautious about drawing conclusions from what are really brief glimpses. Further, while we have a reasonable range of Christian evidence from the first century CE onwards, much of our Jewish evidence comes from the third century CE and later. This complicates my study, although I will seek to take these limitations into account here.

Our Jewish evidence comes from Josephus, Philo, Cicero and other classical authors, from a range of inscriptions, and from archaeology. Our Christian evidence for Asia Minor comes from Christian documents associated with the

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5 See *Schürer et* al., History (n. 4) 17–36.

6 See *Ant*. 12:147–153; see further *P. R. Trebilco*, Jewish Communities in Asia Minor (SNTSMS 69), Cambridge, 5–7.

7 *E. S. Gruen*, Judaism in the Diaspora, in: Early Judaism: A Comprehensive Overview, Grand Rapids, Michigan 2012, 95–120, 96; he is commenting on evidence from Strabo at the end of first century BCE.

8 *D. E. Aune*, Revelation 1–5 (WBC), Dallas, Texas 1997, 131.

area and includes Acts,[9] Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, 1 and 2 Timothy, 1 and 2 Peter, the Gospel of John, 1–3 John, Revelation, Ignatius' seven letters, Polycarp's *Letter to Philippians*, *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, Melito's *Paschal Homily* and sources relating to Montanism, although the provenance of some of these sources is debated.[10]

3.   Similarities

In a range of areas, the two groups of communities were very similar, as were the issues the two movements faced. We could discuss many points here – such as that both Jews and Christians formed distinctive groups with strong internal bonds and a clear sense of identity, that the Scriptures both communities used included the Septuagint, and that they shared a number of features of communal organisation, leadership and worship.[11] But here I will concentrate on three issues in particular.

It is important to note that throughout this paper, I am *not* suggesting that Jewish or Christian groups in Asia Minor were necessarily different from communities elsewhere or that these factors are unique to Asia Minor. My goal is rather a comparison of the two groups *in Asia Minor*.

3.1.   Diversity and Commonality

In both cases we need to recognise that there was considerable diversity in what it meant to be a Jew or a Christian, and yet there was also a commonality across a range of communities.

Diversity is straightforward to demonstrate for Jews and can be shown simply by comparing the three synagogues for which we have evidence in Asia Minor – Priene, Sardis and Andriake, the port of Myra.[12] Even though all three synagogues

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9 See Acts 13–14, 16, 19–20.

10 There are also some additional details in 1 and 2 Corinthians.

11 See *D. C. Harlow*, Early Judaism and Early Christianity, in: J. Collins/D. C. Harlow (ed.), Early Judaism. A Comprehensive Overview, Grand Rapids, Michigan 2012, 391–419, 399–400.

12 On the Priene synagogue see *N. Burkhardt/M. Wilson*, The Late Antique Synagogue in Priene. Its History, Architecture, and Context, in: Gephyra 10 (2013) 166–196. It was definitely in use in the fourth century CE, although Burkhardt and Wilson (174) note Jewish use of the site may be earlier. Botermann has suggested that the Sardis building might have become a synagogue only in the mid-fourth century; see *H. Botermann*, Die Synagoge von Sardes. Eine Synagoge aus dem 4. Jahrhundert?, in: ZNW 81 (1990) 103–121. *J. Magness*, The Date of the Sardis Synagogue in Light of the Numismatic Evidence, in: AJA 109 (2005) 443–475 dates the building to the sixth century. *M. Rautman*, Daniel at Sardis, in: BASOR 358 (2010) 47–60, 53

are to be dated well after the first century CE, they provide a cameo of diversity. Clearly the three communities were quite different, perhaps because of a whole range of factors including when the communities were originally founded and under what circumstances, their leadership, and the local situation in the city. When it comes to Christian texts, New Testament studies has highlighted the differences between Paul, John, Peter, Revelation and Ignatius. Accordingly, we should rightly emphasize the diversity of both movements in Asia Minor.

But there was at least some commonality too. The documents relating to Jewish communities in Asia Minor quoted by Josephus to be dated between 49 BCE and 4 BCE,[13] suggest that the identity of these communities focussed on living in accordance with ancestral tradition, keeping the Sabbath and the food laws, and sending the Temple tax to Jerusalem.[14] We see a strong emphasis on Jewish practices and a clear indication of elements that these communities had in common. I also note that Ἰουδαῖος is found in 54 inscriptions from Asia Minor given in *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis II*. This suggests that, even if the use of the term might have varied or been disputed at times,[15] it was considered to be a key self-designation across many groups.[16]

It would be a complicated matter to argue in detail for commonality across Christian groups in Asia Minor. But let me note that Christian groups in the area seem to have been *particularly* concerned with group boundaries. Much of the Christian literature from Asia Minor is preoccupied with "opponents", with battles about correct and aberrant views, and with excluding those whom an author regards as going beyond acceptable belief or practice.[17]

This testifies to a desire to limit diversity by defining group boundaries. It seems that this tendency towards self-definition, and hence to a *clarification of commonality*, was particularly prevalent among Christian communities in Asia

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argues for the late fourth and fifth centuries. For the Andriake synagogue see *N. Cevik/Ö. Cömezoglu/H. S. Öztürk/I. Türkoglu*, A Unique Discovery in Lycia. The Ancient Synagogue at Andriake, Port of Myra, in: Adalya 13 (2010) 335–366. The synagogue is probably to be dated in the fifth century.

13 See section 3.3 below for further discussion of these documents.

14 See for example Ant 14:232–235; 259–261; 16:171.

15 Although we have no direct evidence for this from Jewish sources in Asia Minor, note Rev 2:9 and 3:9 from the Christian side.

16 See *W. Ameling*, Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis. Band ii. Kleinasien (TSAJ 99), Tübingen 2004 (henceforth IJO II), 597.

17 See further *P. R. Trebilco*, The Early Christians in Ephesus from Paul to Ignatius (WUNT 166), Tübingen 2004, 716 and *M. Tellbe*, Christ-Believers in Ephesus. A Textual Analysis of Early Christian Identity Formation in a Local Perspective (WUNT 2/242) Tübingen 2009 on Ephesus. This seems to be a wider phenomenon than just Ephesus, given opponents mentioned in, for example, Gal, Col, Rev, and Ignatius' Letters; see in general *R. E. Oster*, Christianity in Asia Minor, in: Anchor Bible Dictionary. Volume 1, New York 1992, 938–954, 943–944.

Minor, perhaps at least in part because the vitality of Christian life there led to a proliferation of different forms of the movement.

We should note that we have less evidence for the concern to draw boundaries among Jewish communities,[18] although as noted above we do have evidence for what might be regarded as the other side of this coin – that is, an emphasis on commonality. Accordingly, I suggest that both diversity and commonality were characteristic of Jewish and Christian groups in Asia Minor.

3.2.   Translocal movements and communication

Clearly Jewish communities in Asia Minor saw themselves as part of a wider movement whose geographical focus was Jerusalem. One indication of this is that these Jewish communities paid the Temple tax, as the decrees preserved by Josephus indicate. Another cameo of this is the evidence from Cicero in his defense of L. Valerius Flaccus in 59 BCE. The charge against Flaccus was that he had seized the Jewish Temple tax from four cities (Apamea, Laodicea, Adramyttium and Pergamum) in 62 BCE. Over 120 pounds of gold was involved. That Jews in the 60s BCE were sending this quantity of Temple tax to Jerusalem is indicative of the strength of these communities and of their sense of belonging to a wider movement that had a key focus in Jerusalem. In addition, in going ahead in their attempt to send the Temple tax to Jerusalem, the Jews involved were disobeying a Roman edict which forbade the export of gold from Asia and were doing so because of their commitment to obey their own law. This shows their commitment to Jerusalem and its worship.[19] But Cicero also tells us that the Jews in Rome supported the cause of the Jews in Asia Minor, which points to "a strong sense of Jewish fellowship across the Mediterranean".[20]

Another important factor here is pilgrimage. We know that Jews from Asia Minor went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem,[21] and that Jerusalem benefitted greatly from the mass of pilgrims who came to the city.[22] This is clearly another indicator of translocal commitment.[23]

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18 Although I will note below that there is evidence for Jewish communities in Asia Minor responding to what they seem to have regarded as aberrant beliefs among Jewish Christians.
19 See further *Trebilco*, Jewish (n. 6) 14–15.
20 *Gruen*, Judaism (n. 7) 116.
21 See Acts 2:9–11; 6:9; 20:16. For pilgrimage in general see Josephus, *Ant.* 17:214; Philo, *Spec.* 1:69; *S. Safrai/M. Stern* (ed.), The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions (CRINT), Assen 1974 (Vol. 1), 1976 (Vol. 2), Vol 1, 191–204, Vol 2, 898–904; *M. H. Williams*, The Jews among the Greeks and Romans. A Diasporan Sourcebook, Baltimore (MD) 1998, 67–68.
22 See *M. Goodman*, The Pilgrimage Economy of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period, in: Id. (ed.), Judaism in the Roman World. Collected Essays (AJEC 66), Leiden 2007, 59–67.

A number of Christian texts from Asia Minor demonstrate the sense of not just belonging to a local group, but of being a worldwide movement, and hence of translocal connectedness and belonging.[24] These texts also show that early Christians in Asia Minor (and elsewhere) understood themselves to be inter-connected, and to "belong together" as a network of groups.[25] This sense of interconnectedness was in part caused by all the *contact* between Christians in different places, which is so evident across our literature. Of course Paul travelled extensively in Asia Minor, but we also know of the travels of Apollos (Acts 18:24–27; 1 Cor 16:12) and Prisca and Aquila (1 Cor 16:19; Acts 18:18–19, 26) and later in the first century we know of travelling teachers like the author of Revelation,[26] who also speaks of travellers who call themselves apostles (Rev 2:2), and the Johannine letters speak of travelling teachers (2 John 10–11; 3 John 3–8). All of this is the stuff of interconnectedness.

The actual *sending* of letters, like 1 Peter, John's seven letters in Revelation 2–3, and Ignatius' letters, was also a way of establishing and fostering connections between groups. These letters established strong links between churches, but the letter-carriers also fostered very tangible personal connections.[27] In these letters, the language of the *family* is regularly used. Note 1 Peter 5:9: "you know that your *brothers and sisters in all the world* are undergoing the same kinds of suffering." You do not know all these people – they are "in all the world" – but they are your brothers and sisters, and you belong together. The language of family, of calling each other brothers and sisters, cements these bonds of connectedness. This language of "fictive kinship" encouraged new Christians to replace their natural family bonds (which may have been severed by conversion) with new Christian ties that encompassed family members everywhere. So the almost universal early Christian practice of calling each other "brothers and sisters" cemented the sense of being an inter-connected movement.

There is also much evidence for conflict and diversity among Christian groups in Asia Minor, but again it is testimony to interaction. The network was a vehicle for conflict and disagreement, as well as for support. Think of the evidence for rivalry between leaders in Asia Minor. Paul speaks in Galatians of other teachers who are, in his view, leading his congregations astray, and Revelation refers to

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23 In general see *Williams*, Jews (n. 21) 67–85.

24 See Col 1:5–6, 23; 1 Peter 5:9; 1 Tim 3:16; John 1:29; 3:16–17; 4:42; 12:47; 1 John 4:14.

25 In general see *R. Bauckham,* For Whom Were Gospels Written?, in: Id. (ed.), The Gospels for All Christians. Rethinking the Gospel Audiences, Grand Rapids 1998, 9–48; *M. B. Thompson*, The Holy Internet. Communication Between Churches in the First Christian Generation, in: The Gospels for All Christians. Rethinking the Gospel Audiences, Grand Rapids 1998, 49–70.

26 The seven letters in Rev 2–3 show that John knows each of the churches well.

27 See *E. R. Richards*, Paul and First-Century Letter Writing. Secretaries, Composition, and Collection, Downers Grove 2004, 201–209. See also 1 Cor 4:17; 2 Cor 2:4; 7:5–16; Eph 6:20–21; Phil 2:25–29; Col 4:7–9; 1 Thess 5:27.

those who think they are apostles but in John's view are not, as well as the Nicolaitans, and Jezebel – all travelling teachers.[28] We get the impression of itinerant teachers of a range of persuasions arriving in different places. The evidence for conflict and disagreement suggests, not enclaves of isolated churches, but teachers and leaders promoting different things in different places and an intense interest in conflicts happening elsewhere. This speaks of trans-local inter-connectedness.

Late in the second century, Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus could write: "Therefore I for my part, brothers and sisters, who number sixty-five years in the Lord and *have conversed with the brothers and sisters from all parts of the world*".[29] Such a claim is credible, and the evidence suggests that many Christians in Asia Minor in the first two centuries could have made it.

So there is extensive evidence that early Christianity in Asia Minor was a network of geographically dispersed communities with close and constant communication amongst themselves. One dimension of their social identity was a strong, lively and informed sense of participation in a movement.

Given this context of interconnectedness among both Jews and Christians, suggestions of on-going contact between Palestine and the Diaspora are very reasonable. It is very likely that there was significant movement to and fro for both Jews and Christians. It is also very likely that someone travelled with Q to wherever Luke and Matthew wrote their Gospels. And, given this evidence for interconnectedness, the suggestion that both the author of the Fourth Gospel (and for some, the community to which he belonged) and John the author of Revelation had earlier in their lives been resident in Palestine or Syria and had then travelled to Asia Minor (notably Ephesus) is entirely credible.[30]

3.3.   Persecution or harassment

The documents preserved by Josephus show that between 49 and 4 BCE, some Jewish communities in Asia Minor experienced harassment and considerable difficulty over matters such as sending the Temple tax to Jerusalem, observing festivals and the Sabbath, not appearing in court on the Sabbath, being exempt from military service, having a communal life, adjudicating their own cases, having a place for a building and a supply of suitable food and being able to live

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28 See Gal 1:8–9; 3:1–5; 4:8–11, 17–20; 5:2–12; 6:12–13; Rev 2:2, 6, 14–15, 20–24.

29 Eusebius, *H.E.* 5.24.7; emphasis added.

30 See the discussion in *Trebilco*, Early Christians (n. 17) 242, 293; For evidence of Jews leaving Palestine after the Jewish revolt of 66–70 see *Ant.* 20:256; *B. J.* 7:410–419; cf. Justin, *Dial.* 1.3 where Justin notes Trypho's departure for Asia Minor because of the Bar Kosiba revolt.

according to their own laws.[31] The rights and privileges of Jewish communities seem to have been regularly challenged by their cities, and the Jews then appealed to the Roman administration for support. Overall the documents show that Jewish privileges were often ignored or over-ridden. But it is equally noteworthy that we have no evidence for harassment of Jewish communities in Asia Minor after 4 BCE.[32] Further, as I will discuss below, Jewish communities also often enjoyed good relations in their wider city. Harassment is but one side of the story.

Persecution or harassment is also a key feature of Christian texts from Asia Minor. Acts gives evidence for significant social harassment and persecution in Asia Minor,[33] and 1 Peter testifies to the suffering and difficulties experienced by the readers,[34] as well as indicating that the name of Christ was a source of animosity (1 Pet 4:14–16). While Revelation does not give evidence for wide-spread persecution, it clearly indicates that Christians have been harassed sporadically. The Pliny-Trajan correspondence written in 112 shows the severe difficulties experienced by Christians in Bithynia-Pontus (*Letters* 10.96–97).

So for both groups, harassment and at times persecution, was a regular feature of community life.

4.   Points of Difference

I will now turn to areas where Jewish and Christian communities in Asia Minor can be contrasted. Again, I will select a few of the most significant examples.

4.1.   Attitude to ethnicity

Ethnicity is here used to refer to "the broader cultural features displayed by a kinship group, whose practice is a matter of choice not birth".[35] Hence, it relates to both kinship and common behaviour. It is clear that the ethnic bond was a

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31 See *Trebilco*, Jewish (n. 6) 15–19. See *Ant.* 12:125–127; 14:225–230, 234–46, 256–64; 16:27–65, 160–173; also Philo, *Leg.* 314–315. The authenticity of these documents has often been questioned, but has been strongly defended by *M. Pucci Ben Zeev*, Jewish Rights in the Roman World. The Greek and Roman Documents Quoted by Josephus Flavius (TSAJ 74), Tübingen 1998, 139–290. See also *J. M. G. Barclay*, Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora from Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE – 117 CE), Edinburgh 1996, 260–264; *E. S. Gruen*, Diaspora. Jews amidst Greeks and Romans, Cambridge MA 2002, 84–86.
32 See also *Barclay*, Jews (n. 31) 279–281.
33 See Acts 13:45–46, 50; 14:2, 5, 19, 22; 19:9; 20:19. Some harassment is by Jews and some by Gentiles.
34 See 1 Pet 1:6, 2:12; 3:13–17; 4:4, 12–19; 5:9.
35 *Barclay*, Jews (n. 31) 402.

fundamental identity marker for Jewish communities.[36] Two lines of evidence show that this was indeed the case for Jewish communities in Asia Minor. In the decrees Josephus preserves, we often read that the basis for a Jewish community's appeal was their right to practice their "ancestral customs" (τὰ πάτρια ἔθη) or to be able to live in accordance with "ancestral laws" (οἱ πάτριοι νόμοι).[37] Barclay comments "we should note the force of the epithet πάτριος in such cases: it indicates what is hereditary, what is passed down from one's ancestors, what is embedded in one's familial and ethnic tradition. Indeed the notion of 'ancestral customs' precisely encapsulates that combination of kinship and custom which we have taken to define ethnicity."[38]

Also significant is the use of various terms in inscriptions. In an inscription, probably from the second century from Smyrna, Rufina, an archisynagogos, writes of the ἔθνος of the Jews (τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Ἰουδαίων).[39] In another inscription from Smyrna, to be dated to the early Imperial period, λαός is used of the community (τοῦ ἐν Ζμύρνῃ λαοῦ).[40] λαός is used in an inscription from Nysa, dated by Ameling to the first century BCE,[41] and the term is also used by Aurelia Glykonis in Hierapolis, in the second half of the second century.[42] Other terms are also used to speak of the Jewish community as a distinct ethnic group.[43] Clearly then, Jewish ethnicity was a very significant factor of Jewish identity in Asia Minor.

By contrast, within Christian groups in Asia Minor, ethnicity was not a salient feature and it is clear from a range of documents that early Christian groups were made up of both Jew and Gentile, with the latter including a range of different groupings. Thus Acts speaks of both Jews and Gentiles being converted in Asia Minor,[44] and a number of documents relating to Asia Minor make it clear that early Christian groups can be regarded as multi-ethnic.[45]

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36 See in particular, *Barclay*, Jews (n. 31) 402–413.

37 See *Ant.* 14:235, 242, 245, 258, 260, 263; see also *Barclay*, Jews (n. 31) 407.

38 *Barclay*, Jews (n. 31) 407–408.

39 See IJO II: 187, no 43 (n. 16).

40 See IJO II: 193, no 44 (n. 16).

41 See IJO II: 136, no 26 (n. 16); date on p. 137.

42 See IJO II: 436, no 206 (n. 16): τῷ λαῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. λαός is also found in IJO II: 387, no 181 (n. 16), of the Byzantine period, from Appia, Phrygia.

43 See IJO II: 432, no 205 (n. 16; Hierapolis; second half of the second century) which uses κατοικία τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων of the community and IJO II: 406, no 191 (n. 16; Hierapolis; end of the second century/beginning of the third century before 212), which uses συναγωγή as a title for the community. See further *P. A. Harland*, Acculturation and Identity in the Diaspora. A Jewish Family and "Pagan" Guilds at Hierapolis, in: JJS 57 (2006) 222–244, 225–227 and in general *Williams*, Jews (n. 21) 27–31.

44 See Acts 13:43, 48 (Pisidian Antioch); Acts 14:1 (Iconium); Acts 18:27–19:41 (Ephesus).

45 See for example, Gal 3:28; Col 3:11; Rev 5:9; 7:9; 14:6.

4.2. Attitude to Jewish distinctives

As I have noted above, we have evidence, primarily from the documents pre-
served by Josephus, for the commitment of Jewish communities in Asia Minor to
the Temple, Sabbath, food laws and ancestral customs.[46] This shows their com-
mitment to Jewish law and to Jewish distinctiveness. It is also clear that early
Christian groups in Asia Minor generally – though not always – seem to have
loosened their commitment to these Jewish distinctives, or they became matters
that were no longer regarded as salient. Of course, there were exceptions, such as
Galatians, where the issue of the place of the Jewish law for Gentile Christians is
clearly a huge one. But particularly as time went by, issues relating to what we can
call Jewish distinctives became less significant for early Christian groups.[47]
Alongside this, we find characteristic beliefs and practices developing among
Christians.[48]

4.3. Faced with somewhat different sociological realities

Here I want to suggest that relations between Jewish groups and their wider city
were somewhat different from relations between Christian groups and the wider
city. I suggest that Jewish groups can be regarded as "at home" in their local city
to quite some extent, and that they saw themselves as "belonging but distinctive".
I suggest that Christian groups also saw themselves as distinctive, but that there
was a wider spectrum of positions with regard to whether they "belonged" in their
city.

4.3.1. Jewish groups

Jewish communities in Asia Minor seem to have been *at home* in their cities,
where they often formed socially significant groups (although undoubtedly this
was not always the case, given the evident diversity of Jewish groups). But they
belonged there *precisely as Jews*. Their sense of "at home-ness" in Asia did not

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46 See, e.g. *Ant.* 12:150. See further *M. Pucci Ben Zeev*, Jews among Greeks and Romans in: *J. J.
    Collins/D. C. Harlow* (ed.), Early Judaism. A Comprehensive Overview, Grand Rapids (Mi-
    chigan) 2012, 367–390, 373.
47 Thus, for example, matters like the Temple, Sabbath and food laws do not feature significantly
    in books like 1 Peter and 1–2 Timothy (although note 1 Tim 1:7–11). It seems clear from Col
    2:16–17 that opponents were giving some place to festivals and sabbaths, so Galatians is not
    alone as an example of these issues being significant in different communities at times.
48 Examples such as an emphasis on the name of Jesus (Eph 5:20; Col 3:17; Acts 19:5, 13, 17) and
    the worship of Jesus (e.g. Col 1:15–20) could be multiplied here.

mean they had compromised their faith and become less Jewish. Rather, they preserved their identity as Jews. Three points need to be held together then – being at home, forming a significant community, but doing so as Jews.

Firstly, Jews were *at home* in Asia Minor. They faithfully contributed to the Temple tax, and clearly regarded Jerusalem as important, but this *did not mean* they longed to return to Jerusalem. Rather they were settled and established in Asia Minor, where some communities had been continuously in existence for three hundred years by the first century CE. They belonged where they were, contributed to the well-being of their local city, and adopted some local customs.[49]

Evidence for good relations between a Jewish community and its wider city clearly points to this dimension of being "at home". For example, in Acmonia during the reign of Nero, Julia Severa, a very prominent non-Jewish woman in the city who was a priestess of the imperial cult and who was from a very influential family, supported the large Jewish community financially by building a synagogue.[50] Such support suggests there were good relations with gentile neighbours.[51]

There are other indications of good relations. At Iasos in the early imperial period there were at least three Jewish ephebes,[52] and at Hypaepa at the end of the second century there was an association of Jewish ephebes who had graduated from the gymnasium while clearly retaining their identity as Jews.[53] At Acmonia, a Jew made a donation of some sort to the city, and in doing so called Acmonia his πατρίς – "fatherland" or "home city".[54] This sort of evidence, which could be multiplied,[55] suggests a strong sense of belonging and of feeling at home in their local cities.

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49 See in general *S. Fine*, Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World. Toward a New Jewish Archaeology, Cambridge 2005, 124–134.

50 IJO II, no 168 (n. 16); see also *T. Rajak*, The Synagogue within the Greco-Roman City, in: *S. Fine* (ed.), Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue: Cultural Interaction During the Greco-Roman Period, London 1999, 161–173, 161–168; *Trebilco*, Jewish (n. 6) 58–60. See also *A. Fitzpatrick-McKinley*, Synagogue Communities in the Graeco-Roman Cities, in: J. R. Bartlett (ed.) Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities, London 2002, 55–87, 68.

51 The presence of "God-fearers" also suggests this, although much of the evidence is late, and so it is not discussed in detail here. See further, *Trebilco*, Jewish (n. 6) 145–166. But see also Acts 13:16, 26; 16:14.

52 IJO II, no 22 (n. 16); see *Williams*, Jews (n. 21) 114 for dating.

53 IJO II no 47 (n. 16); see further *M. Pucci Ben Zeev*, Jews (n. 46) 367.

54 IJO II, no. 169 (n. 16); see also *Trebilco*, Jewish (n. 6) 81–82. The inscription is undated.

55 Note especially the "God-fearers" from Aphrodisias; see *Rajak*, Synagogue (n. 50) 168–169 on which see *A. Chaniotis*, The Jews of Aphrodisias. New Evidence and Old Problems, in: SCI 22 (2002) 209–242, 213–218. See also the Glykon family from Hierapolis (IJO II no 196 [n. 16]), who show a significant level of integration into their city; see *Harland*, Acculturation (n. 43) 222–244. See in general *Trebilco*, Jewish (n. 6) 173–180.

Secondly, there is also evidence for the *significance* of these communities within their cities. As I have noted above, the decrees preserved by Josephus suggest disputes between some Jewish communities and their cities over matters like the Temple tax and observing the Sabbath. Overall, the evidence suggests that these disputes may have lasted for decades in some cities. Barclay writes:

> "Such issues could only arise if the Jewish communities were a significant presence in the cities concerned and if at least some of their members were of social and economic importance. A small and insignificant community can be ignored by the city magistrates, even if its lifestyle is peculiar; or, if not ignored, it can be coerced into submission. Here, one senses the presence of Jews sufficiently prominent in city life for it to be exceptionally awkward when they refuse to attend court or do business on the Sabbath; and these are Jews sufficiently articulate and well-connected (and with sufficient funds) to be able to take their protests to the highest authorities, with at least occasional success."[56]

This strongly points to the significance of these communities.

Thirdly, these communities were at home *as Jews* – and so preserved their strong sense of a distinctive group identity in the city. I have already noted evidence for this retention of Jewish identity.

But one element of this is that there were *limits* to Jewish involvement in the city. It is noted in Josephus that the Jews of Ionia did not worship other gods. In Ant 12:125–126 we read: "And we know that Marcus Agrippa had a similar view concerning the Jews, for when the Ionians agitated against them and petitioned Agrippa that they alone might enjoy the citizenship which Antiochus, the grandson of Seleucus, called *Theos* by the Greeks, had given them, and claimed that, if the Jews were to be their fellows, they should worship the Ionians' gods, the matter was brought to trial and the Jews won the right to use their own customs."[57] The refusal of the Jewish communities to participate in the cults of the city caused both offense and great difficulty with regard to the communities' rights, but the Jewish communities clearly thought that to be involved in city cults was to go too far. We have noted that, as a result of Jewish distinctiveness, there were serious disputes with the city and the Jewish communities were subject to harassment at times, but it is noteworthy that the evidence for this ends with the turn of the era.

Accordingly, Gruen notes, Jewish communities "both partake of the social and cultural environment and maintain a separate identity. These were not mutually exclusive alternatives."[58] Jewish communities were therefore involved in complex social relations and seem to have been able to be involved in and belong to the city

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56 *Barclay*, Jews (n. 31) 271.
57 This is to be dated to 14 BCE; see *Pucci Ben Zeev*, Jewish (n. 31) 268–270.
58 *Gruen*, Judaism (n. 7) 101. See also *Rajak*, Synagogue (n. 50) 164–165.

as significant communities on the one hand *and* be distinctive within the city and maintain a degree of separateness (with this sometimes being seen as exclusiveness) on the other. It is not surprising that a significant but distinctive and at times separatist group which has no actual political power would occasionally be subject to harassment.

The sociological reality then was of being *significant* groups in their local cities, where they were *at home*, but where they interacted as strongly *Jewish* communities.

4.3.2. Christian groups

Firstly, it is important to note that Jewish and Gentile Christians are in quite different situations. We can suggest that Jewish Christians would have experienced Christian conversion as relatively undisruptive socially within the city, since conversion would not greatly alter their relations within the wider Greco-Roman city.[59] Such people would have been seen as "at home in the city but part of a distinctive group" before, and this would probably continue to sum up how they were seen as Jewish Christians. But for Gentiles, the situation was quite different. Conversion would involve a radical change from being fully part of majority society, to becoming a member of a group that was seen by others as a form of Judaism – and hence a group that "was at home but was also distinctive/ separatist". Perhaps some people would come to realise this new group of Christians was also at odds with other Jews too.

It is significant that we know of virtually no solely Jewish Christian groups in Asia Minor. In fact, most of our evidence comes from groups where Gentile Christians seem to be in the majority. We can see that, as a group of people who have undergone a very significant conversion experience, Christians were often grappling with how to relate to the wider city.

Another point also becomes apparent: the sheer social *insignificance* of Christian communities in their wider cities in Asia Minor. In the first century and in contrast to Jewish communities, it seems likely that Christian groups were generally socially insignificant as far as their cities were concerned. There is of course the exception of Nero's persecution of Christians in Rome in 64 CE, which suggests that by this time Christians had become a noteworthy and distinctive group in the capital. But it is not until Pliny's time that Christians in Asia Minor come clearly to the notice of the authorities. Prior to that, it seems likely that all the harassment or persecution of Christian groups in Asia Minor was local in nature – and was due to neighbours finding Christians objectionable for a range

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59 Of course it would alter relations with other Jews.

of reasons. So we can suggest that Christian groups – in contrast to Jewish groups – were generally "below the radar" for their cities in the first century.

It seems to be clear that early Christian groups in Asia Minor regarded themselves as *distinctive*, even exclusive. This is most obvious in the material that relates to monotheism and avoiding idolatry, and that speaks of joining the groups via conversion.[60] With regard to these dimensions, both Jewish and Christian groups regarded themselves as distinctive.

But what about Christians being "at home" or belonging in their cities? We can suggest that Christian groups demonstrated a considerable range of responses with regard to the relationship with the wider city. We have four clear examples in this regard from Asia Minor – Revelation, 1 Peter, 1 and 2 Timothy (which are addressed to Ephesus) and the Nicolaitans.

John of Revelation is clearly of the view that the Christian communities he addresses are too involved in the wider society. His key concern is to avoid idolatry and to avoid worshipping the beast. His call in Rev 18:4 is to "Come out of her [the city], my people". This also relates to avoiding significant participation in the network of relations that were part of the economic life of the Roman Empire. Overall, he argues for a stance of no social integration into the wider culture, and seeks to persuade his readers to participate as little as possible in the social intercourse of the wider culture.[61] For John, readers should neither "belong", nor be "at home" in their cities.

The author of 1 Peter regards readers as "exiles and aliens" (1 Pet 1:1, 17; 2:11). I take this to be a theological assertion about their identity. As a result of conversion, they do not belong in the wider culture, but rather are exiles from their true homeland, in which they are "God's elect" (1 Pet 1:1). The harassment and abuse they experience from their neighbours,[62] is probably primarily caused by their distinctive identity as a group, whose actual social experience could be characterised as that of exiles who are "no longer at home".[63] This language of "exiles and aliens" gives a much stronger sense of "not-belonging" and of dislocation than we seem to find in Jewish communities in Asia Minor.

But we also see a degree of integration exhibited by the Petrine author, and it seems by readers. Thus, they value many of the virtues of the wider society and the language of 1 Peter shows strong contact with the discourse of that society.[64]

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60 See for example Gal 3:20; Eph 4:6; 1 Tim 2:5; 1 Pet 4:3; 1 John 5:21; Acts 13:48.

61 See *Trebilco*, Early Christians (n. 17) 393–402.

62 See 1 Pet 1:6; 2:12; 3:13–17; 4:4, 12–19; 5:9.

63 *D. G. Horrell*, Between Conformity and Resistance. Beyond the Balch-Elliott Debate Towards a Postcolonial Reading of First Peter, in: R. L. Webb/B. Bauman-Martin (ed.), Reading First Peter With New Eyes. Methodological Reassessments of the Letter of First Peter (LNTS 364), London 2007, 111–143, 128.

64 See for example 1 Pet 2:1; 3:8; 4:15 and in the household codes in 2:18–20; 3:1–7.

In addition, the readers are exhorted to "do good" to outsiders. 1 Pet 3:16–17 is of particular interest: "Keep your conscience clear, so that, when you are maligned, those who abuse you for your good conduct in Christ (ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστροφήν) may be put to shame. For it is better to suffer for doing good (ἀγαθοποιοῦντας), if suffering should be God's will, than to suffer for doing evil."[65] The author of 1 Peter can take it for granted that he shares with outsiders the notion of what is "good" and so he can hope that behaviour that is "good" will be seen as such in the present. Further, the readers are encouraged to behave in ways that will be approved of by outsiders.

1 Peter also exhorts its readers to "honour the emperor" (1 Pet 2:17), which implies a degree of social integration. However, this is to fall far short of worship, since the author introduces this command by saying in 2:13 that readers are to "accept the authority of every *human institution* (Ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει)", of which the emperor is clearly an example. The emperor and the system of which he is a part, simply form a "human institution", and the emperor is only to be honoured (as are all people (2:17)) and not to be worshipped. This is to put the emperor in his place. In addition, readers are to have nothing to do with "lawless idolatry (ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλολατρίαις)" (1 Pet 4:3).[66] 1 Peter thus exhibits a very nuanced attitude to integration.[67]

The community addressed in the Pastorals is clearly involved in the wider society to quite some extent. They demonstrate significant facets of acculturation to the wider society with regarded to some theological concepts (such as epiphany language and the use of εὐσέβεια) and key attitudes, values and facets of behaviour. They are concerned about what outsiders think of the group, which shows a desire for some social integration. The author wishes to reduce the offence caused by the group in the wider society; he also expresses himself in language that resonates with the wider culture, which shows a desire to use acculturation to build bridges with the wider society, but they do exhibit some opposition to the wider culture in areas like their attitude to wealth.[68]

From John in Revelation we learn of the Nicolaitans (see Rev 2:6, 14–15, 20–25). They are a group who seem to have argued that it was acceptable for Christians to eat food that had been offered to idols and to be involved in additional facets of Greco-Roman worship.[69] By advocating such involvement,

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65 See also 1 Pet 2:12–15, 20; 3:11, 13–14; 4:19.

66 See also *P. A. Harland*, Honouring the Emperor or Assailing the Beast. Participation in Civic Life among Associations (Jewish, Christian and Other) in Asia Minor and the Apocalypse of John, in: JSNT 77 (2000) 99–121, 115.

67 For a discussion of the emphasis in 1 Peter on *both* a distinctive Christian identity and sense of solidarity *and* conformity or assimilation see *Horrell*, Between (n. 63) 111–143.

68 See further *Trebilco*, Early Christians (n. 17) 354–384.

69 See *Trebilco*, Early Christians (n. 17) 307–335.

they were able to participate in social, economic and political life in their cities. They very much represent what might be called the "accommodationist" approach to involvement in city life.

So, unsurprisingly, the same issue of relations with the wider society seems to have been faced by Christian communities as by Jewish ones. These Christian communities in Asia Minor seem to have been distinctive, but there is a wide spectrum of positions with regard to social integration and "belonging" in the city, much more than was the case with Jewish communities. Of course, this spectrum may have also been present among Jewish communities, but our evidence is silent in this regard. But overall we can tentatively suggest there were some very significant contrasts between the social situation of Jewish and Christian groups. To quite some extent this may be due to the fact that many Christians in Asia Minor were Gentiles, rather than Jews. For them, the default position was active involvement in what had been *their* social and religious world, and so joining a Christian group involved considerable change – or at the least considerable debate about their attitude to their wider culture.

5.   Interactions between Jewish and Christian communities

We might think that each community was the *context* for the development of the other. Certainly, Christian groups at the very beginning of the movement were regularly formed from within the Jewish community. In the earliest period, Gentiles would understand themselves to be joining a Jewish group. Outsiders would also see Christians as a Jewish group. So a key context for early Christian life, at least at first, was the Jewish community. Of course, the wider city was also an important and often a challenging context for the early Christians. But as the Christian groups became increasingly Gentile and as the Jewish and Christian groups became increasingly separate, the Christian groups grew away from Jewish communities and their context increasingly became the city.

There is very little evidence that the Christian groups formed the context for the Jewish communities, at least not in the first and second centuries CE.[70] The primary context for the Jewish communities, their most proximate "other", was the wider city and it was within the context of the wider Greco-Roman city that the Jewish communities had to negotiate their life. As far as we can tell, generally the impact of the growing Christian movement on the Jewish communities was small. Certainly Jewish communities acted to discipline Jewish Christians in their midst,[71] but there is little evidence that interaction with Christian thought, for

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70 See *Magness*, Date (n. 12) 467.
71 See 5.1 below.

example, was a significant feature of synagogue life. Perhaps for a considerable period, most Jewish communities could ignore Christian groups.

But we can discern three different forms of interaction between Jewish and Christian communities.

5.1.   The disciplining of Jewish Christians by Jews

According to Acts, there was Jewish opposition to Paul's preaching in Asia Minor. This is said to occur in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:45, 50), Iconium (14:2, 5), Lystra (though involving Jews from Antioch and Iconium; see 14:19),[72] and Ephesus (19:9), with a general reference to Jews in Asia in Acts 20:19. The references to persecution by Jews in Paul's letters increase our confidence that this evidence from Acts is historical.[73]

In Acts 21 Luke says that Jews from Asia, probably primarily from Ephesus,[74] took the lead in charging Paul with attacking the people, the law and the Temple, that is, fundamental dimensions of Jewish identity. The paramount charge was that Paul had brought a Gentile into the Temple, thus defiling it (see Acts 21:27–29). This seems to have occurred at Pentecost (see Acts 20:16), so these Jews from Asia probably had come to Jerusalem as pilgrims. We see again that Jews from Asia Minor were strongly committed to the law and the Temple, and that this led them to challenge Paul.[75]

5.2.   Christians in conflict with Jews in Smyrna and Philadelphia

In Rev 2:9 and 3:9 John writes of "the synagogue of Satan" in Smyrna and Philadelphia. Note 2:9: "I know your affliction and your poverty, even though you are rich. I know the slander on the part of those who say that they are Jews and are not, but are a synagogue of Satan."

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72 This incident is almost certainly referred to in 2 Cor 11:25.

73 See 2 Cor 11:24, 26 and references to general persecution in Rom 8:35; 1 Cor 4:12; 2 Cor 4:9; 6:4–5; 12:10; Gal 5:11; it is likely that one element of these general references is persecution by Jews. These passages predate Paul's return to Jerusalem (see Acts 21; Rom 15:25–31) and so these instances of Jewish persecution belong to the period of Paul's mission in Asia Minor, Macedonia and Achaia. Gal 5:11, with its ἔτι, suggests Paul's controversies with Jews were not confined to any one period of his ministry. See further *Trebilco*, Jewish (n. 6) 20–27; *J. M. G. Barclay*, Paul among Diaspora Jews. Anomaly or Apostate, in: JSNT 60 (1995) 89–120, 115–119.

74 Since they recognise Trophimus who had recently been in Ephesus; see Acts 20:4.

75 See further in *Trebilco*, Jewish (n. 6) 26, and the references given there.

The interpretation of these verses is hotly disputed, but in my view they concern people who are non-Christian Jews, but whom John considers have now forfeited the right to call themselves Jews because they reject Christ and attack his followers.[76] Because they actively oppose and slander Christians (βλασφημία; 2:9),[77] John regards them as aligning themselves with Satan, the Great Accuser (Rev 12:10). Hence for John they are a synagogue not of God (as the Jews themselves would have claimed), but of Satan.[78] It seems clear then that the Christian communities in Smyrna and Philadelphia were in conflict with their local Jewish communities.[79]

5.3.   The influence of Jewish Communities on Christians

We have some evidence for the influence of Jewish communities on Christian groups.[80] A key example of this comes from the Synod of Laodicea (c. 363 CE), which related to Christians in Asia. Its Canons prohibited Christians from practising their religion with Jews, in particular, "celebrating festivals with them", "keeping the Sabbath", and "eating unleavened bread" during the Passover. The Council decreed that Christians should work on the Sabbath and read the Gospels as well as the Jewish scriptures on Saturday (Canons 16, 29, 37, 38).[81] This is highly revealing and indicates significant Jewish influence on the life of Christian communities in the mid-fourth century, influence that the Council was seeking to combat. It also shows the attraction of Judaism to many Christians, and suggests

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76 Another view is that they are Gentile Christian Judaizers; see *M. Murray*, Playing a Jewish Game. Gentile Christian Judaizing in the First and Second Centuries CE, Waterloo 2004, 99, who thinks Rev 2:9 and 3:9 refer to Christians who "are accused of falsely identifying themselves as Jews". See also *S. G. Wilson*, Related Strangers. Jews and Christians, 70–170 C.E., Minneapolis (MN) 1995, 163.

77 βλασφημία is elsewhere used of the activity of the beast and the whore; see 13:1, 5, 6, 17:3; *J. Lambrecht*, Jewish Slander. A Note on Rev 2,9–10, in: Id. (ed.), Collected Studies on Pauline Literature and on The Book of Revelation, Rome 2001, 329–39 argues that here it refers to slander against Christians, rather than blasphemy against God and Christ.

78 See *L. L. Thompson*, The Book of Revelation. Apocalypse and Empire, Oxford 1990, 90; see also *J. Lambrecht*, Synagogues of Satan (cf. Rev 2,9 and 3,9). Anti-Judaism in the Apocalypse, in: Id. (ed.), Collected Studies on Pauline Literature and on The Book of Revelation, Rome 2001, 341–56. Further, note the parallel between 2:9 and 3:9 and the false apostles of Rev 2:2: these people were almost certainly apostles in their own eyes, but John denies them that title. The case is the same with the Jews of Rev 2:9 and 3:9.

79 See *Oster*, Christianity (n. 17) 947.

80 It may be that some Christians in Colossae developed the so-called Colossian heresy because of the influence of the local Jewish community; see *J. D. G. Dunn*, The Colossian Philosophy. A Confident Jewish Apologia, in: Bib. 76 (1995) 153–181. But this continues to be debated.

81 *U. Huttner*, Early Christianity in the Lycus Valley (AJEC 85; ECAM 1), Leiden 2013, 291–314.

that, even in the fourth century, there was at times a blurring of the boundary lines between Jewish and Christian communities.

Van der Horst points to this wider significance of the Council of Laodicea:

"These canons can only be explained on the assumption that keeping the sabbath, celebrating Pesach and other Jewish religious festivals, etc., were not marginal but frequently occurring and tenacious phenomena among Christians in Asia Minor in the second half of the fourth century. John Chrysostom's and Aphraat's testimonies make it highly probable that this assumption is correct. Only the fact that Judaism continued to make itself strongly felt and to make effective propaganda throughout the first five centuries of our era makes it explicable that during these centuries there was a persistent tradition of judaizing in the church of Asia Minor which defied all the anathemas of the church authorities."[82]

This is significant evidence for the impact of Jewish communities on Christian groups. This leads us to suspect that this impact was more likely to have been continuous and enduring rather than simply sporadic.

6.   Conclusions

It is unsurprising that there are many similarities between Jewish and Christian communities in Asia Minor. After all, Christian groups often grew from within Jewish communities and they faced very similar situations. However, I hope I have shown that there are very revealing differences and contrasts between Jewish and Christian communities. I also suggest that we need to study these two groups together in Asia Minor and to compare and contrast them. In particular, we can learn a great deal by considering Christian groups in the light of their relationships and interactions with Jewish communities.

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82 *Van der Horst*, Jews (n. 2) 118.

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Index of Ancient Sources