GOD-WITH-US
THE DOMINANT PERSPECTIVE IN MATTHEW'S STORY

AND OTHER ESSAYS

By

Andries van Aarde



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In Memory
of
Willem Vorster

(1941.12.01 – 1993.01.10)

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Preface

This book is aimed at the specialist in Matthean studies. Throughout the book debate is conducted with scholars, even on aspects of the interpretation of material in the Gospel of Matthew. The book is, however, not intended merely to cross swords with colleagues. It has the express purpose of communicating a particular viewpoint, so that future research into the Gospel of Matthew will also take note of this viewpoint. This viewpoint is related to my conviction that the fundamental idea that Matthew is sharing with his readers is the message of *God with us* – in a limitless way. According to Matthew, God's unmediated presence among his people – especially those who, because of their 'imperfections' were considered 'impure' and thus outside the realm of the kingdom of heaven – was manifested in the presence of the *Son of God* (Jesus), who made God's will his own through his conduct and attitude. But that is not all. God's presence can also be seen in the conduct and attitude of the *sons of God* (the disciples) who, after the analogy of Jesus, are obedient to the will of God.

My research done on this topic was completed in 1982 and, according to the record, was the first full-length narrative analysis of an entire book of the Bible in South Africa or overseas. Jack Kingsbury's epoch-making work, *Matthew as story*, appeared in print only in 1986.

There is a compelling reason for my need to revise and publish this research from more than a decade ago. In the first place, my current research on Matthew has brought me to the point where I have begun to publish material about the *social context* within which Matthew's message was embedded. I maintain the conviction that the heart of this message can be described in terms of the two narrative lines that are analogically bound together in the plot of the Matthean gospel. Matthew may be presented as a story within a story: the story of the disciples after the analogy of the story of Jesus. At the same time we should consider that the intended readers of Matthew lived after A D 70 and that the social context of these readers was transparent in its depiction by the evangelist. This context was that of *formative*

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Judaism, and tension between the synagogue and the church. One of my assumptions in this connection is that people in positions of leadership in the Matthean community, under pressure from the officials of the synagogue, conformed to Pharisaic ideology in behaviour and attitude. A deviation from the example of Jesus was the result. Jesus, in his interaction with others, moved among the marginalized in society and his message of *God with us* is related to the behaviour and attitude of the disciples towards these marginalized individuals. To give greater meaning to this social context it would be expedient to refer back to my former work in this connection. I therefore found it necessary to review my earlier research. There was, however, another reason, related to the claim that this work could make for recognition of its pioneering role in literary studies of the New Testament. But it could not play this role if it remained unpublished and therefore unknown.

The book consists of two parts. Part I deals with a review of the earlier research referred to above. Chapters of this section of the book have already been published as articles in professional journals. These articles have again been revised with a view to uniformity in this first part of the book. Influential recent articles by other scholars have been referred to here and there in this revision. The literary references nevertheless largely reflect works that appeared before the early eighties. The failure to acknowledge the insights of more scholars over the past decade does not, however, weaken the fundamental thesis of this work. The involvement of the following publications in reviewing and adapting previous contributions is acknowledged: *Scriptura* (Part I, Chapter 1), *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* (Part I, Chapters 3 and 9), and *Neotestamentica* (Part I, Chapter 7).

Part II of the book contains a collection of the essays I have written on the Gospel of Matthew since the seventies. This collection of essays is intended to make those of my studies on Matthew that had a particular impact on other scholars more accessible. In a sense they also reveal the progress of my own academic work in respect of gospel research. They cover a variety of themes and methodical approaches. They include semantic, form-critical, redaction-critical, narrative-critical and social-scientific studies. They deal with the Beatitudes, a story of a miracle, a parable, and the stories of the resurrection and the birth of Jesus. Chapter 1 includes certain previously unpublished aspects of my early research. The following journals in revising previous published contributions are acknowledged: *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* (Part II, Chapters 1 and 2 and the second part of Chapter 4), *Neotestamentica* (Part II, Chapter 3 and Chapter 5) and the *SBL Seminar 1992 Papers* (Part II, Chapter 6). The first part of Chapter 4 comes from the Metzger-*Festschrift* which was compiled by South African New Testament scholars, edited by

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Kobus Petzer and Patrick Hartin, and published by Brill in Leiden (The Netherlands).

As already indicated, Part I is intended to identify and describe the dominant perspective of the 'theology' of the Gospel of Matthew. One of the generally accepted results of modern biblical scholarship is acknowledgement and appreciation of the biblical authors as 'theologians'; this certainly also applies to the writers of the synoptic gospels. Since the time of Rudolf Bultmann, matters have developed to such an extent that the synoptic gospels are no longer seen as simply the sources containing the so-called presuppositions of 'New Testament theology' – that is, the theology of the 'theologians' Paul and John. Matthew, like Mark and Luke, is now regarded as a 'theologian' in his own right, alongside Paul and John.

Matthew, however, is not a 'theologian' in the sense of presenting a systematic and reasoned 'theology'. Matthew is a theologian in the sense that he tells his readers something about God's dealings with Jesus Christ. The term *dominant perspective* in the subtitle of Part I of the book relates to the point of view from which the evangelist introduced his 'theology'. The fact that Matthew nowhere in his gospel explicitly formulated his purpose in writing (cf e g Lk 1:1-4 and Jn 20:30f) is a considerable obstacle in the search for the dominant perspective of the 'theology' of the Gospel of Matthew. The expositor of the Gospel of Matthew should therefore distinguish between Matthew's 'idea' and his 'technique'. This study attempts, in applying a particular exegetical method, to gain access to the 'technique' that the evangelist used to express his 'idea'.

This concern with the relationship between 'technique' and 'idea' is the old problem of the relationship between 'form' and 'content'. The scholars Hermann Gunkel (Old Testament) and Johann G Herder (New Testament), at the juncture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, already considered insight into the relation of 'form' to 'content' a factor in the interpretation of texts. It was, however, only in using these insights from literary theory that the hermeneutical implications of the relationship were recognized and exploited in exegesis. A growing awareness that the intention of a text was more than mere 'form' or 'content' was discernible among scholars. This research was concerned with *genre identification*. In other words, the identification of literary genres was not just a question of classification and naming. The identification of the 'generic' literary convention to which a text was witness helped the reader to perceive the intention of the text and what he could expect.

The *genre concept* is a multifaceted question with a complex history in literary theory. Although genre is broadly a collective category of literary units that display common character traits in form and content, studies of it are widely divergent. They may be used as an instrument to analyse the devices or constructive principles that make a text into a work of art. Genre, then, in this sense briefly means the

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poetics of a text. And the term 'poetics' concerns the theory of production; in other words, the making of the text.

An analysis of the *poetics* of the Gospel of Matthew is therefore considered important in the light of the purpose of this study. By analysing the way that Matthew put his gospel together, we explore his *technique*, and his *technique*, again, is the key to his *theology*. Against the background of the purpose of this study of identifying the dominant perspective in the Gospel of Matthew, and explaining it in terms of a specific literary model, one cannot avoid first giving a methodological account. To place the literary model that I will use in perspective, a short overview is required of the exegetical methods predominantly applied to gospel research (and the Gospel of Matthew in particular) until the mid-eighties, and the results of using these methods.

The conclusion from what I have said is evident. It is that the variety of insights into the theological content of aspects of Matthew's gospel are directly related to the employment of a particular exegetical method. To give the reader an idea of the methods already used in the history of Matthean research, and to indicate the status of exegetical methodology relating to analysis of the Gospel of Matthew up until the mid-eighties, in Chapter I of Part 1, I have outlined the history of Matthean research and new developments in this area. At times this overview is expanded upon with material from broader research into all four canonical gospels. An overview of research into Matthean studies that have appeared in South Africa over the past decade can be found in an article by Bernard Combrink, published in *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 50/1 (1994). My own overview is not limited to those investigations that focus on the 'theology' or the central theme of the 'theology' in the Gospel of Matthew. The aim of this chapter is to gain an overview of the most important *methods* that have been used in the exegesis of the Gospel of Matthew, and the results obtained by such methods of investigation. The function of such an overview is, first, to give a critical evaluation of the possibilities and the shortcomings of certain methods against the background of this aim and, second, to give a critical account of why the study of the particular paradigm is cast as a product of the research debate of a decade ago. For this reason I consider it necessary to present, at the end of the overview, a methodological account of my own analysis of the *poetics* of the Gospel of Matthew.

The most important part of my investigation is, of course, the analysis of the *poetics* of the Gospel of Matthew. In the subsequent chapters I present the theory of my exegetical method, its application and result, in an integrated manner that is limited to certain aspects. I trust that the result arrived at will support my thesis regarding the dominant perspective in the Gospel of Matthew. I do not, however,

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give a full exposition of the theory of the method I have used. Neither will I, on the basis of this method, introduce all aspects of Matthew's 'theology'.

Subsequently, before dealing with the history of Matthean research and its more recent developments in Chapter 1, I will briefly formulate my thesis regarding the dominant perspective in Matthew's message.

The thesis is that Matthew shaped his gospel about Jesus in the form of a story and that this *form* offers the key to his message and the dominant viewpoint in it. The spoken language has the inherent potential of being delivered in a pluriform and therefore polysemantic way. Written language, on the contrary, is presented in a unique literary context. If a writer wishes to express the message in a different way at another time, he or she can use the same material to write a different text. And this is exactly what Matthew did with the Markan gospel. By retelling the Gospel of Mark and, in the process, taking over, omitting, adapting or expanding the material, Matthew wrote his own 'theology'. In this way there arose a 'synoptic', a 'new' narration of the gospel of Jesus, the Son of David, the Son of God – that of the Gospel of Matthew. As I have already said, it is my intention to show that Matthew's 'theology' consisted of the creative production of an *analogy* between the Jesus events, from his birth to his resurrection (I refer to this as the pre-paschal period), and the church in the period between the resurrection and the second coming (the post-paschal period). I can make an unqualified reference to this *analogy* as the *association* that Matthew suggested between his readers and the characters and events in the narrative about Jesus. This *association* is intended to provide guidelines for a *proper relationship* between the 'leaders' and the suffering 'people' in the setting of the post-paschal Matthean community. I see this setting as the social context within which the narrative initially communicated. This social setting was that of *formative Judaism* in the period after A D 70. My current research deals with this context and as such is not reflected in this book, except in certain chapters in Part II. In Part I, I argue that Matthew's purpose with the above *association* is also that the *relationship* to which reference is made should be seen as the testimony of *love* being the fulfilment of the Torah (the will of God), and as the way of life within the sphere of the kingdom of heaven. Matthew grounds the *analogy* between the pre-paschal Jesus events and the post-paschal disciple events in Jesus – the Son of David, the Son of God – who is seen by Matthew as *God with us*, not only in the pre-paschal period, but also in the post-paschal period. The theme of *God with us* was therefore the *Leitmotif* according to which Matthew constituted the 'theology' in his gospel. In other words, *God with us* is the dominant perspective from which Matthew presented his ideas ('theology') by means of the 'story' genre.

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To write a book such as this requires the help and support of friends and colleagues. In our society, available time is one of those commodities that may be labelled 'limited goods'. The fact that I was able to take my sabbatical leave in the United States during the 1992-1993 academic year gave me the opportunity to spend time on this project. My thanks go to Dr Patrick Henry, executive director of the Institute for Ecumenical and Cultural Research in Collegeville, Minnesota, and that Institute's Board, who invited me as a Resident Scholar during that academic year. Patrick also made valuable suggestions regarding the content of the book. The patience of my wife, Grobbie, and my children, Gideon and Salomie, made it possible for me to spend the available time fruitfully. Willem Oliver and Ernest van Eck in particular gave incalculable support in preparing the book for the press. Ernest took charge of the technical aspects of the book, as well as the compilation of the indexes. I am deeply grateful to him. Beverley van Reenen and Sam Hirschorn helped with editing the English. Ronel van Niekerk translated the German references into English. Their assistance is gratefully acknowledged. At the very early stages of my research into the Gospel of Matthew, Gert Pelser made valuable contributions. I learnt a great deal from him.

In conclusion: the book also serves as a remembrance of my good friend and mentor, the late Professor Willem Vorster, who in his time headed the Institute for Theological Research at the University of South Africa. Willem was the person who introduced me to gospel research. Right up to his shocking and untimely death on 10 January 1993 – while my family and I were in Collegeville and I was working on the book during my sabbatical leave – Willem was my most important partner in discussing the understanding of the gospels. I pay tribute to Willem Vorster and dedicate this book to him, particularly because of his continual encouragement to complete the project as speedily as possible.

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FEBRUARY 1994

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Part I

God-with-us

The dominant perspective

in Matthew's story

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Chapter 1

Past and present in Matthean research: A review of the various interpretation models

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The period extending from the end of the second century AD to the beginning of the nineteenth century can be considered the 'prehistory' of modern scientific Matthean research. During this period the gospels were usually regarded as biographies of Jesus. From the first half of the nineteenth century, however, scholars have generally departed from this view. It has become the conviction of most scholars that the so-called 'First Gospel', which appeared first in the New Testament canon under the authorship of the apostle Matthew, was neither written by Matthew himself, nor the temporal precursor of the other canonical gospels. Referring to this development, Kraft (1981:321) shows that from the end of the second century the gospels were viewed by the whole church, even scholars, as a description of the life of Jesus. Slight changes regarding this view only started occurring during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Since then New Testament scholars have hesitantly admitted that this was not true, and started to put forward the obvious question of what function the gospels could otherwise have. This insight and speculation arose from the historical-critical approach to the gospels that had its origin more particularly in the work of F C Baur (1792-1860) (see De Jonge 1982:73-76).

In the process of research into the gospels, historical criticism separated into three distinguishable (but not divorced) methods of research – namely *Literarkritik*, *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte*, and *Redaktionsgeschichte*. Each of these methodological varieties of historical criticism led to the next, in the above sequence. As its frame of reference, our review will show the successive treatment of the three phases, as well as new developments in the field of research. Although the *formgeschichtliche* and *traditionsgeschichtliche* approaches are in fact two separate methods, for the purposes of this investigation, they will be treated as one.

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1.1.1 The *literarkritische* approach

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, biblical scholarship was strongly influenced by the theories of the Old Testament scholar, Julius Wellhausen, regarding the identification of the sources of the Pentateuch (cf Rast 1972:3). This breakthrough had taken place in the eighteenth century. It was only in the first half of the nineteenth century that it began to deliver positive fruit with critical inquiry into the 'synoptic problem'. The search for the solution to the 'synoptic problem' – that is, 'source criticism' – was closely related to the *Leben-Jesu Forschung* movement (cf Wrede 1978:11 and others). The explicit aim of the study of the synoptic problem was to try to identify the earliest elements in the tradition, to test the historical reliability of the identified earliest traditions, and, with the help of these traditions, to reconstruct the life of Jesus (De Jonge 1982:77). Kingsbury (1977:2) also calls *literarkritische* gospel research the 'historical-biographical' approach.

The initial phase of this period was characterized by a coupling of the precritical biographical approach and historical-critical source criticism. Consequently, some scholars primarily regarded the Gospel of Mark (but others the Gospel of Matthew – it being the 'First Gospel') as an objective, factual account of the life and work of Jesus. The Gospel of Matthew, in other words, offers a relatively continuous account of the *bruta facta* and associated details.

H J Holtzmann (1832-1910) set Matthean research on a new course when he proposed his 'two-source theory' as a possible solution to the 'synoptic problem' (cf Kraft 1981:328). The 'two-source theory' was taken up by Lachmann (1835) and supported by the works of Weisse (1838) and Wilke (1838). Holtzmann (1863) carefully worked through this hypothesis and made it workable (cf Lange 1980:1). This 'solution' to the 'synoptic problem' demonstrated the unreliability of the Papias-tradition regarding the apostolic authorship of the Gospel of Matthew (Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο... – Eusebius *HE* 111 3.16). It was realized that the gospels of Matthew and Luke were largely dependent on the framework and content of the Gospel of Mark, but also on the hypothetical *Logienquelle*, the so-called Q.

The Gospel of Mark was now regarded as the oldest and most historical account of the *Leben-Jesu* (the historical Jesus). In keeping with opinions current in the nineteenth century, such as those of Adolf von Harnack (cf Kümmel 1973:178ff; 309ff; 356ff) and Martin Kähler (cf Kümmel 1973:222ff), William Wrede (1901) announced that the Gospel of Mark was not intended to be a 'history of Jesus' or 'life of Jesus', but a 'theological reflection' (cf Kümmel 1973:445). According to Kraft (1936:116), these scholars thus came to the conclusion that also the Gospel of Mark,

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as a fundamental source of the life of Jesus, aspired to be a witness of faith rather than a biography of the life of Jesus. As far as the Gospel of Matthew is concerned, Wrede (1978:116) himself was of the opinion that Matthew was no original writer, but depended on Mark.

P Wernle (see Lange 1980:2) has summarized the critical insights regarding Matthean research during this period. These insights are based on the assumption that the Matthean Gospel adopted the framework and material of the Marcan Gospel, and added *Sondergut* and material from Q. Analysis shows that a Semitic-like influence is to be seen in the Matthean Gospel and that it demonstrates a *Jewish particularistic* and a *pagan universalistic* paradox, as well as an ecclesiological character. The summary by Wernle (1872-1939) (to which we have cursorily referred) can serve as an indication of the sharp insights that historical-critical research brought about, following on nineteenth-century *Literarkritik*. This has given rise to a continuous stream of Matthean studies up to the present, such as the *Matthean Sondergut*, the so-called *Reflexionszitate* and the hypothetical source known as Proto-Matthew.

Streeter (1927) directed the study of the nature of *Sondergut* in a specific direction. He is noted for expanding the 'two-source theory' to a 'four-source theory'. Streeter maintained that Matthean *Sondergut* was dependent on a literary source, just as Lucan *Sondergut* was. Kilpatrick (1950) adopted Streeter's theory. According to him, these sources - Mark, Q and M - were repeatedly read in the liturgical services of the Matthean community. In this community an expository movement arose regarding the above three 'writings'. This fixed pattern of exegesis was modelled on the manner in which Hebrew texts in the synagogue were 'targumised' by the addition of 'midrashim'. The Matthean Gospel was the end-product of this process and appeared as a 'kind of revised gospel book, conveniently incorporating into one volume the three documents Mark, Q and M' (Kilpatrick 1950:70). Kilpatrick's view of the 'exegetic activity' in the Matthean community was taken further by Stendahl (1969; discussed below) and Schille (1957/1958; cf Lange 1980:29; Stanton 1992:25). Strecker (1966:13), among others, pointed out the improbability of the existence of a literary 'M-source'. He considers the variety and the non-coherence of the material an indication that the origin of Matthean *Sondergut* should be traced back to oral tradition and the activity of Matthew himself (see also Combrink 1980:38, 60).

Related to the investigation of the specific nature of Matthean *Sondergut* is the study of the so-called *Reflexionszitate* in the Gospel of Matthew. The *Reflexionszitate*, as part of Matthean *Sondergut*, distinguish themselves from other Old Testament citations in the Matthean Gospel through the motif of fulfillment which

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appears in its introduction. These passages are scattered through the Gospel of Matthew. According to Strecker (1966:50), Pesch (1967:395-420) and Rothfuchs (1969:44, 50), this introductory formula could be part of the activity of the author of the Gospel of Matthew. It, however, begs the question regarding the origin of that particular portion to which the introductory formula refers. Gundry (1975:172), Pesch (1967:399) and Rothfuchs (1969:92f), among others, also hesitate to ascribe it to the activity of Matthew. The reason is that the wording of these citations, unlike the others he took from the Gospel of Mark, was adapted to the Septuagint vocabulary. Strecker (1966:82ff) considers that it was borrowed from an archetypal Christian *Zitatensammlung* as source. Stendahl (1969) sees, behind it, the influence of an 'exegetic school' (cf the above-mentioned view of Kilpatrick) from which Matthew came (cf also Hartman 1972). According to Hartman, the fulfillment citations have three functions in the Matthean Gospel: Matthew wanted to impart authority to his Gospel; he wanted to render his text more fluid, with greater impact; he wanted to create a cluster of associations for his readers. Gärtner (1954; see Rothfuchs 1969:13), proceeding from the 'pesher' technique in the Habakuk commentary by the Qumran community, is however of the opinion that the fulfillment citations arose quite normally within the missionary preaching tradition in the Matthean community (cf McConnel 1969). Gundry (1975:183ff) rejected Stendahl's thesis. He demonstrated that the fulfillment citations in Matthew, like the rest of the Old Testament quotations in the Synoptic gospels – except for those in the Marcan tradition which, as mentioned above, were strongly influenced by the Septuagint – showed a combination of Septuagint, Aramaic and Hebrew linguistic elements. According to him, this mixed language phenomenon is an indication of an archetypal Matthean Gospel in Aramaic or Hebrew, the so-called 'Proto-Matthew'. This hypothetical 'archetypal gospel' would have been written by an apostle who supplied the notes as an 'eye-witness notary' for the basis of the apostolic gospel tradition. Martin (1968/1969:135), however, criticizes this kind of view and points to the fact that an apostle (Matthew) thought it necessary to make use of material from a non-apostle (Mark).

Gundry's viewpoint is a revival of convictions that appeared early in the history of research and which, as a result of the Papias logion, clung to Matthean priority. The 'Matthean priority' viewpoint also found expression in various ways (see Lange 1980:4): Zahn (1922), Schlatter (1929) and Butler (1951) claimed that, in contrast with the 'two-source theory', Mark was dependent on and took his framework from Matthew. Parker (1953) and Vaganay (1954) – proceeding from the Papias logion – held the view that there was a Hebrew (= Aramaic) *Urevangelium* which was translated into three Greek gospels (Matthew, Mark and

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Luke). Feine & Behm (1950), Wikenhauser (1953) and Schelkle (1963) identified Q with the *logia* of the Papias tradition, which would be the Gospel of Matthew. The latter view relies on Schleiermacher (1839), who conjectured that a collection of Jesus' *logia* had been adopted as the main constituent of the Matthean gospel. These *logia* could then be traced back to the apostle Matthew himself.

The 'Matthean priority' viewpoints have almost no support today (cf Kümmel 1973:91f). The most important reasons for this are the awakening to the problem of historicity, the untenability of the Papias tradition (cf Lange 1980:4f) and the evolution of the *formgeschichtliche* approach.

1.1.2 The *traditionsgeschichtliche* and *formgeschichtliche* approach

The *traditions-* and *formgeschichtliche* approach arose as a result of the bias of the *literarkritische* method, as practiced by the Julius Wellhausen school in particular. This method was unable to offer an answer to questions regarding the pre-literary history of the identified 'sources' and the standards in the 'sources'. Hermann Gunkel opened new perspectives with his investigation into the influence of oral transmission on the written concretization of Old Testament texts. These insights were later applied to evangelical research in particular. According to Gunkel, it was the primary task of the literary critic to identify the various *Gattungen* (literary genres) in the Old Testament and describe the formal characteristics of each; to outline the literary genre's style and articulate the manner of composition and the rhetoric, and then to trace the literary genre's history back to its pre-literary stage (see Rast 1972:2-5). It was at this stage that convention within the living context resulted in a specific *Gattung*. In other words, Gunkel indicated that convention largely determined the appearance and wording of the various literary *Formen* (= *Gattungen*).

During the early stage of *traditions-* and *formgeschichtliche* work in the field of the New Testament, contributions were made by such people as J G Herder (1796), F Overbeck (1882), J Weiss (1908), P Wendland (1912) and E Norden (1913) (cf Zimmermann 1974:129ff). The first real *formgeschichtliche* inquiries into the gospels were piloted after the end of the First World War. The architects in this connection were K L Schmidt ([1918] 1969), M Dibelius ([1919] 1971) and R Bultmann ([1921] 1970). Subsequent *formgeschichtliche* work remained, until very recently, limited to commentary on and variations of the classifications by these three scholars.

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Where the *literarkritische* approaches were interested in the literary sources of the gospels, *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte* began to question the legalities in the generation of traditions in their pre-literary history and the course of tradition in oral transmission by the early church. As far as the Synoptic gospels were concerned, the point of departure was that the traditions regarding Jesus had been transmitted orally before being written down. During the oral stage these traditions took certain forms, according to the nature of the functions that they had to fulfill in the early Christian community. Three *Sitze im Leben* are identified in the Gospel material (Travis 1977:154f). The first *Sitz im Leben* refers to the activities of the 'historical Jesus' (the *Sitz im Leben Jesu*); the second to that of the early church before the gospels were put into writing (the *Sitz im Leben der alten Kirche*) and the third to that in which the evangelists contextualized the transmitted traditions (the *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae*). By the term *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae* we mean the specific community for whom the evangelist, as 'writer', wrote his gospel. This 'community', in other words, comprised his 'readers'.

One of the presuppositions of *Formgeschichte* (see Vorster 1982a:96) was that the gospels were not regarded as creations of individual writers, but as 'folk literature', the collective products of an 'evolutionary' process (cf also Vorster 1981:10-13). Traditional *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte* therefore concentrated chiefly on the *Sitz im Leben der alten Kirche*. The particular 'situations' within this 'layer of tradition' are generally categorized as 'kerygma', 'liturgy' and 'catechetics' (cf Zimmermann 1974:173). Bultmann (1970:5ff), in the Synoptic gospels, distinguished the following *Formen*, which were necessitated and generated by the above-mentioned three particular 'situations': Apophthegm, miracle- and historical narration and legends, and *Herrenworte*. Dibelius (1971:34ff, 66ff, 234ff, 265ff) used the term 'paradigm' rather than 'apophthegm'; by 'novel' he meant the same as 'miracle narration' and he referred to the category 'historical narration and legend' as 'myth', and to the category 'I-logia and parables' (= *Herrenworte*) as 'parenesis' (cf also Travis 1977:155ff).

Among the noteworthy results that *traditions-* and *formgeschichtliche* investigations have yielded regarding the Gospel of Matthew, are those of Kümmel into the so-called catechetic *Redestoffe*, Held's investigation of the *miracle narratives* and Barth's of the *apophthegmata*.

According to Kümmel (1967:60ff), Jesus' 'direct speeches' (*Redestoffe*) in the Gospel of Matthew – which, in contrast with the 'narrative material', were derived from Q and the *Sondergut* – are marshalled along objective (= *sachliche*) and catechetic lines. The so-called 'six antitheses' in Matthew 5:21-48, the three passages about proper cultic relations in Matthew 6:1-18, and the parousia parables in Mat-

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thew 24:37-25:46 are examples of this. The systematic presentation and polish of this material reflect, according to Kümmel, a later stage in the development of tradition. In his opinion they probably had their specific 'formation' within the Judaic-Christian milieu.

Held (1961:155-287) claimed that the miracle narratives in the Gospel of Matthew centered around a 'theological nucleus'. According to him, the concept of 'faith' is squarely at the center of passages such as Matthew 8:13, 9:28f and particularly 8:26, 14:31 and 17:20. He points out that, on the one hand, 'outside people seeking help' approached Jesus in faith; on the other, the *little faith* of the 'inner circle of the disciples' is striking. Although the miracle narratives in the Gospel of Matthew have generally been taken from the Gospel of Mark, the 'Matthew-trend' to which Held is drawing attention is easy to perceive.

Barth (1961:73f, 75-78, 88f, 147f) has also referred to the presence of the 'Matthew-trend' in the apophthegmata. In two passages in particular, namely Matthew 8:5-13 (esp verses 10 and 13) and Matthew 15:21-28 (esp verse 28), it is clear that the concept of 'faith' functions prominently. In both cases it concerns the Gentiles' willingness to believe, while the Jews did not believe (cf Lange 1980:9; cf note 40).

Researchers outside the *formgeschichtlicher* circle have posed the question of whether the 'systematic' work mentioned and the 'Matthew-trend' should rather be ascribed to Matthew's own redactional activity. Lange (1980:9), for example, in regard to the 'faith-little faith' tendency among the disciples, is of the opinion that Matthew himself thematized the 'faith-little faith' tendency in the Gospel. The studies by Kümmel, Held and Barth, which have been referred to, and those of others in this connection therefore belong to the following phase. *Traditions-* and *formgeschichtliche* interest did not, during the classical period of this investigative approach, lead to the identification of 'theological trends' in the Gospel of Matthew. For example, when one looks at Bultmann's (1970:376-384) *formgeschichtliche* work with specific reference to the Gospel of Matthew, it would appear that he was not really interested in either the Gospel as a whole or in the redactional activity of the evangelist. This is confirmed by his remark in the chapter of his book *Die Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien* (Bultmann 1966:44-48), entitled *Die Evangelie als ganze*, that Mark was inexperienced in the *redaktionsgeschichtliche* technique (Bultmann 1966:18). In addition, it is striking that the third section of Bultmann's *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (Bultmann 1970:347), entitled *Die Redaktion des Traditionsstoffes*, was by far the shortest and least successful.

Although the traditional form critics certainly had a sense of the hermeneutic importance of the 'gospel as a whole', they did not exploit it. For the *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte* it was a peripheral matter. Ashton (1972:22f) is correct in his typification:

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> The form critics paid little attention to the broad sweep of the gospels and the powerful impact each of them makes when read as a united whole; and for this reason one is left wondering just how important their contribution to the field of gospel research has been...They cut and carve rather than stick and sew, and tend to regard the evangelist as little more than...a picker-up of unconsidered pericopes.
>
> (Ashton 1972:22f)

According to N Perrin, at this stage of the history of research it began to seem that the *Wredestrasse* became the *Hauptstrasse*. He refers to the comment of T W Manson who, in contrast to *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte*, 'held the view that the gospels are a chronicle of the life of Jesus: 'The farther we travel along the *Wredestrasse*, the clearer it becomes that it is the road to nowhere' (Manson, quoted by Perrin 1966:297). Perrin himself was an important American exponent of the *redaktionsgeschichtliche* approach. This approach was the result of the direction that Gospel research, as already mentioned, took with William Wrede. It was a direction which, at that stage of research history, ushered in an exciting period.

With the rise of *Redaktionsgeschichte*, the picture of an evangelist as being more than a mere collector of transmitted tradition took root. Iber (1957:335) made the following remarks in regard to this new direction: The question as to the unity of the gospels raised the question whether the evangelists were not more than mere collectors, namely authors who were guided by a specific goal, wishing to express certain theological reflections. In his review of Matthean research in particular, S P Kealy referred to the transition from *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte* to *Redaktionsgeschichte* as follows:

> Today there is concern with the interpretation of biblical books as a literary unit as a whole – any individual part should be seen in terms of the whole...Too often in the past preoccupation with sources, with the transmission of the text or with the transmission of previous material tended to divert attention from what is basic in gospel study namely the interpretation of the text as it stands for today...Too often it seemed to be as if the genuine gospel lay somewhere behind the present gospels. These in turn were considered of secondary importance and the insights and contributions of their authors either a distortion of the original or irrelevant at best.
>
> (Kealy 1979:167)

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Scholars thus began to believe that *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte* could do no more than contribute to the recognition of the historical evolution of Synoptic texts (cf Vorster 1977a:10).

1.1.3 The *redaktionsgeschichtliche* approach

The opening of the door from the parts of a gospel to the importance of the text as a whole gave rise to the question of whether *Redaktionsgeschichte*, the historical-critical method which, for the first time, seriously began to deal explicitly with the gospel as a unit, represented continuity or discontinuity with *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte*. In this regard Güttgemanns (1971:69) stated that there is reason to doubt whether the development of *Redaktionsgeschichte* is in any way a continuation of *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte*. He is thus of the opinion that there is a discontinuity between the two approaches, since they differ in regard to text-theoretical premises. The tradition-historical and form-critical method would then be diachronic in nature, and the investigation of the evangelist's redactional activity synchronic. On the other hand, Marxsen (1959), Rohde (1966), Stein (1969) and Perrin (1970), among others, regard *Redaktionsgeschichte* as a subsequent facet in the historical-critical model of exegesis.

The fact that *Redaktionsgeschichte* takes account of the theological profile of the redactor as an individual (*schriftstellerische Einzelpersönlichkeit* – Rohde 1966:7-43) and *Formgeschichte* does not, does not mean that the former adopts a text-theoretical premise that differs from that of the latter. Both explanations maintain that the kerygma of the early Christian community is the carrier and the subject of, on the one hand, the oral transmission of traditions and, on the other, the redactional editing of these traditions within the framework of a particular gospel as a whole. Both assume a historical positivism by seeking the generative energy of the text in the extratextual, historical *Sitz im Leben*. According to Bornkamm (1961:11), therefore, the accepted results of Synoptic research is that the first three evangelists are first and foremost collectors and redactors of received traditions. Nevertheless, the first three gospels are also documents written from specific, in each case different, theological perspective, which gives each of them a distinct theme. They also reflect, in terms of their background, different ecclesiastical locations, each with its specific problems and views. The latter accounts for the tension that is often found between tradition and theology, to which the former is often made subservient.

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W S Vorster claims that *Redaktionsgeschichte* does not regard the evangelists as true 'writers' – the evangelist is a 'redactor' (note: not a 'collector') of traditions - since the evangelist is always an exponent of his environment (Vorster 1982a:107). For that reason the literary viewpoint of *Redaktionsgeschichte*, like that of *Formgeschichte*, is genetically causative. This viewpoint is confirmed by the following statement by Kesich (1972:41):

> The evangelists cannot be considered authors of the Gospels in the modern sense. A modern writer is fully responsible for the form and context of his work. The evangelists did not create their own pattern, but derived it...they were members of the Christian community and each of them expressed the faith of the church.
>
> (Kesich 1972:41)

According to the 'genetic method of explanation' the rediscovery of the *origin* and *development* of phenomena simultaneously comprises their explanation (Lategan 1982:58). This is a positivistic literary view, since the gospels are regarded as historical documents which (like any other ancient text) need to be explained on the grounds of necessity and causality. In such an interpretation the formation of a text and the influence of the writer on its content are the object of the inquiry (Vorster 1982a:94). The 'genetic interpretation' can thus justifiably be seen as the point of departure and cohesive element between the historical-critical methods, such as *Literargeschichte*, *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte* and *Redaktionsgeschichte* (Lategan 1982:58).

Seen as such, Güttgemanns is not entirely correct in considering that there is a discontinuity between *Formgeschichte* and *Redaktionsgeschichte*. The latter is unthinkable without the input of other methodological aspects of historical criticism. This is corroborated by the results of *Gattungsforschung* and especially those of the source critic and *Traditionsgeschichte*. In this sense, in the historical development of gospel research there is a continuity between *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte*, and *Redaktionsgeschichte*.

Theoretically, *Redaktionsgeschichte* is a very simple approach (see also Vorster 1975:36ff). The gospel as the end-product, as a unit, is investigated with a view to the separation between tradition and redaction. This redaction-plus or redaction-minus indicates the intention of the redactor/gospel writer. From the redactional arrangement, additions, omissions, stylistic processing of sources and so forth, the evangelist's own interpretation of the sources can be assessed. In this manner the evangelist is made to speak for himself and his theological intention can be determined by the researcher.

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It would be no exaggeration to claim that the most noteworthy Matthean studies published during the seventies were *redaktionsgeschichtliche* inquiries (cf Harrington 1975, Hickling 1976:103f; Kingsbury 1977:12; Stanton 1992:23-53). In these investigations the theological profile of Matthew was extrapolated from the redaction-plus-Mark/Q and the redaction-minus Mark/Q, in line with source criticism by starting from the 'two-source theory', and in line with *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte*, by concentrating on the *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae*. The Gospel of Mark is regarded as particularly important because the author of Matthew performs his redactional task within the Marcan framework. It is as Crossan puts it, in the form of question and answer:

> What happened to [the] Markan form/content...? What happened, for me, was Matthew and Luke and John....For what Mark did, genetically to Matthew and Luke and how I do not know to John, was to trap them within his form with a content they could not accept, to seduce them within his structure with a substance they could not share.
>
> (Crossan 1978:49)

The theology of the Matthean Gospel has been defined – with the aid of *Redaktionsgeschichte* – as a the revised edition of the Marcan Gospel, designed to portray the community as the 'true Israel' which is replacing the 'false Israel' of Judaism (Trilling 1964:96f); as a historical reflection in the service of the ministry which answers doubts as to whether God is still faithful to his promises (in the Old Testament) by showing that God has indeed remained faithful through history and that his promises have been fulfilled in Jesus and in the church (Frankemölle 1974:118f, 142, 219f, 257-261, 319-321, 358, 384-400); as a 'legal document' to encourage the community and call them to faithfulness with regard to Jesus' normative interpretation of God's will, in contrast with Pharisaic Judaism and Hellenistic antinomianism (Hummel 1966:66-75, 162-173); as a redactional treatment of the Gospel of Mark with an apologetic function 'outward' and an instructive function 'inward' – 'outward' to help the Matthean community in its debate with Judaism that Jesus was the Messiah, and 'inward' as instruction to the Matthean community regarding the Jewish origins of their faith and regarding the ethical implications of being a Christian (Nickle 1981:112f); as a *Leben-Jesu* composition with eschatological relevance which is presented as the 'way to righteousness' in continuing *Heilsgeschichte* against the background of the delayed parousia (Strecker 1966:45-49, 184-188); as a theological reflection that is intended

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to draw a correlation between the disciples in the Gospel of Matthew and the Christians in the community who showed the same tendency – a development of Strecker's idea that a 'historizing' and 'idealizing' tendency can be shown in the Gospel of Matthew (Luz 1971); as a theological reflection (against the background of Gentile evangelization and the persecution of Christians) in which the *Leben-Jesu* and the 'actions of the disciples' flowed together, with the purpose of depicting a 'salvation history' that shows the stages of the 'pre-history of the Messiah', the 'history and calling of Israel' and the 'calling of the Gentiles' (Walker 1967:114f); as a composition determined by the internal division within the community and the external opposition from the heathen (Thompson 1970:244, 252-254, 262); as a document that emphasizes the lasting validity of the law against the antinomianism of the Gentile Christians in the community and which at the same time emphasizes the universal implications of the Jesus-events against the imminent re-Judaising of the Pharisaic Christians in the community (Barth 1961:54-154; cf Combrink 1980:72); as a document which (like the Gospel of Luke) has integrally absorbed Q and the Gospel of Mark, to arrive at a balance between the so-called gnostic influence on a 'spiritualized' gospel (Q) and the 'historization' of the Gospel of Mark (Grech 1972:272); as support for those in the community confused by a false alternative between a strong legalistic view in Pharisaic Christianity and a strongly charismatic Hellenistic Christianity (Schweizer 1974); as a document for a Hellenistic community with a view exclusively to the evangelization of the Gentiles, although this did not imply that the historical Jesus did not either begin or anticipate the evangelization of the Gentiles (Green 1975:21f); as a document intended to be read against the background of the 'consolidation of orthodox Judaism', at the end of the first century AD (Davies 1966); as a theological reflection against the background of the rift that had already developed between the Matthean community and Judaism (Filson 1960; Rohde 1966; Blair 1967; Hare 1967) or against the background of the conflict taking place *intra muros* (Bornkamm, Barth & Held 1961 – a view initiated by suggestions by Von Dobschütz in 1928, followed by Bacon in 1930); as a reflection of the theological circumstances in the *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae*.

Kingsbury (1969) – on the basis of a study of the parable discourse in Matthew 13 – reconstructed the following problems in Matthew's community: Materialism, secularism, spiritual laziness, apostasy and lawlessness. According to Kingsbury, the community was being undermined, from within, by such agents as miracle-performing false prophets and, from without, by Gentile, and more especially Judaic, persecution. From the application of the βασιλεία concept in the Gospel of Matthew, Kretzer (1971) infers the circumstances in the historical

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readers' circle – namely the liturgical influence, missionary activity and catechetic paraenesis. In a article published in 1980 Kretzer has localized the writer of the Gospel of Matthew as a Hellenistic Jewish Christian in Syria (most probably Antioch) who attempted to clarify the many questions and tensions within the work by looking at the historical milieu and the socio-cultural background (Kretzer 1980:131). According to Künzel (1978:163f, 178, 258), the Matthean community was in a *Vierfrontenkrieg* (Frankemölle 1982:131). On the one side there was the *doppelte Frontstellung* between the extra-community rift between 'church' and 'synagogue'. On the other there was the intra-community *doppelte Frontstellung* between 'nomistic learnedness' and 'charismatic antinomianism'.

D J Harrington (1975) has made a summarized overview of the first decade of *redaktionsgeschichtliche* Matthean studies. His summary of the results (see Harrington 1975:388) is, in our opinion, representative of the entire *redaktionsgeschichtliche* period in Matthean research. This summary (see bold wording below) serves as the point of departure for the discussion of certain facets of modern Matthean research which follows.

– **Scholars realize to an ever increasing extent that Matthew had to deal with serious problems in his community.**

This matter is linked to the concept of 'contextuality' as a historical problem, which deals with the nature of the historical background against which Matthew wrote his gospel. There is a growing consensus that the gospel was written after the separation between church and synagogue. Many Matthean scholars such as Walker (1967:114f), Hare (1967:157; 1975:359-369), Trilling (1964:95f), Green (1975:21f), Clark (1980:1) and Luz (1982b:iv) consider that Matthew perceived a break between the time of the evangelization of the Jews on the pre-paschal temporal level (the so-called 'Jewish-particularistic' trend – cf Mt 10:5f) and that of the evangelization of the Gentiles (the so-called 'Gentile-universalistic trend' – cf Mt 28:19). Other scholars, such as Grundmann (1968:577f), Schmid (1965:269-273), Schniewind (1968:250-254), Frankemölle (1974:121f), Wilckens (1975:363-372, 82f), Meier (1977:94-102) and Weren (1979:106-112), however, indicate that the expression πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in Matthew 28:19 does not refer to Gentiles only. On the contrary, it refers to Jews as well as non-Jews.

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- **A sensitivity can be perceived among scholars regarding the literary and theological use of various groups and individuals by the evangelist – such as the Jewish leaders, the disciples, the Jewish crowds and John the Baptist.**

As far as the Jewish leaders are concerned, various scholars (cf e g Walker 1967:11-29; Van Tilborg 1972:1; Garland 1979:41ff) have pointed out that, despite the various names and combinations of names by which they are known in the Gos-pel of Matthew, the groups function as a 'single' character with a specific role. According to Van Tilborg, the Jewish leaders are characterized by three main 'names': πονηροί, φονεῖς and ὑποκριταί. Using the terms πονηροί, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ (Mt 13:38), γενεὰ πονηρά (Mt 12:39; 16:4) and υἱοὶ γεέννης (Mt 23:15), Matthew takes up the theme of the Jewish leaders as 'Satan's henchmen' (see Van Tilborg 1972:167). The allusion to the theme of the 'killing of the prophets' is again present in the term φονεῖς (see Mt 5:12b; 23:29-32). The term ὑποκριταί (see Mt 23:3b; 15:7ff; 23:27f) expresses four aspects of the character of the Jewish leaders: (1) the ὑποκριταί are the 'godless' who do not obey the law and the prophets; (2) they are the 'double-hearted', whose inner disposition and attitudes are not in keeping with their outward formal actions; (3) they are the 'hypocrites' who act with an eye to fame and reward, and (4) they are the 'two-faced' who pretend to be what they are not (see Van Tilborg 1972:166). The latter trait is also reflected in the sarcastic use of a phrase such as 'sons of the kingdom' (Mt 8:12). Haenchen (1951:59) shows that this irony can also be found in names such as 'generation of vipers' (Mt 12:34) and 'blind leaders' (Mt 15:14; 23:16-22). This sanctimoniousness is, according to Garland (1979:99), the 'essence of hypocrisy'.

As far as the disciples are concerned, Garland points out that, according to Matthew, the very same ironic character trait found in the Jewish leaders was a potential danger to them: 'The disciples as leaders are susceptible to the same cataracts that blinded the scribes and Pharisees' (Garland 1979:38). This tendency in Matthew's picture of a disciple has, since the appearance of the two epoch-making Matthean studies by Günther Bornkamm (1961) – the first scholar to apply *Redaktionsgeschichte* to exegesis of the Gospel of Matthew – often been referred to by Matthean scholars. Unlike in Mark (see i a Best 1977:387f; Klauck 1982:2, 10f, 13, 26), the disciples in the Gospel of Matthew fulfill both a positive and a negative role (cf e g Minear 1974a, 1974b). Bornkamm's first study in this connection appeared in 1948. By comparing Matthew 8:23-27 with its source, Mark 4:35-41 – which deals with the episode in which Jesus calms the storm – Bornkamm shows how Matthew gave expression to his own theological intent. He points out that Matthew dealt with Mark in an interpretative manner. Matthew changed the

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sequence of events in the narrative, so that in the Matthean Gospel we first have the dictum on the disciples' 'little faith', and then the relating of the stilling of the storm. Bornkamm considers that Matthew thus portrays a specific situation in the *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae* which was typical of discipleship in general. *Disciples* are, in other words, *people of little faith* (see also Perrin 1970:4). The second important study was published in 1954. This article by Bornkamm was the first thorough *redaktionsgeschichtliche* investigation into the theological detail and central theme of the Gospel of Matthew. In it, Bornkamm concentrated on those parts of the discourse in which Jesus' teaching was prominent. He points out that in Matthew there was a merging (*Verklammerung*) of ecclesiology and eschatology (see also Rohde 1966:44). He considers that these discourse sections attest to Matthew's theological view of the relationship between ecclesiology and eschatology. He points out that Matthew 13, with its seven parables about the kingdom of heaven, introduces the idea that Matthew's community is not only a collection of the chosen and the righteous, but a *corpus mixtum* going to meet final judgment. At the parousia the 'wheat' will be separated from the 'chaff'.

After the two articles by Bornkamm, widely divergent opinions arose among *redaktionsgeschichtliche* exegetes regarding those whom the twelve disciples represented in the *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae* of the Gospel of Matthew. The various opinions can be broadly categorized into two schools of thought. There is first the opinion that the disciples, as 'proto-apostles', were an analogy for the carriers of the apostolic tradition in the Matthean community, in other words the *church leadership* (cf e g Bornkamm 1961, Hummel 1966, Kähler 1976). Some proponents of this viewpoint also consider that the post-paschal commission of the disciples should be regarded as the continuation of the pre-paschal commission of Jesus (cf e g Minear 1974a:31; Senior 1976, Aguirre 1981). Frankemölle (1974:82), for example, is of the opinion that the way of Jesus should be seen as also the way of the disciples, and Senior (1976:670) put it this way: 'Perhaps no evangelist performed this ministry of continuity with more skill than Matthew. To study his Gospel under the rubric of continuity is to discover the core of his message.' Secondly, there is the opinion that the disciples are held out by Matthew as *examples* of the typical individual member of the Matthean community (cf e g Strecker 1966; Walker 1967; Luz 1971; Kingsbury 1979a). Both views proceed from the hypothesis that Matthew's gospel is a 'transparency' of the Matthean community. The disciples (as well as other figures – cf Frankemölle 1974:193, 218 in reference to the 'Jewish crowd') refer primarily to the 'historical' disciples but at the same time to people in the Matthean community. Brown (1980:90) formulates this as follows: '...Jesus instructs the Matthean community through the *transparency* of the twelve missionary disciples' (my italics).

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Two people in the circle of disciples, Judas Iscariot and more especially Peter, have drawn particular attention in Matthean research. The study of Matthew's image of Peter has mostly focused on the problems of interpretation in respect of Peter's confession (Mt 16:13-20). Until 1962 this portion was mainly interpreted along confessional lines, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic (cf Kingsbury 1979a:67). After 1962 greater attention was given to the functional role that Peter fulfills in the Gospel. Two aspects of this role-fulfillment in particular have been pointed out: (1) Peter is the *foundation* and the *guarantor* of the apostolic tradition for the Matthean community (cf i a Kähler 1976:37). Jesus builds the community on Peter by handing him the 'keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 16:18f; cf Mt 18:18). Fuller (1967:312) points out that this logia 'refers not to the familiar picture of Peter as the doorkeeper of heaven, but to Peter's activity on earth as...the preacher...which becomes presently operative not after Caesarea Philippi, but precisely after Easter, when Peter and the Twelve launch the kerygma' (see also inter alia Jeremias 1938:749ff; Heil 1981:107; Beare 1981:355f). The interpretation of the 'keys' as referring to Peter's mission and teaching commission is, according to J P Meier, confirmed by the imagery in Matthew 16:19 regarding the 'binding' and the making 'loose' of people in the kingdom of heaven: 'These are the technical rabbinic terms. Applied to 16:19, they seem to refer to a rabbi's power to declare particular acts permissible or forbidden' (Meier 1979:113). (2) Peter fulfills the role of the *type* of disciples and does so in the sense of *primus inter pares* (the first among equals) (cf inter alia Strecker 1966:198-206; Luz 1971:152; Brown et al 1973:75-107; Frankemölle 1974:155-158; Kingsbury 1979a:71f). Kingsbury indicates that Matthew refers throughout to Peter as Πέτρος. Even where he uses the name Σιμών, he links it – as can be seen from the context – with the name Πέτρος (Mt 4:18; 10:2; 16:16-18; 17:24-35). Matthew gives the figure of Peter greater prominence than Mark does, in both the negative and the positive sense. Peter is sketched as the 'first' (πρῶτος) among the disciples (Mt 10:2). This observation is, in Kingsbury's view, very important in the light of Matthew's presentation of the concept of 'salvation history'. In the Matthean Gospel Peter has a 'salvation-historical primacy' which is evidenced in two ways. Firstly, Peter acts throughout as the *mouthpiece* of the disciples. Secondly, Matthew makes Peter *typical* or *representative* of the disciples. In line with Kähler (1976), who makes more of Peter's role as the authoritative 'guarantor' of the 'apostolic tradition' in Matthew's community, Schenk (1983:70) goes even further when he claims that Peter is neither just an example of a typical Christian, nor just an example of a typical congregational leader, but rather, as the authoritative guarantor (= *Buchgarant*) of the Jesus-story (= the Matthean Gospel), he is of fundamental ecclesiological significance.

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Van Unnik (1974) reviews another figure in the circle of disciples, namely Judas Iscariot, and makes a study of the narrative regarding Judas' suicide (Mt 27:3-10). He rejects the view of Schniewind (1968:265) that Matthew contrasts Peter with Judas Iscariot: 'And he [Peter] went outside [ἐξελθὼν ἔξω] and wept bitterly' (Mt 26:75) and 'Judas...went away [ἀπελθών] and hanged himself' (Mt 27:5). Van Unnik (1974:47f) points out that the participle μεταμεληθείς (redaction material) in Matthew 27:3 – which functions as a portrayal of the circumstances surrounding the theme of Judas' suicide – is not used as a synonym for the word μετανοέω. According to him, μετανοέω 'means' a 'total about-face', while μεταμέλομαι reflects the idea of 'being in two minds': '...first one did a thing, later one decided to do something else, which of course for some reason or another one thought was the better course. And in that way it [μεταμέλομαι] may imply the notion of 'regret' ' (Van Unnik 1974:48; see also Meier 1980b:338). Van Unnik indicates that this use of the term μεταμέλομαι is also implied by the contexts of the other two places in Matthew (Mt 21:29, 32) where the term occurs (also redaction material). Unlike Gärtner (1971:37), who considers that Judas's suicide is an anticipation of the fate that will meet the godless at the parousia of the Son of man, Van Unnik considers that Judas accepted the gospel at the end. His death, from a Jewish religious perspective, neutralized his transgression.

Bornkamm (1961:38) pointed out another interesting aspect of the charac-ter of Judas Iscariot. Judas, unlike the rest of the disciples, refers to Jesus by the name Ῥαββί (Mt 26:25, 49). The other disciples call Jesus Κύριος (cf in particular Mt 26:22 with 26:25). It is noteworthy that it was only the Jewish leaders that also called Jesus Διδάσκαλος or Ῥαββί (see inter alia Mt 9:11; 17:24). In the Marcan and Lucan gospels no such parallelism occurs with regard to these names. In both Mark (see Mk 4:38; 9:5, 38; 10:35; 13:1) and Luke (see Lk 21:7) the vocative form Διδάσκαλε or Ῥαββί is used by the disciples to refer to Jesus. Matthew, on the other hand, changed the term used by the disciples to Κύριε (cf Mt 8:25 with Mk 4:28; Mt 17:4 with Mk 9:5; Mt 20:33 with Mk 10:51). The name Ῥαββί in Mark 11:21 was omitted by Matthew.

As far as the role of John the Baptist in Matthew is concerned, scholars all agree that Matthew took this role, 'unchanged', from Mark (see Trilling 1959:271-289; Wink 1968:27-41; Sand 1974:127-137; Meier 1980a:393-405). In essence, John the Baptist fulfills the role of a 'parallel figure of suffering', foreshadowing and anticipating the suffering and death of Jesus. There is, however, no consensus among scholars regarding Matthew's emphasis in his portrayal of John the Baptist, compared with that of Mark. Wink (1968:41), for example, following on Trilling (1959:289), is of the opinion that Matthew wanted to increase 'Israel's' guilt by

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stressing that 'Israel' was responsible for the deaths of both Jesus and John the Baptist. According to Trilling and Wink, John the Baptist's suffering and death in parallel with that of Jesus gave Matthew further reason to see the 'church' as 'Israel's' replacement in salvation history. This motif of 'parallelism', according to Hill (1964/1965:296-302), comes clearly to the fore in the use of the name προφήτης for both Jesus and John the Baptist (cf in particular Mt 21:26 with 21:46). Although there is an eschatological motive in the use of the name προφήτης for John the Baptist in the Gospel of Mark, in the sense of a 'prophet, heralding the end of the age' (cf e g the *Elia redivivus* theme in Mt 17:10-13 – see Cullmann 1966:22-28), this motive has a subsidiary role in the Gospel of Matthew. Sand (1974:125f) points out that the motive of so-called *Prophetenschicksal*, which was well known in contemporary Judaism, was the dominant one in this Gospel.

– **According to the review by Harrington (1975) mentioned above, there is a feeling in Matthean research that a comprehensive description of Matthew's christology from a *redaktionsgeschichtliche* perspective is needed.**

J D Kingsbury attempted to fill this gap by publishing his book *Matthew: Structure, christology, kingdom* in 1975. On the dust cover of this work Norman Perrin claims that it is not only the most important book to date (1975) regarding the method of interpretation of the Matthean Gospel, but also a new beginning for scholars of future Matthean studies.

Kingsbury has since drawn both a qualified following (see inter alia Nolan 1979 and Meier 1979) and sharp criticism (see inter alia Barr 1976:351; Borsch 1977; Keck 1980, Hill 1980a, Tatum 1981). He considers that Matthew summarized the scopus of his theology in a single Christological title ('Son of God'), which – like a magnifying glass – converges all the rays of light onto one focal point. He is however not the first researcher to consider that Matthew regarded a certain title or titles as being dominant. In fact, there have been – both before and after Kingsbury – various divergent views in this regard.

Today, more and more warnings are given by Matthean scholars against an overemphasis of christological titles and especially against a search for the 'central' title in the evangelist's theology. The following remarks by Keck (in criticism of Kingsbury and of Meier's elliptical concept) and Hill (in criticism of Kingsbury and Nolan) are therefore important:

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> [C]oncentrating on christological titles actually misses much of what the New Testament, and the early Christians as well, wanted to say about Jesus....The same is true for the Gospel according to Matthew. This Gospel includes a great many titles, like Emmanuel, Son of David, Son of God, Son of Man, Christ. Yet Matthew is not as concerned to show how these titles are related to each other as are modern scholars.
>
> (Keck 1980:9)

> But like most of these who pursue, with enthusiasm and single mindedness, the search for one overarching christological theme...he [B M Nolan – A G v A] underrates other motifs and has to press some material to fit his predetermined mould.
>
> (Hill 1980a:68)

- **Scholars regard the Old Testament 'fulfillment citations' as part of Matthew's redactional (theological) activity, while they recognize that the use of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Matthew is not simple in nature.**

Combrink (1979:56) points out that the idea of the *fulfillment of the Old Testament* plays a much more prominent role in the gospels of Matthew and Luke than in Mark. Researchers have related this phenomenon to the so-called *Heilsgeschichte* which is encountered in the first two gospels. Marxsen (1959), in his *redaktions-geschichtliche* study of the Gospel of Mark, piloted this investigation. Marxsen (1959:64) expressed the opinion that Matthew wrote his Gospel from three points in time, namely the 'time of the evangelist and his community'. He indicated that, just as a correlation existed for Matthew between the 'time of the earthly Jesus' and the 'time of the evangelist and his community', a correlation also existed between the 'time of the earthly Jesus' and the 'time of the Old Testament'. The latter correlation is expressed through the *fulfillment citations* in particular. Understood as such, the conclusion of the time of Jesus also corresponds to a beginning, before which another time becomes apparent - that of the Old Testament. Because of this, according to Marxsen (1959:64), it is understandable how the evangelist can connect these two epochs through his typical fulfillment citations. His opinion basically agrees with the finding of Conzelmann (1977) with regard to the corpus of Luke-Acts. According to this view the 'time of Jesus' is the mid-point between the 'time of the Old Testament' and the 'time of the church'.

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Strecker (1966:86-93) and Walker (1967) were greatly influenced by Conzelmann. Although they differ from each other in respect of certain fine details, Strecker and Walker agree that three periods can be distinguished in the Gospel of Matthew. Walker (1967:116) refers to these three as the 'prehistory of the Messiah', beginning with Abraham, the 'history of the calling of Israel' (the 'particularistic' trend) consisting of the service of John the Baptist as the forerunner of the Messiah and that of Jesus Himself as the *Mitte der Mitte*, and finally the history of the mission to the Gentiles (the 'universalistic' trend) which began with Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection and extended to the day of judgment and thus partly coinciding with the time of the evangelist. Strecker (1966:184-188) refers to the three periods as the 'time of the fathers and the prophets', the 'time of Jesus', and the 'time of the *Heidenkirche*. Like Walker (1967:115), Strecker (1966:187) regards John the Baptist as part of the 'time of Jesus'. With Jesus' death and resurrection this 'time' crosses over into the 'eschatological' time. Trilling (1969a, 1969b), in two separate articles about the crucifixion and resurrection respectively, indicates that the *Wende der Zeit* took place at this point in the Gospel of Matthew.

Unlike Strecker and Walker, Kingsbury (1973:471) does not distinguish three periods in the Gospel of Matthew, but two. He formulates his view as follows:

> It has long been recognized that especially the formula quotations in the first Gospel reveal that Mt has theological affinity for the categories of 'prophecy' and 'fulfilment'. These terms aptly characterize Mt's view of the history of salvation. There is the 'time of Israel', which is preparatory to and prophetic of the coming of the Messiah; and there is the 'time of Jesus...', in which the time of Israel finds its fulfilment and which, from the vantage point of Matthew's day, extends from the beginning of the ministry of John and of Jesus (past) through post-Easter times (present) to the coming consummation of the age (future). In Mt's scheme of history, one does not, strictly speaking, find any such epoch as the 'time of the Church', for this 'time' is subsumed under the 'last days' inaugurated by John and Jesus.
>
> (Kingsbury 1973:471)

Kingsbury does not therefore differ from Strecker and Walker as far as the *beginning* of the 'time of Jesus' is concerned, but with regard to the *end* of this time. He does not consider that there was a shift in 'time' with the death and resurrection of Jesus, but that the 'eschatological time' fully coincides with the 'time of Jesus'.

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This 'eschatological time' begins with the start of John the Baptist's service. The three scholars are all of the opinion that Matthew 3:1, as the beginning of John the Baptist's service, indicates the separation between the 'time of the Old Testament' and the 'time of Jesus'. According to this opinion the elements of *promise* (the time of the Old Testament) and *fulfillment* (the 'time of Jesus') separate the two periods. Kingsbury (1973:470; cf Strecker 1966:87) builds his argument mainly on the time formula, ἐν...ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, which appears in Matthew 3:1 and Matthew 24:19, 22, and 29. He considers that this time formula has an exclusively eschatological connotation and that Matthew uses it to refer to 'the time of John the Baptist', the 'time of Jesus' and the 'time of the church'. It is on the basis of the application of this time formula that, according to Kingsbury, in the Gospel of Matthew there is no separation between the 'eschatological community' and the 'time of Jesus', but there is a separation between the 'time of the Old Testament' and the 'time of Jesus'.

Trilling (1969a, 1969b), as mentioned above, in two separate articles respectively concerning the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus, has indicated that he differs from Kingsbury in connection with the *Wende der Zeit* in the Gospel of Matthew. Trilling, as well as Meier (1975:207; 1976:30-35), considers that the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus introduces the *Wende der Zeit*. Meier however goes further, claiming that there is a radical division between the 'old time' and the 'new time'. He equates the 'old time' with the 'time of the Old Testament' and thus with the demand for compliance with the Mosaic law and the period of Jewish particularism. He equates the 'new time' with the period of universalism which began with the death and resurrection of Jesus, and which had already been anticipated by texts such as Matthew 8:5-13 and 15:21-28. Meier builds his argument chiefly on the baptismal instruction to the disciples with regard to the πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (Mt 28:19). In his view baptism replaces circumcision, which was symbolic of the 'old era'. Just as the particularistic trend passed on to the universalistic trend, according to Meier the call for obedience to the Mosaic law lapses with the death and resurrection of Jesus. Variations of this view are encountered in Trilling and Hamerton-Kelly, among others. The risen Christ, according to Hamerton-Kelly (1972), replaced the traditional 'halacha' with his 'halacha'. The abolition of the authority of the Mosaic law (the 'ceremonial law') thus opened the door to the mission to the Gentiles. In this regard Trilling (1964:211) has stated that only such a 'purified' understanding of the law in Matthew can be in harmony with the universalistic character of the Gospel.

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An opposing viewpoint to the above is that of Barth (1961:138) who, in the early stages of the critical study of the Matthean Gospel said that it would be unthinkable for Matthew to abolish the law with the death of Jesus. Sand (1974:193) also emphasized that Matthew was primarily interested in the call to uphold the Mosaic law, and that one would be judged by one's loving attitude to one's neighbor and God. It is Matthew 5:17-20 (the 'hermeneutic key' to understanding the Sermon on the Mount as a whole – cf Betz 1979), especially, that points to the lasting validity of the Old Testament message: Jesus did not come to invalidate and replace the Old Testament, but to illustrate its true meaning in actions and attitudes, and thus 'fulfill' it. Nevertheless, scholars such as McConnel (1969:90), Kingsbury (1977:82ff) and Strecker (1978:69f) point out the paradox between Matthew 5:17-20 and Matthew 5:21-48 (the so-called 'antitheses'). It appears that Jesus' positive approach with regard to the Old Testament, as evidenced in Matthew 5:17-20, at least cannot be made applicable to the third 'antithesis' – the prohibition on divorce (Mt 5:31f; cf Mt 19:3-12; see Sigal 1979:33-37), or the fifth 'antithesis' – the nullification of the law of retribution (Mt 5:38-42). Boers (1980:229) and Luz (1982a) are of the opinion that the solution to the paradox should be sought in the way in which Matthew took over traditions. Luz formulates it as follows:

> This interpretation of the Matthean attitude to the Law poses the question as to how far Matthew is coherent in his views. The result is, that Matthew is not entirely coherent in the way we would require it. At least [!] there are traditions in Mt which do not conform with Matthew's views entirely, but are, as words of Jesus, taken over by the Evangelist for the sake of one particular point only [e g 5,18; 23,2f; 18,15-17 etc].
>
> (Luz 1982a:11)

This 'specific point' is in Luz's view, the single call to love. In another article Luz (1978:420) also said that to Matthew the authoritative explanation of the law by Jesus, in which the call to love should under all circumstances have precedence (and on which all other laws are dependent), is crucial.

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- **As far as the structure of the Gospel of Matthew is concerned, scholars increasingly consider the well-known fivefold division inadequate to explain the complexity of the structure of the Gospel; various structural principles need to be considered.**

In the Matthean Gospel, the presence of five extensive Jesus-discourses that each conclude with the stereotyped phrase, καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς... (Mt 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; 26:1) has, since the days of Bacon (1918), been regarded as a particular characteristic of the Gospel's formal construction. Bacon, however, saw this fivefold division as a Pentateuch motif, and from it derived a 'New Moses' christology. This fivefold analysis was at one stage in Matthean research the most popular view among scholars as regards the formal construction of the Gospel. Davies (1966:15, 23), for example, on the basis of Bacon's view, developed the theory that the writer of the Matthean Gospel was a converted rabbi, a Christian legalist who offered a systematic presentation of Jesus' 'commandments' in five collections, according to the pattern of the Mosaic Pentateuch, as an apology for antinomianism. One also finds a development of the Pentateuch analogy among Matthean scholars such as Stendahl (1969:24f) and Glasswell (1981:43f). Kline (1975) and Senior (1976:673), in their turn, interpreted the five Jesus-discourses in analogy with Moses' valedictory speeches in Deuteronomic theology, with the 'covenant' as their central theme.

This fivefold classification of the structure of the Matthean Gospel has, however, been criticized for its oversight of the 'discourses' in Matthew 11 and 23, for its failure to explain the infancy and passion narratives integrally with the total construction, and its inability to indicate any convincing similarities between the content and structure of the Pentateuch and Matthew (see i a Hill 1979:140). The intentional importance of the presence of these five Jesus discourses to the theology of the Gospel of Matthew cannot however be reasoned away (Via 1980:200; cf also Gundry 1982:11) as, for example, in the case of Schmid (1965), Lohmeyer (1967) and Gaechter (1966:60-65).

Taking into account Jesus' five speeches in Matthew, Kingsbury (1975d:9, 36ff, 161ff) divides the Gospel into three main parts, namely 'The person of Jesus the Messiah' (Mt 1:1-4:16), 'The proclamation of Jesus the Messiah' (Mt 4:17-16:20) and the 'suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus the Messiah' (Mt 16:21-28:20). What Kingsbury is trying to argue by this analysis is that Matthew divides his gospel into three blocks, according to a christological motif against the background of the contemporary concept βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν. This motif derives from the fact that Jesus the Messiah, who was υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου 'then', 'now' has become the earthly

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and cosmic υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, and that the purpose of the proclamation of the βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν is to make all nations υἱοί of God. This christological motif is based on a structure of the Matthean Gospel which witnesses to a progressively chronological salvation-history scheme, which centers around the temporal expressions ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς (Mt 4:17; 16:21) and the fivefold καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.... In his criticism and rejection of Kingsbury's analysis of the structure of the Gospel of Matthew, F H Borsch points out that Kingsbury, although working with a combination of a fivefold and a threefold classification, does not take into account all the structural principles of the Gospel. He formulates it as follows: 'It grows increasingly evident that we should regard the First Gospel as the most intricately woven of the gospels, its numerous patterns interthreaded, with even its seams having become part of the designing' (Borsch 1977:73).

Today more and more Matthean scholars are voicing the opinion that Bacon should be conceded at least one point, which is that the five Jesus discourses in the Gospel do not represent 'breaks' but that they should be seen in relation to the narrative discourses that follow and intersperse the Matthean Gospel (see i a Lohr 1961:427; Gaechter 1966; Schniewind 1968:8; Rolland 1972:156f; Ellis 1974; Barr 1976:354f; Aguirre 1981:152; Combrink 1982:16; Van Aarde 1982a:123-128). On the other hand, Marxsen had noticed early on that the narrative discourses were chiefly 'historizing' redaction of the Gospel of Mark and that the post-paschal situation of Matthew and his community in the Jesus discourses was being reflected. According to him, one should distinguish between the narrative discourses and the Jesus discourses. The historicization of the Marcan sketch finds its reflection in the narrative discourses. Into this narrative discourses *Redenkomplexen* (Jesus discourses) are taken up which reflects Matthew's time, but in a historicizing manner (Marxsen 1959:64). It is moreover noteworthy that both the disciples and the Jewish crowds were present at the start of each Jesus discourse (cf Keegan 1983:415-430). From this and other facts it can be inferred that, according to Matthew, Jesus' speeches were directed at the disciples, while they had particular relevance to the relationship between the disciples and the Jewish crowd (see Van Aarde 1982a:125f).

- **The 'two-source theory' is generally accepted, but some scholars are convinced that it should not be regarded as the only solution to the 'synoptic problem'.**

The following remark by Carlston (1975:4) illustrates that the speculative nature of investigations that lend special weight to source hypothesis is recognized: 'Even the most probable solution to the Synoptic problem is not completely certain; we cannot

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always know what the source was in any case (some of the material that is now peculiar to Matthew, e g, may have come from Q and been omitted by Luke); and even when we are quite sure of the source and the redaction we may be quite unsure of the reasons behind the redactor.' In Matthean studies, an example of where the Mark priority is still accepted, but with strong reservations, is the approach by F Neirynck (cf Stanton 1992:28-32). Neirynck has appreciation for Gaboury's source hypothesis. According to this, there is a 'structure-type' which is at the basis of the common 'order of pericopes' in the Synoptic gospels: 'The structure-type which lies at the origin of the common order is to be found in a primitive gospel source previous to Matthew, Mark and Luke' (Neirynck 1972:149). In the Gaboury hypothesis there is no place for either a Marcan priority or a Matthean priority. Nonetheless, Neirynck (1972:177f) considers that it is not, in fact, a better solution to the 'synoptic problem' than that of the Marcan priority viewpoint – even if the only important new argument in support of this solution, according to Neirynck, is the contribution made by *Redaktionsgeschichte* in the field of identifying the various gospels' theologies. In this connection he supportively quotes the remark made by J M Robinson (1971:101f): 'In a generation in which the Synoptic problem has been largely dormant, the success of *Redaktionsgeschichte* in clarifying the theologies of Matthew and Luke on the assumption of dependence upon Mark is perhaps the most important new argument for Marcan priority.'

On the other hand, 'theological' Matthean studies – in which weighty theologomena have been derived simply on the grounds of a comparison between 'redaction' and 'tradition' – have drawn sharp criticism. Hill (1979:139) formulates this criticism as follows:

> [T]he search for and discovery of what is distinctively Matthean in theological outlook does not depend on the two-source theory.... Matthew's theology (and, for that matter, the theology of any of the evangelists) 'as a totality' depends on his gospel as a whole and not solely on what is distinctive in his editional arrangement, alterations and so forth. Redaction-criticism has justly been criticized for building massive theological hypotheses on very tiny pieces of editorial evidence.
>
> (Hill 1979:139)

Some Matthean scholars (cf i a Thompson 1970; Carlston 1975; Harrington 1975:388; Cope 1976; Barr 1976; Kingsbury 1977; Humphrey 1977) would like to bridge the problem of the speculative nature of the investigation of Matthew's use of

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sources by making, besides a source investigation (a diachronic study), a redaction-critical analysis of the intratextual details. Such an analysis would, for example, take note of the unique commencement and closing of discourses, changes in wording and the order of literary units. This emphasis on the internal literary characteristics of the gospels led, in America, to a redaction-critical approach, representing a shift as regards traditional *Redaktionsgeschichte* (cf i a Kelber 1979). Karris (1979:514) also considers that historical criticism will bear fruit only in the future, if it is to give greater attention to 'literary criticism'. This insight has given momentum to the investigation of the compositional characteristics (in particular) of the Gospel of Matthew. In this connection one can refer to such works as Sibinga (1972), Sabourin (1973), Gaechter (1966), Barr (1976), Riesner (1978), Kretzer (1980), Clark & De Waard (1982).

1.2 NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELD OF MATTHEAN RESEARCH

During the latter part of the seventies various scholars have expressed their dissatisfaction with historical criticism, which has been reduced to the *redaktionsgeschichtliche* approach (cf i a Den Heyer 1979:45-69). The criticism of historical criticism had its origin mostly in the perception that the traditional historical approach lost sight of the 'ultimate importance' of the text (Léon-Dufour 1973:10). Ferdinand Hahn, an important exponent of historical criticism (cf Hahn 1974b), became convinced that historical criticism could only contribute to investigating the individual nature of texts in aspects of their language, form, tradition and historical religion (cf also Vorster 1977a:10f, 23). In other words, they are all aspects related to the *formation* of the text, but it is, on its own, not capable of doing justice to the intention of the text. A typical question put by the critics of historical-criticism in this connection is the following: Is the role of the exegete then to slip into the skin of the people in the past (cf Léon-Dufour 1973:10)? Léon-Dufour states that the exegete ought to be released from his *Ghettoexistenz* by learning from the sister sciences, namely the modern sciences of language and literature. Modern literary scientists (cf Frye 1971:212) have demonstrated to the exegete that a more-dimensional approach to texts than simple historical criticism is possible. James Barr, who in 1961, with his *The semantics of biblical language*, had already shown that the importance of modern language science to the lexicography of biblical languages was self evident, describes as follows the need for a shift in the exegetical approach based on the perceptions of modern literary science:

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> It may well be asked, however, whether the time is now coming when a more fully literary study of the Bible will begin to assert itself, a study which will really concern itself with the imagery and structure of the text as it stands, probably ruling out as irrelevant for this purpose the historical and intentional concerns which have dominated technical biblical scholarship...Since readers may ask themselves the question, I would say that procedures like form criticism and redaction criticism, in spite of some differences from documentary source criticism, belong for the most part together with it as historical in interest. They are pursued very largely with the purpose of getting at the movement of the tradition in the time before the present form of the text was reached, or of getting at the processes by which it was reached. In this respect they are historical and intentional; they ask what was the mental process which produced this text. What I call a fully literary approach would ask rather what is the meaning of this text as it is.
>
> (Barr 1973:63f)

The realization has since dawned on exegetes that it is not the history of the text that is decisive for the exegete, but its immanent structure. Since the seventies this has led to the application of various 'structural' approaches in the exegesis of the gospels. These methods have shifted the emphasis from the study of the formative history of the text to the analysis of the linguistic 'superficial structure' and the structural patterns latent in the 'depth structure'.

French Structuralism, which has an important exponent in A J Greimas, and which is applied to New Testament texts by scholars such as D Patte (1976, 1978), does not so much take account of the linguistic surface structure, but analyses the so-called 'narrative niveau' of narrative texts. The 'linguistic niveau' from which Transformational-Generative Grammar departs, consists of two levels, namely the 'surface structure' and the 'in-depth structure'. The former is the level that we see, which is the current shape of language. Under the surface lie the interrelationships and interweaving of linguistic structures which, semantically, denote the true meaning of the text. This is the level known as the 'depth structure'. French Structuralism makes a distinction between the levels on which the depth structure is situated. Apart from the fact that below the current narrative there is a linguistic depth structure (see the South African semantic structural analysis below), below this linguistic depth structure there is also a 'narrative surface structure' and a 'narrative depth structure'. The plot of the narrative is generated in the 'narrative

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depth structure', embodied in the 'narrative surface structure' and finally manifested in the 'linguistic surface structure' in current linguistic forms – such as words, combinations of words, sentences, combinations of sentences, pericopes and so forth. These linguistic signs serve as the language symbols of the various 'actants' encountered on the level of manifestation. An 'actant' is generally a character in the narrative, but it can also be an interest group, an object, an institution, a predicate, and so on.

Greimas's literary theory (see inter alia Galland 1976:1-26; McKnight 1978; Vorster 1982c:127-152; Pelser 1982; Dormeyer 1989:188) is a development chiefly of the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss in respect of his 'mythological anthropology', Vladimir Propp in respect of his study of characters' functional activities and relationships in Russian fables, and L Tesniére's syntactical theory with regard to the 'delimitation' of narrative *énoncés* (Greimas' so-called *lexie*) (see Howard 1979). Greimas stresses the paradigmatic structure of binary opposition in respect of the reciprocal relations between actants and the syntagmatical structure of sequentially related episodes ('syntagmata') in the 'plot' of the narrative. According to this theory there are only six types of roles that a character in a narrative can fulfill. An 'actant' is such a 'character in a role' – either by deed or in a qualified capacity through being endowed with a characteristic by means of an adjective. The relationships of actants are structured in fixed patterns (actant models) in a paradigmatic manner. The 'plot' of the narrative is linear, in successive sequences (episodes) which have a particular syntagmatic relationship to one another. Each sequence presupposes a certain actant model. As far as the application of 'structural exegesis' in Matthean studies is concerned, one can refer to studies such as those of Lai (1975) with regard to Matthew 27:57-28:20, and Calloud (1976:47-108) with regard to Matthew 4:1-11. Schider & Stenger (1981), after the pattern of Erhardt Güttgemanns's *generative Poetik* (see Güttgemanns 1973a:2-47; cf Dormeyer 1989:135-138), analyzed Matthew 18-25.

In 1973, when the structural exegetic approach had just started, Güttgemanns stated that structural exegesis in the field of the gospels is a promising new start, which is linked to laborious and detailed research (Güttgemanns 1973b:72). Daniel Patte (1978) considers that structural exegesis can make a contribution with regard to the New Hermeneutic approach, which harks back to the later Heidegger and his followers' emphasis of the *Dasein*, which expresses itself in language. Language has an 'ability' to influence the reader either to a new way of thinking (Patte speaks of 'religious transformation') or to a confirmation and strengthening of the old patterns of thought. Structural exegesis is, to him, the key to this 'ability' of the text. Using analytical steps he would like to arrive at the 'semantic universum' (the 'semiotic square') in the 'narrative depth structure' where, he considers, lies the 'ability' of the text. In short, the method comprises the following:

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* the investigation of the 'narrative manifestation level', which will lead to the 'narrative surface structure';
* the 'symbolic level' is then analyzed from the foregoing; and
* this analysis leads to the 'semantic universe'.

Ellingworth (1978:147), in a discussion of the work of Daniel Patte, judges structural exegesis as follows: '...if one's interest is in the specificities of a particular text, even a whole discourse, then it is best handled, not with tongs, but with the sensitive fingertips of normal exegesis.' Pelser (1982) holds a similar view in this connection. He points out that structural exegesis makes use of a conceptual apparatus that would be comparatively incomprehensible to the uninitiated exegete. Apart from the problems attached to the use of incomprehensible terms, Pelser (cf also Vorster 1982c:151) says that the positivistic approach of structural exegesis to the autonomy of a text is unacceptable. This form of positivism results in almost no attention being given to historical questions in the exegesis, and that such an exegesis is an analysis of the structures for the sake of structures (Vorster 1982c:151). Similarly, Deist (1983:39) points out the danger of 'phenomenology' which can arise from the so-called 'objectivity ideal' of the structural approach.

South African structural analysis (see inter alia Louw 1982:62-158) is one of the methods directed at the study of the linguistic surface structure. The New Testament Society of South Africa (NTSSA) has, at two annual congresses (1977 and 1982), given attention to the analysis of the Gospel of Matthew. The results have been published in *Neotestamentica* 11 (1977), which dealt with Matthew 1-13, and *Neotestamentica* 16 (1982), which dealt with Matthew 14-28. In an address to the Society of Biblical Literature at their annual congress, Lategan (1978) gave an analysis of Matthew 23 and Malan (1981), in a professorial inaugural address, an analysis of Matthew 5-9 and 19-22. Sometimes syntagmatic colon analysis is extended to a paradigmatic inquiry based on the technique that E A Nida and C R Taber (1974) developed with a view to a dynamic translation of the Bible (see Van Aarde (1980b) with regard to the analysis of Mt 5:3-10).

South African structural analysis is generally not based on a hermeneutic model, but it only has reference to textual patterns and unity (cf inter alia Vorster 1977a:14; Lategan 1977:115). Combrink (1982:5f) calls this textual unity the 'how' or the 'organization' of the text. At the same time he points out that there has already been a shift among South African scholars, from the 'how' to the hermeneutic function of the text (see Vorster 1977a:23; De Villiers 1982; Van Aarde 1982a):

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> The characteristic approach to texts in the discourse analysis of the NTSSA...concentrates to a very large degree on the textual means, the 'how' of the text. But in the sub-groups occupied with this task, the awareness has been growing that there are other aspects too that merit our attention...Although the author of this Gospel without any doubt made use of traditional material, the challenge before us is to come to terms with the way in which this message/narrative is composed and structured, without prejudging the question by taking Matthew's redaction of work as a point of departure.
>
> (Combrink 1982:6)

This perceptible shift in emphasis in Matthean research has had the result that the hermeneutic importance of the structural principles that make a text a literary work, has been more and more discounted in exegesis of the Gospel. This direction in exegetical methodology links up in a certain sense with the literary-theoretical approaches known as 'Russian Formalism', and American 'Literary Criticism', called 'New Criticism'. As far as the latter is concerned, certain aspects of this approach developed so quickly that there is currently a distinction between the "old' New Criticism' and the "new' New Criticism' (cf Polzin 1980:100). The premise in this modern literary-theory approach in exegesis is that the 'poetics' (that is, 'rhetoric') of a text is the key to the particular methodological approach to exegesis of the text in question. The term 'poetics' implies the manner in which language is organized in a discourse; in other words, the way in which a text is 'made'. This means that the genre (type of literature) that a text represents has far-reaching implications for the manner in which that text should be subjected to exegesis.

The 'gospel' genre is *narrative*. The gospel form complies with the following description of a 'narrative': 'Narrative' is a discourse in which language is organized in terms of *characters* who move in a particular structure of *time* and *space*, and bring about a chronological sequence of episodes which have a causal relationship to one another (*plot*). In effect, a narrative has its own closed narrated world: A *message* ('ideological' narrator's perspective/s) that a writer communicates through a *narrator* to a *reader*. The message is communicated by the narrator supplying the (idealized/implied) reader with norms for the valuation. That is, the reader is 'manipulated' by means of the narrative techniques the narrator uses to constitute the plot – the means by which the narrator relates, in chronological causality, episodes in which characters within a particular structure of time and space move. Petersen (1980c:36ff) formulates this literary-theoretical approach in gospel research as follows:

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> The starting point of literary criticism...is 'to accept the form of the work...' [O]ur Gospels...have a narrative form...and an imaginative world into which one can enter. How? By participating in the form of the work...A literary reading of a narrative text...begins at the moment when we allow ourselves to be addressed by its textually immanent narrator. That is the first step. All others flow from it...the narrator lures the reader into...times and places by perspectively locating himself and the reader in the midst of the scenes and events he describes, enabling the reader to see, hear, and know things he would not have access to without the narrator's guiding voice. Through this device which literary critics call narrative point of view, the reader becomes a participant in the narrative form.
>
> (Petersen 1980a:36ff)

In this connection, Petersen (1978a, 1978b), in the methodology of exegesis, introduced the literary theory of Boris Uspensky (1973) in particular. Kingsbury (1979b:101ff) and Doty (1983:302), among others, anticipate a promising future for this approach in gospel research and Vorster (1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1980d, 1982a, 1982b, 1985b), Petersen (1978a, 1978b:49-80), Tannehill (1980), Boomershine (1981a, 1981b), Rhoads (1982) and Rhoads & Michie (1982) have already done important studies regarding the Gospel of Mark, while Resseguie (1982) applies this approach to the Gospel of Luke. As far as Matthew is concerned, studies on it have also been done (cf Stanton 1992:54-84). Up to 1982 the following studies have been published: Via (1980) has investigated the relevance of the narrative structure on christology and the ethics of the Gospel; Anderson (1981) has discussed certain aspects in the Gospel where the 'points of view' of the narrator coincide with those of the protagonist in the narration, namely Jesus; Combrink (1982) has studied the linear sequence of episodes in the plot of the Gospel; De Villiers (1982) has researched Matthew 19-22 with regard to character analysis and plot and I myself discussed Matthew's image of the disciple in a structural analysis of Matthew 13:53-17:27 (Van Aarde 1982b).

In my doctoral dissertation, I attempted to identify the underlying 'ideological' ('theological') perspective, using an analysis of the narrative techniques in the Gospel of Matthew (cf Van Aarde 1982b). From this study, particularly as viewed from the 'time' related in the Gospel, one can conclude that Matthew created an analogy between the pre-paschal mission of Jesus and the post-paschal mission of the disciples. These two 'missions' form two 'narrative lines', or 'lines of action' in the narrative. The analogy sometimes takes the form of parallelism and

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sometimes the form of a symbolic-allegorical reflection – particularly in certain parables (see Van Aarde 1982c). Although the mission of the disciples only began at the conclusion of the mission of Jesus, the former alternates with the latter by means of analogic and symbolic-allegorical anticipation. Seen thus, the theme of *God-with-us* is the dominant 'ideological'/'theological' perspective from which the Matthean Gospel should be read. The implied reader is associated with the 'historical' disciples by the narrator. The theme of *God-with-us* functions as the base from which the narrator addresses the reader with authority. As a result the 'disciple-reader' (cf Via 1980:209f) considers himself addressed with such authority that s/he cannot help but be involved in Matthew's narrative.

Where French Structuralism represents a total discontinuity with historical criticism, by being totally achronic in nature, this new literary-theoretical approach recognizes certain structuralist insights, but it generally keeps account of the Synoptic Gospels as historical documents (see also Combrink 1983:10). Two gospel scholars, Petersen and Boomershine, have the following to say on the subject:

> Despite their rebellion against historicism and historical method, literary critics have not been without respect for historical concerns...It is possible to do literary criticism in the historical study of biblical texts without being historicistic.
>
> (Petersen 1978b:28, 32)

> The categories of narrative analysis that have been developed by twentieth-century criticism of fiction are adapted...in order to expand the resources for form-critical study and to make possible a more precise analysis of...[the gospels' – A G v A] narrative techniques.
>
> (Boomershine 1981:227)

Clearly, as far as gospel research is concerned, it is at an intermediate stage. A period of transition need not, however, presuppose a weakness in methodology. Montague (1979:5) says it is to be expected, since science is usually practiced according to a generally accepted old paradigm: 'Revolution in science occurs when scientists find the old paradigm increasingly inadequate to cope with anomalies and some become converted to a new paradigm, though theses under the old continue to proliferate.' During this transition phase in evangelical research the pendulum swings more and more towards a text-immanent approach. The results of narratological studies, in particular, are not free from the undisputed influence of the historical-critical period, which has naturally not been concluded. The following

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statement by Harold Rosenberg, quoted by Doty (1972:413) is therefore an important pointer in exegetical methodology: 'The attempt to define is like a game in which you cannot possibly reach the goal from the starting point but can only close in on it by picking up each time from where the last play landed.'

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Chapter 2

The ideological/theological perspective in Matthew's story

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The thesis of this chapter is that Matthew retold the Gospel of Mark to his readers for a particular purpose and from a particular narrative point of view. To convey this perspective to his readers, Matthew associated them with the Twelve Disciples and created a correlative analogy between the post-paschal disciple-commission and the pre-paschal Jesus-commission. He employed these two 'commissions' as two 'narrative lines' in the plot of the Gospel: The disciple-commission as an imperative, based upon the Jesus-commission as the indicative. The Jesus-commission is the embodiment and concretization of the concept *God-with-us*. The disciples' obedience to the will of God (the 'law and the prophets') during the execution of their universal commission, continues these Jesus-events. Thus the risen Jesus, as *God-with-us* is present with the church until the parousia.

The disciples' commission, similar to that of Jesus, ought to concretize in conveying compassion to those in distress. However, like the Jewish leaders, the disciples are inclined to disobedience. The premise of this study is that access to the dominant perspective in Matthew's story may be gained through the way in which the evangelist as narrator constituted his text.

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2.2 THE NARRATOR'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE IDEOLOGICAL LEVEL

The 'ideological perspective' in the Gospel of Matthew is, generally speaking, the 'theological' perspective of the redactor-narrator, from which he observes, evaluates and presents the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The ideological level in a narrative is basic to the other levels. The Russian Formalist, Boris Uspensky, explains this relation of the *ideological* level to the other levels in a narrative in terms of the concepts of 'surface structure' and 'depth structure', which play an important part in Structuralism. In Structuralism a distinction is made between the level of observation (the surface structure) and the level of fundamental intentions (the depth structure). When we speak of the system of ideas that shape the work, we are speaking about the deep compositional structure, as opposed to the surface compositional structure which may be traced on the psychological, spatio-temporal, or phraseological levels (cf Uspensky 1973:8). In the light of this we can label the narrator's perspective on the ideological level as the 'idea' forming the fundamental principle according to which the narrative and its narrative elements are constituted. It is these 'elements' to which reference is made by the expressions *psychology*, *phraseology*, *time* and *space*. In other words, what it amounts to is that, as already mentioned, the narrator's ideological perspective is manifested on the *phraseological*, *psychological*, *temporal* and *topographic* levels – the eventual manifestations of the narrative and its narrative elements.

The most important matter to be resolved on the *ideological* level, in our study of the narrator's perspective, is the question of whose perspective the narrator absorbs in his *ideological* evaluation and observation of the narrated world. Does the writer allow the narrator to adopt a perspective that agrees with his own, or one that agrees with the normative system of the 'narrated world', as distinct from the norms of the writer (and which are perhaps in conflict with them)? Or does the narrator take the perspective of one (or more) of the narrated characters? In the Gospel of Matthew the narrator's *ideological* perspective coincides with that of the writer, and with the perspective of the protagonist. This phenomenon in the Gospel consists in all events, characters, and the like being presented from one consistent perspective, that is from that of one character, Jesus. A character such as this in a story is sometimes called the 'viewpoint character'. The *ideological perspective* of the narrator is manifested in that which the 'viewpoint character' does, says, thinks, and so on, and in the way he acts and speaks. The *ideological perspective* of the 'viewpoint character' thus forms the dominant perspective in the story. This single dominant perspective resounds through every episode in the story, because the

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perspectives from which the other characters are narrated, as well as other *phraseological, psychological, temporal* and *topographic* givens, are subordinate to it as structurally integrated elements, synthesize with it and serve as its foundation. Uspensky (1973:9) looks on this phenomenon as follows:

> [I]f some other points of view should emerge, non-concurrent with the dominant one (if, for example, some facts should be judged from the point of view of one of the characters), this judgment will in turn be re-evaluated from the more dominant position, and the evaluating 'subject' (the character), together with his system of ideas, will become the 'object', evaluated from the more general viewpoint.
>
> (Uspensky 1973:9)

As far as the Gospel of Matthew is concerned, what this amounts to is that the sometimes divergent perspectives of the characters (the Jewish leaders, the Jewish multitude and the Gentiles, John the Baptist and the disciples), should be evaluated in terms of the perspective from which the protagonist, Jesus, is narrated. This dominant perspective revolves around the concept *Emmanuel*, which occurs at the beginning (Mt 1:23), the middle (Mt 18:20) and the end (Mt 28:20).

Next we shall give an explanation of the most important features of the perspectives from which the narrator presents the *dramatis personae*.

Using the Jesus-name of *Emmanuel*, the narrator proclaims that the kingdom of God is at hand – that it is temporally and spatially within the reach of man. The proclamation of God's kingdom occurs in the Gospel of Matthew primarily through the actions of Jesus and secondarily through those of the disciples, in that they are called Jesus' 'helpers'. In other words, Jesus leads the way for his disciples by the proclamation. The Jewish leaders oppose it. The proclamation concretizes in a twofold but inseparable way: On the one hand by actions (κηρύσσω, διδάσκω, θεραπεύω) and on the other by 'attitude' (τὸ σπλάγχνον, ἡ ἀγάπη). The *actions* derive a convincing soteriological power from the Son's *attitude* of radical obedience to his Father, which reaches a climax in his passion and resurrection from the dead. The 'concrete' proclamation has the purpose of announcing to all (in particular the Jewish multitude, but also the Gentiles) forgiveness from sin. And it is intended to release them from the influence of the διδαχή of the Jewish leaders and therefore from the temptation of Satan. In other words, the narrator's perspective is expressed by the theme of *obedience to the divine will*. This theme is embodied in the perspective from which Jesus is presented as *God-with-us*.

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The perspective of *Jesus* is in contrast with that from which the *Jewish leaders* are narrated. The *disciples* function as Jesus' assumed help. The role of the *Jewish multitude* is that of the object (addressee) of the commissions of Jesus and the disciples. The crowds (all the so-called socio-religious 'outcasts' mentioned in the Gospel are hereby included) are presented from the perspective of potentially having a following. The perspective from which Jesus is narrated with regard to the *Gentiles* is parallel with that of the Jewish multitude. The role of *John the Baptist* is that of a parallel proclaimer of God's kingdom and the figure of suffering. He serves as a 'prototype' for the role of Jesus. The opposition between Jesus and the Jewish leaders is the 'physical' representation of the 'metaphysical' opposition between *God* and *Satan*.

2.3 THE NARRATOR'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE PHRASEOLOGICAL LEVEL OF THE TEXT

The investigation into the narrator's perspective on the phraseological level is concerned with the different ways that a narrative can be and is indeed presented. It is therefore the study of the perspective that the narrator expresses by means of 'diction'. Diction is the writer's exercising of choices with regard to certain modes of expression in which 'ideas' can be expressed.

2.3.1 Introduction

The study of the narrative perspective on the *phraseological* level is concerned with what Uspensky (1973:19) calls the intention of *speech characteristics*. This investigation can demonstrate different facets. There are three important matters for the purpose of our study: The distinction between a *third-person narrative* and a *first-person narrative, character delineation* and *redactional narrative technique*.

2.3.2 The Gospel of Matthew is a third-person narrative

We have already pointed out that the writer of the Gospel of Matthew is simultaneously the narrator of the Gospel. The phenomenon of the roles of the writer and the narrator being the same attests to the evangelist's electing to present his story from a third-person narrative angle, and not from that of a first person. The distinction between these two possibilities (first-person or third-person

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narration) represents a relatively simple classification of 'phraseological' possibilities. This is widely accepted by literary theorists as a serviceable frame of reference (Abrams 1971:134).

In a first-person narrative the narrator is himself one of the characters and he speaks of himself using the personal pronoun 'I'. In a third-person narrative the narrator is someone outside the text and he refers to his characters by means of various 'names'.

In the Gospel of Matthew the third-person narrator refers to his characters by 'proper names', such as Σίμων, 'group names' (which have the same function as 'proper names') such as οἱ μαθηταί, ὁ λαός, οἱ ὄχλοι, τὰ ἔθνη, οἱ φαρισαῖοι and a large number of names and 'combinations' of names which refer to the Jewish leaders as a single 'character' with a specific role in the story, for example οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι, οἱ φαρισαῖοι καὶ σαδδουκαῖοι, οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. There are also names that are used as 'titles' and which serve as a powerful literary medium for character-sketching, such as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, προφήτης, ὑποκριταί, οἱ ἐλάχιστοι and οἱ ὀλιγόπιστοι.

A third-person narrator can also, using other narrative techniques, present his story in a particular way, such as from the so-called *omniscient point of view* or the *limited point of view* (cf i a Kenney 1966:49-50; Abrams 1971:134-136; Uspensky 1973:83).

The third-person narrator that adopts an 'omniscient point of view', such as the narrator of the Gospel of Matthew, freely discusses the actions and attitudes of the 'he'/'she'/'they' characters without himself or any witnesses having been present at the narrated events; he describes the characters' emotions; he knows certain things about the narrated characters that they do not know themselves; he manipulates character and mood activities (cf Deist & Burden 1980:26-27) at will; he lets the characters move through time and space according to his *ideological* perspective. When a third -person narrator adopts a 'limited point of view', he limits the 'omniscience' and 'omnipresence' with regard to what is experienced, thought or felt, to a single character or at most a small group of characters in the narrative (cf Abrams 1971:135).

Both narrative perspectives, namely the 'omniscient point of view' and the 'limited point of view', can be used in a narrative. Kenney (1956:54) refers to this phenomenon as follows:

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> In fact, a work of fiction that is as a whole an example of omniscient narration will usually include all or most of the other points of view as well. That is, at some point in his narrative, the omniscient narrator will simply describe externals...At another moment, the narrator will present a scene to us from the point of view of one of the characters and will therefore employ third-person limited narration.
>
> (Kenney 1956:54)

This is indeed the case in the Gospel of Matthew. Seen in its totality, the Gospel is a third-person 'omniscient' narrative. None the less, the narrator's perspective agrees with that from which Jesus is presented. On the one hand he allows his characters to act as he wishes them to act, but at the same time he describes and evaluates their behavior from the perspective from which he presents Jesus. The remark by Petersen (1978a:109) regarding Mark's gospel in this connection is therefore also relevant for Matthew's gospel:

> Jesus' voice provides an evaluative context for understanding the speech of demons...the speech and actions of the crowds...the speech and actions of the disciples...the words and deeds of the authorities...[T]he speech of all the characters, including Jesus,...is an expression of his [the narrator's] own ideological standpoint.'
>
> (Petersen 1978a:109)

The 'all-seeing' and 'all-knowing' narrator of the Matthean gospel knows his characters; he knows about their attitudes. The narrator knows, for example, about Jesus' love and loyalty; the Jewish multitude's don't-know-what-to-think attitude; the disciples' tendency to behave as they ought not to behave; the Jewish leaders' occupation with hatching a conspiracy against Jesus. The narrator knows what his characters see and hear and say to each other. For example, he is aware that the Jewish leaders gossip among themselves and ironically accuse Jesus of 'blasphemy' (Mt 9:3) and, also ironically, in their minds find in him a σκάνδαλον (Mt 15:12).

Uspensky (1973:97-98) points out that a particular character, as a 'carrier', can act from the narrator's omniscient perspective, as he can from the narrator's ideological perspective. In the Gospel of Matthew the protagonist, Jesus, is a character that has an omniscient perspective, as the narrator has. Sometimes Jesus is described 'externally' from the omniscient perspective of the narrator (cf i a Mt 9:36). At other times the narrator identifies himself to such an extent with the omniscient perspective of Jesus that it is impossible to distinguish between his own perspective and that of Jesus. While the narrator, for example, describes Satan's

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temptation of Jesus (Mt 4:1-11), when there were no witnesses present other than Jesus himself, he lets Jesus act from a conscious position of power, being *God-with-us*. Satan's temptation should thus be seen as *ironic*: Later Jesus is going to make *bread* in a miraculous way in obedience to the will of the Father (cf Mt 4:3-4 with Mt 14:13-21; 15:32-39); he will be successfully confronting the *temple*, because he 'is more than the temple' (cf Mt 4:5-7 with Mt 12:6; 21:12; 24:2; 27:51); he will repeatedly declare his authority from a *mountain* (cf Mt 4:8-10 with Mt 5:1; 17:1; 24:3) until, eventually, on a *mountain* in Galilee, he will announce that 'all power in heaven and earth' belongs to him (Mt 28:16-18). In the one other episode where Jesus and the narrator alone are present, namely the prayer at Gethsemane (Mt 26:39-46), one also encounters the omniscient point of view of the narrator combined with that of Jesus. The narrator has access to the privacy of Jesus' prayer, a prayer that particularly strongly stresses the full pre-knowledge with which Jesus accepts the cross as the will of the Father. He therefore knows the contents of the 'cup' that he must drink (Mt 27:39; cf Mt 20:22; 26:27). Jesus' omniscient perspective in the Passion narrative functions particularly to contrast his total obedience (the basic point of the *Emmanuel* concept) effectively with the Jewish leaders' plot against him and the disciples' inclination to opposition. This 'opposition' has already been mentioned in the first sixteen verses of the Passion narrative (Mt 26:1-28:20 – cf Senior 1972:355-356), the disciples' protest at Jesus' anointment by the woman in Bethany, foreshadowing his burial (Mt 26:8), and the dealings of Judas, one of the Twelve, with the Jewish leaders regarding payment for the betrayal (Mt 26:14-16). Jesus has prior knowledge of his burial (Mt 26:12) and of Judas' betrayal (Mt 26:21), just as he anticipates the negative behavior of the disciples in general (cf Mt 26:31 with 26:56) and Peter in particular (cf Mt 26:34 with 26:69-75) at the trial and crucifixion. Judas, for example, looks for the εὐκαρία to betray Jesus (Mt 26:16); in reality it is Jesus who is deliberately seeking the 'perfect opportunity'. In Matthew 26:18 he tells Jerusalem, through his disciples: ὁ καιρός μου ἐγγύς ἐστιν; in Matthew 26:45-46 he tells the sleeping disciples: ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν ἡ ὥρα...ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν ὁ παραδιδούς με.

In the Gospel of Matthew the phenomenon that the third-person narrator's omniscient perspective often coincides with that of Jesus contributes to the structural and inherent unity of the plot of the Gospel. Thus there are many correlating thematic cross-references, previews and flashbacks (cf D L Barr 1976:354-355). Since Jesus knows ahead what awaits him in Jerusalem, the different announcements of the coming Passion link the episodes together, and this promotes the critical development and unity of the plot, creating tense expectation. The following correlating themes and key expressions link, for example, the first micro

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narrative (Mt 1:1-4:22) in the Gospel of Matthew with the last (Mt 26:1-28:20): The 'forgiveness of sins' (Mt 1:21; 26:28; cf also Mt 9:6), the 'making disciples of men' (Mt 4:8-9; 28:19), the 'return to Galilee' (Mt 4:12, 15; 28:10, 16), the 'Son of God' title (Mt 1:23; 3:17; 27:54), the 'obedience' motif (Mt 3:15; 4:1-11; 26:39; cf also Mt 4:20; 28:10, 16-17) and the *God-with-us* motif (Mt 1:23; 28:20; cf Mt 18:20). In the course of the study we shall show that the analogy created by the narrator between the pre-paschal Jesus-commission and the post-paschal disciple-commission, based on the *God-with-us* theme, is effectively supported by correlating thematics such as the above.

The narrator's omniscient perspective and that of Jesus thus cover more than the mere 'earthly' period from birth to ascension. The only aspect of which the narrator and his characters – including Jesus – have no knowledge is the time of the parousia (Mt 24:36). This limitation in the perspective of the narrator and that from which the characters are narrated, functions effectively to continue the line of tension in the plot of Matthew until the dénouement is reached at the συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος (Mt 28:20).

2.3.3 Character delineation in the Gospel of Matthew

The objective of character development in narrative material is aimed at the role that the writer/narrator allows a certain character in the plot of the narrative to play. In other words, the study is concerned with the *motivation* behind the actions (what s/he says and does) and the attitude of the character (cf Abrams 1971:21). 'Any discussion of character in fiction, then, must attend to the relationship between character and the other elements of the story, and between character and the story as a whole. That is, character must be considered as part of the story's internal structure...' (Kenney 1966:26).

The narrator's ideological perspective manifests itself mainly against the background of the perspectives that the characters represent through dialogue, monologue, behavior and attitude. In other words, the exegete observes the perspective of the narrator, mainly by analyzing the different perspectives from which the respective characters are narrated. The perspective of the narrator is thus put into focus by the way in which the perspectives of the different characters function in relation to one another.

The functional role of a character in a narrative, therefore, is determined by the reciprocal relationship (one character determines the functional role of another) in which a particular character stands towards the others in a story. The following reciprocal relationships between the main characters occur in the Gospel of

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Matthew: Jesus ⟷ Jewish multitude and Gentiles, Jesus ⟷ disciples, Jesus ⟷ John the Baptist, Jesus ⟷ Jewish leaders, Jewish leaders ⟷ Jewish multitude and Gentiles, Jewish leaders ⟷ John the Baptist, Jewish leaders ⟷ disciples, disciples ⟷ Jewish multitude and Gentiles, God the Father ⟷ Satan, God the Father ⟷ Son of God (Jesus), Satan ⟷ Jewish leaders, Jesus ⟷ Satan.

In a narrative there are only two basic types of character, namely a 'simple' character and a 'complex' character. Through the entire narrative the former embodies an unambiguous perspective and the latter not. 'If the mark of the simple character is that he can be summed up adequately in a formula, the mark of the complex character is that he is capable of surprising us...he is capable at least of some hesitation, self-doubt, internal division, and therefore tends towards complexity' (Kenney 1966:29-30). In the Gospel of Matthew the protagonist and the antagonist are 'simple' characters, while the disciples, the Jewish multitude and the Gentiles are 'complex'.

Jesus is the embodiment of the behavior and attitude that is characterized by absolute obedience to the will of the Father in heaven. And, since the 'fulfillment' of the will of the Father (= the 'law and the prophets') is compassion, Jesus' δικαιοσύνη is manifested, inter alia, in his didactic approach to (e g Mt 5-7) and healing activities among (e g Mt 8-9) the Jewish multitude in particular, as well as the Gentiles, driven by the motivation of love. This same δικαιοσύνη is expected of the disciples. And it is a δικαιοσύνη that testifies to something 'more' than the δικαιοσύνη of the Jewish leaders (cf Mt 5:20). The Jewish leaders' δικαιοσύνη is of a formalistic nature and lacks the deep-seated attitude of love towards the multitude and the Gentiles. The Jewish leaders are 'two-faced' (ὑποκριταί) 'murderers (φονεῖς) of the prophets', 'Satan's henchmen' (πονηροί). The perspective from which the Jewish leaders are narrated thus stands, from the beginning, in constant and unambiguous contrast with that from which Jesus is presented. Both the disciples and the Jewish multitude (inter alia Mt 15:10) are warned against the influence of the Jewish leaders. Nevertheless, Jesus referred to the disciples using the names that he called the Jewish leaders, for example ὑποκριταί (cf i a Mt 23:13, 15, 23 with 7:5). This expresses the 'complexity' of the image of the disciples in the Gospel of Matthew. The Jewish multitude is, like the disciples, a 'complex' character, since its response with regard to the love of Jesus (the act of forgiveness of sin – cf Mt 1:21) is not predictably unambiguous. More often they (the multitude) act as 'potential followers' of Jesus (inter alia Mt 13:13). At times their decision is 'positive' (inter alia Mt 15:31; 21:9), but at others 'negative' (inter alia Mt 13:33-38). Eventually they cry: 'Crucify him!...Let his blood be on us and on our

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children!' (Mt 27:23, 25). The role of the *Gentiles* is less complex. Their approach with regard to Jesus is positively unambiguous: At the beginning of the Gospel they are present in the persons of the μάγοι to pay homage to the 'King of the Jews' (Mt 2:1-12); at the end of the Gospel the Gentile officer and the soldiers called Jesus by the title given him from heaven (Mt 3:17; 17:5), and which was used otherwise only by the disciples (Mt 14:33; 16:16) and (blasphemously) by Satan (Mt 4:1-11), the Jewish leaders (Mt 27:43) and the Jewish multitude (Mt 27:39) saying 'This man was truly the Son of God' (Mt 27:54). On the other hand, the commission of Jesus and the disciples with regard to the Gentiles is of such a nature that considerable stress is placed on the fact that the commission to the Gentiles does not exclude the Jewish multitude. On the contrary!

One of the striking features of the Gospel of Matthew is that the Jewish leaders and other opponents of Jesus never refer to him by the title of Κύριος, as the disciples do. The opponents address Jesus as Διδάσκαλε (inter alia Mt 19:16) or Ῥαββί (inter alia Mt 26:49). This gives rise to the question of the functionality of the christological names that are used in the Gospel of Matthew as 'titles', such as 'Son of David', 'Son of God', 'Son of man', 'King of the Jews', and 'Kurios'/'Lord'. This character delineation by *name* is so important to the purpose of our study that we shall now discuss some of the names.

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Chapter 3

The names of Jesus in Matthew's story

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Petersen (1978a:111) realized the challenge of describing the functions of the names of Jesus from a narrative point of view. However, he did not do so himself. In his article he introduced Boris Uspensky's (1973) theory of literature and applied it to a pericope in the Gospel of Mark. Petersen's article pioneered the application of narratology in researching the gospels. A number of publications on the Gospel stories have since been published in South Africa, and especially in North America. To my knowledge, Uspensky's theory on the function of the names in narrative texts has not yet been applied to researching the gospels. The study that comes closest is the very useful chapter III of Dawsey's (1983:81-112) thesis, entitled *The literary function of point of view in controlling confusion and irony in the Gospel of Luke.* Kingsbury's (1986) book, *Matthew as story*, is one of the prominent narratological studies done on the Gospel of Matthew.

Although Kingsbury (1986:1-2) refers to both Uspensky's and Petersen's works in his introductory paragraph, his treatment of the names of Jesus in chapters 2 and 5 (cf also Kingsbury 1984, 1985b) contains little more than the results he obtained with his earlier redaction-critical works (see especially Kingsbury 1975a and the critique by Hill 1984 as a result of Kingsbury's article, which was published in 1984).

Uspensky (1973:25-27), in a chapter with the title 'Naming as a problem of point of view in literature', indicated that naming could be functional in narrative literature. It is a very effective phraseological method for the narrator to use to communicate his own ideas, ideas about his characters, and one character's ideas about another. The narrator can, for example, by using different names for the same character, indicate the different perspectives of each (or a group) of the other characters regarding that specific character, which perspective (and implicitly the perspective of other characters) is revealed by their respective uses of a typical

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name for the character concerned (see Uspensky 1973:26). This is mainly true in respect of the names used for the main character (protagonist): '...the author's attitude towards his hero is manifested primarily in his way of naming the hero...' (Uspensky 1973:22).

In his work on the Gospel of Luke, Dawsey confirmed that neither the narrator nor the characters in the story used Jesus' names in an arbitrary or interchangeable fashion. Different characters and groups of characters used different names when referring to Jesus. Dawsey (1983:99-102) also showed that Luke edited his sources by removing some of Jesus' names from the monologues and dialogues of certain characters and character groups and inserting other names in their place. In this manner the Gospel of Mark, as one of Luke's sources, was adapted by removing the names 'Teacher' (Διδάσκαλε) and 'Rabbi' ('Ραββί) from the speech of Jesus' inner-circle followers and letting them use names such as 'Master' (ἐπιστάτα), while introducing 'Teacher' (Διδάσκαλε) into the speech of certain members of the crowd.

In the Gospel of Matthew one again notices that the Jewish leaders and Jesus' other opponents, in contrast to the disciples, never refer to him by the name of 'Lord' (κύριος). The opponents address Jesus as 'Teacher' (Διδάσκαλε – e g in Mt 19:16) or 'Rabbi' ('Ραββί – e g in Mt 26:49). This gives rise to the question of the function of Jesus' names in the Gospel of Matthew. This question, pertaining to the names used as 'titles' for Jesus in the gospels, usually forms the traditional object of investigation when the christology of the various evangelists is considered.

The aim of this chapter is, firstly, to indicate two tendencies in traditional titular christology as being methodologically and theologically inadequate. Secondly, we particularly wish to indicate how the more prominent names of Jesus in Matthew's story contribute functionally to characterizing Jesus as the fulfiller of the law and the prophets.

This particular characterization of Jesus is a prominent theme of the narrator's perspective on the ideological level in Matthew. Uspensky's term 'ideology' refers to the network of ideas and themes appearing in a narrative text, which makes it possible to talk about the ideological perspective(s) of a narrative. In a non-artistic text such as a gospel, one ideological perspective usually dominates. Because the gospels are religious texts the narrator's *ideological* perspective in reality also is his *theological* perspective. The dominant theological perspective of the narrator in the Gospel of Matthew can be summarized by the phrase God-with-us. Jesus' Hebrew name 'Emmanuel' ('Εμμανουήλ – Mt 1:23) is a direct explication on the surface of a more profound God-with-us theological perspective. Every event, character, and suchlike in the Gospel of Matthew is presented from

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this specific perspective. It echoes through every episode of the Gospel. The perspectives from which the protagonist and the other characters are presented in the story, as well as the particulars of the topography and the different periods, are subordinate to, integrated with, and serve as manifestations of this perspective. This also applies to the other names of Jesus which are not as explicit as 'Emmanuel', as well as to the different names of the various other characters.

And it is in this respect that Uspensky's theory regarding the function of names can make an important contribution to the study of the christologies of the various gospels. As mentioned above, we wish to indicate in this chapter how the more prominent names of Jesus are phraseological manifestations of the theological concept of God-with-us. The mere fact that the narrator calls Jesus 'Emmanuel' in a prophecy-fulfilling citation (Mt 1:22-23), is an indication that the narrator's theological perspective coincides with the main character's perspective. This, in fact, means that the dominant theological perspective in the Gospel of Matthew is not only manifested in what Jesus does, says, thinks and so forth, but it is also evident in the names that are used for him, which are functional in view of his words and deeds.

As mentioned, we wish to indicate how the names of Jesus contribute functionally to characterizing Jesus as the fulfiller of the law and the prophets, and that this characterization is a prominent theme in Matthew's dominant theological perspective. Consequently, it is necessary to shed some light on the connection between the above-mentioned characterization and the theology of Matthew's gospel.

Matthew's 'theology' comprises the creation of an analogy between the Jesus events, from birth to resurrection (pre-paschal period), and the church in the period between the resurrection and the Second Coming (post-paschal period). 'Church' in this sense refers to the space within which the implicit reader of the Gospel finds himself, and the implicit reader of the Gospel of Matthew is a disciple-reader (see Via 1980:209-210). This, in fact, means that the actual, assumed readers are associated with the role played by the disciples in the Gospel. 'Analogy' in the 'theology' of Matthew refers to the association between his readers and the characters and events suggested in Matthew's narrative about Jesus. The idea behind this association is mainly to provide guidelines for establishing the correct relationship between the 'leaders' (the implicit disciple-readers) and the needy in the domain of the post-paschal church. By means of this association, Matthew wishes this relationship to bear witness to the love Jesus has shown towards the Jews (and the Gentiles). This Jesus has done by the remission of their sins through divine power, thus executing the will of the Father, the 'law and the prophets' (= the

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Torah) in complete obedience. This love embodies the fulfillment of the Torah, and the fulfillment of the Father's will is the way of life that gives one entry to the kingdom of heaven. Although Jesus called the disciples and made them 'fishers of men' when he started his work of love among the Jews (and the Gentiles), their mission into the world only began after Jesus' resurrection. The disciples, as well as the reader of the Gospel of Matthew, have been given a teaching mission. The content of this mission comprises the Torah as the will of God, interpreted and embodied by Jesus as Emmanuel. Jesus' lasting presence as God-with-the-church until the end of the world will become visible in the disciples' obedience at a time when they are busy with their mission of making disciples of others, following Jesus' example in doing God's will. If the disciples acknowledge this calling and carry it out, they will become like scribes who have become pupils in the kingdom of heaven. In the Gospel of Matthew, however, the disciples are inclined to associate themselves with the legalistic formalism of the Jewish scribes and the Pharisees.

In this study the emphasis is placed on the function of Jesus' names in the theology of Matthew. The study endorses the reference made by Gibbs (1986) to the Matthean Jesus as the 'Torah Incarnate', as well as the remark made by Hummel (1966:56), namely that in Matthew christology and Torah are inextricably linked together.

The term 'Torah', whenever used, also has the implied meaning of 'scribe'. According to Matthew we should not assume that a scribe cannot be a Christian. On the contrary, Matthew relates one of Jesus' pronouncements in which reference is made to a scribe who had become a pupil in the kingdom of heaven (Mt 13:52). Hoh (1926) spoke about 'der christliche γραμματεύς' in this connection. Gnilka (1986:512) interprets Matthew 13:52 as follows: In his lifetime Christ remains disciple and pupil. The examination still lies ahead. In the image of the father of the house, those who are active in preaching and catechism are specifically addressed. They should teach new and old topics. This 'christian scribe' is portrayed by Matthew as the father of the house who instructs, using both old and new material. Such a scribe is therefore also a pupil – an eternal student – who takes note of the 'old' in relation to the 'new', who makes it his own and takes it further. To Matthew this means that note is taken of and people are instructed in the *old* Torah in relation to the *new* events surrounding Jesus, the 'Torah incarnate'.

3.2 TRADITIONAL TITULAR CHRISTOLOGY

The names used as 'titles' for Jesus in the gospels form the traditional object of study when the christology (image of Jesus) of the various evangelists is being investigated. However, two trends in this study should be indicated as being inadequate both methodologically and theologically.

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3.2.1 Concerning the analysis of a narrative as such, historical criticism is retrospective

In the first place, it is methodologically retrospective to assume that a historical-critical study of isolated christological titles will be the most successful angle from which to investigate the various images of Jesus presented in the gospels. Initially, the historical-critical investigation placed the emphasis on the origin of the christological titles in either the Palestinian or Hellenistic background, and on the history of the transmission of these titles from the historical Jesus through the traditional layers of Palestinian-Jewish Christianity and Hellenistic-Jewish Christianity up to that of Hellenistic-Gentile Christianity. Hahn's (1974a) widely read dissertation, *Christologische Hoheitstitel: Ihre Geschichte im frühen Christentum*, is an excellent example of such a historical-critical investigation. His study was undertaken from a tradition-critical point of view and many regard the book as a standard work on the christology of the New Testament, replacing that by Cullmann (1966), *Die Christologie des Neues Testaments*.

Scholars concerned with the epistemology and the methodology of exegesis began indicating that the historical-critical approach, including tradition criticism, could only contribute towards identifying the historical turn of events in the texts. Kealy (1979:167) said: 'Too often it seemed to be as if the genuine gospel lay somewhere behind the present gospels.' Although Hahn (1974a:9) leaned towards the hermeneutic importance of the 'gospel as a whole' at the time, he did not make use of it in his description of the christology of the various evangelists.

As a further model of historical criticism, redaction criticism improved upon this. For the very first time the Gospel was explicitly treated as a unit. Of importance in the study of the christology of the various evangelists is the fact that redaction criticism takes into account that the theological profile has an individual evangelist as redactor (*schriftstellerische Einzelpersönlichkeit* – Rohde 1966). It would not be an exaggeration to state that most of the research articles of note published on the gospels during the seventies were, in fact, redaction-critical studies. In 1975 Harrington condensed the first decade of redaction-critical studies on Matthew. According to Harrington (1975:388) the feeling at that time was that it had become necessary to do a comprehensive description of Matthew's christology from a redaction-critical angle.

As mentioned in my overview of Matthean research Kingsbury endeavored to fill the gap with the publication of his book, *Matthew: Structure, christology, kingdom*, in 1975. On the dust cover of Kingsbury's work Norman Perrin declared that this was on the one hand the most important work on the interpretation of the Gospel of Matthew to date (1975), and on the other it represented a new starting-point for the scholars of future studies on Matthew. Since then Kingsbury has been

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subjected to both conditional emulation (see also Nolan 1979; Meier 1979) and stringent criticism (see also Barr 1976:351; Borsch 1977; Keck 1980; Hill 1980a; Tatum 1981). However, redaction criticism, too, failed in its effort to take the holistic context as well as the literary nature of the gospels sufficiently into account.

And even should one to a certain degree succeed in discounting the literary nature as well as the holistic context of a Gospel by a specific method of exegesis, would this in any way influence the traditional method by which an evangelist's image of Jesus is portrayed in terms of the christological titles used in that particular Gospel? The crux of the matter remains whether, in traditional titular christology, the use of a title by the historical Jesus and the congregation of the post-paschal period is consistent or not (see Balz 1976:17). Redaction criticism itself was not interested in the question, but placed the emphasis on the theological profile of an evangelist as the one expressing the faith of a particular post-paschal community. This approach was, however, still interested in the history of early Christianity. The narrative character of the gospels was not yet under consideration.

Against the background of an exegetic approach that concentrated on the narrative character of the gospels, the following remark by Werner Kelber about the shortcomings of historical criticism is important:

> It is hard to see any imperative reason why a gospel christology ought to be predicted solely on its author's use of christological titles. In the light of redaction criticism titular christology betrays an arbitrary quality because it pays no attention to the narrative mainstream, the very thoughtway of a gospel. As for a gospel theology, finally, we must withhold credence unless it does justice to the literary, religious structure of the whole and to all the elements which compose it.
>
> (Kelber 1979:15)

In this study we do not intend to discuss the merits of the statement that the main emphasis of traditional titular christology is on whether there is continuity in the use of a title in pre-paschal and post-paschal situations. Discussion of this statement is itself of great importance and interest. In studying the historical Jesus 'from below' scholars indeed regard this as one of the crucial questions. At this point in time, however, we intend to corroborate Kelber's statement as quoted above. In this chapter we shall endeavor to show that investigations in terms of tradition criticism done by one such as Hahn are not the only ones that are inadequate to discount both the holistic context and the literary nature of the gospels in the investigation of the christology of an evangelist. The redaction-critical work of someone like Kingsbury also falls short in this respect.

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Today the methodology applied by Kingsbury to the study of the Jesus image in Matthew is different. Like certain other scholars of the Gospel, he treats the literary character of a *gospel as narrative* with a great deal of seriousness, and he observes Jesus as being part of the narrator's characterization. In the introduction to this present chapter we have indicated that in his latest book on Matthew, Kingsbury does not investigate the use of names as a narrative technique. In our opinion it is this aspect of narration that enables one to describe the image of Jesus in terms other than those of traditional titular christology. This gives rise to another failing of traditional titular christology, namely that the role of christological titles in the gospels may be overrated.

3.2.2 Concerning character delineation, christological titles are overrated

The conditional emulation and criticism of Kingsbury's redaction-critical investigation into the christology of Matthew, referred to above, has a particular bearing on Kingsbury's idea that Matthew summarized the scopus of his theology in a single christological title ('Son of God'), which served as a prism through which everything was viewed. However, he was not the first researcher to hold the opinion that Matthew regarded specific titles as being prominent. The fact is that there were divergent views in this regard both before and after Kingsbury.

The following titles were seen as the so-called dominant christological titles in Matthew's theology during the sixties and seventies: 'Son of David' in respect of the 'earthly' Jesus in the pre-paschal period, as well as 'Lord' (Κύριος) in respect of the 'risen' Jesus of the post-paschal (eschatological) period (Strecker 1966:118-120, 123-126), Κύριος (Trilling 1964:21-51; Frankemölle 1974:80, 85, 89, 144, 298, 377), 'Son of man' (Blair 1960:83; Lange 1973:238-241, 245-246, 487-498), Κύριος and 'Son of man' (Davies 1966:96-99), 'Messiah' (Gaston 1975), 'King of the Jews' (Schniewind 1968:1), 'Son of God' (Kingsbury 1975a:40-83; 1977:34-53) and 'Son of God' and 'Servant' (Gerhardsson 1973). According to these scholars the 'dominant' titles function either with inclusion of the content because they are seen as encompassing all the other titles in the Gospel of Matthew (e g Kingsbury's 'Son of God' title, or Gerhardsson's 'Servant' title), or contingently because all the other titles retain their independence although as *auxiliary titles* which recessively support the dominant one (e g compare the recessive function of the 'Son of man' title in respect of the 'earthly Messiah' title given by Walker 1967:128-132; that of the Κύριος title in respect of the 'Son of God' title given by Kingsbury 1975a:103-113; that of the 'Messiah' and 'Son of God' titles in respect of the 'Son of David = 'King' title given by Nolan 1979:149, 216-221, 224; and Meier's 1979:118 elliptical

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presentation, according to which the 'Son of God' and the 'Son of man' titles have a recessive function in respect of *'the* Son' title).

At present an increasing number of scholars of the Gospel of Matthew are warning against an overemphasis on christological titles and especially against searching for the so-called 'central' title in the theology of the evangelist. Consequently, the following remarks by Keck (serving as a criticism of Kingsbury, and of Meier's elliptical presentation) and Hill (serving as criticism of both Kingsbury and Nolan) are important:

> [C]oncentrating on christological titles actually misses much of what the New Testament, and the early Christians as well, wanted to say about Jesus....The same is true for the Gospel according to Matthew. This Gospel includes a great many titles, like Emmanuel, Son of David, Son of God, Son of Man, Christ. Yet Matthew is not as concerned to show how these titles are related to each other as are modern scholars.
>
> (Keck 1980:9)

> But like most of these who pursue, with enthusiasm and single-mindedness, the search for one overarching christological theme...he (B M Nolan – A G v A) underrates other motifs and has to press some material to fit his predetermined mould.
>
> (Hill 1980a:68)

Keck's remark is worthy of some consideration. Someone of Kingsbury's stature should note that Matthew was apparently not interested in narrating a structure of interrelational titles to his readers. This criticism is still valid, even after the publication of Kingsbury's book in 1986 (which is revised in 1989). It is not the interrelation of titles as such which catches one's attention when reading the Gospel of Matthew. If the literary context of the Gospel as a whole and its time of origin within the Galilean situation in the post-paschal period and after the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70 are taken into account, one can see that in the Gospel Jesus' names are indeed functional. This function, however, is not to be found in a structured systematic interrelation of names with one another. The evangelist applies Jesus' names to serve to project the rift between the Galilean church of the post-paschal period and the reorganized Pharisaical Judaism after AD 79. In terms of this projected conflict, Jesus' names in the Gospel of Matthew form part of the phraseological characterization of Jesus as the fulfiller of the law and the prophets. We will discuss this hypothesis later on in the chapter.

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The above remark made by Hill in 1980, can still be applied to Kingsbury's reworked narrative-critical study of the Gospel after seven years (1986). In 1984 Hill expressed strong criticism of an article in which Kingsbury (1984) described Matthew's image of Jesus with reference to the art of narration. In this article Kingsbury made interesting comments related to God as a 'character' of the Gospel, and we cannot fully agree with Hill's criticism in this regard. Specifically in respect of the Matthean Jesus, however, Kingsbury presented nearly no new information. Hill (1984:40) says, amongst other things: 'It looks as if Kingsbury's language is chosen and calculated *to advance his known position*' (my emphasis).

One of the best known aspects of Kingsbury's stance in respect of the Matthean Jesus is that the Son of God title is the central christological title in the Gospel. There are a number of arguments against this. Don Meier summaries his objections as follows:

> What the data imposes upon us is the abandonment of talk about *the* central title in Matthew's gospel, along with the implicit image of a circle with one center....We can certainly say that Matthew's dominant Christology is a Son-Christology. But that should not be automatically equated with a Son-of-God Christology. Matthew's position is broader and more complex than that.
>
> (Meier 1979:218-219; his emphasis)

Yet, Meier is only proposing a variation on Kingsbury's theme. He considers that the image of Jesus in Matthew can be described in terms of an ellipsis. The titles 'Son of God' and 'Son of man' are the focal points of the ellipsis, whereas the title '*the* Son' lies somewhere between the two. At a later stage we will argue that the sonship theme is very important in the Gospel of Matthew, but we cannot ignore the fact that Keck rightly applied his criticism of Kingsbury to Meier as well. Here we can indeed talk about an overstrained system of interrelational christological titles which do not come to the fore in Matthew's theological perspective.

Are we then not also guilty of a 'single-mindedness' and a 'search for one overarching christological theme' (see Hill above) when we maintain that the *Emmanuel title* is the dominant perspective of the theology of Matthew (see Van Aarde 1982a)? No. The difference is that we do not consider that the Emmanuel title functions as an inclusive title, encompassing all the other christological titles. Neither do we argue that the Emmanuel title functions as the center of an ellipsis, recessively integrating all the other titles. As a Hebrew name Emmanuel is a direct explication of an Old Testament theme. This Old Testament God-with-us theme

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was taken up by Matthew in order to provide the deep-seated theological perspective from which the narrator evaluates and presents *all* the names of Jesus, as well as everything else in the Gospel of Matthew. In view of this, Matthew's Jesus is, generally speaking, presented as the *fulfiller of the Old Testament*, that is, *Emmanuel – the Torah incarnate*.

At the time, the Old Testament was known to Matthew and his community as the 'law and the prophets'. The Gospel of Matthew does not make a qualitative distinction between the 'law' and the 'prophets'. The reason why these so-called fulfillment citations only come from the 'prophets', and are absent from the passion narrative, should possibly be sought in Matthew's point of view, namely that prophecies are predictions and that Jesus obediently fulfilled them until his death. The expression 'the law and the prophets' denotes quite simply the whole of the Old Testament as it is known to the church of Matthew and functions for it as Scripture (cf Mt 5:17; 7:12; 11:13; 22:40; cf Kingsbury 1977:82).

We will go on to indicate by means of the names of Jesus why Matthew's Jesus can be typecast as the fulfiller of the law and the prophets by means of the names of Jesus. The above-mentioned methodological objection to the overrated christological titles has not caused us to underestimate the special importance of names in narrative material. Although we agree with Meier (1979:217) that Matthew 'is quite capable of making important christological statements without titles', the use of titles as a phraseological narrative technique remains an important aid to the narrator in his characterization and his employment of mood-reflecting techniques such as irony.

We will indicate that the name 'Teacher' (Διδάσκαλος or Ῥαββί) when used by Jesus' adversaries, is an ironic reference to Jesus' *correct interpretation* of the law and the prophets. In contrast, the name 'Lord' (Κύριος), when used by the disciples and Jesus' potential followers, refers to the *authority* with which Jesus interprets the law and the prophets. The name 'Son of David' (Υἱὸς Δαυίδ), when used by the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles, on the one hand emphasizes the way in which Jesus *concretely fulfills* the law and the prophets through healings (in particular the 'blind' who begin to 'see'), and on the other emphasizes Jesus' conduct as a *continuation* of the law and the prophets. The continuity theme is also present in names such as 'Prophet' (Προφήτης), 'Messiah' (Χρίστος) and 'King' (Βασιλεύς). The name 'Son of man' (Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) as used by Jesus himself, refers to his function as *judge* who will sit in judgment at the Second Coming, and who will use obedience (or otherwise) to the law and the prophets as a measure. The name 'Son of God' (Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ), when used by divinely or diabolically inspired characters, on the one hand presents Jesus as the one whose *origins* lie with his Father in heaven and on the other presents him as the *totally obedient Son* who fulfilled every jot or tittle of the law and the prophets up to the time of his death.

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3.3 'TEACHER' AND 'LORD'

3.3.1 Introduction

It is significant that while the group name 'disciples' (μαθηταί) correlates with the name 'Teacher' (see Mt 10:24), 'Teacher' or 'Rabbi' is not used by the disciples when referring to Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew. The relationship between a disciple and Jesus is expressed by means of the name 'Lord' (Κύριος) in this Gospel (see Bornkamm 1961:38). The Jewish leaders and Judas Iscariot use the name Διδάσκαλος or Ῥαββί (see Mt 9:11; 17:24) when referring to Jesus; in contrast the disciples refer to Him as Κύριος (see Mt 14:28; 17:4). These two names for Jesus, used by his 'opponents' and 'helpers' respectively, are very noticeable in the section on the last supper (Mt 26:17-25). Here Judas Iscariot addresses Jesus as Ῥαββί (Mt 26:25; see also 26:49), while the other disciples address Him as Κύριος (Mt 26:22). This distinction is even more evident when one takes into account that the gospels of Mark and Luke do not contain such a parallelism in respect of these names. In both the Gospel of Mark (see Mk 4:38; 9:5, 38; 10:35; 13:1) and the Gospel of Luke (see Lk 21:7) the vocative Διδάσλαλε or Ῥαββί is, in fact, used by the disciples with reference to Jesus. Matthew, however, changed the name used by the disciples to Κύριε (cf Mt 8:25 with Mk 4:38; Mt 17:4 with Mk 9:5; Mt 20:33 with Mk 10:51; Ῥαββί in Mk 11:21 was omitted by Matthew). Although Jesus uses the name ὁ διδάσκαλος when referring to himself in the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 23:8; 26:18), the disciples do not use it. It therefore appears that the names 'Teacher' and 'Lord' are 'vehicles' used by the narrator in the Gospel of Matthew to convey certain perspectives. It is obvious that the names Κύριος and Διδάσκαλος are used to portray certain aspects of the binary relationships existing between the narrated characters: On the one hand we find the relationship between the disciples (as the 'helpers') and the Jewish leaders (as the 'antagonists') in relation to Jesus as the 'protagonist'; on the other there are the relationships between Jesus and the Jewish leaders, and between Jesus and the disciples.

3.3.2 Διδάσκαλος

The so-called 'controversy dialogues' between Jesus and the Jewish leaders form the context in which Διδάσκαλος is used by the Jewish leaders as a form of address. Generally, these controversy dialogues in the gospels focus on the typical rabbinic question regarding the correct interpretation of the Torah. In fact, the opposition between the protagonist and the antagonists in the Gospel of Matthew, broadly speaking, have a bearing on this problem. Hummel (1966:34, 56) refers to the matter in the following manner: In Matthew's examination of Judaism, the problem

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of the law takes up the most space. Christology and Torah are inextricably linked together. The messianity of Jesus, clearly distinguishable from the Jewish image of the Messiah, is legitimized by the Torah, and vice versa, the Torah is given its due worth through Jesus' messianic authority.

The function of the name Διδάσκαλος that was given to Jesus by the Jewish leaders was to accentuate the nature of the opposition that existed between the two parties – that the interpretation of the Torah, in fact, was the issue. This applies to all cases where the name is used in the 'controversy dialogues'.

* **Matthew 9:1-13**

Matthew 9:1-23 (see v 11) deals with Jesus eating with publicans and sinners (the *non-accounts* in the eyes of the Jewish leaders), as well as with Jesus' teachings: '[G]o and learn what this means: 'I desire mercy, not sacrifice" (quoting from Hs 6:6). In Jesus' motivation of this logion (cf the γάρ in v 13) there is a reference to what we can call the *raison d'être* in the plot of Matthew's gospel: '[F]or I have not come to call the [so-called – A G v A] righteous, but sinners.'

* **Matthew 12:38-42**

Matthew 12:38-42 (see v 38) deals with the temptation of Jesus by the Jewish leaders when they ask him for a sign (from heaven/from God – cf Mt 16:1-4). This 'request' should be seen against the background of the full Beelzebub controversy in Matthew 12:22-50 (see Cope 1967:36-52). In this controversy the Jewish leaders are contrasted with the Gentiles who react positively to Jesus' message. Jesus passes judgment on the Jewish leaders because they have spoken blasphemous words against the Holy Spirit (vv 22-32). The Jewish leaders' guilt is depicted by the metaphor 'good tree'-'good fruit'/'bad tree-bad fruit' (v 33). 'Good fruit' means doing the will of the heavenly Father; 'bad fruit' means committing βλασφημία (vv 46-50). In rabbinic theology the concept of 'sin that cannot be forgiven' (vv 31-32) appears within the referential framework of transgression of the Torah as the will of the Father (see Meier 1980b:135). According to Wrege (1978:134) the expression 'sin against the Holy Spirit' refers to the Jewish leaders obstruction of Jesus and the disciples in the fulfillment of their mission. In the argument the 'sign of Jonah' is used as a reference to the positive reaction of the Gentiles from Nineveh and the 'sign of Solomon' as a reference to the positive reaction of the Gentile 'queen of the South'. These references are examples of a typical rabbinic midrash interpretation technique. The reaction of the Gentiles is portrayed in this manner, and contrasted

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with the reaction of the Jewish leaders who refuse to pay attention to the proclamation of the will of God by Jesus, whereas Jesus as God-with-us is much more (πλεῖον...ὧδε) than Jonah (v 41) and Solomon (v 42). This whole controversy therefore deals with the question of the correct interpretation of the law and the prophets. Gundry (1982:242) formulates it as follows: '...Jesus' reply deals with the OT, their [the Jewish leaders – A G v A] field of expertise.'

* Matthew 17:24-27

The purpose of Matthew 17:24-27 (see v 24), the pericope dealing with payment of temple taxes by Jesus and Peter, is to show the opposition between the disciples and the Jewish leaders in respect of Jesus' standpoint regarding the temple (see Van Aarde 1991a). The theme of 'temple' in the Gospel of Matthew, when viewed from a certain angle, is a variation of the theme of 'Torah'. Consequently this pericope may be regarded as correlating with that in Matthew 12:1-8, dealing, as regards the opposition between Jesus and the Jewish leaders, with the conduct of the disciples on the sabbath. Both pericopes deal with Jesus' interpretation of the 'law', by means of which formalism is excluded (see Montefiore 1964/1965:71), while the law as the expression of the will of God is observed fully.

* Matthew 19:16-30

Likewise, Matthew 19:16-30 (see v 16) is a passage which has Jesus' interpretation of the law as its theme, contrasting sharply with that of the 'rich young man' from the ranks of the Jewish leaders. Jesus' 'radical' interpretation of the Torah is placed on an equal footing with the mission to be 'perfect'/'whole' and this demand, in the context, has a bearing on the theme of 'many who are first will be last; and many who are last will be first' (v 30). The demand contained in this logion implies that the legalism and formalism characterizing Judaism should be set aside. As in Matthew 5:48 where the word τέλειος (to be 'perfect') again appears in the Gospel of Matthew, we find in Matthew 19:21 that Jesus censures this form of legalism. Yarnold (1968:270) says the following in this regard:

> He (Jesus – A G v A) takes the word τέλειος from the spiritual vocabulary of his hearers (the Jewish leaders – A G v A) and gives it a twist: If you really want to be τέλειος you must love friend and foe alike (Mt 5:48), you must get rid of this money which is holding you back from whole-hearted service of God (Mt 19:21). If you really want to be τέλειος, to be faithful to all that is noble in the pharisaic ideal, you must be rid of the legalism which so easily taints it.
>
> (Yarnold 1968:270)

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Also Przybylski (1980) has indicated that the terms 'perfection' (τέλειος) and 'righteousness' (δικαιοσύνη) in the Gospel of Matthew form part of related terms. Both terms refer to an attitude towards life which is the fruit of the correct interpretation of the Torah:

> Δικαιοσύνη is a term which refers to conduct according to a norm which in this case is the law. Both the disciples and the scribes and Pharisees have righteousness insofar as both groups live according to the demands of the law. This, however, does not mean that the righteousness of the two groups is identical. Jesus demands that the righteousness of the disciples is to exceed that of the scribes and the Pharisees. This does not mean that the disciples are to live according to a different law but they are to live according to a different interpretation of the law...The goal of this type of conduct is perfection...The disciples are to observe everything that Jesus commanded.
>
> (Przybylski 1980:87)

In view of the remarks by Yarnold and Przybylski quoted above, it is correct and with merit that Engelbrecht (1985:151, 154) implicitly creates a connection between the words 'mercy' (ἔλεος) and 'perfect' (τέλειος) on the one hand and δίκαιος on the other. He correctly treats the first two words as being part of the usage surrounding non-formalistic abiding with the law. The reference to the latter Greek word in the Gospel of Matthew can be interpreted as 'conforming to God's standard' (see Van Aarde 1986b:175-176). Engelbrecht refers to ἔλεος ('loyalty' as the translation for this word is not entirely satisfactory but not without merit) as the 'central nerve' in correctly abiding with the law. This is of course true. Later on I will recap on the importance that the above association has in respect of the theme of sonship in the Gospel of Matthew. I will indicate that, like Jesus, the 'perfect disciple' can be called 'Son of God'.

To be a disciple of Jesus means that you have to follow him. Kingsbury (1978) has convincingly indicated that 'following' (ἀκολουθεῖν) Jesus is a prominent theme in the Gospel of Matthew. For our own purposes it is noticeable that both the rich young man (Mt 19:21) and the disciples (Mt 19:27) were to hear that if someone wanted to be τέλειος – that is, to abandon his possessions and his family, he has to follow Jesus as well. And to follow Jesus, who is the embodiment of the will of God, is to obey his interpretation of what the will of God, the 'divine order, is all about.

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This 'divine order' is expressed notably by the Greek word ἅγιος (cf Van Staden 1991:2): "Αγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἅγιος, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν (Lv 19:2 LXX; cf also 1 Pt 1:16). In this analogous formula the word ἅγιος may be replaced by the word τέλειος: "Εσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειος ἐστιν (Mt 5:48) – 'You must be *whole* just as your Father in heaven is *whole*'! Mary Douglas (1966:54) states: '...to be holy is to be whole, to be one; holiness is integrity, perfection of the individual and of the kind.' This 'wholeness' thus applied, for example, to both the sacrificer and the sacrificial animal. To be 'holy' in the sense that God is 'holy' therefore implies that one has to fit in with God. According to this, cripples (θλαδίας καὶ ἀποκεκομμένος – Dt 23:1), the handicapped and the Gentiles were not acceptable before God, and were therefore not allowed to enter the cultic space where God dwelled, the Temple (Neyrey 1988:67) or the קָהָל/ἐκκλησία (cf Dt 23:18) – the community of 'saints'.

What this amounts to is that the Jews regulated God's presence. In their concept of God he is seen as being present on a restricted scale. The regulations that determined whether God was present or absent consisted of the multitude of regulations on purification. This particularly applied to the Temple, the Temple accessories, the Temple staff and the Temple worshipers (cf Neusner 1973a). In this respect Neusner (1973a:75) indicated in detail how the ideology of especially the Pharisees in particular was directed 'to extend into the day-to-day living of ordinary Jews the concerns of ritual purity usually associated only with the priests and Temple'. Elliott (1991b:220; cf also Neusner 1979:47) formulated this as follows:

> Particularly in Pharisaic ideology, food and meals formed a mediating link between the Temple with its altar and the private home and its table. For the Pharisees, the rigorous purity regulations pertaining to the Temple, its priesthood and sacrifices, were extended to the bed and board of every observant Jew.
>
> (Elliott 1991b:220)

In support of this they harnessed not only the Old Testament, but also the 'traditions of the elders' (cf Mk 7:3; Malina 1988:17). They drew up a comprehensive classification system, according to which almost everything in daily life was arranged in terms of acceptability – that is, 'holiness'/'wholeness'. Following on Mary Douglas (1966), Neyrey (1988:76) refers to this as 'boundaries' and speaks of *maps of time*, *maps of persons*, *maps of things* and 'perhaps it is fair to say that their primary map was a *map of meals*'. Meals were an important sociological mechanism which exerted control with regard to purity or the lack of it (Douglas 1966:126-127;

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Elliott 1991b). This also had direct relevance to the maintenance of 'boundaries' in reference to the avoidance of intermarriage between Jew and non-Jew, so that the integrity of the familial community could be protected (cf Bossman 1979; Pilch 1988a:36). 'Accordingly, codes defining social, sexual, and food purity and pollution will form one unified complex of concerns' (Elliott 1991b). This implies that God's 'holiness'/'wholeness' is replicated in man's world. Consequently, all of creation should portray the divine order relating to classification as well as discrimination (cf Neyrey 1988:68). Like the Pharisees, Jesus also considered that the temple community should be extended to everyday life. Jesus, however, opposed social-religious ostracism.

* Matthew 22

The last three instances in which the name Διδάσκαλος appears in the Gospel of Matthew are all to be found in chapter 22. All these pericopes similarly emphasize the opposition between Jesus and the Jewish leaders in regard to the interpretation of the Torah. Matthew 22:15-22 (see v 16) deals with the question of whether one should pay taxes to Caesar. Hill (1972:303-304) has the following comments to make:

> The question on which Jesus is asked to give an authoritative opinion is not one merely of expediency or civil law, but of a theological nature: In the eyes of God (i e in the light of the law) is it permissible to pay tribute?...(T)his (is a) kind of question (that) exercised the mind of the rabbis.
>
> Hill (1972:303-304)

Matthew 22:23-33 (see v 24) deals with the question of the Sadducees' opinion about the resurrection. In this regard Schlatter (1963:651, 654) states that the Sadducees and the Pharisees always expected that a theological argument should be able to be proved from the Torah. This was all the Sadducees acknowledged as the law. According to the Sadducees, however, the Torah refrains from mentioning the resurrection, which rules out the possibility of the resurrection altogether. Jesus' verdict is that the theology of the Sadducees 'narrows' and 'impoverishes' the Torah (see Schlatter 1963:653). And the third instance, namely Matthew 22:34-40 (see v 36), deals with the question regarding the crux of the Torah (ἐντολὴ μεγάλη ἐν τῷ νόμῳ). Hultgren (1979:186) is correct in saying that this question resulted in a controversy dialogue in which Jesus' dual commandment of love was indicated as being the key to the correct interpretation of the law and the prophets.

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3.3.3 Κύριος

The term Κύριος or the name Κύριε which is used for Jesus does not function as a honorary title throughout the Gospel of Matthew. In Matthew 21:3, for example, the term is used to refer to Jesus either as the (new) owner of the donkey (Foerster 1938) or as the actual owner of the donkey (Klostermann 1971:166; Schmid 1965:299). Hahn (1974a:85-86), Bornkamm (1961:38-39), Gaechter (1963:656) and Kingsbury (1975a:108), among others, are of the opinion that there is in fact a christological titular motif behind the use of the term Κύριος in Matthew 21:3. The first three scholars feel that Matthew is using a title for the pre-paschal Jesus which is, in anticipatory fashion, referring to what he will be only after his ascension (resurrection). According to Kingsbury the use of the term should in this case not be ascribed to Matthew's redaction activity, which he adopted from Mark. Matthew sees it as having an auxiliary function because the 'title' Κύριος supports and builds the other christological titles which appear prominently in Matthew's redaction with reference to Matthew 21:1-9, namely 'Son of David' (v 9) and 'King' (v 5). According to Kingsbury the name of Κύριος accentuates the divine authority through which Jesus, as the 'King', commands them to take possession of the donkey so that he can enter Jerusalem as the 'Son of David'.

The term Κύριος is, moreover, not applied exclusively to Jesus. In Matthew 1:22 and 4:10, for example, Jahwe is called Κύριος and in Matthew 27:63 the Jewish leaders respectfully address Pilate as Κύριε (= 'sir'/'your honor'). In Matthew 24:46 the term more or less functions as a synonym for the term οἰκοδεσπότης which to my mind cannot be regarded as a christological title. Kingsbury (1975b:255), however, is of the opinion that Κύριος, in fact, functions as a christological title in Matthew 24:46. According to him this is the only instance in the Gospel of Matthew in which Κύριος has not been applied as an auxiliary title. He feels that here it should be regarded as being on the same level as the titles 'Son of David', 'Son of man' and 'Son of God'.

When the word Κύριος has the function of a honorary title in the Gospel of Matthew it accentuates the authority of Jesus' actions. We consider that scholars of the Gospel of Matthew are on the wrong track when they use the studies of Bousset (1967) and Conzelmann (1977) to guide them in their search for the function of the Κύριος name in the Gospel. With reference to Bousset we find scholars like Hurtado (1979) attempting to prove him wrong, while someone like Hahn (1974a) wishes to prove the opposite. According to Bousset the title Κύριος could only be used on non-Palestinian ground. And, regarding Conzelmann, we find that some scholars transfer the results of his study on the title Κύριος in the Gospel of Luke to the Gospel of Matthew. According to Conzelmann the Κύριος title as used in the

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Gospel of Luke has no ontological reach as such. He maintains that this title indicates a 'functional compromise' which the congregation concluded in respect of the difference between Jesus' work and that of God in the execution of the 'history of salvation'. On the grounds of this 'compromise' one can infer a difference between the use of the title in the pre- and post-paschal periods. In respect of the Gospel of Matthew, Vögtle (1964) and Bornkamm (1964), for example, attempt to indicate that the theme of *divine authority* serves as a background to the use of the Κύριος title in the Gospel of Matthew.

This insight, namely that Matthew uses the name Κύριος as an indication of Jesus' divine authority, is correct. The reach of the authority motif behind the Κύριος name should, however, be looked for not within the sphere of the concept of 'salvation history', but within the sphere of interpreting the Torah. This 'authority' has a bearing on Jesus' radical interpretation of the Torah corresponding to the will of God in contrast to the interpretation given by the Jewish leaders (cf Rogers 1973:265). Furthermore, the use of the name Κύριος is an indication of the perspective from which the disciples and the Jewish crowd are characterized in the Gospel of Matthew. While the Jewish leaders by, inter alia, their use of the ironic name Διδάσκαλος for Jesus are simply presented as his opponents, the complexities surrounding the character of the disciples as 'those of little faith' and of the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles as potential followers of Jesus are highlighted by their calling him Κύριος.

* Matthew 12:1-8

In Matthew 12:1-8 (see v 8) the authority with which Jesus correctly interprets the law in respect of the sabbath and by which he decides what is and is not permissible on the day of the sabbath, is explicitly stated by, inter alia, the name Κύριος.

* Matthew 14:22-33 and 17:1-19

In Matthew 14:22-33 (see vv 28-29, 30) and Matthew 17:1-19 (see v 4) the name 'Son of God' has a more prominent function, but the name Κύριος, with which Peter addresses Jesus in both these passages bears witness to the 'insight' Peter has into the authority with which Jesus can command. In the first instance he shows insight into the fact that Jesus has the authority to command Peter to walk on water, as well as the authority and power to save the sinking Peter (see also Mt 8:25), and in the latter instance insight into the fact that Jesus, should he wish to do so, can authoritatively command the building of three huts (one each for Jesus, Moses and Elijah).

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* Matthew 16:21-28 and 18:21-35

Both Matthew 16:21-28 (see v 22) and Matthew 18:21-35 (see v 21) may be labelled 'didactic' passages in which Peter addresses Jesus as Κύριε. Jesus' authoritative 'instruction' and Peter's admission that he indeed has such authority vested in him, are conveyed by this form of address. At the same time, however, both passages bear witness to a lack of insight on Peter's part. In the first pericope there is the announcement of the passion, a report on Peter's embarrassment and the so-called 'Satan' reference. In its introduction, the latter pericope contains Peter's question regarding the 'remission of sin' and Jesus' answer in the form of the parable of the 'wicked servant'.

*** Matthew 8:1-4; 8:5-13; 15:21-28; 7:21; 25:11; 25:31-46 and 26:17-25**

Individuals among the Jewish people (Mt 8:1-4 – see v 2; Mt 17:14-18 – see v 15) and the Gentiles (Mt 8:5-13 – see vv 6, 8; Mt 15:21-28 – see v 27), called 'outcasts' by Sand (1974:164), also address Jesus as Κύριος on occasion. They probably address him in this way because they assume that he has the authority and power to heal. In this manner they are portrayed by Matthew as potential followers of Jesus. However, these potential followers, as well as the disciples, have to hear that not all who call Him 'Lord, Lord' will enter into the kingdom of heaven (see Mt 7:21; 25:11), but only those who fulfill the will of the Father as taught by Jesus.

This aspect is highlighted in the report on the last supper (Mt 26:17-25) and the parable of the final judgment (Mt 25:31-46). In the first pericope Jesus is addressed as Κύριος by a disciple (Mt 26:22), while the other disciple (Judas Iscariot) addresses him as Ῥαββί (Mt 26:25). In the latter pericope the δίκαιοι (the 'sheep') address him as Κύριος (Mt 25:37) and the others (the 'goats') also address Him as Κύριος (Mt 25:44) – the one group is blessed and the other condemned. From these two pericopes it is clear that not all who call Jesus Κύριε Κύριε will enter the kingdom of heaven.

* Summary

The perspective derived from the name Κύριος may be summarized in the following words of Sand (1974:164): The authorization to describe Jesus as Lord, Matthew took from his received sources. However, he deduced it mainly from the fact that his congregation is not committed to the Jewish rabbi's anymore, but to a new master, different from the rabbi's, mostly because of the authority he received from the Father and through his compassion for the despised 'outcasts'. To emphasize this, Matthew explains the call for compassion addressed to the Kyrios (Mt 9:27; 15:22; 17:15; 20:30), as well as to the Son of David (9:27).

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3.3.4 Υἱος Δαυίδ, Χριστός, Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων and Προφητής

3.3.4.1 Connection between the name Κύριος and Υἱὸς Δαυίδ

On the basis of, inter alia, Matthew 22:41-46, scholars like Bornkamm (1961:30-31), Strecker (1966:118-120), Hummel (1966:121-122), Walker (1967:129-132), Suhl (1968:69, 75-76, 81) and Sand (1974:47, 50, 62-67) are of the opinion that the title Υἱὸς Δαυίδ functions in *opposition* to the title Κύριος in the Gospel of Matthew. The former would indicate the *earthly* Jesus and the latter the *resurrected* Jesus. If these scholars are correct, it would imply that this binary relation should give direction to our discussion of the name, Υἱὸς Δαυίδ. Although it is correct to state that the name, Υἱὸς Δαυίδ, appears only in regard to the *earthly* Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew, it is incorrect to contend that the name Κύριος is used only in respect of the *risen* Jesus. On the basis of the discussion of the function of the name Κύριος above, we are of the opinion that an aspect of the finding by Conzelmann (1977:165-166) in respect of the function of the Κύριος title in the Gospel of Luke, is also demonstrated in the Gospel of Matthew. This is namely that the Κύριος title is also used to denote the *earthly* Jesus, and then not necessarily in an anticipatory sense. To my mind the Υἱὸς Δαυίδ name should not be researched from the 'pre-paschal' perspective as against the 'post-paschal'. The connection between the names Κύριος and Υἱὸς Δαυίδ is to be found in the theme of compassion (see the remark made by Sand 1974:164 above). This in turn, is an expression of the fundamental *Leitmotif* God-with-us. As such Jesus is the embodiment of the will of the Father, as expressed through the law and the prophets.

3.3.4.2 Theme of blindness and the expectations of the Old Testament

What is of importance to our study is the fact that except for the narrator, it is only the object of Jesus' mission, namely the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles, who address him as Υἱὸς Δαυίδ and not the disciples or the Jewish leaders. This creates a specific perspective from which the narrative about the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles in relation to Jesus is set. Two aspects may be inferred when we look at the passages containing the name Υἱὸς Δαυίδ.

Firstly, it is significant that all passages in which the Jewish crowd (Mt 9:27; 12:23; 20:30; 21:15) and the Gentiles (Mt 15:22) address Jesus as Υἱὸς Δαυίδ are pericopes that deal with healing (see e g Gerhardsson 1979:86-88) and that all, except Matthew 15:21-28, deal with the healing of the blind in one way or another. Matthew 21:9, the entry into Jerusalem, is an exception because it does not deal directly with healing. However, the entry bears a close relation to the following incident of healing that takes place inside the temple (Mt 21:15).

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The role that both the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles play in the Gospel of Matthew is that of potential followers of Jesus. In comparison to the Gentiles the characterization of the Jewish crowd is not one-sided. At times the decision of the Jewish crowd in respect of Jesus is 'positive' (e g Mt 15:31; 21:9), but it can also be 'negative' (e g Mt 13:53-58). And eventually they cry out: 'Crucify him! Let his blood be on us, and on our children!' (Mt 27:23, 25). By means of, among other things, the theme of the healing of the blind and the form of address Υἱὸς Δαυίδ which is used for Jesus, the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles are implicitly guided into accepting Jesus as Israel's anointed messenger. For this reason Matthew stresses the fact that the evangelization of the Gentiles does not exclude the Jewish crowd.

Secondly, by using a name such as Υἱὸς Δαυίδ, the narrator wishes to associate the nature of Jesus' mission with the expectations of the Old Testament regarding the ideal 'anointed one' (Χριστός), 'king of the Jews' (βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων) and the role of a 'prophet' (προφητής).

The name Χριστός appears both as a proper name (Mt 1:1, 18; 16:21) in the Gospel of Matthew, and as a honorary title, that is as a christological title. The latter use is a method employed by the narrator to represent Jesus as the *one who has come* in accordance with the promises of the prophets and who was expected as such by Israel. Seen in this light, the name Χριστός together with the name Υἱὸς Δαυίδ is connected to the fulfillment of the (law and the) prophets as well as to the idea that God is with us. This same nuance is to be found in Matthew's use of the name βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. As seen from the viewpoint of Herod the Great (Mt 2:2, 4, 13, 16), Pontius Pilate and the Roman cohort (Mt 27:11, 17, 22, 29, 37), the Roman soldiers (Mt 27:27-31) and the Jewish leaders (Mt 26:63, 68; 27:37, 41-42) this name has a political connotation. From the viewpoint of the narrator the name is characterized by the servant theme (see Mt 12:18). Kingsbury refers to Matthew's vision of Jesus as 'King' (βασιλεύς) and 'Servant' (παῖς) as follows:

> In the pericope 27:27-31, Matthew provides a detailed sketch of the true nature of Jesus' kingship: As he stands draped in a scarlet robe with a crown of thorns on his head and a reed for a scepter in his right hand, the soldiers abuse him and, kneeling in mock obeisance before him, hail him as 'King of the Jews'. Hence, if 'King' marks Jesus Messiah as a political throne-pretender in the eyes of his enemies, in the eyes of Matthew it marks him as the one in the line of David (1:6, 20, 25; 21:9) who establishes his rule, not by bringing his people to heel, but by suffering on their behalf.
>
> (Kingsbury 1977:34)

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As Βασιλεύς and as Παῖς, as Υἱὸς Δαυίδ and as Κύριος the Matthean Jesus allows the will of God to triumph (Mt 12:20) by interpreting the *law* as a command to be merciful (Mt 12:6-7; cf also 23:23). Consequently he heals people from the Jewish crowd (Mt 12:9-13, 22-23) and the Gentiles set their hopes upon him (Mt 12:21). But the Jewish leaders who witness Jesus' acts of healing wish to murder him (Mt 12:14). In the way that their fathers rejected the *prophets*, they reject him as Υἱὸς Δαυίδ, as Χριστός, and as Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (see Mt 21:14-15; 27:29, 37). Jesus' declaration of 'woe to you' in Matthew 23:29-32 is a very direct and clear indication of this. Derrett's comment on this 'woe to you' pronouncement, which was directed at the Jewish leaders as 'murderers of the prophets', reads as follows:

> The scholars of Jesus' time and later called themselves 'builders', 'builders in the Torah'. They applied to themselves, one may suspect, the passages in the prophets which speak of the builders of Jerusalem. They were certainly proud of their scholarship, as if it were constructive as well as laborious. Perhaps Jesus said something like this: 'You say you are the builders [and I am knocking down your structure with my unexpected interpretation of the Torah...]. Of what are you the builders? You are building the tombs of the prophets....'
>
> (Derrett 1968:193)

In turn the Jewish leaders accused Jesus of being Satan's accomplice (Mt 12:22-24). Ironically, these accusations are based on the acts of healing performed by Jesus as the Υἱὸς Δαυίδ. The behavior of the Jewish leaders correlates with their image as 'blind leaders' of the people (see Mt 15:14; 23:16). Therefore, the 'insight' gained by the Jewish crowd as a result of the healing of their blindness should have led to the deduction that according to Matthew their leaders were, in fact, 'blind leaders'. Owing to the ambivalent behavior of the Jewish crowd as a character group, however, their 'seeing' is not actually 'seeing' and their 'hearing' is not actually 'hearing' (cf Mt 13:13). The Jewish crowd's 'insight' into the identity of Jesus consists at most of addressing Him as Υἱὸς Δαυίδ and as Προφήτης ὁ ἀπὸ Ναζαρὲθ τῆς Γαλιλαίας (Mt 21:9-11) – the one who has the power to heal. They do not, however, know him for what he really is.

In his comment on Matthew 21, Beare formulates the perspective from which the Jewish crowd is represented by means of using the name Προφήτης for Jesus:

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> The masses (οἱ ὄχλοι, 'the crowds') look upon Jesus as a prophet.... For Matthew this means that they still do not know him for what he is in truth – the Messiah, the Son of God. For the moment, their respect for Jesus as a prophet is so great that the authorities do not dare to offend them by seizing Jesus forthwith (Mt 21:46); a few days later, they will be ready to shout, 'Let him be crucified' (27:22f).
>
> (Beare 1981:431)

With the name Προφήτης that the Jewish crowd uses for both Jesus (Mt 16:13-14; 21:11, 46) and John the Baptist (Mt 14:5; 21:26), the narrator places Jesus and John the Baptist in a continuous line with the (law and the) prophets. The disciples are also named as such within this same framework (Mt 10:41; 23:34). However, when the Jewish crowd addresses Jesus in this way, the narrator emphasizes it to indicate that their perspective is ambivalent and thus incomplete. The narrator allows Jesus to declare indirectly that he is *more* than a 'prophet' (Mt 11:9) and directly that as 'Son of God' he is *more* than a 'Son of David' (Mt 22:41-46).

The perspective used to portray the Jewish crowd is thus one depicting them as *potential followers* of Jesus, but at the same time they are shown as a people lacking *complete insight* – a 'short-sightedness' that, throughout the middle part of the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 4:23-25:46), is in danger of merging with the perspective from which the Jewish leaders are drawn. This does in fact happen in the final part of the Gospel. In view of this the 'cursing of the fig tree' by way of hypothesis probably refers to both the Jewish crowd and the disciples (Mt 21:18-22). This pericope should probably be read against the background of the two incidents that, according to the story, had taken place in the temple the previous day and which has been narrated in the two preceding pericopes. They dealt with the 'entry into Jerusalem' (Mt 21:1-11) and the 'cleansing of the temple' (Mt 21:12-17). In both the latter pericopes we find that the Jewish crowd uses the invocation ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ. (The 'children' in Mt 21:15 plays the same role as the Jewish crowd does – see Van Aarde 1982a:87-94.) One may say 'Lord Lord' or 'Praise the Son of David' but, if he does not do the will of the Father as taught by Jesus, he will wither like a fig tree because he bears only leaves and no fruit.

3.3.5 Υἱός τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and Υἱός τοῦ Θεοῦ

3.3.5.1 Introduction

It has become practically impossible to give an overview of research into the historical and theological study of the problems of the christological titles Υἱὸς τοῦ

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ἀνθρώπου and Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. With regard to the first title we can refer to works such as those of Kümmel (1980:50-84) and Higgins (1980:29-53) for an overview of this kind of research, and in respect of the latter the works of Van Iersel (1964:3-8) as well as those of Bieneck (1951), De Kruijf (1962), Pokorny (1971), Hengel (1976), Hahn (1974b:280-333) and Delling (1977).

We referred earlier to Kingsbury's one-sided approach according to which the Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ title is seen to be an inclusive concept in the Gospel of Matthew, either containing the frames of reference of all the other titles within itself or next to which titles (such as the Κύριος title) function in subordinate fashion on an *auxiliary* basis. We cannot, however, support such a view unconditionally. Like Hill (1979), we cannot agree with Kingsbury that the titles of Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ have an inseparable function in the Gospel of Matthew and that 'the difference between the two [is] more a matter of function than of content' (Kingsbury 1977:56). Elsewhere Kingsbury (1975c:202) says: '...they [the Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ names respectively – A G v A] describe Jesus, the one from the standpoint of the world and the other from the standpoint of the church....'

In Kingsbury's view, the following pattern is consistent in the Gospel of Matthew:

> [I]f Matthew views Jesus in his interaction with his disciples during his ministry and with his church following Easter as the Messiah, the Son of God, he views him in his interaction with the world, first Israel and then the gentiles, as the Son of man. Still, at the consummation of the age, when Jesus will appear visibly as the Judge and Ruler of the universe so that the whole world will see what until that time only the eyes of faith had ever been given by God to perceive, then says Matthew, the distinction between Jesus as the Son of God and Jesus as the Son of man will fall away; indeed, at the consummation both church and world will behold Jesus in all the majesty of God as the Son of man.
>
> (Kingsbury 1977:57)

There are five reasons why we cannot support Kingsbury's view regarding the so-called binary function of the titles Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ in the Gospel of Matthew. In the first place it would only be legitimate to argue that the Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ title, both in the pre-paschal and the post-paschal periods, represents the perspective by means of which the narrator reflects the interrelation

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between Jesus and the church, if the Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ title is a template for the concept of God-with-us. And this is not the case throughout. Secondly, nowhere in the Gospel of Matthew does the Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ title appear in pronouncements regarding the Second Coming. It is totally unnatural to argue on the basis of the absence of this in the logia regarding the Second Coming that, when the Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου title does appear in such contexts, it corresponds with the Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ title of the Second Coming. Thirdly, Kingsbury makes no distinction between the roles played by the Jewish leaders and the Jewish crowd. The Jewish leaders as the antagonists and the Jewish crowd as the object of Jesus' mission are simplistically called 'Israel', while 'Israel' and the 'Gentiles' form the 'world'. Through this the fundamental binary relations between the characters in the Gospel of Matthew are intermingled with the result that, to our thinking, the plot of the story of Matthew is not analyzed correctly. In the fourth place, Hill (1979:144) is correct when he indicates that it is unacceptable to regard the mother of James and John (Mt 20:28) as a character functioning on the same level as the Jewish leaders or Judas Iscariot, merely on the basis that Jesus referred to himself with the phrase Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου during his conversation with her. Fifthly, Kingsbury does not really treat the fact that the phrase Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου normally carries the 'general meaning' of the first person pronoun 'I' or 'man' in Jewish intertestamental literature seriously (see Vermes 1973:145-156, 160-186; 1987:27). His translation of the phrase 'this man' (Kingsbury 1985:68-74) into English indicates that he is aware of this Aramaic usage. He even uses a later work by Vermes to corroborate his English translation. The point on which we differ with Kingsbury in this regard does not, as in the case of Hill (1984), have a bearing on his English translation as such. It is merely that we cannot accept that the phrase functions as a honorary title throughout the Gospel of Matthew. However, Hill (1984) is not correct, either, when he maintains that the phrase has no function at all as honorary title in the Gospel of Matthew.

3.3.5.2 Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου: Philological and titular use

Without agreeing with Vermes in all respects, we have to accept that many of the Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου logia in the Gospel of Matthew do not function as names. Before Vermes' study there was more or less consensus among the scholars of the New Testament that these logia in the Synoptic gospels fell into three categories, namely that pertaining to the coming of the Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου to fulfill his function as judge, that pertaining to Jesus' appearances in public which are usually also referred to with first-person pronouns, and finally that pertaining to Christ's suffering and death (see e g Aulén 1976:111-112). Someone like Jeremias

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(1971:247-248), however, believes that in ten of the sixty-nine instances that this phrase occurs in the Synoptic gospels it, in fact, has the function of a christological title and that all refer to the Second Coming of Jesus (Jeremias 1971:251). Seven of the ten logia occur in the Gospel of Matthew, namely Matthew 10:23: 24:27, 30, 37b, 39b; 25:31 and 26:64. The observation that the theme of the Second Coming is very prominent in Matthew's application of the Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου phrase was also made by Tödt (1959:62-88, 128-130, 138-140) on the basis of a redaction-critical study in which he did not distinguish between the 'philological' and the 'titular' use of the phrase.

3.3.5.3 Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου as the coming judge

With Jeremias' conclusion as starting point (see also Vermes' criticism 1987:21-22 of Jeremias), it is sufficient for the purposes of our study to describe the characterization of Jesus as given by the narrator of the Gospel of Matthew, which he does by means of the name Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, as at least that of the *coming judge*. At the Second Coming Jesus as the Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου will judge the Jewish leaders (Mt 10:23; 26:64) as well as 'all the tribes of the earth' (Mt 24:30). He will separate the blessed who have done the will of the Father from the hypocrites who supported the Jewish leaders and their attitudes (Mt 24:27, 30, 37b = 39b; 25:31). In other words, the perspective which has been used to draw Jesus by means of the name Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, is that of a *judge* who will sit in judgment at the Second Coming, using obedience to God's will as embodied in Jesus himself as the yardstick.

3.3.5.4 Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ

Although we therefore do not agree with Kingsbury about the functional interrelation between the christological titles Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, we do maintain that he and many other Matthean scholars have emphasized, and correctly so, the functional value of the name Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ in the Gospel of Matthew. Without a doubt this name 'expresses for Matthew the deepest mystery of the person of Jesus Messiah' (Kingsbury 1975a:82). In our discussion of the specific perspective that is expressed in respect of Jesus by the use of the name Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, we deliberately avoid the problem of whether the names Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ and the absolute ὁ Υἱός (= *'the* Son') represent a development in tradition (cf Hahn 1974b:319-333; Van Iersel 1964:185-191). We also avoid the question of whether the sonship theme of Matthew's Gospel would only appear within the framework of the contemporary Judaic 'royal messianism' without being influenced by the

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Hellenistic θεῖος ἀνήρ representation (see e g the discussions by Pokorny 1971:7-25, 39; Hengel 1976:31-32; Jones 1979:426) and whether it would form part of the presentation of the implied contemporary Judaic Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (see e g Mowinckel 1956:293-294, 366-368).

Our standpoint is that the names ὁ Υἱός and Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ have the same functional range in the Gospel of Matthew. The same fundamental meaning, namely the *sonship theme* is to be found throughout. This theme is also expressed by the use of names such as ὁ Υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπήτος (= 'my beloved Son'), Πάτερ μου (= 'my Father'), Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (= 'our Father who art in heaven') and so on.

The sonship theme in the Gospel of Matthew refers first and foremost to Jesus, 'empowered by the Holy Spirit' (Mt 1:20), and therefore, to the Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ and, secondly, to the disciples as υἱοὶ Θεοῦ, and ἀδελφοί (Mt 5:9, 45; 6:9, 26; 7:11; 12:50 etc). The basic meaning of the name Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ and the sonship theme in Matthew's gospel refers on the one hand to the *special relationship* between Jesus and God, and on the other to his mission as the 'Son of God', which is expressed through his *obedience* to the will of the Father. When applied to the disciples as 'sons of God' it can be expressed in the words of Bauckham (1978:258-259):

> Jesus' filial relationship to God and his filial mission from God are interrelated and the uniqueness of his sonship is to be found in this interrelation. He experienced his sonship both as an already given relationship and also as a responsibility to be fulfilled in obedient submission to the Father's will....But it belongs to the unique quality of his sonship that it can be shared, or rather, that it must be shared. It is imperative of his filial mission (and therefore essential to his sonship) to mediate to others his own filial relation to God. His sonship *means* this.
>
> (Bauckham 1978:258-259)

We already mentioned that the disciple who can be called υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, according to Matthew, is the 'perfect disciple'. In this regard Frankemölle (1974:172) says that in the designation of the disciple as 'Son of God' the possibility lies for him to be 'perfect' as 'his Father in heaven'. In the Gospel of Matthew the name Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ which is used for Jesus comes forth from the mouths of 'metaphysical' characters namely God ('a voice from heaven' – Mt 3:17; 'a voice from the cloud' – Mt 17:5) and Satan/demons (Mt 4:3, 6; 8:28-29).

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Just as Kingsbury (1984:5-7) talks about 'God's evaluative point of view' I can use the expression 'demonic perspective' in this regard as a reference to the opposite. Earlier in the chapter I specifically referred to this aspect of Kingsbury's narrative study of the Gospel of Matthew. The comment I made at that stage, that I could not fully agree with David Hill's criticism of the 1984 article by Kingsbury, should be understood against this background (see Kingsbury 1985:63-66).

The confession of both the disciples (Mt 14:33; 16:16) and the centurion and soldiers (Mt 27:54) that Jesus is the Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ does not come from personal insight, but comes from an insight gained as a result of 'mythical events' which may be described as 'christophanies'. It is therefore significant that, besides God and Satan, the narrated characters who address Jesus by the name Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ are presented in the Gospel of Matthew as characters who, as a result of their respective perspectives, side with either God or Satan: The disciples and the centurion and soldiers in a confession of their faith; the Jewish leaders (Mt 27:43) and the Jewish crowd (Mt 27:40) in blasphemy. The image of a 'marionette' or 'puppet' (see Kamphaus 1971:50) clearly expresses these 'helping' roles of the disciples as υἱοὶ Θεοῦ/βασιλείας (Mt 5:9, 45; 13:38) in their relationship with Jesus, and those of the Jewish leaders as υἱοὶ πονηροῦ/γεέννης (cf e g Mt 13:38; 23:15) in their relationship with Satan. The final 'decision' of the Jewish crowd (who initially play a role that bears testimony to an 'uncertainty' regarding Jesus' true nature) comes to the fore when they allow the Jewish leaders to convince them and they, like (see the adverb ὁμοίως in Mt 27:41) their 'leades', blasphemously reject Jesus at the crucifixion as Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ (Mt 27:40). The Roman officer (and soldiers), however, confess in faith: Ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ υἱὸς ἦν οὗτος (Mt 27:54). This 'confession' should not be regarded, as it is by Walker (1967:116), as one of the pieces of evidence indicating a turning point from a particularistic trend to a universalistic trend in Matthew's theological theory (see Van Aarde 1982a:87-94). We feel that, in this instance, the exclamation by the Gentile(s) cannot be separated from the temple theme. The rending of the temple veil is the final destruction of the formalism and particularism of Judaism (as represented in the Gospel of Matthew by the Jewish leaders), and the start of the new eschatological community (see De Kruijf 1962:105-107).

3.3.5.5 Summary

The two aspects concerning Matthew's functional use of the name Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ with reference to the characterization of Jesus are of a supplementary nature: The *Son* who has existed in an intimate relation to the Father in heaven and the *Son* who, unto death, is obedient to the will of the Father. The result of this sonship

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theme is that the *beginning* of the Gospel of Matthew has the *ending* in view, and that the *ending* is also the *beginning* – not only in hindsight, but also when looking towards the future, because after the conclusion of the epoch of Jesus, a new one commenced that will continue until the end of time (see Van Aarde 1985b:272-273).

By means of various words that refer to the sonship theme a step-by-step picture of Jesus as being completely obedient is gradually drawn (see Kingsbury 1975a:40-83): At conception, birth and in his childhood, at his baptism and temptation; his public appearances in Galilee, and finally at his death and resurrection. In the *beginning* the Jewish leaders and Satan unite against the *Son*; they are similarly united in their opposition to the *Son* at the *end*.

As far as the *beginning* is concerned: Pesch (1967) was able to identify conclusively a Moses-like trend in Matthew 1-2. Although Gibbs (1968:38) declares: 'I have come not to praise the Matthean "New Moses" but to bury him', the following comment, with which we agree, holds some Moses typological implications: '[T]here is no Torah and Gospel in Matthew...but there is rather the Good News that in Jesus the Torah, the demand of God's righteousness, is now totally and efficaciously present....' Hill (1979:144) is of the opinion that Gibbs' formulation of Jesus being the 'Torah incarnate' is a refinement of Kingsbury's all-embracing accentuation of the Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ name in the theology of Matthew. It is my opinion, moreover, that this statement is not only correct but also corrective in respect of the exaggerated emphasis Kingsbury places on the Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ name.

As far as the *end* is concerned: In so much as Jesus' opponents addressing him by the name of Διδάσκαλος or Ῥαββί may be regarded as irony, the same could apply to their use of the name Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ for Jesus, especially before the crucifixion. The irony becomes quite apparent when the high priest refers to Jesus as the Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ζῶντος (Mt 26:63). Although Caiaphas' question reflects the truth and is thus answered by Jesus in the affirmative: 'It is as you say...' (Mt 26:64), it is in fact an attempt to have him, ironically, accused of blasphemy (Mt 26:65). Kingsbury formulates one of the probable reasons why the narrator would allow Jesus' opponents to use this name as follows: 'Matthew's ultimate concern is that Judaism should condemn Jesus, i e reject him totally, on the basis of nothing short of that title that conveys the deepest mystery of his person....'

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Chapter 4

John the Baptist

Matthew seemingly took the essence of the role played by John the Baptist in his narrative, unchanged, from Mark. He merely made it more explicit and comprehensive than Mark did. Wink (1968:41) summarized Matthew's specific emphasis of John the Baptist's role as follows: 'Matthew has made explicit everything in Mark's picture of John which lay hidden: The Herodian opposition, the fate of the prophet, his identity as Elijah. But by so doing, he has completely altered the representation.'

Scholars who have made a study of the function of John the Baptist in the Gospel of Matthew, like Trilling (1959:271-289), Wink (1968:27-41), Sand (1974:127-137) and Meier (1980a:383-405), all agree that the essence of the role of John the Baptist, taken by Matthew from Mark, is that of John the Baptist as a *parallel figure of suffering*, who foreshadows and anticipates the passion and death of Jesus.

In the previous section we pointed out that Jesus was rejected and eventually killed by the Jewish multitude on the ironic grounds that they opposed his interpretation of the Torah. This rejection and eventual killing of the protagonist by the antagonist was foreshadowed in the role of John the Baptist. The function of John the Baptist in the gospels of both Matthew and Mark is thus essentially that of fulfillment of a *prototype* role.

In what respects does the image of John the Baptist as the *prototype* of Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew differ from that in the Gospel of Mark? Wink (1968:41), in the footsteps of Trilling (1959:289), considers that Matthew wanted to aggravate 'Israel's' guilt by stressing that 'Israel' was responsible for the deaths of both Jesus and John the Baptist. According to Trilling and Wink, John the Baptist's suffering and death, in parallel with that of Jesus, offered Matthew a further reason to see the 'church' as replacing 'Israel' in the 'history of salvation'. The singular image of John the Baptist in the Gospel of Matthew is, however, in my view, directly related to Matthew's dominant theological perspective, namely his *God-with-us* theme.

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This becomes clear when one realizes that the 'parallel' theme in the Gospel of Matthew involves more than a mere 'parallelism' between Jesus and John the Baptist. In the Gospel of Matthew one finds a continuous line from the Old Testament prophets to John the Baptist and from Jesus down to the disciples. The thesis of our study is that Matthew's *ideological* perspective consists of his creating an analogy, using this idea of *continuity*, between the Jesus-events in the pre-paschal 'period' and the disciple-events in the post-paschal 'period'.

The *name* that on the one hand links the role of Jesus in the pre-paschal period to both the role of John the Baptist and the Old Testament prophets, and on the other carries forward the line of continuity to the disciples in the post-paschal period, is that of Προφήτης (cf i a Hill 1964/1965:296-302).

This name of Προφήτης for John the Baptist (Mt 11:9; 14:5; 21:26) features in the Gospel of Matthew even in contexts where Προφήτης does not explicitly occur as a name. Examples of this are the *Elia redivivus* theme (Mt 17:10-13), the identification of John the Baptist's preaching as the (prophetic) 'voice in the wilderness' with the function of 'forerunner' of the Messiah (Mt 3:3) and the similarity in the attire of John the Baptist (cf Mt 3:4 with 1 Ki 1:8) and that of the prophet Elijah (see i a Beare 1981:90).

To Matthew, the name of Προφήτης inextricably relates firstly to the prophet's work both as a herald and, in the sense of the final eschatological prophet, the forerunner of the messianic kingdom. Secondly, it relates to the suffering fate that a prophet can expect as a result of his proclamation. Both functions, that of *forerunner* (the *Elia redivivus* theme) and that of the *fate of a prophet*, are used in the Gospel of Matthew, as far as John the Baptist is concerned, in a 'prototypical role': In the first place as the 'prototype' of Jesus and, in the second, together with the Old Testament prophets and Jesus, as the analogic 'prototype' of the disciples. Cullmann (1966:23) formulates the continuous line between the Old Testament prophets, John the Baptist and Jesus as follows: Matthew 17:10-13 clearly refers to the Baptist as the returned Elijah. At the same time, in accordance with the Jewish expectation, the Baptist, according to Jesus, also fulfills the fate of all earlier prophets, namely to be persecuted. His role, therefore, is not only the calling to repentance, but also suffering, which put him in the position of the suffering servant of God. Although, in the application of the name Προφήτης to John the Baptist, an *eschatological motif*, in the sense of the 'end-time prophet', was existent (cf i a Cullmann 1966:22-28), this motif plays a subordinate role in the Gospel of Matthew. The motif of so-called *Prophetenschicksal*, which was well known in contemporary

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Judaism (cf Sand 1974:125f), is the dominant one in Matthew's Gospel. In his name Προφητής for John the Baptist, Matthew stresses the irony of 'persecution on the grounds of δικαιοσύνη'. This thought is strikingly expressed in Matthew 5:10-12, which relates to the disciples in the post-paschal period, who endured suffering in continuity with the Old Testament prophets, John the Baptist and Jesus: 'Blessed are they that are persecuted because of righteousness [δικαιοσύνη]....Blessed are you when people insult you, persecute you and falsely say all kinds of evil against you because of me. Rejoice and be glad, because great is your reward in heaven, *for in the same way they persecuted the prophets who were before you.*' Only on the grounds of this logion is it clear that the term δικαιοσύνη is closely associated with the theme of suffering in the Gospel of Matthew. The fact that this term is linked not only directly to the 'Jesus events' (and the 'disciple-events'), but also to the actions of John the Baptist (Mt 3:15; 21:32) is a further amplification of the 'parallelism' motif mentioned above.

Apart from in the name Προφήτης, which the Jewish crowd used for both John the Baptist (Mt 21:26) and Jesus (Mt 21:46) and which is discussed later, the 'parallelism' between John the Baptist and Jesus can be seen in the following expressions and motifs in the Gospel of Matthew: Matthew uses the term παραγίνεται (= 'appear') to introduce the actions of John the Baptist (Mt 3:1) as well as those of Jesus (Mt 3:13). Where John the Baptist's preaching is in the imperative μετανοεῖτε, ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν (= 'Turn away from your sins') (Mt 3:2), this also applies to Jesus (Mt 3:17). The Jewish leaders – the antagonists in the Gospel of Matthew – are also John the Baptist's opponents (Mt 3:7); they refer to John the Baptist, as they ironically refer to Jesus, as someone 'who has a demon' (Mt 11:18) and they are, just as in the case of Jesus, responsible for John the Baptist's death (Mt 14:1-12; 17:10-13; 21:36).

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Chapter 5

The Jewish leaders

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The Jewish leaders function as the antagonists in Matthew's narrative. The function of the antagonist in a narrative is usually the obstruction of the protagonist's mission (cf i a Vandermoere 1976:30). He tries to prevent the protagonist's mission from reaching a successful conclusion.

We have already pointed out that the commission of Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew is aimed at the Jewish crowd, and that the Gentiles are not excluded from the object of the commission. This mission of Jesus can, from a certain viewpoint, be described as the 'act of forgiveness of sin'. This mission is driven by the motif of 'compassion' as the manifestation of the will of the Father in heaven (the 'law and the prophets'). Jesus' love concretizes more particularly in his didactic and healing activities, as the fruit of the δικαιοσύνη – a term expressing his obedience to the law and the prophets in another way.

In the Gospel of Matthew the role of the Jewish leaders as antagonists concretizes in:

* the questioning of the purpose of Jesus' mission;
* a striving to alter the response of the object of his mission, the Jewish crowd, from 'uncertainty' to 'aversion';
* the killing of both his 'prototype', John the Baptist, and Jesus himself;
* the concealment of his resurrection from the dead;
* and the persecution of the disciples as the continuing 'prophets' in the post-paschal period.

In order to portray this opposing perspective of the Jewish leaders in their relations with Jesus (and John the Baptist), the Jewish crowd and the disciples, the narrator uses, among other things, a variety of names for the Jewish leaders in Jesus' speech.

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Among these names, the expressions Φονεῖς (= 'murderers') and Πονηροί (= 'Evil Ones') in the Synoptic gospels occur only in Matthew.

5.2 Οἱ υἱὸι τοῦ Πονηροῦ

With the names Πονηροί, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Πονηροῦ (Mt 13:38), γενεά πονηρά (Mt 12:39; 16:4) and υἱοί γεέννης (Mt 23:15), Matthew takes up the theme of the Jewish leaders as the puppets of Satan who oppose Jesus as *God-with-us*. On the grounds of Matthew 13:19 and 13:38 it is clear that the Πονηροί are very closely related to – and are indeed the henchmen of – the ὁ Πονηρός. Sjef van Tilborg formulates as follows:

> The Evil One is at the origin of the evil of the world. He is the great antagonist of...(Jesus) who sows the good seed. Thus the conception of Mt is really very simple: what is good, comes from (Jesus) and what is bad comes from the Evil One. When the wickedness of man becomes manifest, the work of the devil becomes visible.
>
> (Van Tilborg 1972:167)

In precise contrast with the disposition of the Father in heaven, who allows the sun to rise over πονηροὺς and ἀγαθοὺς, and the attitude of the υἱὸι τοῦ Πατρὸς who, like their Father, must love their enemies and pray for those who persecute them (Mt 5:43-48), we see that the Jewish leaders find Jesus in no way acceptable. '...in their eyes he cannot be a healer, nor an exorcist, nor a teacher' (Van Tilborg 1972:167). The Jewish leaders are called Υἱοὶ τοῦ Πονηροῦ and Πονηροί because, ironically, they say that Jesus is committing blasphemy (Mt 9:4) and is possessed of the devil (Mt 12:34), while they, like Satan himself (Mt 4:1-11) *test* him and expect him to provide a sign from heaven (Mt 12:38; 16:1; 22:18, 34).

5.3 Φονεῖς

With the name Φονεῖς Matthew takes up the theme of the 'killing of the prophets'. This theme touches on the essence of the Jewish leaders' opposition to Jesus who, as *God-with-us*, is the embodiment of absolute obedience to the 'law and the prophets'. Just as their fathers persecuted and killed the Old Testament prophets (Mt 5:12b; 23:29-32), so do the Jewish leaders act towards Jesus (Mt 21:46), John the Baptist (Mt 14:5) and the disciples (Mt 5:11-12; 10:17; 23:34-35) – that is, also against those (the disciples) who have been sent by Jesus as προφηταί, σοφοί and γραμματεῖς (Mt 23:34; cf 13:52) to continue his mission (Mt 21:28-46; 23:29).

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The name 'murderers', apart from the physical putting to death of the 'prophets', also refers to the Jewish leaders' invalidation of the true meaning of the 'law and the prophets' as the will of the Father. Matthew 5:17-19 is in fact applicable to the Jewish leaders (and to the disciples who are sometimes inclined to show the same attitude), while in this section Jesus is implicitly accused of falsifying the 'law and the prophets' and teaching the Jewish multitude accordingly.

5.4 Ὑποκριταί

This irony, that the Jewish leaders pretend to be what they are not, is reflected in the derisive use of names such as οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας (= 'sons of the Kingdom') (Mt 8:12). In fact, they are οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Πονηροῦ (= 'sons of the Evil One' – Mt 13:38; cf also Mt 16:4; 23:17). This hypocrisy is reflected in the name γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν (= 'generation of vipers' – Mt 12:34), τυφλοί ὁδηγοὶ (= 'blind guides' – Mt 15:14; 23:16-22, 24) and particularly ὑποκριταί (= 'hypocrites' – cf i a Haenchen 1951:59). Grundmann (1968:193) calls a ὑποκρίτης an 'actor' – someone who plays a part in which he pretends to be something he is not. '[T]his contrast is the essence of hypocrisy' (Garland 1979:99). It is a contrast between 'preaching' and 'doing' (cf Mt 23:3b), between 'lips' and 'hearts' (cf Mt 15:7-9); between 'outside action' and 'inner attitude' (cf i a Mt 23:27-28).

According to Van Tilborg (1972:166) the name ὑποκριταί expresses four facets of the Jewish leaders' perspective in the Gospel of Matthew:

* the ὑποκριταί are the *godless* who do not obey the 'law and the prophets';
* they are the *double-hearted* whose inner conviction and behavior do not correspond with their outer formal actions;
* they are the *hypocrites* who act with a view to fame and reward;
* and they are *the two-faced*, allowing 'the human forum to prevail over the divine forum' (Van Tilborg 1972:166); they pretend to be 'sons of the Kingdom', while opposing Jesus as Son of God on the strength of their own insight.

These aspects can be summarized in, inter alia, the concepts of *formalism* and *particularism*. Both matters directly or indirectly concern the relationship between the Jewish leaders and the Jewish crowd. Unlike that of Jesus, the Jewish leaders' attitude towards the Jewish crowd – based on exclusivity and loveless formalism – evidences the approach of a 'shepherd' who does not care for his 'sheep', a 'blind leader' leading a 'blind nation', with the result that both 'shepherd' and 'sheep' fall into the ditch (Mt 15:14; 27:20).

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5.5 CONCLUSION

Does the eventual coincidence of the perspective from which the Jewish crowd is narrated with that of the Jewish leaders mean that the antagonist in the Matthean narrative has succeeded in aborting the mission of the protagonist? The answer is no. The commission of Jesus is the 'act of forgiveness of sin' which concretizes in the pre-paschal period in his conduct as *God-with-us*, even when the Jewish leaders react adversely by blasphemously handing him over to be killed. The cry of 'abandonment by God' (Mt 27:46f) is not an indication that the Jesus-commission has failed (cf Reimarus 1970:95). It is, rather, an indication of the narrator's evaluation of Jesus as the absolutely obedient Son of God: '...the cry is not evidence that Jesus in the hour of ultimate rejection succumbed to temptation and lost all faith. Rather it is a confident prayer – even in the depths of suffering – of ultimate triumph' (Holst 1972:288); a prayer to 'an active God who shows himself in passive reality' (Van Tilborg 1988:894).

Jesus rises from the dead and the disciples continue his mission in the post-paschal period, until the coming of the parousia. The disciples' continuing mission is the concretization of the risen Jesus' continuing role of *God-with-us*. His resurrection thus represents the execution of his mission, because it is precisely on these grounds that he remains *God-with-us* until the parousia, and is proclaimed as such by the mission of the disciples.

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Chapter 6

The Jewish crowd and the Gentiles

Although the Jewish crowd (οἱ ὄχλοι/ὁ ὄχλος) and the Gentiles (τὰ ἔθνη) do not apparently fulfill the same character roles in the Gospel of Matthew, both groups function together as the target of the mission of Jesus and that of the disciples in the post-paschal period, as the continuation of the risen Jesus' position as *God-with-us*.

The relationship between the functions of the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles in the Gospel of Matthew is related to one of the most difficult exegetical questions to explain in the Gospel of Matthew. This is the problem of the relationship between the *Jewish-particularistic trend* (cf Mt 10:5-6) and the so-called *Gentile-universalistic trend* (cf Mt 28:19). Many Matthean scholars, such as Walker (1967:114f), Hare (1967:157; 1975:359-369), Trilling (1974:95-96), Green (1975:21-22), Clark (1980:1) and Luz (1982b:1-2) are of the opinion that there is a discontinuity between the Jewish crowd as the object of the Jesus-commission on the pre-paschal temporal level and the Gentiles as the object of the disciple-commission on the post-paschal level. According to this view the Gentiles replaced the Jewish crowd as the object of the mission when the latter, together with the Jewish leaders, rejected Jesus at the crucifixion. The above scholars are of the opinion that such a 'discontinuity' viewpoint offers the best explanation for the so-called change in trend from Jewish particularism to Gentile universalism.

According to Luz (1982b:2) two other exegetical problems are also solved with the aid of the 'discontinuity' viewpoint. It is this so-called eschatological viewpoint between the 'judgment discourse' (Mt 23:1-24:2) and the 'parousia discourse' (Mt 24:3-25:46), as well as the oppositional placing alongside each other of the pericope about the Jewish leaders' casting doubt on the resurrection (Mt 28:11-15) and the pericope about the mission to the Gentiles (Mt 28:16-20).

Although a scholar such as Luz (1982b:2) supports the 'discontinuity' viewpoint, and regards the Gentile mission as the 'central theme' in Matthew's theology, he points out that this viewpoint does not offer a satisfactory solution for

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the problem of interpreting a key text such as Matthew 10:23 – 'When you are persecuted in one place, flee to another. I tell you the truth, you will not finish going through the cities of Israel before the Son of man comes'. Luz acknowledges the possibility that the disciple-commission in Matthew 10 can function as a sort of *transparency* reflecting the post-paschal disciple-commission. This possibility is, I think, more acceptable than the view that the disciple-commission in chapter 10 is 'historical', in the sense of an account of the pre-paschal particularistic commission, as distinct from the post-paschal universalistic mission in Matthew 28:16-20. My viewpoint links up with what Beare and Weren respectively have said about Matthew 10 and Matthew 28:16-20: '...the charge as it lies before us, especially as it is found in Matthew, is...a construction...of the evangelist...it is the gospel writer who has arranged them as seemed good to him, fitting them into a pattern of his own designing...' (Beare 1970:2). And, according to Weren (1979:106-107): 'This commission forms the pendant of the mission of Jesus' twelve disciples to the lost sheep of Israel in Matthew 10:6' (my translation).

No convincing argument, whether semantic or contextual, can be advanced that the expression πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in Matthew 28:19 had reference to Gentiles only. And this includes Hare & Harrington's (1957:359-396) arguments. If it can be shown, and this is a real possibility (see i a Grundmann 1968:577-578; Schmid 1969:269-273; Schniewind 1968:250-254; Wilckens 1975:363-372, 382-383; Meier 1977:94-102; Weren 1979:106-112), that this expression intentionally applies to both non-Jew and Jew, the 'discontinuity' viewpoint collapses entirely. Even someone like Frankemölle (1974:109) – who considers that Matthew, despite his particularistic inclination, in comparison with the other Synoptic writers, placed the greatest stress on Jesus' work among the Gentiles – has the following to say in relation to the expression πάντα τὰ ἔθνη: With this expression all are meant, not only the Gentiles, but a world wide mission. This meaning is in line with Matthew's use of the terms γῆς and κόσμος (Mt 5:13 - the disciples as φῶς τοῦ κόσμου and ἅλας τῆς γῆς; cf also Mt 26:13 - the preaching of the gospel ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ...).

Weren (1979:106-112) rightly points out that Matthew 28:16-20 is colored by the final eschatological time barrier. The disciple-commission to the πάντα τὰ ἔθνη continues until the συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος. The theme of end-eschatology is also in the foreground in other contexts in the Gospel of Matthew where the expression πὰντα τὰ ἔθνη occurs, for example in Matthew 24:9 (cf v 13 where the term τὸ τέλος is used) and Matthew 24:14. The large concentration of occurrences of the word πᾶς in Matthew 28:16-20 (vv 18, 19, 20) makes the presence of any connotation of 'limitation' in this commission pericope unlikely. Also Weren (1979:107) stresses this point when he says that, seen in this context, one can hardly

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state that πάντα τὰ ἔθνη is subject to limitations. In Matthew 24:14 we also find an universal orientation: The preaching of the kingdom should take shape ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. It is obvious that πάντα τὰ ἔθνη is in both cases an universalistic category. Matthew therefore presumes that, at the end of the world, all people would have been confronted with the preaching of the gospel. As such, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη has a specific content: It is an universal category that has bearing on the evangelized mankind.

A researcher such as Minear (1974a:39-40), in contrast with the 'discontinuity' viewpoint, considers that in the Gospel of Matthew there is no abortive ending or replacement of the Jewish crowd as the object of the mission. According to him there are two possibilities in this respect: The Jewish crowd generally includes the Gentiles as a group during the pre-paschal period, or the mission to the Jewish crowd is the anticipation of the mission to the Gentiles during the post-paschal period. In this respect one would not speak of 'discontinuity' but rather of 'continuity', since the nature and the problems of the mission to the Jewish crowd during the pre-paschal period are carried over to the Gentile mission in the post-paschal period. My own view agrees with that of Minear, that the construction of the report on the mission to the Jewish crowd on the pre-paschal level fulfills the function of a type of *transparency*, which relates to the disciple-commission during the post-paschal period. I however differ from him when he sees the Jewish crowd either as a group that includes the Gentiles or as a group that anticipates the Gentiles.

As far as the first alternative is concerned, a passage such as Matthew 15:21-28 is adequate indication that Matthew made a thorough distinction between the character roles of the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles. As far as the second alternative is concerned, there is no reason to accept, as such scholars as Schyler Brown (1980:213-216) have, that the Gentile mission could only have happened after the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70. The Jesus-commission could have had relevance for individuals among the Gentiles, apart from the Jewish crowd. This does not of course mean that the mission to the Gentiles did not intensify after the resurrection. Quite the contrary!

My viewpoint is that the situation to which the Gospel of Matthew would have related – however difficult to construct, and however deficient the details – is determined by the premise that the split between the Jewish συναγωγή and the Christian ἐκκλησία has already become a threatening experience:

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> [T]he Gospel of Matthew, in particular, mirrors a situation where ἀποσυνάγωγος has not been accomplished yet. On the contrary, there are indications that the author of the Gospel of Matthew experienced the separation with disappointment. Judaism still wields authority over the Jewish Christians and Matthew would prefer to avoid the final rupture with Judaism.
>
> (Van Aarde 1989:225)

In such a situation a question like the mission to the Gentiles was no longer a bone of contention (as Brown 1980:217-219, inter alia, claims), but commonplace and hypothetical. The problem in a situation such as this was the danger that the poor, destitute ostracized people, Jews and also non-Jews, would be neglected and ignored by the 'church leaders' – one sheep among the ninety-nine others (cf Mt 18:12-14). This state of affairs should largely be ascribed to the split between the Jewish synagogue and the Christian ἐκκλησία (cf also Van Aarde 1990). This schism apparently contributed to the unforgiving and loveless attitude prevailing in the community towards the Jewish crowd and their forefathers (cf Mt 27:25), who had blasphemously rejected Jesus. At the same time Matthew stresses the positive role of the Gentiles in his narrative (Mt 2:1-12; 8:5-13; 15:21-28; 27:1-19; 27:54), because through it he paints the background against which his narrative should be read: Just as Jesus, in his mission in *Galilee of the Gentiles* (cf Mt 4:15), cared for the Jewish crowd without excluding the Gentiles; in just the same way the disciples should not neglect the destitute Jewish crowd in the routine of their mission to the Gentiles.

In the Gospel of Matthew these 'destitute folk' are depicted by, among other things, names such as οἱ ἐλάχιστοι (i a Mt 25:40, 45) and οἱ μικροί (inter alia Mt 18:14), πρόβατον (inter alia Mt 18:12), τὰ παιδία (inter alia Mt 18:3) and τὰ τέκνα (inter alia Mt 15:26; cf Wilckens 1975:379-380).

Matthew associates the group to which the above names refer with the Jewish crowd (cf e g Mt 10:36; 15:26). The relationship between the earthly Jesus (and his disciples) and the οἱ ὄχλοι/ὁ λαός thus serves Matthew as a sort of *transparency* for the relationship between the disciples and the post-paschal situation with the 'destitute church folk'. This transparency or analogy is based on Jesus' position as *God-with-us*. Matthey formulates it as follows:

> 'I am with you.' According to Matthew, if Jesus of Nazareth is still present in his time, then it is with his disciples, when they baptize people in the name of God the Father, Son, Holy Spirit, and when they teach the commandments as contained in the Old Testament and

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> in Matthew's Gospel...Only by keeping these texts (chapters 10, 18, 24-25, 28:16-20 – A G v A) together do we have the full Matthean view of mission.
>
> (Matthey 1980:172f)

The idea of a *transparency* with which we portray Matthew's ideological/theological perspective – his transposing of the commission of the earthly Jesus as *God-with-us* to the disciple-commission during the post-paschal period – is supported when one takes note of the use of the term ὁ λαός in the Gospel of Matthew. The evangelist used the terms ὁ λαός and οἱ ὄχλοι as synonyms, while the term ὁ λαός relates to the object of the Jesus- and the disciple-commission during both the pre-paschal and post-paschal periods. Frankemölle (1974:193) - unlike Strathmann (1942:49-55), Hummel (1966:136) and Trilling (1964:61) - points out that the referential meaning of the term ὁ λαός, against the background of the fact that Matthew relates the gospel of the 'earthly' Jesus to his readers from the post-paschal situation, is not used by the evangelist in a one-dimensional manner: Here one should listen for refined nuances and shades of meaning brought about by redactional intervention in the text. This is also true in regard to the term λαός in Matthew, which is not so monolithically monotonous as it seems at first.

Without concurring with the details of Frankemölle's arguments, in principle I share his opinion that there is a 'transformation' (Frankemölle's terminology [1974:218]) in the use of the term ὁ λαός in the Gospel of Matthew. On the one hand, I feel that it indicates a socio-political grouping (with religious connotation), the Jewish עַם הָאָרֶץ (*am ha'arez* = 'the people of the land'), during the pre-paschal period and, on the other, it indicates a socio-religious grouping within the context of the Christian ἐκκλησία (Matthew's community) during the post-paschal period. The term οἱ ὄχλοι (the 'multitude') emphasizes the subordinate and dependent sociological position of the ὁ λαός compared with the position of the Jewish leaders on the pre-paschal level. The names τὰ τέκνα, τὰ παιδία, οἱ μικροί and οἱ ἐλάχιστοι are conceptual words that metaphorically refer to the subordinate and dependent position of the ὁ λαός, on both the pre-paschal and post-paschal temporal levels. As far as the latter temporal 'level' is concerned, this concerns the position of the 'underprivileged' compared to that of the disciples ('church leaders'?).

The correlation of the metaphor πρόβατον in Matthew 9:36 and 18:12 with the expressions τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ (= 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel') (Mt 10:6) and τὰ παιδία (Mt 18:3-5) respectively, as well as with οἱ μικροί (Mt 18:6, 10, 14; cf Mt 10:42), supports the *transparency* idea. Where the perspective of the Jewish leaders with regard to the οἱ ὄχλοι on the pre-paschal

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temporal level is expressed by such phrases as πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα (= 'sheep without a shepherd' – Mt 10:36), there are, by way of contrast, the terms ἀδελφοί (Mt 18:15, 21, 35) and συνδουλοί (Mt 18:28, 31, 33; cf also Mt 10:24-25), portraying the disciples' ('community leaders'?) probable relationship with the τὰ τέκνα/τὰ παιδία/οἱ μικροί/οἱ ἐλάχιστοι on the post-paschal level.

The use of the names τὰ τέκνα, τὰ παιδία, οἱ μικροί, οἱ ἐλάχιστοι and τὰ πρόβατα depicts the care and love of Jesus, as *God-with-us*, for the 'underprivileged'. At the same time the Jewish leaders' neglect of the 'underprivileged' is expressed by these names. Minear (1974a:32) put it as follows: 'The basic conflict between Jesus and his adversaries [the Jewish leaders – A G v A] issued from this concern of God for...his flock'. Van Unnik (1959:284) has shown that, in the Old Testament, the concept of *God-with-us* already related to God's concern for the 'underprivileged'. Where the term οἱ ὄχλοι occurs in the Gospel of Matthew, the context is colored by Jesus' loving concern for them. Minear refers in this context to John the Baptist's question as to whether Jesus is the Christ (Mt 12:2-5):

> When John asks the messianic question, Jesus' answer is to point to these very 'ochloi', composed of the blind, lame, leprous, deaf and poor (11:1f). The inclusion of the last adjective, 'the poor', indicates that 'ochloi' was not defined solely by medical terms. Jesus' mission, though inclusive of healing, was not limited to the care of physical disabilities. In Matthew...the healing ministry is closely linked to the feeding ministry, and in both cases the motivation is Jesus' concern for the 'ochloi'...Because of the strongly theological...cast of the language, the exegete must construe both the sicknesses and the hungers as inclusive of religious components...Every detail in these stories (Mt 14:14; 15:30) has symbolic overtones.
>
> (Minear 1974a:31)

In the so-called 'judgment' and 'parousia' discourse in chapters 23-25 we find a clear indication that the announcements of judgment on the Jewish leaders (Mt 23:1-24:2) and the judgment of the πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (the evangelized mankind, according to Weren 1979:107) at the parousia (Mt 24:3-25:46) are transposed to a situation that relates to the relationship of the disciples with the 'underprivileged'. According to Minear:

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> It is highly significant that even the woes against the scribes and the lament over Jerusalem are placed by Jesus in the context of teachings addressed simultaneously to the crowds and the disciples. By this device Matthew is surely warning the 'mathetai'...against multiple forms of hypocrisy...These who default...become hypocrites (an epithet linking them to the Pharisees; cf 24:51 and 23:1f)...(T)he fate of the 'mathetai' is determined by their treatment of the least of Jesus' brethren, the 'ochloi' (cf 25:31-46).
>
> (Minear 1974a:36-37)

The proper relationship between Jesus and the 'underprivileged' is reflected in the names ἀδελφοί and συνδουλοί (cf i a Mt 12:46-50; 18:15-20, 21-35; 24:49; 25:40). When, with regard to the above-mentioned relationships, the disciples do not comply with expectations, they are depicted by a name such as δοῦλος πονήρος (i a Mt 18:32; 25:36).

In contrast with the perspective from which the Jewish leaders are depicted with regard to the 'underprivileged', namely that of loveless disregard, the disciples are called upon to 'continue' Jesus' *God-with-us* mission. Minear and Van Unnik, respectively, refer as follows to this 'continuing' mission:

> [J]esus' instructions of the 'mathetai' in the field of healing and feeding are designed to qualify them to take over his own work vis-à-vis these 'ochloi' after his death...They are those chosen and trained as successors to Jesus in his role as exorcist, healer, prophet and teacher.
>
> (Minear 1974a:31)

> Jesus, the Messiah...is the IMMANUEL and does his work of salvation; His followers...stand in the line of prophets...of the old Israel, obedient to God's will...The promise to the disciples in Matt 28:20 gets its full force in this perspective: after having set that enormous task (v 19), Jesus who has now all authority comforts His weak followers...and assures them of His powerful assistance...That is the surprising declaration at the moment of departure. Matthew returns at the end to the beginning: Jesus was (1:23) and is 'Immanuel' (28:20)....
>
> (Van Unnik 1959:293, 297)

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Chapter 7

The disciples in Matthew's story

7.1 THE DISCIPLES' HELPER FUNCTION

For the purpose of this study I accept without argument that *Peter* fulfills the role of the 'type' of the disciples, or *primus inter pares*, in the Gospel of Matthew (cf the detail in the argument of i a Strecker 1966:198-206; Luz 1971:152; R E Brown et al 1973:75-107; Frankemölle 1974:155-158; Kingsbury 1979a:71-72). The name 'Peter' is thus often used in this study interchangeably with the group name of 'disciples'.

Where the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles are the object of Jesus' mission, and the Jewish leaders his opponents, the role of the disciples consists of that of *helpers* of Jesus (cf Thompson 1970:16). The *helper function* of the disciples is manifested in the Gospel of Matthew on two temporal levels, namely the pre-paschal and the post-paschal level. On the pre-paschal level the role of the disciples consists in their functioning as the 'medium' through which Jesus as *God-with-us* shows his love (the act of forgiveness of sins) to the Jewish crowd (cf i a Mt 4:19; 14:19; 15:36). On the post-paschal level, they play a much more direct 'missionary' role. They continue the 'prophetic' line; this line, which began with the Old Testament prophets, reached a climax in John the Baptist and perfect realization in Jesus. Indeed, as the representative of the disciples, Peter is declared the foundation (πέτρος = 'rock') of the ἐκκλησία and he receives the 'keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 16:18-19). This logion relates to the disciples' teaching and missionary commission as 'prophets' in the new dispensation (cf i a Jeremias 1938:749-750; Fuller 1967:312; Beare 1981:355-356). Fuller refers to this role as follows:

> [I]t (Mt 16:19; 18:18 – A G v A) refers not to the familiar picture of Peter as the doorkeeper of heaven, but to Peter's activity on earth as ...the preacher...which becomes presently operative not after Caesarea Philippi, but precisely after Easter, when Peter and the Twelve launch the kerygma.
>
> (Fuller 1967:312)

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The disciples' 'prophetic' mission has in other words an indissoluble continuity with the mission of the Old Testament prophets, John the Baptist and in particular the mission of Jesus, the Christ, the Son of David.

In our study the disciples have repeatedly represented a 'complex' type of character in the Gospel of Matthew. That is to say, they are inclined to deny their *helper function* on the pre-paschal temporal level. The narrator thus suggests that the same inclination exists on the post-paschal level, as far as the 'prophetic' missionary function of the disciples (the 'church leaders'?) is concerned. Their mission threatens to end abortively if they do not execute it obediently. In the light of this it is therefore very important to note that, in the mission discourse (Mt 10), Matthew does not tell the story from the perspective of the successful return of the disciples after the conclusion of the mission, as in the case of Luke 10:17-24. This can apparently tie in with the fact that, for Matthew, the parousia is the day of reckoning.

7.2 THE DISCIPLES' NAMES

On the one hand, the disciples in the Gospel of Matthew, unlike in Mark (see i a Best 1977:387-389; Klauck 1982:26) have full 'insight' into the nature of Jesus' vocation. They apparently also understand the nature of their own vocation. This vocation is typified by names such as προφηταί (see Mt 10:40-42; 23:34; cf also Daniélou 1964:351), and γραμματεῖς (see Mt 13:51-52; 23:34) and υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ (see Mt 5:9, 45). The analogy between Jesus' Emmanuel mission as the υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ and that of the disciples as υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ is explicitly given in, inter alia, the pericope regarding 'love for one's enemy' (Mt 5:43-48). On the strength of the phrases 'so that you may be sons of your Father in heaven' (Mt 5:45a) and 'be therefore perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect' (Mt 5:48), Frankemölle (1974:172) says that in the designation of the disciple as Son of God the possibility for them exists to be perfect as their Father in heaven (cf also Piper 1979:143).

On the other hand, the disciples in the Gospel of Matthew display a ὀλιγοπιστία tendency, despite their full 'insight'. This tendency often has the result that they often display a perspective that has parallels with that of Jesus' opponents, the Jewish leaders. This impending commonality in perspective between the Jewish leaders and the disciples is related to a lack of obedience in living and proclaiming the will of the Father in heaven (the 'law and the prophets'), as he intended, to the Jewish crowd and other destitute people (see especially Mt 7:15-20 where the phrase τὰ πρόβατα is used in verse 15). To depict this darker side of the disciples Matthew uses the same names for the disciples as those he has used elsewhere for

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the Jewish leaders. The most striking examples of this are the names ὑποκριταί (Mt 7:5; 24:51) and ψευδοπροφηταί (Mt 7:15, 22). In the pericope Matthew 15:1-20 the narrator himself makes a connection between the term ὑποκριταί (Mt 15:7) and the term ψευδομαρτυρίαι (Mt 15:19). Minear summarizes this paradox as follows:

> In their essential structure...the sins of false prophecy and of hypocrisy were the same. The disciple-prophet who succumbed to hypocrisy became a false prophet. Matthew speaks in 7, 23 of the ἀνομία the false Christian prophets and in 23, 28 of the ἀνομία of Jewish scribes. What was true of one group was true of the other.
>
> (Minear 1974b:93)

7.3 THE PORTRAYAL OF THE DISCIPLES IN MATTHEW 13:53-17:27 AND THE NARRATOR'S REDACTIONAL TECHNIQUE

For the purposes of our study I will investigate the narrator's particular portrayal of the disciples in terms of his redactional narrative technique in the micro narrative of Matthew 13:53-17:27. Matthew 13:53-17:27 lends itself as illustrative material for a narratological analysis of the role of the disciples, especially since a traditional *redaktionsgeschichtliche* investigation into this section is handicapped by serious methodological problems. Our aim is to indicate that this micro narrative has been formally built up in accordance with the narrator's redactional activity and according to the narrator's particular portrayal of the disciples.

7.3.1 Introductory remarks – A gospel is the literary product of a redactor-narrator

As soon as a narrative has been written, the text is divorced from its historical writer and it functions as a closed narrated world with its own architectonic design with intrinsic harmonious characteristics. The gospels are such literary works. But the gospels, by their very nature, cannot be compared with modern artistic narratives. The gospels are not entirely fictional texts in the sense of products of pure imagination (fiction). A gospel is the literary product of a redactor-narrator. Using, among other things, transmitted tradition, editorially processed in an interpretative and creative manner, the evangelists each communicate their own theological ideas by means of the narrative form, as story-tellers.

In the interpretation of narrative discourses the primary concern is not breaking into the real world of the historical reader, and the place and circumstances of writing, or the world of the historical reader and the place and

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circumstances of reception. Neither is the primary concern the description of the early literal or pre-literal contextualizations of a narrative's tradition. Nevertheless, an investigation into the application of traditions in a gospel as a narrative discourse is not irrelevant, since the evangelist indeed produced his texts as a redactor-narrator.

The traditional *Redaktionsgeschichte* placed the emphasis on the redactor's influence on his sources. On the other hand, narratology is inclined to recognize the techniques of the narrative art. Narratology therefore has an eye on the fact that a redactor-narrator has created particular perspectives through his own contextualization of traditions. The study of a narrator's redactional narrative technique is thus interested in the ideological motive underlying his phraseological redactive work.

As I have already indicated above, phraseology is the narrator's exercising of his options with regard to particular manners of speech. The narrator's phraseological redactive work can be seen in his rearrangement, modification, elimination, expansion and abbreviation of his sources. In narrative exegesis preference is given to the narrated world of the macro text, that is that of the gospel as a whole and not that of the source as a micro text. Hermeneutically, the holistic context of a narrative is always the determinant.

7.3.2 Matthew 13:53-17:27

7.3.2.1 Introduction

The reason why we regard Matthew 13:53-17:27 as illustrative material par excellence lies therein that the sequence of the different narrative units in Matthew is the same as the sequence we find in the Gospel of Mark (6:1-9:32), and that the traditional methodology of separation between redaction and tradition is made difficult. By regarding the evangelist's redactional activity as an aspect of his narrative technique and treating it as such, new perspectives are opened in contrast with the hermeneutic limitations faced by the traditional *Redaktionsgeschichte*. At the same time modern redaction-criticism as applied in North America is carried a step further by being used in a narrative-point-of-view analysis.

Although Matthew used many traditions in writing his gospel, he created his own narrative structure. For this reason it is necessary to read his gospel as a story and not merely as the product of a redactor (cf Petersen 1978a:118). With regard to the former, a distinction is made between redaction and tradition on the basis of the traditional *Redaktionsgeschichte* and the stress is laid on the redactor and his

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sources. As far as the former is concerned, the techniques of narrative art are recognized, as is the fact that the narrator, using his own contextualization of traditions, created specific perspectives. The evangelist's redactional activity should be seen as a constitutive facet, like other facets, in the building of the plot of his narrative. Vorster (1980b:42) describes it as follows: 'The manner in which the events or actions in a story are arranged is very important, since it has to do with its unfolding....It makes a considerable difference whether one reads the separate narrative units as independent units or as part of a macro text' (my translation).

Tradition and redaction are, in other words, not separate in the narrator's point of view. Tradition and redaction are seen as the material with which the evangelist as narrator manifests his ideological perspective on the phraseological level. The study of a narrator's redactional narrative technique is thus concerned with the ideological motive behind the rearrangement, modification, elimination, extension, abbreviation, et cetera, of traditions in the narrative.

As mentioned above, Mark 6:1-9:32 served as a source for the compositional coherence of Matthew 13:53-17:27. Matthew, however, changed the structure of Mark in a cardinal respect.

Mark 6-9 constitutes part of the middle section of that gospel, namely Mark 1:16-14:11 (14:42, according to Vorster 1980a:123; 14:45 according to Via 1975:117). The plot of Mark is structured on two opposing semantic lines that are in constant tension with each other, but are nevertheless developed simultaneously (cf Via 1975:113-158, especially page 130; Vorster 1980a:126-130). The first semantic line may be described as the endeavor of the protagonist, Jesus, to complete his mission successfully; this mission is the manifestation of God's reign. The second semantic line may be described as the endeavor of the antagonist, the Jewish leaders, to achieve success in their objective of protecting the religion of the day (Judaism). The latter objective meets with apparent success when Jesus is crucified, but it is frustrated by Jesus' resurrection. Initially the plot unfolds in favor of the first semantic line. However, in the middle part of Mark's gospel (8:27-33), there is a turning-point in the success story. Peter acknowledges Jesus to be *the Christ*, but fails to comprehend that *the Christ* must suffer. By means of the three passion predictions (Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:32ff), which function particularly prominently as structural markers (cf Petersen 1978a:60; Vorster 1979:175), Jesus teaches the disciples what it means to follow him in his suffering role (cf Perrin 1974:45), but their inability to comprehend becomes increasingly evident. The so-called 'messianic secret' in Mark's gospel (cf in particular Mk 8:30; 9:9) probably functions against the backdrop of this inability of the disciples to comprehend who Jesus really is (Vorster 1980a:154). Mark discloses that, until Peter's acknowledgement that Jesus is the

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Christ (Mk 8:29), the disciples did not know who Jesus really was. After that event they knew who he was, but they only understood it after Jesus' resurrection (cf Petersen 1978a:78f).

Matthew does not take these dichotomous opposing semantic lines over from the Gospel of Mark. Meier (1979:94) mentions three things that prove that Matthew did not adopt Mark's dichotomous structure. Firstly, Matthew does not develop the Marcan theologoumenon 'messianic secret'. Secondly, he does not reserve the logia concerning the humiliation, passion, death and resurrection of Jesus for the second half of his gospel, as is done in the Gospel of Mark. These logia already appear early in the Gospel of Matthew, for example in Matthew 8:20; 11:19; 12:32 and 40. Thirdly, he focuses on a particular portrayal of the disciples, which is placed under the magnifying glass in the micro narrative Matthew 13:53-17:27, in the discourse in chapter 18, by expanding on certain consequences of this image more explicitly. The latter chapter deals with the actions and attitudes of the disciples and the underprivileged, respectively as ἀδελφοί in Matthew's community. Because of these three points Meier is justified in disagreeing with Kingsbury's (1975a:9, 36ff, 161ff) influential thesis that Matthew 16:21 introduces the so-called third part of the Gospel of Matthew. Such a radical hiatus in the construction of the gospel at Matthew 16:21 does not on the one hand take into consideration Matthew's redactional activity, nor on the other his particular portrayal of the disciples, which in turn is underpinned by the redactional activity, especially here in Matthew 13:53-17:27.

Meier's third point implies that Matthew did not adopt Mark's image of the disciples. He did not include a shift in his portrayal of the disciples between the part preceding Matthew 16:20 and the part following Matthew 16:21, but maintained the same image in chapter 18 (and throughout his gospel). Just as Mark 6-9 and the plot of the Gospel of Mark as such (cf Petersen 1978a:78f) basically center around the comprehension/lack of comprehension of the disciples, Matthew applied this theme of the disciples' comprehension/lack of comprehension in an interpreted form in the plot of his gospel. This can be clearly seen in the way he redactionally restructured his tradition in Matthew 13:53-17:27.

Matthew 13:53-17:27 constitutes the fourth micro narrative in the Gospel of Matthew (see following chapter). It has been formally constructed in three parts. These three parts are Matthew 13:53-14:33, 14:34-16:20, and 16:21-17:27. Each of these units close with redactional material relating to Peter, namely *Peter's walk on the lake* (Mt 14:28-33), the *macarism of Peter* (Mt 16:17-19) and *Peter and the payment of the temple tax* (Mt 17:24-27).

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These three subunits comprising Matthew 13:53-17:27 often focus on a concluding report about Peter (Matthean redaction), peaking with 'insight' on the part of the disciples (Peter). Peter's walking on the lake and the disciples worshipping of Jesus, while confessing: Ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ (Mt 14:28-33) are further peaks of the disciples' 'insight', which had been mentioned in the preceding parable discourse (Mt 13:1-52). The same can be said of the macarism, the Πέτρος declaration by Jesus (after Peter's confession, σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος) and the logia concerning the 'building of the ἐκκλησία ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῃ πέτρᾳ' and the 'keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 16:17-19). This peak of 'insight' is encountered once more in the present micro narrative and this is in the conclusion of the third subunit, the pericope of the payment of the temple tax (Mt 17:24-27). In this short narrative (in entirety Matthew's own material = *Sondergut*) Peter resists the temple (Jewish) authorities with an 'insight' that attests to a perspective that accords with that from which Jesus himself is worshipped (see later). Matthew has therefore, using the redactional narrative technique, placed the person of Peter, as the 'type' of the other disciples, under the magnifying glass. At the end of each unit he has repeatedly drawn attention to Peter's 'insight' – each time at a higher level.

This relationship between the emphasis on the image of Peter in Matthew 13:53-17:27 and the compositional coherence of the three narrative units have also been noticed by P F Ellis (1974:132): 'Matthew has gone out of his way to emphasize the primacy of Peter because of the manner in which he composed the narrative in ch 13:53-17:27. The emphasis on Peter is unmistakable. It is also intentional.' According to Murphy-O'Connor (1975:371), this division of Matthew 13:53-17:27 into three narrative units is however not convincing: 'Ellis nowhere shows how the pericopes preceding each of the Petrine episodes can be considered a 'lead-up'. Were this the evangelist's intention there should be evidence in the material proper to the First Gospel, and I have failed to find any such indications.'

Such indications can indeed be shown in Matthew 13:53-17:27. I will show that this pinnacle of the disciples' 'insight', which dramatically culminated in high tension at the end of the micro narrative, is nowhere else in the Gospel of Matthew to be found in as concentrated a form as in Matthew 13:53-17:27; on the other hand there is nowhere in the gospel greater evidence of the 'complexity' of the narrator's image of the disciples. Using redactional activity, Matthew repeatedly let ὀλιγοπιστία precede the disciples' pinnacle of 'insight'. This attests to the Gospel of Matthew's tendency to portray the disciples' perspective as exhibiting the characteristics with which he depicts the Jewish leaders.

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7.3.2.2 The first sub-unit – Matthew 13:53-14:33

As far as the first sub-unit (Mt 13:53-14:33) is concerned: This sub-unit furnishes the backdrop necessary to understand the imminent danger to the disciples, namely that their point of view, as Jesus' 'helpers', could coincide with that of his opponents, the Jewish leaders. This backdrop consists of the role played by the Jewish crowd in their reciprocal relationship with Jesus, the Jewish leaders and the disciples, within the plot of the Gospel of Matthew. 'Will the "ochloi" remain under the care and the authority of the Pharisees and their scribes, or will their loyalties shift over to Jesus and his "mathetai", his scribes (23:34)? Matthew assumes that the answer to that question depends primarily on the faithfulness of the "mathetai" to their commission as teachers' (Minear 1974a:32).

A remarkable phenomenon, although not always recognized by redaction critics, is the manner and intention of the narrator's redactional treatment of the introductory pericope of Matthew 13:53-17:27 – that is, the rejection of Jesus as a 'prophet' by the inhabitants of his home town, Nazareth, as a result of their ἀπιστία (Mt 13:53-58 = Mk 6:1-6a). Just as in the Gospel of Mark, this pericope functions as an introduction to the immediate broad context. It forms a clear transition from the preceding parable discourse (Mt 13:1-52) to the micro narrative under discussion. This 'transition' is marked by, inter alia, the stated change in topography. The phrase μετῆρεν ἐκεῖθεν in Matthew 13:53 switches the scene from the home (originally in the scene in the boat on the lake), where Jesus directs his parable discourse at the disciples and the Jewish crowds, to Nazareth. This topographical change is combined with a time formula that is characteristic of the Gospel of Matthew, that is ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν....

The preceding parable discourse (Mt 11:1-52) and the third micro narrative (Mt 11:2-12:50) contribute intentionally (see later) to the nature and impact of the rejection in Nazareth. The meaning of Matthew 11:2-12:50 hinges upon the attitude towards Jesus, with the dual possibility of acceptance or rejection' (Lategan 1977:128), and the fact that the Jewish leaders, like Satan, choose the second alternative. Matthew 13:1-52, on the other hand, is structured around the contrast between the disciples who hear and understand (v 11f) and the Jewish crowd who see and yet do not see; who hear and yet do not hear (v 13). The parable discourse concludes with redactional material (v 51) in which Jesus' question to the disciples regarding their 'insight', and their answer to Jesus is expressly noted: 'Having told the parables, Jesus asks the very important question: Συνήκατε ταῦτα πάντα; The question is important because it takes up the theme of 'understanding' again which is so central in the complete discourse. The disciples answer with a firm 'Yes'...' (Vorster 1977b:36). The 'complexity' of the role of the Jewish crowd in the plot of

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the Gospel of Matthew, which is so clearly expressed against the background of the 'insight' of the disciples, as γραμματεῖς μαθητεύθεντες τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν (v 52), with the aid of *verba sentiendi* in the parable discourse, is dramatically continued in the narrative unit Matthew 13:53-58. In Nazareth, Jesus' home town, the Jewish crowd decisively rejects Jesus – by denying that he is a 'prophet', the name that thus far in the gospel and hereafter characterizes their incomplete perspective on Jesus. The Jewish crowd in Nazareth side with their leaders in rejecting Jesus (Mt 11-12).

The reason that I identify the inhabitants of Nazareth with the character of the Jewish crowd lies in the following redactional activity of the narrator of Matthew: In Matthew 13:54 he adds the possessive pronoun αὐτῶν to the expression ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ (cf Mk 6:2). In this regard Walker (1967:35) states that the terms 'their scribes' and 'their synagogues' equally presuppose the unity of the people of God in all its parts. 'They' are the one, homogeneous nation, represented by its teachers. The phrase 'their synagogues' thus confirms in its own way the Matthean topoi of the unity of Israel and of its identity, together with its representatives.

The pericope (Mt 14:1-12) regarding the beheading of the 'prophet' John the Baptist, a prototype of Jesus the 'prophet', by Herod Antipas, one of the Jewish leaders (cf the epithet *King of the Jews*, given to Herod the Great - Mt 2:3-4), emphasizes the role of the Jewish leaders as the antagonists with only one purpose, which is to keep Jesus from their midst and to kill him: '[T]he rejections of John and Jesus are put in parallel, thus anticipating the assimilation of the execution scene' (Murphy-O'Connor 1975:377). Trilling (1959:272) describes the redactional intention of Matthew with regard to Matthew 14:1-12 in the following manner: Matthew shortened the extended version of Mark radically. The events concentrate more on the death of John the Baptist. Furthermore, of the characters Herodias and Salome fade in importance behind Herod. The events seem only to serve as proof that a murder of a prophet took place.

The 'parallel' between the rejection of John the Baptist and that of Jesus, and the 'parallel' between the roles that the Jewish leaders and the Jewish crowd respectively play, are even more striking when one notes the following redactional activity:

The attempts by Herod, one of the Jewish leaders, to put John the Baptist to death were temporarily hampered by his uncertainty about how the Jewish crowd regarded John the Baptist, in his role as a 'prophet' (Mt 14:5). The Jewish leaders were similarly hesitant to put into action their desire to see Jesus dead, since they were worried about the fact that the Jewish crowd, just as in the case of John the

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Baptist, regarded Jesus as a 'prophet' (Mt 21:46). As I have already pointed out, the designation 'prophet' stresses a type of positive and at the same time incomplete viewpoint about Jesus on the part of the Jewish crowd. This view however took a dramatic turn (Mt 13:53-58) as a result of the rejection of Jesus as a 'prophet' by the inhabitants of Nazareth. This pericope therefore acts as a preview of the later negative choice on the part of the Jewish crowd in their identification with the Jewish leaders. 'We have there (Mt 13:53-58), therefore, a foretaste of what the attitude of the "crowd" would become under the influence of the Pharisees [cf xxvii, 20-26]' (Murphy-O'Connor 1975:376). The Jewish leaders finally succeed, at the trial and crucifixion of Jesus, in convincing the Jewish crowd that they should demand Jesus' death (Mt 27:20). This identification on the part of the Jewish crowd with the Jewish leaders results in both, alike, mockingly blaspheming (ἐβλασφήμουν, ἐμπαίζοντες) the 'Son of God' (Mt 27:39, 41).

Mounting tension is created by the introductory pericope (Mt 13:53-58), in which the Jewish crowd in Nazareth rejects Jesus, and by the following pericope (Mt 14:1-12), in which John the Baptist, as the prototype of Jesus, is killed at the order of Herod Antipas (who, like Herod the Great – Mt 2:1 – is part of the Jewish leadership). Jesus' attitude towards the Jewish crowd, however, remains that of heartfelt love (unlike the opinion of Malan 1981:31, who contends that in Mt 13:36b Jesus had already turned his back on the Jews) which is vividly illustrated in the pericope about the feeding of the five thousand (Mt 14:13-21). The role of the disciples towards the Jewish crowd is delineated with unmistakable clarity in this miracle narrative as being that of a *special intermediary function* (cf also Van Tilborg 1972:162). Sheridan (1973:250) refers to Matthew's redactional activity in this connection as follows:

> Matthew's redaction...has accentuated the role of the disciples as mediators...This he does in a subtle way by placing the disciples' giving of the bread to the crowds in a parallel construction with Jesus' giving of the bread to the disciples.
>
> (Sheridan 1973:250)

Held (1961:171) referred to this role of the disciples as *die Mittler des Mahles an die Menge* (cf also Minear 1974a:32; Garland 1979:3). How will the disciples fulfill their mission towards the Jewish crowd? That is the burning question in Matthew 13:53-17:27, as it is throughout the Gospel of Matthew (cf Van Tilborg 1972:160-163; Minear 1974a; Thompson 1970:18f).

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The concluding pericope of the first sub-unit, Peter's walking on the lake and the disciples' confession: ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ (Mt 14:22-33) is, as already mentioned, an indication of their 'insight'. In this concluding pericope we however discover the two contrasting character traits of the disciples. The disciples' confession and worship (προσκυνέω) is preceded by Peter having ὀλιγοπιστία and being διστάζω (Mt 14:31). According to Braumann (1966:409-411), therefore, the cooperation and succession of faith and doubt make up a crucial part of the story. The disciple is equal to the Master in the sense that he can walk on the water like Jesus. He is unequal to the Master in that he is dependent on Jesus' rescuing deed.

7.3.2.3 The second sub-unit – Matthew 14:34-16:20

With regard to the second sub-unit (Mt 14:34-16:20), the Petrine confession (Mt 16:13-16) and the πέτρος designation (Mt 16:17-19) – the latter is a Matthean redaction – are a continuation of the redaction material in Matthew 16:12, τότε συνῆκαν. This 'insight' consists of the disciples realizing the danger of the 'yeast' (of the bread = διδαχή) of the Jewish leaders. The 'bread' of the Jewish leaders is contrasted sharply with that which Jesus offered the Jewish crowd via the disciples (Mt 14:13-21; 15:32-39) and the Gentiles (Mt 15:21-28). In the latter pericope, the healing of the demon-possessed daughter of the Canaanite woman is compared with the giving of 'bread'.

The 'bread' motif has an important function in the Gospel of Matthew and the word ἄρτος may be regarded as part of Matthew's *religious vocabulary* (E A Nida). The thematic correlation between Matthew 4:1-11 and Matthew 16:1-2 is thus very striking. The *bread* motif is present in both pericopes (see later). In Matthew 4:3f it is precisely Satan's tempting of Jesus to make bread miraculously that is in question. This suggestion is countered by Jesus with a quotation from the law (Dt 8:3) – that being υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ demands obedience to the will of the Father. After the miraculous multiplication of the loaves (Mt 14:13-21; 15:32-39), which was motivated by his *love* for the Jewish crowd (Mt 14:14; 15:32) – the fulfillment of the law (Mt 19:16-30) shown in the acts of the disciples – the Jewish leaders *tempted* Jesus to give them a sign from heaven (Mt 16:1). It is therefore significant that their actions towards Jesus in Matthew 16:1 are described with the word πειράζω. Mark 8:38 does not have this very expressive word. Jesus resists this request with a reference to the 'prophets' (Jonah) and the reproach that the Jewish leaders are not able to recognize the 'signs of the times' (cf Mt 16:3f; absent in the Gospel of Mark, cf however Lk 12:56). The fact that the 'yeast' of the Jewish leaders is related to Jesus' feeding of the Jewish crowd (Mt 16:8-12), is an indication

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that this 'yeast' is in fact the 'bread' that the Jewish leaders are offering the Jewish crowd. The reference to the διδαχή of the Jewish leaders as 'yeast' (Mt 16:12) is a statement about the nature of this 'bread'; in contrast to the 'bread' that Jesus gives, it is iniquitous formalism without love.

It is this very formalistic perspective on the part of the Jewish leaders that Jesus exposes in the introductory pericope of the second sub-unit (Mt 15:1-9), and which he warns the Jewish crowd against (Mt 15:10f).

The imminent correspondence of the perspective of the Jewish crowd with that of the Jewish leaders, which had already been foreshadowed by the rejection of Jesus in Nazareth, is expressed in the second sub-unit in the image of the two types of blind who will fall in the pit (Mt 15:14). This logion is directly related to Jesus' call to the Jewish crowd (Mt 15:10) to listen and understand (ἀκούετε καὶ συνίετε), when he has to deal with a contentious question from the Jewish leaders regarding their formalistic religious practice. Jesus exposes their lack of proper inner attitudes by means of the parable regarding impurities coming from the mouths and hearts of people (Mt 15:17-20). The above-mentioned *verba sentiendi*, ἀκούετε καὶ συνίετε (Mt 15:10), do appear in the Gospel of Mark, but the reference to the 'blind leaders' who will fall into the pit with the 'blind nation' does not appear in Mark. (This expression appears in Lk 6:39, in a shorter form.)

It is particularly striking that, after Matthew 17:14, the first time that Jesus addresses the Jewish crowd directly (Mt 23), he again warms them against the 'leadership' of the Jewish leaders. This aspect of Jesus' perspective regarding the Jewish crowd gives added dimension to his name for them in Matthew 15:24 (also redaction material): τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ. 'They are lost because they were led astray by those whose mission it was to prepare them to comprehend the ways of God' (Murphy-O'Connor 1975:374f).

The disciples are the first to fail to recognize the danger that the Jewish leaders' formalistic point of view holds for the Jewish crowd (Mt 15:10-20). After Jesus has exposed both the ignorance of the Jewish leaders regarding the 'teaching' of the prophets and the Jewish leaders' role as puppets of Satan (Mt 16:1-4), he warns them against the influence of the 'yeast' of the bread of the Jewish leaders. At first the disciples do not understand the nature of this danger, but they later claim to understand it (Mt 16:5-12). Peter confesses that Jesus is 'the Christ, the Son of the living God' (Mt 16:13-16) and Jesus calls Peter, Πέτρος (Mt 16:18). Peter's confession and the πέτρος designation should therefore be read against the implicit background of the danger of the Jewish leaders as puppets of Satan.

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What constitutes a unidirectional designation (Peter ⟷ Jesus) in the Gospel of Mark becomes, in the Gospel of Matthew, a bidirectional designation (Peter ⟷ Jesus): Simon confesses Jesus as the Christ and the Son of God; Jesus calls Simon *Rock* – 'the designation Jesus gives to Simon is just as much a title of office as the titles with which Simon addresses Jesus' (Meier 1979:108, note 105). Peter's receiving of the 'keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 16:19) is set in relief against the background of this bidirectional designation. This should also be understood in the light of the danger of the Jewish leaders acting as the puppets of Satan. Against the backdrop of Matthew 7:24, where the words οἰκοδομέω and ἡ πέτρα, as in Matthew 16:18, appear in combination (the only two such occurrences in the New Testament) and where they serve as metaphors referring to obedience to the will of the Father, and against the background of Matthew 11:28-30 (v 29 in particular) where there is also a reference to the Torah (the will of the Father) in the image τὸ ζυγόν, the disciples' receiving of the 'keys' refers to their sharing in the authority of the obedient Son of God. This authority refers to teaching 'the right way to enter the kingdom...the way "to do the will of God", to "do justice" – a burning concern of Matthew' (Meier 1979:113). The security that the disciples thus confer on the ἐκκλησία is protection from the onslaught of the πύλαι ἅδου (Mt 16:18). 'Hades could mean the realm of punishment for sinners and so the kingdom of Satan' (Meier 1978:112, note 111). And this danger, the danger that the ἐκκλησία will be overpowered, finds expression in the role of the antagonists, the Jewish leaders (cf Mt 11:12).

The confession of Peter is thus on the one hand the acceptance of Jesus' invitation to take up his τὸ ζυγόν (cf Mt 11:28-30) – a rabbinic expression that presents the law as a yoke (cf Gundry 1982:218ff). On the other hand there is a danger that the disciples will respond like the Jewish leaders, which indeed happens shortly after this in Matthew 16:21-23 (the third sub-unit). The danger consists therein that Peter has not included the Jesus logion '...learn from me, for I am gentle and humble in heart' (Mt 11:29b) in his confession. The portrayal of Peter is thus expressed in Matthew 16:13-20 and Matthew 16:21-23 respectively, by the use of two contrasting designations: The role of Πέτρος and the role of τὸ σκάνδαλον. Matthew 16:21 begins a new pericope, without there being a change in Matthew's portrayal of the disciples, as there was in Mark.

Kingsbury, among others, is therefore correct in stressing the fact that the temporal formula in Matthew 16:21, ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο..., indicates a directional turn in the narrative. He, however, errs in considering this temporal formula a radical hiatus in the Gospel of Matthew. Seen topographically, the place where Matthew 16:13-20 and 16:21-28 are both acted out remains the same, namely near to

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Caesarea Phillipi – it is only from Matthew 17:1 that there is a change in topography. The caesura found between Matthew 16:20 and Matthew 16:21 is the result of 'a literary and psychological point of view. Matthew...holds on to the bright and dark sides of Peter without dissolving and blurring the tension' (Meier 1979:115, note 115).

The Petrine confession and the πέτρος designation which conclude the second sub-unit (Mt 14:34-16:20) certainly function as a peak of 'insight' on the part of Peter (the disciples). It is, however, preceded in the remainder of the sub-unit by typical Matthean expressions:

* Jesus said to them: 'You are still no more intelligent than the others. Don't you understand?' (Mt 15:16f);
* Jesus said to them: 'Take care; be on your guard against the yeast of the Pharisees and Sadducees' (Mt 16:6);
* Jesus knew what they were saying, so he asked them: 'Why are you discussing among yourselves about not having any bread? How little faith you have! Don't you understand yet?' (Mt 16:8f);
* 'How is it that you don't understand that I was not talking about bread? Guard yourselves from the yeast of the Pharisees and Sadducees!' (Mt 16:11).

7.3.2.4 The third sub-unit – Matthew 16:21-17:27

This section begins with the advance knowledge that the imminent danger referred to earlier is now acute. Peter is equated with Satan when he refuses to anticipate the Son of God's obedient way of the cross (Mt 16:21-23). The guarantor of the church against the powers of the underworld becomes the puppet of Satan, the confessor becomes the tempter (Kamphaus 1971:50).

Shortly afterwards, at the 'transfiguration on the mount' (Mt 17:1-13), this low point is neutralized by the disciples' 'insight' (cf Matthean redaction – τότε συνῆκαν) that the Jewish leaders are responsible for the death of John the Baptist, the 'prototype' of Jesus (Mt 17:13). The pattern of faith/lack of faith is surprisingly repeated in Matthew 17:17 when Jesus refers to the disciples as γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ διεστραμμένη (Mk 9:19 has a shorter designation: γενεὰ ἄπιστος). The disciples' inability to heal the sick in the Jewish crowd is explained here as being the result of their ὀλιγοπιστία (Mt 17:20). Although the response of the disciples (redaction material) to the subsequent (second) passion prediction (Mt 17:23b) is certainly not as negative as that of Peter to the previous (first) passion prediction (Mt 16:22), it does however represent the negative pole of Matthew's portrayal of the disciples.

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I thus differ from Meier who is of the opinion that this reaction, καὶ ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα, displays 'insight' on the part of the disciples. If we take into consideration that the formal passion predictions in the Gospel of Matthew have basically the same function as the reference to the parallel between the death of John the Baptist and the death of Jesus (Mt 17:9-13) and that the disciples have shown insight into this (τότε συνῆκαν – Mt 17:13), the redaction material, καὶ ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα (Mt 17:23b), as a response to the second passion prediction, is indeed an anticlimax. It does not attest to obedience to the imperative ἀράτω τὸν σταυρόν (Mt 16:24) which, as far as Jesus is concerned, follows Peter's negative response to the first passion prediction. The concluding pericope of the micro narrative under consideration, the payment of the temple tax (Mt 17:24-27), in contrast, ends with the tense expectation that Peter (the disciples) has indeed heard *and* understood.

The pericope about the payment of the temple tax has so far received little serious attention in Matthean studies in regard to its meaning within the context of either Matthew 13:53-17:27 or the gospel as a whole. We agree with the following comment by Daube (1972:13) in this regard: 'The literature seizes on details of the incident but considers the incident as a whole rather pointless. This is a mistake; on a closer examination, a profound teaching does emerge.' What we basically have to deal with in this Matthean redaction as the concluding pericope of Matthew 13:53-17:27 is the opposition between Peter (the disciples) and the Jewish leaders concerning Jesus' point of view regarding the temple.

The expression οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες (Mt 17:24) refers to *Jewish officials* (Meier 1979:125). This can be derived from their name for Jesus, namely διδάσκαλος (17:24b). The second person plural pronoun ὑμῶν is also indicative of the 'distance' (cf Walker 1967:35) between the 'receivers of the temple tax' and Jesus. The topographical situation of Matthew 17:24-27 at Capernaum further emphasizes the opposition to Jesus (cf Mt 11:23; Lategan 1977:170). Capernaum is identified with Jerusalem, the seat of the temple and the origin of the 'receivers of the temple tax'. In the Gospel of Matthew (as in Mark) Jerusalem is the *theologische Ort* of Jesus' opponents (cf Lohmeyer 1942:106f; Marxsen 1959:33-76; Trilling 1964:132 – see later).

The pericope on the payment of the temple tax can be regarded as a foreshadowing of the purification of the temple (Mt 21:12-17), in which Jesus overturns the tables of the money-changers in the temple, quoting from Jeremiah's temple discourse (Jr 7:11), and he heals the 'blind and lame' (v 14) *inside the temple*, while 'children' *inside the temple* (v 15) call him ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ. In Matthew 17:24-27 Jesus emphasizes the *freedom* of the οἱ υἱοὶ of God with regard to any such

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formalistic and particularistic temple service. Jesus is the 'real temple' (Mt 12:6); the consequence of his obedience to God's will replaces formalistic temple service (Mt 24:2; 27:51). On the other hand, Peter has 'insight' (Mt 17:25a); he stands diametrically opposite the perspective from which the Jewish leaders are presented; he shares Jesus' point of view: '...they both know and do the will of the heavenly Father' (Kingsbury 1973:473).

The end of the third sub-unit, like the conclusion to the other two sub-units, is characterized by Peter's 'insight' regarding the υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ motif. This 'insight' has actually reached a higher level than in the others; it coincides with Jesus' own point of view. The micro narrative Matthew 13:53-17:27 thus ends in high tension. It appears that the disciples indeed have heard *and* understood!

Despite the 'insight', the ὀλιγοπιστία nature of the disciples is again in evidence at the third passion prediction (cf Mt 20:17ff with 20:20-25); it culminates in the passion narrative and continues even after Jesus' resurrection – unlike the Marcan gospel where lack of understanding changes into 'insight' at the resurrection (cf Petersen 1978a:78). When the Jewish leaders wish to conceal the fact of the resurrection (Mt 28:11-15), Matthew has the following to say regarding the disciples (Mt 28:17): καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν προσεκύνησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν. It is significant that the contrasting words προσκύνεω and διστάζω appear both in Matthew 14:31, 33 and Matthew 28:17. The 'insight', as well as the ὀλιγοπιστία of the disciples is thus expressed in a particularly striking manner (cf P I Ellis 1967/8:576; Sheridan 1973:244, 246ff; Kingsbury 1979a:63-69). Giblin (1975:72) formulates this as follows: 'Little faith (*oligopistia*), expressly noted in Mt 14:31, seems to be implied in Mt 28:17a...'[L]ittle faith' is a failing curiously characteristic of disciples (cf Mt 6:30; 8:26; 14:30; 16:8; 17:20)...Notwithstanding this characteristic limitation and deficiency, the disciples do eventually understand....'

7.3.2.5 Conclusion

We can summarize the result of our study regarding the narrator's redactional activity and portrayal of the disciples in Matthew 13:53-17:27 as follows.

Matthew 13:53-17:27 has been formally constructed in accordance with the narrator's redactional activity in particular, as well as his image of the disciples. This micro narrative has three parts. The conclusion of each sub-unit is Matthean redaction by means of which the disciples' 'insight' regarding the υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ motif is made known – each time at a higher level. This 'insight' is however repeatedly preceded by a lack of understanding. Matthew has thus altered the framework of the Gospel of Mark by not taking over the turn of events in the plot of

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Mark, expressed in the description of Peter's confession and his reaction to the subsequent passion prediction. These two pericopes do not represent a turning point in the plot of the Gospel of Matthew. They emphasize on the one hand the disciples' *total insight* and on the other their ὀλιγοπιστία nature. This image of the disciples prevails in the Gospel of Matthew.

At the beginning of the narrative (Mt 4:18-22) we find that the disciples respond positively to their call to be Jesus' helpers in his mission as Emmanuel. In the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 4:23-7:29) they hear, among other things, that they are 'the salt of the earth', but if the salt has lost its saltiness it is no longer worth anything (Mt 5:13). This danger applies to their possible role as 'false prophets' (Mt 7:15). In the commission discourse (Mt 9:36-11:1) we encounter them executing their mission to the Jewish crowd along the lines of Jesus' mission in Matthew 8:1-9:35 (cf Mt 10:6ff). The successful completion of the mission is not, however, told – as it is in the case of the Gospel of Luke. In the parable discourse (Mt 13:1-52) the 'insight' of the disciples, as the 'sons of the kingdom', is emphasized as 'sowers in the field' (cf Mt 13:38, 51). This role is contrasted with the opposing role of the unbelieving and demonically inspired Jewish leaders in the micro narrative Matthew 11:1-12:50 (cf Mt 13:39). These two character traits, insight and opposition, merge in the portrayal of the disciples in the micro narrative Matthew 13:53-17:27:

* In their mission the disciples have the intermediary function of conveying Jesus' love to the Jewish crowd (and the Gentiles).
* The disciples have 'insight' regarding the role of Jesus as the obedient 'Son of God' and their own role as 'sons of God'.
* The disciples have 'insight' regarding the danger that formalistic exclusivism holds for the Jewish leaders.
* The disciples do not understand, on the other hand, that the Jewish leaders are 'blind leaders' of 'the blind'; in other words, they do not understand the danger that formalism holds for the Jewish crowd.
* The disciples are inclined to respond like the Jewish leaders, in that their perspective threatens to show characteristics that are more fitting to the Jewish leaders' point of view. The potential consequence of this inclination is treated in the rest of the Gospel of Matthew: In the community discourse (Mt 18:1-19:1) and the subsequent micro narrative (Mt 19:2-22:46) there seems to be an acute danger of the disciples looking down on and neglect the underprivileged among themselves, in that they do not forgive their sins as 'brothers' would (cf Mt 18:10; 19:13). In the judgment and parousia discourse (Mt 23:1-25:46) there is a grasping forward towards the completion

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of the pre-paschal mission (cf Mt 10:40ff; Mt 23:34ff) and the post-paschal mission (cf Mt 28:16-20). This 'post-paschal mission' of the disciples is characterized by their 'faith' as well as their 'lack of faith', which are expressed by the verbs προσκυνέω and δίστάζω respectively (Mt 28:17). The disciples' commission continues until the plot reaches its dénouement at the συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος (Mt 28:20), when the Son of man will separate the 'sheep' from the 'goats' (Mt 25:31-46).

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Chapter 8

The narrator's perspective on the temporal and topographic levels in Matthew's story

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Time and space are elements of the plot of a narrative, just as character delineation and point of view are a part. The actions and attitudes of characters are simultaneously determined through the 'time' and 'space' in which they move in a narrative. Nevertheless it is not true that the chronological passage of time, in the pure linear sense, or topographical detail, constitutes the plot of a story as mere stage-room. It is as Brooks & Warren (1970:319) have stated: 'Action is what narration presents....Action is motion, and narration gives us this motion in time (and space). But mere sequence [and space – my addition] do not constitute an action .'

The study of the concept of 'time' in narrative material can take a number of directions. For example, it can take the form of an investigation into *verbal aspect and tempus* in a story by taking note of the variation of, for example, the present tense with the aorist. With this type of investigation, aspects such as the 'narrative point of view' (in the technical sense of the word) – that is, the narrator's 'angle of vision' – can be studied from a particular angle (see i a Uspensky 1973:69-75, 137-167; Vandermoere 1976:52-59).

The study of the concept of 'time' in narrative material usually comprises an investigation into the two 'temporal levels' according to which a narration can be read, namely *narrated time* and *narrating time*. 'Narrated time' is, broadly speaking, the duration of the narrated events (cf Blok 1960:125f). By 'narrating time' is meant 'the time needed to tell the story, or to read it. This time can be measured in minutes or hours, it can more conveniently be measured in pages, lines or words' (Vandermoere 1976:76). An example of an investigation of 'narrating time' is that into the narrator's *change of tempo* between the episodes in the narration. As far as

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the Gospel of Matthew is concerned, the large number of pages over which the passion and resurrection of Jesus (Mt 26:1-28:20) is narrated – while the spatial and chronological movement is particularly concentrated, in comparison with the rest of the narration – indicates that the narrator lingers over these events to give them greater emphasis.

In this study I will not attend to verbal aspect and tempus, or to 'narrating time' as such, but to 'narrated time'. When we investigate the narrator's *ideological perspective on the temporal level*, we study the principle according to which the linear-sequential course of the 'narrated time' is organized. An investigation such as this is inextricably linked to the concepts of plot, 'character delineation' and 'space', since the plot of any narrative somehow comprises a sequence of actions of characters who move in a particular structure of *time* and *space*.

As far as *space* is concerned: Spatial order in narrative material is linked to the sequential course of time in a narrative. A painting can be viewed and evaluated from left to right and from right to left without the topography losing its focus. A narrative cannot be viewed in this way. Unlike pictorial art, narrative material is only observed with regard to its linear sequence, after which its topography is viewed in inextricable relation to the former (cf Uspensky 1973:76ff).

With regard to *plot* and *characterization*: The plot of a narrative is the structure of events or episodes of events. The plot is, however, not simply a synopsis (summation) of the linear course of events or episodes of events in a narrative. It is only when we say how these elements in a narrative relate to other elements in the same narrative, and how they function together in an organized way for the sake of a particular communicative effect, that a synopsis equals the plot of the narrative (cf Abrams 1971:128). The concepts plot and 'character delineation' are interdependent, since the events or actions in a narrative are determined by the reciprocal relations between characters. According to Aristotle's theory of literature (ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΗΣ), a well-constructed plot consists of the linear sequence of a *beginning*, leading to a *middle* and *a conclusion* (cf Butcher 1951:275-282; as well as i a Brooks & Warren 1970:323-325). The beginning of the plot introduces the action and creates expectations; in the middle the initial action is developed, and a dénouement is anticipated, which is worked out in the conclusion. As the plot develops, and expectations are aroused in the reader, there is a suggestion of reader-association with the narrated characters – that is, sympathy or antipathy.

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> An anxious uncertainty about what is going to happen, especially to those characters whose moral qualities are such that we have established a bond of sympathy with them, is known as 'suspense'. If what in fact happens violates our expectations, it is known as 'surprise'. The interplay of suspense and surprise is a prime source of the magnetic power and vitality of an on-going plot.
>
> (Abrams 1971:128)

When the successful execution (or otherwise) of the protagonist's 'mission' becomes dependent on the contributions of other characters in the narrative, tension-filled *intrigue* is created in the plot. This could happen as a result of the role of the antagonist, or of the roles of characters who are intended as 'helpers' for the protagonist, but whose perspective perhaps coincides with that of the antagonist. In other words, intrigue is identified when, in the *linear sequence* of narrated events, a *causality* can be shown between the events or episodes of events.

What is the structural principle according to which the events or episodes of events in a narrative are linked in a particular way, chronologically and causatively? It is clear that it cannot only be the linear sequence of the events. By the expression 'linear sequence of events' we mean, according to the Aristotlean paradigm, the sequence of 'beginning', 'middle' and 'conclusion'. Russian Formalism refers to this as *fable*, the material of which a narrative consists (cf Scholes 1974:80). Petersen (1978b:47ff) calls it *story-time*. He distinguishes it from *plotted time*. The latter is called *sujet* by Russian Formalism (cf Scholes 1974:80).

The study of 'story-time' can, besides investigating the chronological causality between the *beginning*, *middle* and *conclusion* of a narrative, consist of an investigation into the different ways in which a narrator has 'deviated' from the linear passage of time. Examples of such 'deviation' are *prospection*, *retrospection* and *commentary*. A narrator may deviate from the linear course of time because he wants to acquire additional information about his narrated characters and events, or because he wants to get the reader more involved in the narrated events (see i a Vandermoere 1976:62-76). Such an investigation involves what is known as *besprochene Welt*, as opposed to the 'linear course of events' and *erzählte Welt*.

The study of 'plotted time' differs from that of 'story-time' in that it studies the *structure-creating principle* that has determined the chronology and causality between the different sequences in a narrative, as well as the deviation from this sequential course of time. By 'plotted time' is thus meant what Wellek & Warren call *plot as mediated through point of view'* (see Petersen 1978a:47f).

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'Plotted time' assumes at least one 'line of action' which runs through a 'beginning', 'middle' and 'end'. This 'line of action' (hereafter called 'sequence') consists of a protagonist's 'mission' to an object. There can, however, also be a second sequence (or more) in a narrative which then forms a 'secondary' (or subsequent) sequence (cf Lämmert 1972:112-139). A separate independent line of action has its own 'story' with its own 'story-time', which may or may not coincide with the 'primary sequence'. Although a 'secondary sequence' must differ from the 'primary sequence' in regard, at least, to 'time' or 'space' or 'characters', there is naturally a certain association of meaning between the 'primary sequence' and the 'secondary sequence'. This association of meaning can be correlative, or analogical, in nature in that one either runs completely parallel to the other or it is repeated in the other in a symbolic-allegorical manner (cf Lämmert 1972:52-56). These two sequences can also be continually alternated in a narrative. In such narratives the narrator has obviously organized his story according to a deeper-lying principle than the strictly chronological. The study of this principle is the study of the narrator's ideological perspective on the *temporal* and *topographical* levels.

The Gospel of Matthew is a narrative written from a 'hindsight' narrative perspective. This *hindsight perspective* enables the third-person narrator to include two sequences in the 'plotted time' of his narrative, namely the *Jesus-commission* and the *disciple-commission*. The meaning of the disciple-commission is analogically related to the Jesus-commission. The analogy sometimes takes the form of parallelism and sometimes the form of a symbolic-allegorical reflection (cf, in particular, certain parables). Although the sequential course of the disciple-commission only begins with the conclusion of the Jesus-commission, the former alternates with the latter by means of correlative and symbolic-allegorical anticipation. 'Plotted time' in the Gospel of Matthew embraces both missions' sequential course and this extends over the 'beginning' (Abraham, David and Old Testament prophets), the 'middle' (life and work of Jesus) and the 'conclusion' (parousia).

My purpose is to show that the organizing principle that links the analogic pre-paschal Jesus-commission with the post-paschal disciple-commission, in the 'plotted time' of the Gospel of Matthew, is the *God-with-us* theme. In short: The *God-with-us* theme is the core of the *ideological* perspective of the narrator of the Gospel of Matthew, from which he constituted his entire narration (plot) – phraseologically, psychologically, temporally and spatially.

As far as the investigation of the narrator's perspective as manifested on the *phraseological* level is concerned, I have mainly given attention to *character delineation*. I will round off our study by investigating certain aspects of *time* and

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space in the Gospel of Matthew. I will do this in two subsections: (1) I will overview the alternation of 'narrated time' with 'direct time', in narrator's commentary, narrative technique, and the alternation of 'narrated discourse' with 'direct discourse'. (2) I will discuss the two sequential temporal levels in the Gospel of Matthew, the function of the topography and the function of the use of the Old Testament on these two levels.

8.2 'INDIRECT TIME' AND 'DIRECT TIME'

8.2.1 Introduction

Stated simplistically, from the perspective of 'narrative point of view', 'indirect time' can be distinguished from 'direct time' in that the former is narrative material in which the narrator wishes to give mere *information* and the latter narrative material in which he wishes to evaluate. Since aspects of the narrator's *ideological* point of view are manifested in 'direct time' in particular, 'direct time' serves the reader as an important indicator of how the narrative should be read.

Both 'indirect time' and 'direct time' are in other words narrative material within the context of narrative texts. Both can take the form of aphoristic phrases or they can take the form of extensive discourses. In this subsection I will discuss, for the sake of illustration, individual examples of short phraseological sayings, as well as the well-known phenomenon in the Gospel of Matthew that 'indirect discourses' alternate with 'direct discourses'.

8.2.2 Narrator's commentary

I have pointed out above (section 8.2.1) that 'direct time' can consist of *narrator's commentary*, through which additional information is supplied regarding characters and events. In this way the following (underlined) expressions serve to indicate character delineation.

Matthew 1:16 – Ἰακὼβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς <u>ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός</u>

Using the Χριστός name, the narrator qualifies the person of Jesus at his birth. By so doing, he emphasizes the continuity between the person Jesus and the 'messianic' proclamation by the Old Testament prophets (refer to section 8.2.3).

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Matthew 10:4 – Σίμων ὁ Καναναῖος καὶ Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης ὁ καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτόν (cf Mt 27:3).

Matthew 26:14 – Τότε πορευθεὶς εἷς τῶν δώδεκα, ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης, πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς....

The character of Judas Iscariot is qualified on the one hand by his being part of the circle of disciples (Mt 26:14a) and on the other by mentioning – as early as at his call to discipleship – his role as the betrayer (Mt 10:4); it is precisely as 'one of the Twelve' that he is the betrayer (Mt 26:14b). With this narrator's commentary, the 'double' role of the disciples in the Gospel of Matthew is brought strongly to the fore. The negative role of Judas Iscariot, who functions to emphasize the negative side of Matthew's picture of the disciple, comes to light clearly in the story of Judas Iscariot's suicide (Mt 27:3-10). Van Unnik (1974:47f) rightly points out that the participle μεταμεληθείς (redaction material) in Matthew 27:3, which functions as circumstantial depiction ('narrator's commentary') with respect to the motif of his suicide, is not used as a synonym for the verb μετανοέω. The discriminating component of meaning of μετανοέω is 'total about-face', while μεταμέλομαι reflects the thought of 'be in two minds': '...first one did a thing, later one decided to do something else, which of course for some reason or another one thought was the better course. And in that way it [μεταμέλεσθαι] may imply the notion of "regret"' (Van Unnik 1974:48; cf Meier 1980b:338). This use of the verb μεταμέλομαι is also implied by the contexts of the other two places in the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 21:29, 32) where the term occurs (in Matthew's redactions as well). From the context of Matthew 27:3-10 (as well as Ac 1:1ff) it is clear that Judas Iscariot's change of perspective came about too late. Unlike the view of Van Unnik, who considers that Judas Iscariot ultimately accepted the gospel and neutralized his curse by his death, in the Judaic religious sense of the word, Judas' suicide is an anticipation of the fate that will meet the godless at the parousia (cf also Gärtner 1971:37).

Matthew 16:12 – τότε συνῆκαν ὅτι οὐκ εἶπεν προσέχειν ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν ἄρτων ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς διδαχῆς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων.

Matthew 28:17 – καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν προσκύνησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν

Although the disciples function as a homogeneous character with a 'double personality' in the Gospel of Matthew, it appears that there are two groups among them, representing the two 'faces': Judas Iscariot represents the 'hypocrites' as

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against the true 'sons of God'. (Peter represents both groups – refer back to section 8.2.2.) Matthew 16:12 is an example of where the disciples together act as a single character. In Matthew 28:17 there is an indication of two groups: Those that προσκυνέω and those that διστάζω. In Matthew 16:12 the narrator delivers a commentary and says that the disciples, after receiving an explanation from Jesus, gained 'insight' into the true role of the Jewish leaders. Matthew 28:17 is, however, an example in which the 'double personality' of the disciples is indicated by the narrator's commentary.

8.2.3 Translation technique

I refer to only one example of translating technique on the direct level, namely Matthew 1:22f.

Matthew 1:21 is parallel to Matthew 1:23, with an Old Testament fulfillment-citation between them, in Matthew 1:22.

Matthew 1:21 – τέξεται δὲ υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.

Matthew 1:22 – Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντες....

Matthew 1:23 – Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός

The expression μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός is the *theologische Leitidee* (Frankemölle 1974:7) of the Gospel of Matthew. In other words: This expression is the dominant perspective from which the narrative is presented; this is the *ideological* point of view of the narrator which is here explicitly expressed on the direct level of the Gospel of Matthew by means of translation-commentary. The fact that the translator translates into Greek the well-known Hebrew name Ἐμμανουήλ in the citation from Isaiah 7:14 using the 'translation formula' ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον, namely μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, emphasizes the importance that he attaches to the expression Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. The citation as such functions as a type of narrator's commentary (see section 8.2.2) and when the Hebrew name Ἐμμανουήλ in the citation is, moreover, translated into Greek, this Greek translation μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός gains further emphasis. The citation's (Mt 1:23)

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parallel (Mt 1:21) describes the function of Jesus as that of forgiveness of the sin of the λαός, that is the Jewish multitude – the 'underprivileged'. This 'functional christology', or indeed 'soteriological christology' (cf Balz 1967), continues God's fellowship with his people (= μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός) from the 'time' of the Old Testament 'prophets' (where it has been manifested in the royal messianic idea and liturgy), up to the 'time' of the 'prophets' – John the Baptist, Jesus and the disciples (see especially section 7.1). This does not however constitute the fellowship between God and the nation (the manifestation of forgiveness of sin), but it also carries this fellowship to a climax in that God himself, in the person of Jesus, illustrates the βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν in the world of mankind: As Jesus is the Saviour from sins, he is also the Emmanuel, that is, God in our midst. Jesus is God's epiphany on earth, God's personal historical reality (Frankemölle 1974:18f).

8.2.4 The alternation of 'indirect discourse' with 'direct discourse'

A third-person narrator can also allow the 's/he' characters in his narrative to speak in the first person. In this case we have 'direct speech' (*besprochene Welt*) amid 'indirect speech' (*erzählte Welt*). The former is however nothing more than quasi-direct speech, because it is *narrated* characters that do the speaking. The third-person narrator's point of view is thus expressed in an evaluative manner. 'Direct discourse [*besprochene Welt*]...strengthens its [the discourse's] evaluative and not only its informative function....Direct discourse characterizes the narrated figures' (Vorster 1985b:23).

The narrator of the Gospel of Matthew has used this narrative technique in the form of five expanded Jesus discourses. This phenomenon in the Gospel of Matthew has long – since the days of Bacon ([1918] 1980) – been recognized as a special characteristic of the formal construction of the Gospel of Matthew. Each of these Jesus discourses concludes with a stereotyped phrase, namely καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς... (Mt 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; 26:1).

Although the so-called 'New Moses' theology that Bacon wished to see behind the fivefold division (the Pentateuch motif) of the Gospel of Matthew has little support today, the intentional importance of the presence of this 'direct discourse' for the theology of the Gospel of Matthew cannot be argued away (as was the case for i a Schmid 1956, Lohmeyer 1967, Gaechter [1965]:60-65). The presence of these five discourses should however not be seen either as an indication of a 'New Moses theology' (cf i a Davies 1966:23) or as a Pentateuch analogy (cf i a Stendahl 1968:24f; Glasswell 1981:43f) – nor as an analogy with the Moses valediction in Deuteronomistic theology, with the 'covenant' as its central theme (cf Kline 1975;

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Senior 1976:673). On the one hand the five 'direct discourses' (Mt 4:23-7:29; 9:36-11:1; 13:1-52; 18:1-19:1; 23:1-25:46) should be seen in relation to the 'indirect discourses' (Mt 1:1-4:22; 8:1-9:35; 11:2-12:50; 13:53-17:27; 19:2-22:46; 26:1-28:20) which appear alongside and between them in the Gospel of Matthew. According to Schniewind (1968:8) the Gospel consists of clear groups of narrative and conversation/dialogue. The message of Matthew strongly builds on the alteration of narrative and dialogue, which is rounded off with the final words 'I am with you always'. On the other hand the alternation of 'indirect discourses' with 'direct discourses' (I–D–I) must be brought into a relationship of meaning with the analogy that the narrator of the Gospel of Matthew has created between the two sequences in his story – the pre-paschal Jesus-commission and the post-paschal disciple-commission (see section 7.3.2.5). Marxsen (1959:64) recognized the essence of this at an early stage when he said that one will have to distinguish between the frame (indirect discourse) and the conversational complexes (direct discourse). The historicization of the Marcan sketch finds its reflection in the frame, and into this frame are built the Jesus-discourses which reflects Matthew's time.

The five 'direct discourses' in the Gospel of Matthew should therefore not be seen as fractions. On the contrary, in an associative way they link up with the former and subsequent 'direct discourses'. The two separate sequences (the pre-paschal Jesus-commission and the post-paschal disciple-commission) should not be taken as being watertight compartments, as though the interrelations of characters on the sequential level of the pre-paschal Jesus-commission find expression exclusively in the 'indirect discourse', and those on the sequential level of the post-paschal disciple-commission, find it exclusively in the 'direct discourse'. The fact that one 'indirect discourse' links up ahead with the following 'direct discourse' in an associative manner, which in its turn continues the spiral to the following 'indirect discourse', results in the seemingly mutual integration of the pre-paschal Jesus-commission and the post-paschal disciple-commission. This is by means of thematic parallelisms (cf Mt 4:23; 9:35 with Mt 10:6ff), cross-references (cf Mt 16:19 with Mt 18:18; 23:13), prospection (cf Mt 5:12 with Mt 23:34ff) and retrospection (cf Mt 14:13-21; cf 15:32-39 with Mt 16:9ff). In this connection the significant remark - already referred to in my overview of Matthean research - by Aguirre (1981:152), in addition to the earlier one by Marxsen above, is important:

> Matthew contains a level of narration, grounded in tradition and embodying an historical perspective on the past – though seen through faith and hence idealized. But there is also a second level that makes this past narrative relevant to the present needs of

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> Matthew's community. Though neither level of discourse is ever totally absent, in some contexts one level may take precedence over the other, and the gospel will slip imperceptibly from one to the other.
>
> (Aguirre 1981:152)

The analogy thus created between the pre-paschal Jesus-commission and the post-paschal disciple-commission, which has been formulated in the alternation of 'indirect discourse' and 'direct discourse', can be seen as the most important element in the constitution of the plot of the Gospel of Matthew. As far as I know, only D L Barr has considered this alternation of 'indirect' and 'direct' portions in Matthew's story in analyzing plot:

> Adopting this arrangement [two narratives connected by a discourse] ...suggests a procedure for determining Matthew's plot: The plot ought to be found in the relationship between the series of narratives, with the discourses providing a means for Matthew to focus our attention on the significance of the action
>
> (D L Barr 1976:357)

Although Barr did not approach this alternation from the perspective of 'narrative point of view' analysis, he nevertheless saw that alternation of 'indirect discourse' with 'direct discourse' was an exceptionally effective formal means for the narrator to focus his 'implied reader' on the narrator's *ideological* point of view. Barr, however, here misunderstands the core of Matthew's 'theology'. In our opinion the narrator's ideological point of view consists in seeing Jesus as *God-with-us* in the ἐκκλησία, in the post-paschal period of the 'universal' mission, in that the disciples ('church leaders?') obediently attend to the 'underprivileged' in the community, just as the earthly Jesus as *God-with-us* and the Twelve as his assumed 'helpers' took care of the Jewish multitude).

An important indication of the analogy that was thus created between the pre-paschal Jesus-commission and the post-paschal disciple-commission, is the striking presence at the beginning of every 'direct discourse' of both the disciples (cf Mt 5:1; 9:37; 10:1; 13:10; 18:1; 23:1) and the Jewish multitude (cf Mt 4:23-51b; 9:35ff; 13:2f; 18:2; 23:1).

The 'direct discourses' are Jesus' direct speeches directed at the disciples, while they inherently relate essentially to the relationship between the disciples and the Jewish multitude.

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What Vorster (1982c) noticed in the Gospel of Mark as a whole, and in the parable discourse in Mark 4:1-34, applies in an increasing degree to the Gospel of Matthew, since Matthew developed the narrative technique of alternating 'indirect time' with 'direct time' more explicitly and artistically than Mark did:

> In terms of the structure of Mark's narrative in which narrative discourse and direct discourse are continually alternated and where the sayings of Jesus, as we have seen, often serve the function of presenting norms for the reader, this is not without significance. It gives an indication of how the author wished his readers/hearers to interpret the...story.
>
> (Vorster 1985b:20)

> In Mark 4:1-34, the focus is like elsewhere in the gospel when Jesus speaks...on...what he says and why he says it. The function of the speech is first of all, as with all the other sayings of Jesus in Mark, to create a context of evaluation for the reader. Besides the information it offers...it also provides the reader with norms to evaluate the actions of other characters in the story. These include the disciples, those outside, the crowd and others who partake in the development of the story of Jesus....
>
> (Vorster 1985b:15)

To illustrate how 'indirect discourse' and 'direct discourse' function in the Gospel of Matthew, let us make a general reference to the first 'indirect discourse' (Mt 1:1-4:22) and the first 'direct discourse' (Mt 5:3–7:27) in the gospel. We would point out that Matthew 1:1-4:22 functions as the beginning of the 'narrated events' (the sequential course of the plot) in Matthew's story. In this 'indirect discourse' the narrator offers initial information with regard to the rest of the narrated events that are consummated in the *middle* (Mt 4:23–25:46) and come to a close in the *conclusion* (Mt 26:1-28:20). With 'direct discourses' such as the so-called Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:3-7:27), he supplies *norms* according to which this information should be judged.

The first 'indirect discourse' relates that Jesus came into the world of mankind as *God-with-us*, to begin his mission. The theme of the mission and the *dramatis personae* are announced, as well as expectations that the reader can nurture regarding their later behavior and attitudes: Jesus' mission as *God-with-us* serves the purpose of 'forgiveness of sin' for the Jewish multitude and the Gentiles (Mt

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1:21; 2:1-12; 4:12-17). This mission is fulfilled in accordance with the will of the Father in heaven, because in the Moses typology (Mt 2:13-23) Jesus is introduced as the obedient Son of God (Mt 3:13-4:11) who came 'to fulfill all righteousness' (Mt 3:15). He is opposed by Satan (Mt 4:1-11) and the Jewish leaders who seek his death (Mt 2:1-18). He is supported by the disciples who are called to be 'fishers of men' (Mt 4:18-22). The Jesus-commission is a continuation of that of the Old Testament prophets (Mt 1:1-17; see section 7.1) and it is in turn continued by that of the disciples (Mt 4:18-22).

The Sermon on the Mount serves the purpose of interpreting the preceding 'indirect discourse' and preparing the following one (Mt 8:1-9:35). Matthew 4:23-5:2 provides the setting for the Sermon on the Mount: The outline in Matthew 4:23 (cf Mt 9:35) depicts the backdrop against which the discourse is acted out, namely Jesus' mission to the Jewish multitude. This mission comprises the proclaiming of the gospel of the kingdom, instruction concerning the Father's will and the healing of the sick; Jesus adopts a sitting position, as a 'teacher' would, to teach the will of the Father; the disciples encircle him and form the addressees of the teaching; seated in a wider circle about them is the Jewish multitude, to whom the discourse essentially applies (Mt 5:2). The 'ethics' being taught to the disciples relate mainly to their behavior with regard to the Jewish multitude. The relationship between the disciples and the Jewish multitude must reflect in behavior and a disposition that differs from that of the Jewish leaders. The actual 'direct discourse' only begins in Matthew 5:3. Jeremias (1972:23) rightly points out that Matthew 5:20 – in a certain sense – introduces the theme of the Sermon on the Mount: 'For I tell you that unless your righteousness surpasses that of the Pharisees and the teachers of the law, you will certainly not enter the kingdom of heaven.' The command for surpassing righteousness implies that the disciples, like Jesus as *God-with-us*, must be radically obedient to the will of the Father in heaven, by *doing* it (cf Mt 5:16; 6:10; 7:21). This command is concretely summarized in the concluding words of the Sermon on the Mount, namely the so-called 'golden rule' (Mt 7:12): 'In everything, do to others what you would have them do to you, for this sums up the Law and the Prophets.' This logion concretizes in the subsequent 'indirect discourse', the Jesus-commission (Mt 8:1-9:35). The Jesus-commission functions in its turn as a 'transparency' for the next 'direct discourse', the 'disciple-commission' (Mt 9:36-11:1). S Brown (1980:90) put it as follows:

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> Jesus instructs the Matthean community through the transparency of the twelve missionary disciples. There is a striking tension between the temporal open-endedness of the community's mission, which is limited only by the coming of the Son of man, and its ethnic restriction to 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel.
>
> (S Brown 1980:90)

8.3 THE 'TIME' AND 'PLACE' ON THE SEQUENTIAL LEVEL OF THE JESUS-COMMISSION AND THAT ON THE SEQUENTIAL LEVEL OF THE DISCIPLE-COMMISSION

8.3.1 Introduction

Marxsen (1959:33-76), in the footsteps of Lohmeyer's work *Galiläa und Jerusalem* (1936), has shown that the place names Galilee and Jerusalem in the Gospel of Mark do not merely have *geographic* functions, but rather *theological*. According to Lohmeyer (1942:106-107) the first Christians believed that Galilee was the chosen place for the eschatological fulfillment. As such, Galilee is opposed to Jerusalem, the place of the cult.

On the basis of, inter alia, Mark 14:28 and Mark 16:7 where the place name of Galilee is associated with the parousia of Jesus, Marxsen considers that Mark wrote his gospel on the one hand from the viewpoint of a strong expectation of a nearby parousia, and on the other from the viewpoint that the parousia was expected in Galilee. To Marxsen the place name of Galilee thus reflects something of the *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae* of the Marcan community, namely the strong expectation of the parousia. He speaks of the congregation in Galilee waiting for and looking forward to the parousia (Marxsen 1959:71). Vorster (1980a:137), however, shows that Marxsen's thesis – that Mark (unlike Luke) did not experience the failure of the parousia to arrive as a theological problem – cannot be accepted without question. In the light of such passages as Mark 13 it seems, rather, that Mark himself began to take the problem of the parousia's failure to arrive into account. The possibility that Mark also began to take into account the problem of the delay of the parousia does not diminish the fact that the place name of Galilee in the story of Mark, apart from providing a mere 'stage', has the function of being a 'theological place'. Vorster (1980a:137) states that it is clear that Galilee plays an important role in Mark, and it is probable that Galilee is over stressed in order to contrast it with Jerusalem, the seat of Judaic religion and the place where Jesus died.

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Petersen (1978b) re-examined this delay of the parousia in the Gospel of Mark in the light of an investigation into so-called 'plotted time'. He confirmed the connection between the function of the place name Galilee in Mark and the parousia, and convincingly pointed out the theological implications of this correlation for the temporal and topographic details in Mark. He made the following concluding remarks and on closer inspection it would appear that Matthew used these temporal and topographic details and developed them artistically:

> We have seen that Mark's narrative world is temporally bounded on the one hand by an indeterminate past and on the other by a future moment that becomes increasingly determinate in the course of the narrative's plotting. The future moment – the parousia of the Son of Man – is in every sense the end of Mark's narrative world, because it signals the termination of that world's previous social order and the goal toward which that world's history was directed...the plot of the narrative is oriented to the suspense attending the disciples' ignorance of Jesus' identity and therefore of his role in the end-time process; this plot is resolved not in the narrative itself but outside of it in connection with a projected post-resurrection meeting between Jesus and his disciples in Galilee.
>
> (Petersen 1978a:78f)

In other words, what Petersen is indicating is that the plot of the Gospel of Mark is continued after the apparent end of the gospel, and is in fact only resolved in its non-explicitly stated continuation. Petersen recognized that Marxsen was on the one hand correct in saying that the post-paschal events are not explicitly developed in the Gospel of Mark, but that this gospel contents itself with references to Galilee (cf Marxsen 1959:62). On the other hand, Marxsen (1959:63) was incorrect in thinking that Mark did not after all in some way make tendentious use of the post-paschal events in the plot of his gospel.

Marxsen (1959:62-64), in his comparative study of Matthew and Mark, recognized three things which, by investigating the narrative point of view on the *temporal* and *topographic* levels of the Gospel of Matthew, can be shown to be of particular importance in the above connection. Marxsen's insights relate to the correlation between the commission of the *earthly* Jesus and the presence of the *risen* Jesus in the (post-paschal) disciple-commission until the coming of the parousia; the theological functionality of the place-name *Galilee*, as a 'sphere of

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interest' on both of these sequential levels, and the functionality of the *Old Testament* on both of these sequential levels. In the subsections of our study that follow we will give attention to these three matters individually.

8.3.2 The first sequence and the second sequence

In his comparison of Mark and Matthew with regard to the parousia, Marxsen (1959:63f) noted the following difference: If Mark lived in a time where the parousia was expected very soon, then the time for Matthew has now begun. Matthew brings an interim solution, so to speak, when he slips in the mission. The time up to the parousia Matthew, therefore, fills responsibly: πάντα τά ἔθνη should be made into disciples. In Matthew 28:16-20 the 'life of Jesus' is brought to and end. Jesus' time is followed by that of the mission. It lasts at least from Easter until Matthew's time. It can also last longer - actually it lasts to this day. The ending of Matthew is therefore practically timeless, since he lets a new era start, which lasts until the end of the world.

Although Marxsen demonstrated the most important insight that there were two temporal phases built into in the Gospel of Matthew, strictly speaking there are three. These three phases are the sequence of the pre-paschal events, the sequence of the post-paschal events up to the parousia and the sequence in the Gospel of Matthew known as ἡ ζωή (= 'the Life' – cf Mt 7:14; 18:8, 9; 19:17) or ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος (= 'the Eternal Life' – cf Mt 25:46). Two 'places' are mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew as the 'stage' for the third sequence, namely ἡ βασιλεία (Mt 25:34), βασιλεία τοῦ πατρός (Mt 26:28), ὁ γάμος (Mt 25:10), ἡ χαρά τοῦ κυρίου (Mt 25:23) and τὸ πῦρ ἀσβέτον (Mt 3:12), ἡ ἀπώλεια (Mt 7:13), ἡ γέεννα (Mt 10:28), ἡ γέεννα τοῦ πυρός (Mt 5:22; 18:9), ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων (Mt 24:51), τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐχώτερον (Mt 25:30), τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον (Mt 18:8; 25:41), ἡ κόλασις (Mt 25:46). However, this third sequence is only mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew (mainly in parables) and not developed.

For this reason the poetics of the Gospel of Matthew displays only two basic sequential and topographic levels, namely the *sequence of the pre-paschal events and* the *sequence of the post-paschal events*. Temporal phrases such as ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ (cf Mt 11:25; 12:1; 14:1), ἐν τῇ ὥρα ἐκείνῃ (cf Mt 8:13; 10:19; 18:1; 26:55), ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης (cf Mt 9:22; 15:28; 17:18), ἐν τῃ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη (cf Mt 3:1; 7:22; 13:1; 22:23), ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας (cf Mt 22:46), τότε (cf Mt 2:16; 3:13; 4:1), and participles depicting 'time' and circumstance (cf Mt 2:1, 13, 19; 4:12) mark the 'indirect time' that ends with Jesus' resurrection from the dead and his appearance to and instruction of the disciples. Temporal phrases, such as τέλος (cf

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Mt 10:22; 24:6, 13-14), ἡ συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος (cf Mt 13:39-40, 49; 24:3; 28:20), ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις (cf Mt 24:19, 22, 29) and τότε (cf Mt 7:23), again mark the *end* of the time of the ἐκκλησία. This is the 'period' that begins with the parousia or at someone's death (cf Mt 22:23-33).

There is a parallel relationship, or analogy, between the 'events' of the first sequence and those of the second. The analogy in short lies in the fact that the 'drama', which is played out around the reciprocal relationship between the 'earthly' Jesus Emmanuel and the Jewish crowd, is continued in the relationship between the 'disciples' (whoever they would be in the context of the historical *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae* – the 'church leadership'? [cf e g Bornkamm 1961; Hummel 1966; Kähler 1976]) and the 'underprivileged' in the community. What this amounts to is that the first level of narration has the second level of narration in view.

This analogy between the two temporal levels can be compared with that which is also present in 'parables', since a gospel as a whole does not essentially differ from that which we normally call 'parables'. From the perspective of Fuchs's 'new hermeneutics', Linnemann (1975:27-31) showed that the communication and ability of a 'parable' to persuade depends on the literary-aesthetic success with which the narrator fuses his horizon with that of his conversational partner (the so-called *Sprachereigniss* that brings about an *Einverständniss* – cf Linnemann 1975:38-41). The persuasive power is thus not dependent on the historical accuracy of the material in the narrative (that is, the 'real world'). It is dependent on the narrator's success in integrating the 'world' of the reader with the 'world' of the narrative in such a literary manner that the analogy thus created between the narrator and the reader would draw the reader into the 'narrated world' without the former making his covert manipulative position as narrator too obvious, and thus lose the position. Research into parables since Jülicher (cf i a Kissinger 1979:71-77, 113-230) has shown us that the *tertium comparationis* in a parable is the point about which the analogy is built. The 'persuasive power' of the parable as narrative lies hidden within this 'point of analogy'.

There is no essential difference between what we called the narrative point of view on the *ideological* level, and what is known as the 'reality part' (*Sachehälfte*) in parable research (cf Linnemann 1975:31-38). The 'reality part' is connected to the 'picture part' (*Bildhälfte*) by means of the *tertium comparationis*. The description and analysis of the phraseological, psychological, temporal and topographical levels in a narrative are thus essentially the same as the description and analysis of the so-called 'picture part'. The reader's association is with the picture (*Bild*) and he is thus confronted with the *Sache*, the *ideology*, of the narrator (the 'reality part') as a result of the 'point of analogy'. In this regard Linnemann (1975:35) states that the

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choice of material and the point of analogy depend in the first place on the narrator. The judgment of the listener however is also reflected in the narrative. The narrator orders his material in such a manner that the reader can recognize the point the narrator wants to stress. However, the judgment of the narrator always gains the upper hand. This relationship between the 'narrator' and 'reader'/'hearer' manifests itself in the Gospel of Matthew in the analogy that the narrator has created between the two sequences in his narrative.

Seen thus, the analogy between the first sequence and the second sequence in the Gospel of Matthew must be defined from the *ideological/theological perspective* of the narrator. And it is certainly true that the *analogy* between the first sequence and the second in the Gospel of Matthew is based on the narrator's image of Jesus as *Emmanuel*. Jesus is *God-with-us* in the first sequence and he is *God-with-us* in the second sequence. Kingsbury (1973:471) describes this analogy as follows: '...the coalescence of the time of Jesus and the "time of the church" in the theology of Mt is, ultimately, christologically motivated and has its roots in the pre-Easter/post-Easter continuity of the person of Jesus: The earthly Messiah is the exalted Lord.' We can expand upon this and formulate the *analogy* between the two sequential levels as follows: God came from his domain, the kingdom of heaven, to the world of mankind. Instead of coming solely through the cult, the temple as 'God's home', which had become degraded as a result of the formalism and particularism of the Jewish leaders (cf i a Mt 21:12-17), he became *God-with-us* (cf Mt 1:23) in Jesus the Christ, who 'is greater than the temple' (Mt 12:6).

This 'period' extended up until his resurrection from the dead when he appeared to the disciples on a mountain in Galilee, and gave them a command (Mt 28:16-20). From that time, in Kingsbury's words (see Kingsbury 1975a:37), he is the 'earthly and cosmic Immanuel'. This 'period' represents the second sequence in the Gospel of Matthew.

Of what does the 'continuity' between the 'earthly' and 'cosmic' Jesus Emmanuel consist? We can also formulate the question as follows: In what respect does the 'Emmanuelship' of the 'earthly' Jesus continue in the life of the post-paschal community?

Jesus' 'Emmanuelship' comprised what we can call the 'course of his life on earth', which had the purpose of forgiving the sins of all people (the Jewish crowd in particular, but the Gentiles as well) (cf Mt 1:21; 3:6; 9:13), because God did not want a single 'stray sheep', 'any of these little ones', to be lost (cf Mt 9:36; 10:6; 18:12-14). This call to 'repent' (cf Mt 4:17) remained valid even after he was rejected in Nazareth (Mt 13:53-58) and in Jerusalem at the time of his crucifixion (Mt 29:39). Any word against Jesus can be forgiven (Mt 12:32); yes – according to

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Matthew 18:22 – seventy times seven times. This act of forgiveness Jesus did by 'fulfilling all righteousness' (Mt 3:15) which was obedience to the 'will of the Father' (cf Mt 4:4; 6:10b; 7:21 with Mt 9:13; 11:26; 18:14; 25:31-46). Theoretically, the 'will of the Father' is the 'law and the prophets' (Mt 5:17) and, practically, this concretizes in the radical command to 'love' without boundaries (Mt 19:19b, 21; 22:37-40). Jesus' fulfillment of the πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη (Mt 3:15) related to his compassion towards the 'little ones', the 'lost sheep of the house of Israel', the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles, all the socio-religious ostracized people. The following remark of Ernst Lohmeyer (1942:109-110), already made in 1942 about the episode of the cleansing of the temple (Mt 21:12-17), focuses on what the Son of God's obedience to the will of his Father amounts to: The 'new' house of God is in the strictest sense a deconstruction and a reconstruction. The true eschatological congregation of God reaches beyond the inner and outer boundaries of the Jewish nation. It reaches out to 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel', as well as to the lost people from the non-Jewish world. 'many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven (Mt 8:11). Thus God's real community emerge from and embrace all nations, all as guests and children in his house.

Jesus' obedience and loyalty to God included compassion to 'destitute' people, when they were, for example, sick (cf Mt 15:21-28, 29-31) or hungry (cf Mt 12:13-21; 15:32-39). It also included a willingness (cf Mt 26:39) to even give his life as 'ransom' (Mt 20:28; 27:50) for many.

On this first sequential level, at the commencement of his work among the Jewish crowd (and the Gentiles), Jesus called disciples and made them ἁλεεῖς ἀνθρώπων (Mt 4:19). It is through the disciples that he showed his love for mankind, and it is through one of the disciples that he was killed on the cross by the Jewish leaders and the Jewish crowd (Mt 26:47). After his resurrection from the dead, the beginning of the second sequence, the Jewish leaders remained his opponents (Mt 28:11-15) and the disciples' worldly mission to 'all the people' (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) began.

It has so far become apparent, by implication, that the analogy between Jesus' 'Emmanuelship' on the first and second sequential levels consists in the continuity between the course of Jesus' life and the disciples' worldly mission, respectively. Just as the course of Jesus' life illustrates the way in which one is obedient to the will of the Father – as it is in the 'kingdom of heaven' – the worldly mission of the disciples continues, in the context of the ἐκκλησία, the manifestation of *God-with-us*. In the first sequence the disciples, John the Baptist and Jesus all announced the arrival of the kingdom of heaven. Jesus as Emmanuel embodied in

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himself what had been announced. This can be labelled the *indicative*. The twelve disciples were to help him in the task and continue the function after the resurrection. This can be labelled the *imperative*.

The disciples' worldly mission during the second sequence consists, according to Matthew 28:19-20a of 'making disciples of all nations' (= πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη). These events are qualified by two participial clauses. (The participle πορευθέντες does not function as an independent imperative, but rather as an auxiliary verb which should be read together with the imperative μαθητεύσατε – cf Schlatter 1963:23.) This participle implies that the disciples should go, like Jesus as Emmanuel went and made disciples. There is the *baptizing* (βαπτίζοντες) of all nations to make them part of God's domain (cf Wilckens 1980:11). This way they could begin to follow the 'path of righteousness', just as the baptism of Jesus as Emmanuel introduced his way of πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη. It is therefore also an *instruction* (διδάσκοντες) to the baptized to do everything that Jesus as Emmanuel did himself, and taught. Both 'disciples' and 'the baptized' are subjected to the radical command of absolute obedience to the will of the Father, as is the case in the βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, and as illustrated by Jesus Emmanuel as the incarnate βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν on the first sequential level. The positional function of Matthew 28:16-20 can thus, in the light of the foregoing argument, be described as that of a *transparency*. 'Transparency' is, to our mind, more correct than 'synopsis' by which Hubbard (1974:135), inter alia, refers to the function of Matthew 28:16-20.

8.3.3 The first topographic level and the second topographic level

The topographic details in Matthew's gospel are inextricably associated with the facts mentioned in the previous section. Marxsen observed that Matthew took over from Mark the global space against which the Gospel of Mark was played out, namely *Galilee against Jerusalem* (cf Lightfoot 1938; Kelber 1974; Malbon 1982; Van Iersel 1982; Van Eck 1988), but not without theologically tendentious variation. Although the function of topography as mere 'stage-room' remained the same in the Gospel of Matthew as in the Gospel of Mark, it changed as 'interest space'. (For an explanation of the terminology, see Vandermoere 1976:32-33; Van Eck 1990:57-61.) Marxsen (1952:62) formulates this 'change', according to the insights of his time by stating that, from the viewpoint of Mark, because the decisive actions of Jesus takes place in Galilee, Galilee becomes the place where the believing community is waiting in the light of the nearby parousia. In Matthew it is exactly the opposite. Because Jesus worked in Galilee, *Galilee of the Gentiles* is 'ennobled'.

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It is against this background that the 'theological place' (*teologische Ort*) in which the first sequence is played out in the Gospel of Matthew, should be seen as *analogous* to the 'theological place' of the second sequence. In the Gospel of Matthew, Galilee, set against Jerusalem, functions just as the protagonist Jesus, set against the Jewish leaders on the level of the first sequence, and as the disciples (the 'church leaders'?), set against the Jewish leaders on the level of the second sequence.

Apart from the fatal journey to Jerusalem (cf Mt 19:1), Galilee was the place in which Jesus' activities took place (cf Mt 4:12, 18, 23) – particularly in the vicinity of Capernaum (cf Mt 8-9; 11:23; 17:24). In the Gospel of Matthew Capernaum is called 'his own town' (Mt 9:1), where he 'lived' (Mt 4:13) and perhaps had a 'house' (Mt 9:10, 28; 12:46; 13:1; 13:36; 17:25). *From Galilee* the news about Jesus spread all over Syria (Mt 4:24) and it was *to Galilee* that the Jewish crowd came from the Decapolis, Jerusalem, Judea and the region across the Jordan, to be with Jesus (Mt 4:25). When Jesus left Galilee, it was only for a short period (cf, e g, Mt 3:13-4:13; 8:23-9:1; 16:13-20). On one occasion, when Jesus went to the area of Tyre and Sidon, it seemed that he had only just crossed the border, because the narrator says that the Canaanite woman *from* that vicinity came *to* him (Mt 15:21-28).

Galilee is therefore on the one hand the place where the 'earthly' Jesus came as *Emmanuel* to offer the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles forgiveness for sin. This act of forgiving sin concretized in preaching, teaching and healing. The nature of Jesus' actions was in sharp contrast to that of the Jewish leaders. In Matthew 4:23, for example, the expression ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν, and the personal pronoun αὐτῶν, in particular, expresses the distance and opposition between Jesus and the Jewish leaders (cf Walker 1967:35). Galilee was also the place where the 'risen' Jesus commanded his disciples to begin their mission among all the people, the Gentiles and the Jewish crowd (Mt 28:16-20).

On the other hand, Galilee, as represented by the Galilean towns of Nazareth (Mt 13:53-58), Capernaum, Gorazin and Bethsaida (Mt 11:20-24), rejected Jesus and thus became one with Jerusalem, the 'theological place' of the antagonist, the Jewish leaders. Wolfgang Trilling (1964:132) formulates this phenomenon with great insight by stating that for Matthew Capernaum is the paradigm of the blessed, but an unrepentant and therefore rejected city. In this sense it serves as the Galilean counterpart of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is the dwelling place of the Jewish leaders (cf Mt 2:4; 21:23; 26:3, 47; 27:1). Jerusalem is the 'place where Jesus must die' (Mt 16:21). When the narrator refers to 'Jerusalem', he refers to those who 'kill the prophets' (Mt 23:37). And this is ironic, because in ancient Zionist theology Jerusalem and the temple

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(inseparably linked to Jerusalem) are the 'place' where God is Emmanuel for his people (cf i a Is 7:14; 8:6). In the intellectual climate of the pre-exilic prophets and Deuteronomistic theology Jerusalem was branded as the symbol of formalism, and in Matthew's view, also the symbol of particularism. In short, *Jerusalem and the temple* were an anomaly, because as *Moses' seat* (Mt 23:2) – the *center of the Torah* – it was in reality a σκάνδαλον.

In Matthew 13:41, the expression τὸ σκάνδαλον is identified with someone who commits ἀνομία and must therefore be removed from the βασιλεία. In Matthew 21:43, in a parable with a frame of reference that does not differ much from that of the parable in Matthew 13:24-30, 36-43, it is said that the βασιλεία will be given to a ἔθνει ποιοῦντι τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς. Lohmeyer (1942:107) sees here a reference to the logion regarding the 'breaking down' and the 'building up' of the temple as well as the motivation for Jesus' leaving Galilee and going to Jerusalem. Jesus' work would have been incomplete had he not *profaned* the Jerusalem cult as `the holy midst of nation and country', *that* is, *sanctified* it 'for all nations'. Jesus Emmanuel replaces in his person as such the Jerusalem cult and puts a dynamic cult in its place – purified from formalism and particularism.

It is ironic that it was the Jewish leaders who put Jesus to death, and that it was precisely as a result of his death that the Jerusalem cult was indirectly set aside by the Jewish leaders. According to Lohmeyer (1942:107) the Jewish temple and priesthood, to whom the eschatological downfall is announced, and who even under the cross jeered: 'You, who said you can destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days, save yourself', mustered all outward resistance, took Jesus prisoner and handed him over to be crucified. But Jesus' death also destroyed the Jewish cult, since the veil of the temple teared, and the Holy of holies was profaned.

The topographic opposition between Galilee and Jerusalem – which in the first place serves as the 'place' within which the opposition between the protagonist and the antagonist on the level of the first sequence is played out – therefore serves in the second place as the essential analogy for the opposition that the ἐκκλησία, on the level of the second sequence, experience from the side of the post-paschal Jewish leaders. Ἐκκλησία (a word used only by Matthew in the gospels – see Mt 16:18; 18:17) is the 'place' where the disciples (the 'church leaders'?) and the socio-religious ostracized people among the Jewish community come together (συμφωνήσωσιν – Mt 18:19) as ἀδελφοί and where the 'risen' Jesus as *God-with-us* is conditionally ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.

Seyne Freyne, however, makes no distinction between the different roles that the Jewish leaders and the Jewish crowd fulfill in the Gospel of Matthew. He therefore does not see the function of 'Galilee of the Gentiles' as 'interest space'.

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He thus formulates his view about Galilee and Jerusalem in the Gospel of Matthew in a somewhat inadequate way:

> Galilee as the place of Jesus' ministry, which had to be vindicated by an appeal to Scripture, has receded somewhat from the Evangelist's perspective and instead the 'lost sheep of the house of Israel' or all the 'cities of Israel' are theological expressions for all the Jewish territory where the mission of Jesus and subsequently that of the church was conducted. The rejection of this mission by Israel is consciously linked to the judgment of God on Jerusalem whose destruction is seen as the punishment of an unfaithful people and its city (23:29-39).
>
> (Freyne 1980:363)

Against the background of the results of our own study, Galilee, as the 'place of the Gentiles', the 'place' where Jesus encountered the destitute Jewish crowd and Gentiles, functions as the essential analogy with regard to the second sequence, in that the disciples, in their execution of the mission to the Gentiles, amid the opposition, run the danger of neglecting the 'underprivileged'. The Jewish crowd (= the 'lost sheep of the house of Israel') may not be spurned during the post-paschal universal mission; even if they have declared that they and their children are responsible for the blood of Jesus (cf Mt 27:25). Just as the Jewish multitude's 'straying' during the first sequence is the direct result of the sort of 'leadership' that they experience from the Jewish leaders as 'blind leaders', they can also stray during the second sequence, if the disciples (the 'church leaders'?) show the same attitude as the Jewish leaders. According to Matthew 18:1-35 such a 'straying' would take place if the disciples did not recognize that in God's kingdom nobody is 'greater' than another, but that all were 'brothers', forgiving one another's sins.

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Chapter 9

Narrative point of view and the 'temporal' function of the Old Testament in Matthew's gospel

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Matthew's gospel has to be read as a narration with an ongoing plot and an open end. The plot commences with a reference to the Old Testament and ends with an allusion to the consummation of time at the parousia. And yet, the Old Testament is not present in Matthew as a separate time sequence. The plot consists of two explicit time sequences, namely the 'time' of the pre-paschal Jesus commission and the 'time' of the post-paschal disciples' commission. To convey his point of view to his readers, the narrator creates a correlative analogy between these two sequences. The thesis of this chapter is that the Old Testament functions as the point of analogy and continuity between the two commissions. This thesis is debated against the purport of the various opinions of Matthean scholars concerning the 'temporal' function of the Old Testament.

Willi Marxsen (1959:62ff), in his well-known work on the Gospel of Mark, pointed out the most important characteristics of the other two Synoptic gospels as well. In this way he noticed – as far as Matthew was concerned – that there was a correlation between the *earthly* Jesus' commission and the *risen* Jesus' presence in the (post-paschal) commission of the disciples until the coming of the parousia. An investigation of the narrative point of view on the temporal level of Matthew's gospel has shown this insight to be of particular importance.

The Matthean gospel is a narrative written from a narrator's point of view after the event. This after-the-event point of view enabled the narrator to give the plot of his story, from the perspective of reader involvement, an effective open end. Marxsen (1959:63f) makes the following reference to the open-endedness of the

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Gospel of Matthew: Where Mark wrote against the background of an anticipation of Jesus' early return, Matthew began to allow for a possible delay in his return. He offered an interim solution. He enlarged upon the commission theme, which was also present in Mark (cf Mark 13:10), to make it an independent epoch with a typical Matthean function, which was to make disciples of all nations/people (cf Mt 28:16-20). This period of the disciples' commission follows the 'time' of Jesus. It extends from Jesus' resurrection from the dead to the 'time' of Matthew himself. It goes even further. It actually extends into our time. The end of the Matthean gospel is thus open since, after the conclusion of the epoch of Jesus, another began which continues up to the end of time.

Seen narratologically, the above insight amounts to the plot of the Matthean gospel continuing after its apparent conclusion, and only being resolved in its non-explicit continuation. Although the Matthean gospel, as a narration, begins with a reference to the Old Testament (Jesus' genealogical table in Mt 1:1-17), the 'time' from Abraham to David, and from David to the Babylonian exile up to and including Jesus, does not form a separate temporal sequence in the plot of the Matthean gospel. What, then, temporally speaking, is the function of the use of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Matthew? It does not serve as an *antithesis* to its interpretation by Jesus, nor as *promise-fulfillment* where the latter elevates the former; nor as the relationship *law-gospel* (cf Lohmeyer 1942). (Matthew was probably not influenced by Paul's letters, and he naturally did not read Luther's writings.) How should the portrayal of Jesus' *fulfillment* (πληρώσαι) of the 'law and the prophets' be understood in the Gospel of Matthew? The thesis of the study is that the narrator uses the Old Testament functionally to build an *analogy* and a *continuity* between his Jesus-image (the first temporal sequence) and his disciple/church-image (the second temporal sequence). For this reason it is necessary once again to say something about these two sequences and the dominant perspective from which the narrator has told his entire story with a particular communicative purpose.

9.2 THE NARRATIVE POINT OF VIEW REGARDING THE FIRST AND SECOND SEQUENCES

Strictly speaking, as I have already indicated, there are three temporal sequences in the Gospel of Matthew. These are the sequence of the pre-paschal events, the sequence of the post-paschal events up to the parousia and the sequence known as, inter alia, ἡ ζωή in the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 7:14; 18:8; 9; 19:17) or ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος (Mt 25:46), but also, for example, ἡ ἀπώλεια (Mt 7:13), ἡ γέεννα (Mt

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10:28) and ἡ κόλασις αἰώνιος (Mt 25:46). Other 'places' that refer to this 'time' are found in Matthew 3:12, 5:22, 18:8, 9; 24:51, 25:10, 23, 30, 34, 41 and 26:28. This is the 'time' that begins with the parousia or at someone's death (Mt 22:23-33). This third sequence is mentioned in the Matthean gospel alone (chiefly in parables), but not expanded upon. For this reason the poetics of the Gospel of Matthew display only two basic temporal (and topographic) levels, namely the sequence of the pre-paschal events and the sequence of the post-paschal events. The following temporal phrases mark the time that concludes with Jesus' resurrection and his appearance and commission to the disciples: ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ (cf Mt 11:25; 12:1; 14:1), ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ (cf Mt 8:13; 10:19; 18:1; 26:55), ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης (cf Mt 9:22; 15:28; 17:18), ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ (cf Mt 3:1; 7:22; 13:1; 22:23), ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας (Mt 22:46) and τότε (cf Mt 2:16; 3:13; 4:1). The *participia* using 'time' to depict circumstances in Matthew 2:1, 13, 19 and 4:12 can be added to the above temporal phrases. The following phrases again mark the end of the post-paschal disciples' commission, that is, the parousia: τέλος (cf Mt 10:22; 24:6, 13f), ἡ συντελεία τοῦ αἰώνος (Mt 13:39f, 49; 24:3; 28:20) and also ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις (Mt 24:19, 22, 29) and τότε (Mt 7:23).

There is a *continuity* as well as an *analogy* between the Jesus commission (the first sequence) and the disciples' commission (the second sequence). The first temporal level is oriented towards the second temporal level. This relationship can therefore be typified as that of a transparency. Exactly what the continuity and analogy involve should be defined from the ideological perspective of the narrator (with regard to the terminology, see Uspensky 1973; Lanser 1981). Seen thus, the continuity and analogy between the first and the second sequence is based on the narrator's image of Jesus as *Emmanuel*. Jesus is *God-with-us* in the first sequence and he is *God-with-us* in the second. Kingsbury (1973:471) describes this analogy as follows: '[T]he coalescence of the time of Jesus and the "time of the Church" in the theology of Mt is, ultimately, christologically motivated and has its roots in the pre-Easter-post-Easter continuity of the person of Jesus: The earthly Messiah is the exalted Lord.' One can expand upon this so that the continuity and the analogy between the pre-paschal Jesus commission and the post-paschal disciples' commission can be formulated as follows.

The 'ideological' point of view of the narrator in the Gospel of Matthew is closely associated with the expression *God-with-us* which occurs explicitly at the beginning (Mt 1:23), middle (Mt 18:19f) and end (Mt 28:18ff) of this gospel. The Jewish background against which the Matthean gospel should be understood comes to the fore through, inter alia, the above expression, which has been taken from the Old Testament. The gospel relates that God came to the world of mankind from his

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own domain, the kingdom of heaven. Instead of coming through the temple, which had been the dwelling place of God in the Old Testament, but which had degenerated (cf Lohmeyer 1942:109f) as a result of the actions of the Jewish nation (cf Mt 21:12ff), he became God-with-us in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was 'greater than the temple' (Mt 12:6). This Jesus-mission had the purpose of forgiving the sins of all people, especially the Jewish multitude, but also the Gentiles (Mt 1:21; 3:6; 9:13). He did this by executing the will of the Father with total obedience, so as to 'fulfill all righteousness' (Mt 3:15). Theoretically, the 'will of the Father' is the 'law and the prophets' (Mt 5:17), and this turns into practical deeds when there is compliance with the radical demand for love (Mt 19:19b, 21; 22:37-40). It is in this sense that Gibbs (1968) refers to the Matthean Jesus as the 'Torah incarnate'. Jesus' obedience amounts on the one hand to compassion with the Jewish multitude and the Gentiles when they were, for example, sick (cf Mt 15:21-28, 29-31) and hungry (Mt 12:13-21; 15:32-39). On the other hand it contained his willingness (cf Mt 26:39) to give his life as a ransom (Mt 20:28; 27:50) for many, the Jewish multitude and the Gentiles – the new eschatological community (Lohmeyer 1942:60ff). Although he had already called disciples at the commencement of his work among the Jewish multitude and the Gentiles, and had made them 'fishers of men' (Mt 4:19) to stand by him, their mission into the world only began with Jesus' resurrection from the dead. The disciples, and similarly the reader of the Gospel of Matthew as the extension of the disciples, were commissioned to teach (Mt 28:16-20). This commission had as its content the 'law and the prophets' as the will of the Father, as interpreted and embodied by Jesus himself. The continuing presence of the risen Jesus as God-with-us until the end of the world became visible in the obedience of the disciples who, in executing their commission to make disciples of others, also did God's will by analogy with Jesus' action.

9.3 THE 'WENDE DER ZEIT'

In the Gospel of Matthew, Marxsen (1959:64) does not note a correlation between the 'time' of Jesus and the 'time' of the church. Furthermore, he considers that Matthew wrote his gospel on the basis of three temporal phases. He does not consider that these three are, as we indicated above, the 'time' of the pre-paschal Jesus commission, the 'time' of the post-paschal disciples' commission and the 'time' after the parousia. In his view they consist of the 'time of the Old Testament', the 'time of the earthly Jesus' (the first sequence) and the 'time of the evangelist and his community' (the second sequence). What is fundamental to Marxsen's theory is that a distinction has to be drawn in the Gospel of Matthew between the 'time of the Old

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Testament' and the first temporal sequence. His view basically corresponds with that of Conzelmann (1977) in regard to the corpus of Luke-Acts. According to this the 'time of Jesus' forms a central point between the 'time of the Old Testament' and the 'time of the church'.

Or, as Marxsen typifies it with regard to the Gospel of Matthew: The time of Jesus is an epoch between two others. Conzelmann and Marxsen, with their viewpoints, initiated investigation into the so-called *Heilsgeschichte* in the theology of the Lucan and the Matthean gospels.

Research has shown that the so-called *Heilsgeschichte*, that is the parallel between christology and ecclesiology, forms one of the central themes, if not the most central theme, in the theology of the Luke-Acts corpus (cf i a Rengstorf 1969:6; Danker 1976:2). This statement can to some extent also be made applicable to the Gospel of Matthew. Questions that can be disputed in this connection as far as the Gospel of Matthew is concerned, are those regarding the number of sequences that are discernible in the gospel, the articulated spot at which one sequence ends and another begins, and the place and nature of the time of the Old Testament within the *heilsgeschichtliche* framework of the gospel. Although we will be focusing our attention on the latter, the three aspects noted above are closely integrated.

While in the Gospel of Mark there are only two occurrences (Mk 1:15; 14:49) of the prediction that the 'time of Jesus' is a *fulfillment* of a *promise*, which would be the Old Testament, the idea of *fulfillment* plays a much more prominent role in the gospels of Luke and Matthew (cf Combrink 1979:56). Marxsen has shown that, just as Matthew finds a correlation between the 'time of the earthly Jesus' and the 'time of the evangelist and his community', there is a correlation between the 'time of the earthly Jesus' and the 'time of the Old Testament'. He, moreover, pointed out that the latter correlation is expressed in the fulfillment citations in particular: The conclusion of the time of Jesus also refers to a previous beginning, namely that of the old Testament (Marxsen 1959:64). The question is that of the nature of this correlation, or continuity, which is expressed by the fulfillment citations, as well as by other Old Testament citations and Old Testament allusions.

I have shown above that there is an analogical continuity between the pre-paschal Jesus commission and the post-paschal disciples' commission, and that the continuity centers around the presence of Jesus as God-with-us. I will now show that the Old Testament is used particularly effectively by the narrator as something on which to base this continuity. Senior (1976:670) remarks correctly in this connection: 'Perhaps no evangelist performed this "ministry of continuity" with more skill than Matthew. To study his Gospel under the rubric of "continuity" is to discover the core of his message.'

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Vorster (1981a:70), in his investigation into the function of the use of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark, remarked on a difference between the gospels of Mark and Matthew. He pointed out that, although the use of the Old Testament in both gospels functions according to the promise-fulfillment technique, this technique is implemented by the citations in the Gospel of Mark, unlike in Matthew, where the Old Testament is considered fulfilled in Jesus. He states this as follows: '...these quotations form part of the Markan narrative of Jesus and are fulfilled in that narrative. In other words it is not the same as in Matthew's account, where the Old Testament is regarded as fulfilled in Christ. In Mark's gospel these quotations are part of the narrative statement and are fulfilled within the boundaries of that text.' Vorster thus implies that, with this reference to the Gospel of Matthew, the 'time of the earthly Jesus' (the first sequence) and the 'time of the Old Testament' do not coincide, but that, according to Matthew, the latter would be the advance 'promise' of the former, which would then be its fulfillment. This view agrees with that which we find in, for example, Strecker (1966), Walker (1967) and Kingsbury (1973), while authors such as Barth (1961), McConnel (1969), Barr (1976), Senior (1976) and Aguirre (1981) do not hold the same view. Scholars such as Trilling (1969) and Meier (1975) adopt another interesting view in this connection.

I have already made the point that the poetics of the Gospel of Matthew only display two explicit temporal (and topographical) levels, namely that of the pre-paschal and that of the post-paschal. As a consequence the 'time of the Old Testament' does not function as a separate sequence in the Gospel of Matthew, but is a part of the pre-paschal Jesus commission. I thus differ from scholars such as Vorster, Kingsbury, Walker and Strecker with regard to the place and nature of the 'time of the Old Testament' in the Gospel of Matthew. If we were to concur with these scholars in this connection, it would imply that Matthew and Luke, coincidently, broadly recognized the same *heilsgeschichtliche* theology. The Emmanuel perspective of the narrator in the Gospel of Matthew, however, makes a *heilsgeschichtliche* viewpoint, such as that maintained by the above-mentioned scholars, impossible. My own view is rather more that of, for example, Barth, Barr, Senior and Aguirre. With regard to the very important point that features in this context, namely the point at which the first sequence switches over to the second, our view agrees with that of men such as Strecker and Walker, as well as with that of Trilling and Meier. I will now explain my viewpoint against the background of the other opinions mentioned, and at the same time show that none of the scholars mentioned recognized the relationship between Matthew's Emmanuel theology and the different temporal levels in the Gospel. This relationship simultaneously serves

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to explain the place and the nature of the 'time of the Old Testament' in the Gospel of Matthew, as well as the paradox between the so-called particular and the universal purport in the Gospel (see Combrink 1980:63f).

Although both Strecker (1966:86-93) and Walker (1967) were greatly influenced by Conzelmann, they differ from each other in respect to certain finer details. Both, however, agree that three temporal phases can be distinguished in the Gospel of Matthew. Walker (1967:115) refers to these three temporal phases as the 'prehistory of the Messiah', which began with Abraham, the 'history of the calling of Israel' (the particular purport) which consists of the service of John the Baptist as the precursor of the Messiah and Jesus himself as the *Mitte der Mitte*, and finally the 'history of the mission to the Gentiles' (the universal purport) which began with the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus and extends to the day of judgment and thus partly coincides with the time of the evangelist. Strecker (1966:184-188) refers to these three temporal phases as the 'time of the fathers and the prophets', the 'time of Jesus' and the 'time of the *Heidenkirche*'. Like Walker (1967:115), Strecker (1966:187) regards John the Baptist as part of the 'time of Jesus'. After Jesus' death and resurrection this 'time' went over into the 'eschatological time'.

Unlike Strecker and Walker, Kingsbury (1973:471) does not distinguish three temporal phases in the Gospel of Matthew, but two. He formulated his view as follows:

> It has long been recognized that especially the formula quotations in the first Gospel reveal that Mt has theological affinity for the categories of 'prophesy' and 'fulfilment'. These terms aptly characterize Mt's view of the history of salvation. There is the 'time of Israel', which is preparatory to and prophetic of the coming of the Messiah; and there is the 'time of Jesus...', in which the time of Israel finds its fulfillment and which, from the vantage point of Matthew's day, extends from the beginning of the ministry of John and of Jesus (past) through post-Easter times (present) to the coming consummation of the age (future). In Mt's scheme of history, one does not, strictly speaking, find any such epoch as the 'time of the Church', for this 'time' is subsumed under the 'last days' inaugurated by John and Jesus.
>
> (Kingsbury 1973:471)

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Kingsbury differs from Strecker and Walker not with regard to the *beginning* of the 'time of Jesus', but with regard to the *end* of this 'time'. He holds the opinion that there was no change in 'time' at Jesus' death and resurrection, but that the 'eschatological time' coincides fully with the 'time of Jesus'. This 'eschatological time' begins with the commencement of John the Baptist's work. In this connection the three scholars mentioned above consider that Matthew 3:1, as the beginning of John the Baptist's service, indicates the division between the 'time of the Old Testament' and the 'time of Jesus'. According to this view, the elements *promise* (the 'time of the Old Testament') and *fulfillment* (the 'time of Jesus') separate the two temporal levels of time. Kingsbury (1973:470; cf Strecker 1966:87) builds his argument chiefly on the time formula, ἐς ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, which appears in Matthew 3:1 and 24:19, 22, 29. He considers that this time formula has an exclusive 'eschatological' connotation that refers to 'that period of time which precedes the consummation of the age and the return of Jesus Son of Man'. Matthew thus, according to Kingsbury, employs this time formula inclusively and uses it to refer to the 'time of John the Baptist', the 'time of Jesus', and the 'time of the church'. And, because of this inclusiveness, the Gospel of Matthew does not, according to Kingsbury, show a separation between the 'eschatological community' and the 'time of Jesus', but a separation between the 'time of the Old Testament' and the 'time of Jesus'. The latter begins with the 'time of John the Baptist'. '...Matthew, as 11:13 indicates, sees the law and the prophets, the entire OT, as "prophesying", as pointing forward, to the events that mark the eschatological age of salvation' (Kingsbury 1977:83f).

Kingsbury (1973), like Strecker (1966), considers that the three stages in the 'eschatological time', that is to say the 'time of John the Baptist', the 'time of Jesus' and the 'time of the church', should not be seen as a progressive increase in eschatological intensity. Although various 'historical' stages are distinguishable in the 'eschatological time', these stages, according to Kingsbury and Strecker, do not represent qualitative differentiation, but rather make a qualitative whole. Strecker, unlike Kingsbury, draws a type of distinction between the 'time of Jesus' and the 'time of the church'. These two 'times' function, according to him, alongside one other in the Gospel of Matthew. He formulates this mutual impact of the two 'times' on each other by saying that the eschatological element is historicized. In other words, eschatology is consequently organized in time, as, vice versa, the story of the Jesus of history can not be understood in secular-historical categories any more, but attains an eschatological quality (Strecker 1966:185).

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As far as both the *beginning* and *end* of the 'time of Jesus' is concerned, I do not feel that Kingsbury is convincing. With regard to the end of the Jesus commission I have already pointed out that there is an analogy in the Gospel of Matthew between the pre-paschal Jesus commission and, in pursuance of this, the post-paschal disciples' commission ('the time of the eschatological community' – in Lohmeyer's terminology). Nevertheless these two sequences do not function as exclusive compartments. They are mutually integrated by means of thematic parallels (cf Mt 4:23; 9:35 with 10:6ff), cross-references (cf Mt 16:19 with 18:18; 23:13), prospection (cf Mt 5:12 with 23:34ff) and retrospection (cf Mt 14:13-21; 15:32-39 with 16:9ff). This mutual integration of the pre-paschal Jesus commission and the post-paschal disciples' commission relates to the comment above by Strecker, that the 'historical element' in the Gospel of Matthew has gained an eschatological quality and the 'eschatological element' has again been historicized. It is exactly what I want to express by means of the transparency concept. Aguirre (1981:152) formulates it as follows:

> Matthew contains a level of narration, grounded in tradition and embodying an historical perspective on the past – though seen through faith and hence idealized. But there is also a second level that makes this past narrative relevant to the present needs of Matthew's community. Though neither level of discourse is ever totally absent, in some contexts one level may take precedence over the other, and the Gospel will slip imperceptibly from one to the other.
>
> (Aguirre 1981:152)

Kingsbury's use of the time formula ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις in Matthew 3:1; 24:19, 22, 29, to support his point of view, is not valid here either. Similarly, this is the main reason that I differ from Kingsbury regarding the beginning of the Jesus commission. Since I do not draw a distinction between the singular form of the time formula ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ and the plural form ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, I have pointed out that this time formula marks both the first sequence (Mt 3:1; 7:22; 13:1; 22:23) and the end of the second sequence (Mt 24:19, 22, 29). The time formula concerned has in other words an eschatological connotation in the so-called eschatological discourse (chapters 23-25), but not in Matthew 3:1. Kingsbury therefore integrates the pre-paschal Jesus commission with the post-paschal disciples' commission, with the result that the continuity and analogy between them are thereby lost.

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It is therefore important to realize that the shift between these two sequences takes place at Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection. Trilling (1969a, 1969b), in two separate articles, has convincingly shown that the *Wende der Zeit* takes place at this point in the Gospel of Matthew (cf Meier 1975:207). He writes in the first article that Matthew 27:51ff is highly remarkable, since the death of Jesus not only causes the veil to tear - which signifies the end of the old cultic order - but also causes an earthquake and the resurrection of the death. These are escahotological signs: The earthquake belongs to the apocalyptic elements; it marks the beginning of the end and the rearrangement of the world (Trilling 1969a:195). The same point of view is expressed in the second article when he states that, in regard to Matthew 27:51f, these verses can only be seen as an announcement, through the death of Jesus, of the beginning of the new aeon, a change that encloses the whole cosmos. It is a dramatic anticipation of Jesus' resurrection in the story of Jesus' death. It announces the destruction of the old and the dawning of the new time (Trilling 1969b:221f).

Because of difference with Kingsbury in this important matter regarding the *Wende der Zeit* in the Gospel of Matthew, I consider that he mistakenly wished to separate the 'time of the Old Testament' from the time of the *earthly* Jesus as Emmanuel (the first sequence) and, as far as I are concerned, also from the time of the *risen* Jesus as Emmanuel (the second sequence).

Meier (1975:207; 1976:30-35) also considers that the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus introduces the *Wende der Zeit*. He, however, holds the view that there is a radical distinction between the 'old time' and the 'new time'. He equates the 'old time' with the 'time of the Old Testament' and thus the demand for obedience to the Mosaic law and the time of Jewish particularism. He equates the 'new time' with the period of the universal purport, which began with the death and resurrection of Jesus and was foreshadowed during the 'old time' by texts such as Matthew 8:5-13 and 15:21-28. Meier builds his argument chiefly on the baptismal command to the disciples with regard to the πάντα τὰ ἔθνη (Mt 28:19). According to him baptism replaces circumcision, which symbolized the 'old time'. Just as the particular purport went over into the particular, the demand for obedience to the Mosaic law, according to Meier, falls away with Jesus death and resurrection. Variations on this view are encountered in Trilling (1964:211) and Hammerton-Kelly (1972).

What these scholars did not take into account, however, is that the use of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Matthew can be seen as a narrative technique which principally has the same function as narrator's commentary. Narrator's commentary serves the reader as an important directive to read the narrative as the

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narrator intends it to be read. The introductory formula of the fulfilment citations can, seen thus, be regarded as the introduction to the narrator's commentary. By means of Scriptural proof and fulfilment citation the Old Testament functions in the Gospel of Matthew as the narrator's commentary, on which he bases the continuity and analogy between the pre-paschal Jesus commission and the post-paschal disciples' commission. This continuity and analogy lies in the presence of Jesus as God-with-us on both temporal levels. And Jesus' Emmanuel nature is manifested in his absolute obedience to the will of the Father (the 'law and the prophets'). Barr (1976:357f) has therefore rightly remarked that the relationship between *prophesy* (the 'time of the Old Testament') and *fulfilment* (the 'time of Jesus' and the 'time of the church') is not one of *antithesis*, but one of *completion*.

Just like Barr, Senior (1976:672f) also considers that Matthew uses the Old Testament to build a continuity and analogy between his Jesus-image (first sequence) and his disciple/church-image (second sequence). One finds the same conviction in Aguirre (1981). Although these scholars do not adopt an approach that explicitly takes into account the manifestation of the narrative point of view on the temporal level, the result of our investigation (with regard to the place and nature of the 'time of the Old Testament') largely agrees with their views on the levels of the pre-paschal Jesus commission and the post-paschal disciples' commission. I will now give a short explanation of this result.

9.4 THE FUNCTION OF THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Gospel of Matthew is circumscribed by Jesus' genealogical register (Mt 1:2-17) and the commission to the disciples (Mt 28:16-20). The genealogical register relates Jesus' origin and authoritative service with the Old Testament message (Abraham-David). The commission to the disciples relates the service of the ἐκκλησία with that of Jesus. In effect, the pre-paschal Jesus commission and the post-paschal disciples' commission are both linked to the Old Testament message (the 'law and the prophets'). In traditional theologoumena terms this means that the theology of the Gospel of Matthew is neither ecclesiological (cf e g Strecker 1966) nor christological (cf e g Kingsbury 1975), but that ecclesiology and christology, as a result of the God-with-us theology of the Gospel of Matthew, are a two-part unit (cf e g Frankemölle 1974:230, 239, 243). On the levels of both the pre-paschal Jesus commission and the post-paschal disciples' commission the Old Testament message (the 'law and the prophets') functions as the directive medium. This statement can be debated as follows.

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Matthew 5:17-20 functions in the gospel as the key to the lasting validity of the Old Testament message. Jesus did not come to make the Old Testament invalid and replace it, but to illustrate its true meaning in his actions and disposition, and thus 'fulfill' it. This disposition contrasts, according to Matthew, sharply with that of the Jewish leaders. It is thus in obedience to the will of the Father that Jesus turns to the 'sinners' among the Jewish nation (Mt 9:13) – an obedience stripped of formalism (cf e g the question of keeping the Sabbath – Matthew 12:1-8; keeping the law – Matthew 15:1-6; temple service – Matthew 17:24-27; 21:12-17). His service is the embodiment of the core of the demand of the 'law and the prophets' (cf Mt 22:34-40). He is the perfect example of the absolutely obedient 'Son of God'. As far as discipleship is concerned, the following remark by Senior is important: 'To be a disciple of this Master is not to abandon one's heritage, but to bring that heritage to its fullest potential.' The success of the disciples' executing their call to be Jesus' helpers, and the criterion that will count during the parousia, are determined by obedience to God's will – the 'law and the prophets'. It is however not obedience to the 'law and the prophets' as such that will separate the sheep from the goats (Mt 25:38). The authority of the Old Testament is relevant 'only to the degree that they [the 'law and the prophets'] are embodied in the commands of Jesus' (McConnell 1969:97; cf Mt 7:28f; 22:16).

Nevertheless, scholars such as McConnell (1969:90) and Kingsbury (1977:82ff) point out the paradox between Matthew 5:17-20 and Matthew 5:21-48 (the so-called 'antithesis'). I have already mentioned that Matthew 5:17-20 explicitly states that Matthew considered that it was not Jesus' intention to reduce the validity of the Old Testament (cf Mt 24:35). It, however, seems that this very same positive approach regarding to the Old Testament can at least not be made applicable to the third 'antithesis' – the prohibition on divorce (Mt 5:31f; cf Mt 19:3-12; see i a Sigal 1979:104-146), the fourth 'antithesis' – the prohibition on oaths (Mt 5:33-37) – and the fifth 'antithesis' – the nullifying of the doctrine of retribution (Mt 5:38-42). Strecker (1978:69f) for example, on the basis of a traditional *redaktiongeschichtliche* investigation, formulates his findings by stating that it is important to note that, in the distinction between 'real' (pre-Matthean) and 'false' (redactional) antitheses, the alternatives 'tightening the Torah' or 'annulment of the Torah' do not constitute a sufficient criterium. In antitheses 1 and 2 (verse 21ff and 28ff) the wording of the Old Testament is radicalized. However, in antithesis 4 (v 33f) the Old Testament oath is not only outdone, but totally abolished. Concerning the redactional antithesis, only antithesis 3 (v 31f) annuls the Old Testament law. Antithesis 5 (v 38ff), however, specifically criticizes the Old Testament *ius taliones*. The Matthean Jesus does not mention the will of God only with regard to the Jewish tradition, but also in critical analysis of the Mosaic Torah, in order to 'fulfill' its true sense.

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Other examples of the use of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Matthew, like the picking and eating of the ears of corn on the Sabbath (Mt 12:1-8; see Sigal 1979:147-168), the healing of the man with the shrivelled hand (Mt 12:9-14; see i a Sigal 1979:168-176) and the interpretation of the regulations regarding what is clean and what unclean (Mt 15:1-20), can in a certain sense in this context be added to the third, fourth and fifth antitheses.

The resolution of the paradox should be sought in the manner in which Matthew took over traditions. Boers (1980:229) formulates Matthew's approach as follows: '...Matthew is a master of his material, which is especially evident in the fact that he produced a new, coherent whole without suppressing all the meanings that were already present in his material....'

Matthew uses the 'law and the prophets', as the will of the Father in heaven, to give authority to his ideological perspective. In as much as Jesus as God-with-us is the embodiment of the will of the Father, his mission (pre-paschal and post-paschal) is cloaked with authority (see i a Mt 28:18). This ἐξουσία manifests in the Moses-like teaching and the healing miracles of the Son of David. The *teaching* and the *healings* have as their content the *proclamation* of the gospel of the Βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν (cf Van Aarde 1980b:7-10, 24). What is therefore remarkable is the fact that it is the fulfilment citations, in particular, which emphasize these moments of teaching and healing as the realization of the 'law and the prophets' (cf i a Senior 1976:674; Combrink 1979:55). Those fulfilment citations in Matthew 4:14ff, 8:17, 12:17ff and 13:35 (and other Old Testament citations and allusions) that indicate Jesus' public service, as well as Old Testament motifs that are behind some of his christological names as indications of his task (cf i a Senior 1976:673; Rotfuchs 1969:121-128), cannot be seen as separate from Jesus' mission to the Jewish multitude and the Gentiles, and the opposition of the Jewish leaders. The interest of some fulfilment citations indeed lies in the conviction that the life and work of Jesus, as the revelation of God's grace, is meant for the lost ones from the house of Israel as well as for the other nations (Rotfuchs 1969:103; cf Senior 1976:675).

The fulfilment of the 'law and the prophets' by Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew should be understood as a reduction of the Old Testament to the single instruction to *love* one's neighbor (cf Sand 1974:192). By 'reduction' I do not mean the legitimation of only a part of the Old Testament – the 'core' which, according to Matthew, would be the commandment to love – (see Luz 1978:400f). For Matthew, the call to love serves rather as the hermeneutic key according to which obedience to the whole 'law and the prophets' is demanded. To Matthew the authoritative explanation of the law by Jesus, in which the call to love should have precedence in all circumstances, and on which all the other laws are dependent, is crucial (Luz 1978:420).

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Obedience to the call to love concretizes in the Gospel of Matthew in the service of the earthly Jesus as Emmanuel (the first sequence) with regard to the Jewish multitude in particular, but to the Gentiles as well – the indicative. During the period of the mission to all the people (the second sequence) the disciples were expected to continue this radical call to love by analogy with the example set by Jesus himself, the embodiment of absolute obedience to the will of the Father – the imperative. McConnel (1969:90) refers to this imperative which was to be realized in the service of disciples:

> It is necessary that the disciples have a 'better righteousness' (5:20)...and this means performing the commands of Jesus which primarily concern showing love to God and to one's neighbour. As the parable of the sheep and the goats reveals, judgement is based on whether one has shown mercy to the needy (25:31ff). Matthew emphasized that judgement takes place according to one's works or his doing the will of God (7:16-17).
>
> (McConnel 1969:90)

The analogical continuity between the disciples' service in the period of their mission to the πάντα τὰ ἔθνη in the second sequence (the universal purport) and the service of Jesus in the first sequence thus manifests in loving care towards the Jewish multitude (the particular purport), while the mission to the Gentiles is assumed. This continuity and analogy between the first sequence and the second is thus dialectically based on the one hand in the presence of Jesus as Emmanuel in both sequences and on the other in the obedience to the will of the Father (the 'law and the prophets') during both sequences.

As far as the former is concerned: 'His [Jesus Emmanuel's] bond with the disciples [and thus with the church] is repeatedly stressed by means of...catch-phrases such as 'with them', 'with you', 'with me'. And the abiding presence of Jesus...is a promise without end (18:20; 28:20)....[T]he risen Lord is present wherever a community of people hear the gospel and respond with...compassion and service' (Senior 1976:676).

As far as the latter is concerned, Jesus' way is the disciples' way, and the congregation who follows suit is reminded by Matthew, as by his predecessors, of the consequences of the following of Jesus. This following demands an instruction about its reason and meaning, which is strongly emphasized in the Matthean gospel through the five Jesus discourses which are referred to in Matthew 28:20 (πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν). The content of this instruction is God's long-standing will. As Jesus fulfilled it totally, so the disciples are called upon to fulfill God's will, which includes 'being with him' (Frankemölle 1974:82)

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The closing words (Mt 13:52) of the parable discourse (Mt 13:1-51) express this analogy between the Jesus-image and the disciple-image, based in the radicalized Jesus-interpretation of the 'law and the prophets' (the 'old' and the 'new' in one): 'Therefore every teacher of the law who has been instructed about the kingdom of heaven is like the owner of a house who brings out of his storeroom new treasures as well as old' (Mt 13:52). Vorster (1977b:136) therefore rightly comments as follows on Matthew 13:52: '...the disciples are reminded of how Jesus in his teaching and work made the old things new and how he interpreted old traditions in a radically new way and are thus informed of how they should go about with what they already know but also with their newly acquired knowledge of the kingdom.'

Within the framework of the sequence of the pre-paschal Jesus commission Jesus functions as the protagonist's obedience to the 'law and the prophets' against the disobedience of the Jewish leaders as the antagonists. The δικαιοσύνη of the Jewish leaders, as the so-called 'sons of the kingdom' and 'teachers of the law of Moses', manifests generally as external formalistic show, without love for the outcasts. The disciples as Jesus' assumed helpers are warned against the διδαχή of the Jewish leaders and called to a δικαιοσύνη πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων (Mt 5:20). This amounts to the following:

> Both the disciples and the scribes and Pharisees have righteousness... This, however, does not mean that the righteousness of the two groups is identical. Jesus demands that the righteousness of the disciples is to exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees. This does not mean that the disciples are to live according to a different law but that they are to live according to a different interpretation of the law...The goal of this type of conduct is perfection...The disciples are to observe everything that Jesus commanded.
>
> (Przybylski 1980:87)

The consequence is that the call to obedience to the will of God, as expressed in the 'law and the prophets', is present in both sequences, amid an analogically continuing opposition (see Aguirre 1981:152f). Jesus, as the embodiment of the will of God, is obedient unto death on the pre-paschal temporal level. The same must be said of the disciples during their post-paschal commission. In this event, the risen Jesus is *God-with-us* until the completion of the age.

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Chapter 10

Summary

I summarize the results of my study by repeating the following remarks by Norman Petersen on a narrative point of view analysis:

> The starting point of literary criticism...is 'to accept the form of the work'...(O)ur Gospels...have a narrative form...and an imaginative world into which one can enter. How? By participating in the form of the work...A literary reading of a narrative text...begins at the moment when we allow ourselves to be addressed by its textually immanent narrator. That is the first step. All others follow from it...the narrator lures the reader into...times and places by perspectively locating himself and the reader in the midst of the scenes and events he describes, enabling the reader to see, hear, and know things he would not have access to without the narrator's guiding voice. Through this device which literary critics call narrative point of view, the reader becomes a participant in the narrative form....
>
> (Petersen 1980a:36-38)

This investigation should be seen against the background of its twofold objective. It is intended on the one hand as a *methodological*, and on the other as a *theological* experiment.

The term 'theology' has been used in the context of the study with a particular connotation, which is not usually associated with this term. I have proceeded from the assumption that Matthew (and probably his readers) consulted Mark's gospel about Jesus Christ. Matthew retold this Gospel to his readers in a creative way. In other words he told it again from a particular perspective. The purpose was probably to communicate this perspective to his readers. In this communication Matthew spoke about God's actions in the person and dealings of

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Jesus Christ. And in this sense Matthew's communication is 'theology'. I have thus used the words 'theological perspective' to convey the *idea* that Matthew wanted to communicate to his readers regarding Jesus Christ. And when I use the expression 'the theological perspective', I consider that there is a fundamental (basic) nucleus upon which this idea is based.

At the beginning of my investigation I said that the dominant theological perspective of the Gospel of Matthew is the *God-with-us* theme. I did not mean that every speech and incident in the Gospel would directly and explicitly spell out or highlight this theme. My thesis is that the idea that Matthew wanted to communicate was based by him in the *God-with-us* theme.

How did I arrive at this thesis, since nowhere in his Gospel does Matthew say that the *God-with-us* theme is the dominant theme of his theology? This question is a methodological matter. From the many other interpretative models that have been applied in Matthean research in the past and present, I have selected a particular exegetical method. The literary critics call this method the *narrative point of view* analysis. The reasons for choosing this method are particularly determined by the narrative form of the Gospel of Matthew, and other epistemological and teleological dimensions. Has my methodological experiment been successful? The answer to this question is related to an assumption that in my view is of great importance in any literary study – as in literary studies of biblical texts designed to serve theology in general. This assumption is that it is essential for *genre identification* to be done at the outset.

A very important point of departure in my investigation has therefore been the conviction that the key to Matthew's theology is to be found in the nature of the genre 'gospel'. By the term 'genre' we broadly understand the 'poetics' of a text, that is the manner in which the text has been 'put together'.

The genre 'gospel' is *narrative*. The gospel form complies with the following accepted description of what 'narrative' is: 'somebody tells something to somebody about something which is worthwhile telling' (Polanyi, in Vorster 1982c:1). This implies that the Gospel of Matthew as narrative has its own closed narrated world. In a certain sense the 'narrated world' of a narrative text comprises the *message* that the *writer* as the sender communicates to a *reader* as the receiver, by means of a *narrator*.

The narrative communication, therefore, contains at least four basic perspectives: The *writer* who compiles the story, the *narrator* who narrates the story, the *reader* who receives the story, and the *characters* who take part in the story. The analytical process in the exegesis of a narrative discourse as a communication record should thus be directed toward the unraveling of the following interrelations:

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1 narrative discourse ⟷ real reader;
2 real reader ⟷ implied writer;
3 implied writer ⟷ implied reader/listener;
4 implied writer ⟷ narrator;
5 narrator ⟷ narratee;
6 narrator ⟷ narrated characters;
7 narrated characters in reciprocal dealings who move within a specific structure of time and space.

Number 1 refers to the communication between the real writer and the intended real reader/listener. These are the people whose social context is imagined in the narrative discourse and which the exegete should be able to construe as far as possible to be able to interpret the text meaningfully as an act of communication. The exegete is of course also a real reader, but the nature of his/her concern with and influence on the reception of the narrative discourse is closely connected with his/her construction of the imagined social context of the real writer and the real reader/listener. This construction depends, among other things, on a knowledge of other texts, of social and cultural norms and of the socio-cultural context. The more the construction is done in terms of a designed social-scientific model, the better. Numbers 3-7 involve the intratextual narrative arrangement and strategy. This study has focussed on the narrative poetics and strategy of the Gospel of Matthew and not on its social context.

Access to Matthew's strategy of communication is bound up in the relation between narrator and reader. Both narrator and reader are literary devices. And if the narrator does not specifically indicate his reader, as in the case of the Gospel of Matthew, we speak of the 'implied reader' (cf Petersen 1980a:37f). Matthew, as the writer, is himself the (third-person) narrator of his Gospel. His 'implied reader' is what Via (1980:209f) calls *the disciple-reader*. The investigation into the manner in which the narrator presents himself and his narrated world to his reader (his narrative strategy) enables us to identify the idea (theology) that Matthew wanted to convey to his reader. It is only through intrinsic direction-indicators, which the writer-narrator of the Gospel of Matthew himself inserts, that we can recognize this 'idea'.

I have methodologically followed these indicators in the Gospel of Matthew by listening to the narrator as he speaks to his reader at different 'levels'. In studying these 'levels' that we have investigated, in the footsteps of Uspensky (1973) and Petersen (1978b), reference has been made to the *ideological*, the *phraseological*, *temporal* and *topographic* levels. These 'levels' have certainly, as Uspensky (1973:7)

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says himself, been selected arbitrarily – indeed, there could be more or even other categories affording access to the narrator and his world of characters that he has allowed to move in time and space. The methodological usefulness of narrative point of view analysis has been considerably increased by its systematic and logical steps (level by level). Investigations into the various 'levels' in the text can also serve as reciprocal controls.

As far as this study is concerned, attention has been given to the *dramatis personae*. In the Gospel as a whole the following characters have contributed to the constitution of the plot: Jesus (the protagonist), John the Baptist (the 'prototype' of the protagonist), the Jewish leaders (the antagonists), the Jewish crowd and the Gentiles (to whom the mission is addressed) and the disciples (the protagonist's assumed helpers). I have seen that the Gospel has the striking and unambiguous consistent characteristic that Jesus is the vehicle of the narrator's *ideological* point of view. The manner in which the narrator names the characters, and the role fulfilled by an 'omniscient' and 'omnipresent' narrator and protagonist in the Gospel, enables us to identify the 'theology' of the Gospel of Matthew and its dominant point of view. A special contribution has been made by the investigation of the two correlating-analogical 'narrative lines' (sequences) within which the narrator lets his characters move in particular temporal and spatial frames.

With what result? The answer will also be the answer to the question of whether narrative point of view analysis, as a method of exegesis for the gospels, is successful or not.

The plot of the Gospel of Matthew is, as indicated, characterized by two 'lines of actions', or 'narrative lines': That of the pre-paschal Jesus-commission (the primary sequence) and that of the post-paschal disciple-commission (the secondary sequence). The dominant point of view in the theology of the Gospel of Matthew is that from which the narrator convincingly accomplishes the analogy and association between the events of these two 'lines of action'. This is the *God-with-us* theme. The implied 'disciple-reader' is associated with the role of the disciples by means of the analogy created between the pre-paschal Jesus-commission and the post-paschal disciple-commission. At the same time the *God-with-us* theme functions as the basis on which the narrator addresses the reader with authority. As a result the 'disciple-reader' feels that s/he is being addressed with such authority that s/he can hardly do other than become involved in the narrative. This 'communication event' is called *Einverständniss* or *Eindringlichkeit* in the new hermeneutics (cf the parable research by Linnemann 1975:35).

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The *God-with-us* theme, in other words, functions as a type of 'verbal authority'. It links the Great Commission to the will of the Father in heaven (the law and the prophets) (cf Boers 1980:224). In this theme, the 'angel' announces Jesus' mission with a 'prophetic word' (Mt 1:21-23). Jesus links the disciple-commission to this theme (Mt 28:16-20). The mutual relationship between the ἀδελφοί in the Matthean community is also linked to it (Mt 18:19-20). The *God-with-us* theme thus functions as the basis of the 'theology' of the Gospel of Matthew, because both 'lines of action' in the plot of the Gospel are linked to it.

In the events of both 'lines of action' the disciples have a mission that comprises an instruction to teach (Mt 10:6-8; 13:52; 16:19; 23:34; 28:19-20). The content of this commission is the 'law and the prophets' (the 'will of God'), as interpreted and embodied by Jesus (cf i a Mt 28:20a). In both 'lines of action' the disciples have an inclination to deny their commission. This can be seen in, among other things, the phenomenon that their 'helper' function on the pre-paschal level as well as the post-paschal level is cast in the imperative in terms of various expressions (cf especially the so-called 'indirect discourses'). This imperative is based on the indicative of the pre-paschal Jesus-commission as *God-with-us*. The presence of the risen Jesus as *God-with-us* is conditionally bound to the obedience of the disciples, in the execution of their teaching commission (Mt 28:20), in *doing the will of the Father* (Mt 18:20). The 'disciple-reader' is drawn into the 'narrated world' of the Gospel of Matthew by means of association. S/he is challenged to take the right decisions.

Certain facets from the narrated world can be briefly summarized as follows: The *God-with-us theme is linked to the theme of obedience.* As far as the mission of Jesus as the 'Son of God' is concerned, it is in the indicative. As far as the mission of the disciples as 'sons of God' is concerned, it is an imperative. The indicative of the Jesus-commission is that, in the execution of his mission, he interpreted the will of God absolutely obediently and did it. This obedience is set off against the background of the opposition of Satan and his puppets, the Jewish leaders who represent the opposite position. This opposition reaches a climax when Jesus is crucified; but obedience also reaches its climax at this point. Jesus' resurrection from the dead began a new mission – that of the disciples. The ongoing antithetic role of the Jewish leaders during and against the post-paschal disciple-commission (cf Mt 5:12; 10:17; 23:34-36) brings out what it involves to give execution to the imperative to be obedient to the will of God.

The nature of the Jesus-commission is mentioned by the announcement of its beginning (Mt 1:21-23), namely the *forgiveness of the sins* of the λαός. The λαός (the Jewish multitude) are clearly distinguished from the 'leaders of the nation' (cf Mt

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21:23; 26:46). At the crucifixion Jesus' obedience to this mission is carried to a climax. Here we find that the λαός, together with their leaders (πᾶς ὁ λαός – Mt 27:25), reject Jesus. The suggestion is undeniably that Jesus executes his act of obedience in forgiving the sins of the λαός here as well (cf Mt 12:31-32 with 27:20, 39). Matthew 1:21-23 cannot be read separately from Matthew 27:20, 25 and 39. The nature of the Jesus-commission is conveyed by the narrator to the post-paschal disciple-commission. This is particularly clear when one notices that the forgiveness theme is repeatedly raised as something that the disciples must display (cf Mt 18:10-35).

The mission of Jesus to the λαός concretizes in various ways. This can be summarized in the expression 'help to the socio-religious ostracized'. The 'need' of the λαός does not superficially comprise 'sin' (ἁμαρτία) – that is, 'wrongdoing in general' (cf Louw 1976:30) in the sense of transgressing the obligations of the law and temple purity regulations, but basically also the physical needs of hunger, thirst and sickness, or the psychological needs of possession by the devil, lack of a shepherd, 'blindness' and the religious need of standing before a closed door to the kingdom of God (Mt 23:13). The fact that the narrator handles even the τελῶναι and the πόρναι as part of the λαός (i a Mt 21:32), indicates that, to him, 'need' does not only imply material need. Without reducing his demand for them to give aid to the 'materially disadvantaged', it is noteworthy that the narrator often 'spiritualizes' concepts such as 'poverty' and 'hunger' (cf Mt 5:3, 6). Even the feeding of the five thousand (Mt 14:13-21) and the four thousand (Mt 15:32-39) are related by the narrator to obedience (or otherwise) to the 'law and the prophets' (see Mt 16:11). The theme of healing often consists of 'driving out devils' in which the influence of Satan and his henchmen, and Jesus' victory over them, are portrayed (cf Mt 12:22-30; cf also Mt 12:38-42 with 12:43-45). The concrete forms that 'help to the underprivileged' take in the Gospel of Matthew must therefore often be labelled as symbolic and of an allegorical nature. But this does not mean that the symbolical universe is not the product of a social universe. On the contrary, the so-called symbolical interactionism in Matthew's gospel is produced by realities in the social world which is depicted in the Matthean story. Simultaneously, Jesus' challenge to the particularism of his antagonists, and his instruction to his disciples to continue his work, have to be interpreted as a challenge to change the real social status of the destitute (cf especially the work of Van Tilborg 1986; Combrink 1988:180-198; Malina & Neyrey 1988; Van Aarde 1988:829-846; Horsley 1989; Overman 1990; Balch [ed] 1991; Stanton 1992; Duling 1992, 1993; Duling & Perrin 1994:333-339).

The 'help to the underprivileged' given by Jesus, as *God-with-us*, during the pre-paschal mission functions as a 'transparency' for the post-paschal disciples' *help to the underprivileged* (cf especially Mt 25:31-46). And the risen Jesus is therefore *God-with-us* until the parousia.

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Part II

And other essays

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Chapter 1

A study of the New Testament beatitude and the beatitude series in Matthew 5:3-10: A new approach to 'Gattungsforschung'

1.1 Introductory remarks

In 1976 Markert said that in historical critical studies of *form-* and *gattungskritische* nature the dilemma of modern biblical scholarship comes to light. Although it is possible to describe the method of *Form-* and *Gattungskritik*, this method can not always be referred to the results of their application. Results still to come from the application of this method, could modify the *Form-* and *Gattungskritik* practiced up to now - in some instances even change it altogether (Markert 1976:86). The aim of this essay is to make a contribution in this regard.

Gattungforschung is indicated by the terms *Gattungskritik* or *Gattungsgeschichte* in recent literature. This term has traditionally been used as an equivalent for the term *Formgeschichte* (the English *Form Criticism*), or one has been seen as an umbrella concept including the other. My preference for the choice of the term *Gattungsforschung* as an indication of the method for investigating literary types in biblical literature would hopefully be self-evident at the end of this contribution.

Formgeschichte is an element in the historical-critical method of exegesis and stemmed from the one-sidedness of the old *literarkritische* method as it was practiced by the Julius Wellhausen School in particular. Ever since the end of the Second World War the *formgeschichtliche* method has, at a surprisingly fast rate, gained a very prominent place amongst the investigative methods of biblical literature. Indeed, the point of departure was that a biblical pericope could only be interpreted correctly once a study of its specific literary form and its particular *Sitz im Leben* had been undertaken. The pronouncement in this respect made by Hermann Gunkel, in many ways the father of this investigative method, is known world wide, when he stated that one who studies an author, without knowing the Gattung the author uses, starts the building of the house with the roof.

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For a period biblical literary theory did not take cognizance of the results of the new development in the area of general linguistics with the key word 'structure'. Today the situation has changed somewhat. Regarding *Gattungsforschung*, it was Wolfgang Richter (1970, 1971), an Old Testament scholar, in particular, who started looking at the traditional *formgeschichtliche* investigative method differently on the basis of more recent insights. Richter's exegetic approach consists of a plurality of methods. It is an exegetic approach in which different facets such as *Literarkritik*, textual criticism, structure, *Gattung*, semantics, historical perspectives, such as tradition criticism, and finally redaction criticism all have a place and fulfill a need. His literary theory (including his more modern approach to *Gattungsforschung*) essentially is an attempt to present a refinement of the existing literary investigative methods as well as an attempt to combine diachronic facets with synchronic facets with a view to establishing meaning. However, the sequence is always that the synchronic provides the material upon which the diachronic has to be built and never the reverse. This point of departure soon gave rise to a change in the situation regarding methodological consciousness. It is very noticeable in the book *Exegese des Alten Testaments* which was published in 1973 with Georg Fohrer (1973) and others as editors. Gunter Wanke (1973), for example, states in his book that the linguistic analysis forms the basis for all further exegetic steps, especially in *Form-* and *Gattungkritik*, and *Motiv-* and *Traditionskritik*, which both rely on the results of language analysis in their quest for set patterns.. With reference to the New Testament Klaus Berger's 'multi-linear approach' (see Berger 1977) is known, although it is completely different from Richter's and is, in my own opinion, also unacceptable (see later). Regarding criticism of Richter, the works of Klaus Koch, and H Barth & O H Steck may be mentioned.

That which is applicable to Richter's motif in respect of his method of approach in general is also applicable to a single facet such as *Gattungsforschung*. He namely wishes to limit the trust the critic puts in emotions, fantasy and intuition by means of controllable criteria - something that is not really part of the traditional approach (see Richter 1970:219). Richter not only emphasized the well-known fact that there are different directions within the traditional *formgeschichtliche* approach but he also is of the opinion that ever since Gunkel not enough attention has been given to the criteria of this investigative method (see Richter 1971:126). And it is applicable to both the New and the Old Testament.

Like Wolfgang Richter - but not without criticism and changes in methodology - and on the basis of the authority of the insights gained through the more recent language and literary theories, I would like to indicate the flaws in the traditional *Formgeschichte* even more clearly. On the basis of these insights a new

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approach to *Gattungsforschung* is described and honed. There are three important insights that are applicable in this regard and all these may be attributed to the pioneer of modern linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure (1916). The three insights are firstly the difference between *la langue* and *la parole*, secondly the structural method in linguistics, and thirdly the difference between the synchronic and diachronic approach.

Gattungsforschung does not have the same objectives in the investigation of the Old Testament that it has in the New Testament, even though both literary corpora are of the same origin. I am convinced that the results of Richter's investigation in respect of the Old Testament may also be applied successfully to the New Testament, although I am not aware of any researcher who has done this.

The exposition that follows has been structured by means of four headings, namely 'Identification of the *Gattung*', 'The *Sitz im Leben* of the *Gattung*', 'Function of the *Gattung*' and '*Gattungsgeschichte*'.

1.2 Identification of the '*Gattung*'

Richter queries the traditional approach of using the aspect of *Geschichtlichkeit* as criterion in order to identify *Gattungen*, and consequently he is not satisfied with the term *Formgeschichte*. He feels that the weakness of the traditional approach is, in fact, reflected in the composition of the term *Formgeschichte* (see Richter 1970:216). In view of the difference between synchronism and diachronism the aspect of *Geschichtlichkeit* still remains a facet of *Gattungsforschung* occupying its own specific methodological place. He wishes to distinguish between, what he calls, *Formenkritik* and *Formkritik*. He uses the term *Gattungskritik* to combine these two facets. *Gattungsgeschichte* is the last and, as such, a separate facet. The distinction will hopefully become clearer during the discussion which follows.

Pericopes and textual units are isolated by means of the *literarkritische* methodological facet. Such a pericope displays an 'ornamental', 'external', and 'internal' form. The 'ornamental' is the formal information in the pericope which is processed through an analysis of the rhyme, alliteration, assonance, rhythm, et cetera (Richter 1971:80-84). The 'external' is the *literarkritische* limitation mentioned above and is done by means of criteria such as lexeme uses, lexeme groups, sentence types and stylistic detail (see Richter 1970:22-23; 1971:50-62). It also includes criteria like repetition and tension. The determination of the 'external' form is controlled by an analysis of the 'internal' form. The latter is the structure of the pericope and an analysis is done by means of formal syntactic categories. This structured unit refers to what Richter indicates by means of the term *Form* and what I will refer to with the term *form* or *structure* henceforth.

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In other words Richter means something else than the traditional 'source criticism' as practised by the Wellhausen School, in particular when he uses the term *Literarkritik*. However, this term is also used in Germany to indicate literary work in general (cf i a Sellin 1969:30). The structural approach of the so-called American 'literary criticism' in turn uses the term in a much narrower sense (cf i a Beardsly 1975). I prefer to talk about *pericope demarcation* when indicating the analysis of the so-called 'external form'. Within the *Gattungsforschung* the pericope demarcation, essentially, is preliminary work which is done in respect of the analysis of the 'internal form'. I have named the latter *structural analysis*. The technique I have applied is that which has been developed within the framework of the New Testament Society of South Africa under the leadership of J P Louw (cf i a Louw 1973:101-118; 1976:75-99). In contrast to Richter, however, I do not consider the analysis of the so-called 'ornamental form' to be a separate methodological step within the *Gattungsforschung*. The aspects Richter combines under this term are important but to my mind form part of the structural analysis.

Richter and Markert have named the demarcated textual units *Formen* (see Richter 1971:132; Markert 1973:82). The comparison between the different *Formen* is known to them as *Formenkritik* to distinguish it from the term *Formkritik*. The latter is the study of the 'ornamental', the 'external', and the 'internal' form.

Each textual unit has a unique structure. But when various texts display certain similarities such related texts may be seen as a typical group and such a group may be indicated by means of the term *Gattung* (cf Richter 1971:131). Once the form of a unit has been determined it is not always evident whether this form was structured in this way on a one-time and incidental basis or whether it is a manifestation of *Gattung*. From this it is evident that one can only speak of a *Gattung* once one has proven the existence of at least two independent, similarly or relatively structured units. Only then does it become possible to discuss the question of the identification of the *Gattung* in detail (Richter 1971:138). This does not mean that textual units need to be patterned along the same lines before they can be grouped together as a specific *Gattung*. The more similarities one needs to fulfil the requirements of a *Gattung* the smaller the *Gattung* is; the fewer similarities the bigger the *Gattung* becomes (see Markert 1973:99). This implies that the term *Gattung* can be used in respect of both small and extended units as was the case in the traditional *Formgeschichte*. Heinrich Zimmermann (1974:135), for example, regarded the term *Gattung* as the general term and considered the Gospels, the Acta, the Epistle, and the Apocalypse, as being part thereof in respect of the New Testament. Smaller units like the apopthegm he called *Formen*, while he also distinguished short, fixed expressions and called them *Formeln*. Therefore a

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Gattung need not always be a pericope. Literary types often consist of a fixed literary construction only. In these cases pericope demarcation and structural analysis as used in larger units, will be unnecessary. Identification should, however, still take cognizance of the difference between synchronism and diachronism. Imitating Loader (1975:19), I use the term *Gattung* in respect of both large and smaller units, and the term *Makrogattung* in respect of broader units such as the Gospels.

Where the form of a unit is established by means of formal syntactic categories (cola) the *Gattung* is identified by determining the communal 'structural features' of the structurally related and literary independent forms, and in this way describing the characteristics of the *Gattung*. This is why Richter queries the traditional method which uses the aspect of *Geschichtlichkeit* as criterion to isolate *Gattungen*. The communal structural characteristics cannot be recognized on the basis of a diachronic comparison. That may be the case, but the opposite has been proven by a large number of cases (see Richter 1981:129). A comparison between the forms of separate units is obviously necessary in order to identify *Gattungen*. Yet the principle that diachronism follows synchronism and not the reverse still applies (Richter 1971:131). Consequently Richter distinguishes between two synchronic facets in *Gattungsforschung*. The first he names *Gattungskritik* where structurally related forms are compared and *Gattungen* is isolated. (Naturally the series of texts that are relevant in the study are first demarcated, whereafter the stucture of each unit is analysed separately.) The second is the question regarding the life setting (*Sitz im Leben*) of the *Gattung* including the question of its function. But before we progress to the discussion of this facet in *Gattungsforschung* I would like to say something about the most important methodological change I had made to Richter's approach, namely the relationship between *form* and *content* in *Gattungsforschung*.

Richter (1971:136-138) carefully indicates that 'provisionally' he does not regard *content* to be constitutive to *Gattung*. *Content* can only be determined in respect of a concrete textual unit. And because he regards *Gattung* as a theoretical abstraction, that is only adequately outlined by its function, the 'text type' of a *Gattung* can indicate only the grouping of separate *contents* (in accordance with the different separate concrete textual units). Therefore the 'unique' *content* of an individual textual unit which is regarded as belonging to a typical group of units on the basis of objective syntactic rules is unusable as 'Gattung *characteristics*', because one must then accept as many *Gattung* sub-groups as there are unique contents in one group of *Formen*. That would render the concept *Gattung* pointless (see Richter 1971:133).

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I find that, in the light of what was traditionally done, there is some sympathy for Richter's point of view but feel that it definitely is too redactional. With the traditional approach uncontrollable criteria was often applied to *Gattungsforschung*. Since Gunkel's time this has often been under discussion in spite of the commendable claim by Barth & Steck (1973:99) that, as exponents of the traditional approach, they agree with Richter that a distinction should be made between the aspects of *content* and *form* but that 'performative function' also cannot be determined without establishing the form. Dodd (1969:1-10) serves as an example of the Beatitudes in the Gospels. According to Dodd the Beatitudes in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke present different *forms*, each of which is a distinctive and characteristic literary product. These are related to various existing compositional forms and each is, in spite of the degree of communality, a product in its own right. The *content* of the *form* in the Luke pericope (beatitudes versus woe-cries) proclaims a reversal in the situation. Dodd calls this phenomenon the *peripeteia* - something which also appears in the other pericopes of the Gospels. The *content* of the Matthew pericope has an ethical meaning. His viewpoint thus is that there is a correlation between *form* and *content*. Although the *form* was not isolated in terms of fixed, defined criteria Dodd indicated some structural marking elements. Though he had a feeling for structural analysis he did not use it as a basis for the identification of *Gattungen* but eventually it was based fairly exclusively on the viewpoints derived from the content. This was also found with Gunkel (1933) at an earlier stage. His category, *Klagelieder des Volkes* (= laments of the people), is distinguished from the category, *Danklieder des Volkes* (= the people's song of thanksgiving), on the basis of the content 'thanksgiving' and 'lament' while the *forms* did not really serve as diagnostic criteria.

Richter's viewpoint is that he wants to disregard *content* in all aspects of *Gattungsforschung*. This is where Richter parts the way with many scholars who largely agree with him (myself included; cf Markert 1973:98). *Content* and *form* are not entities that have been accidentally combined; they may rather be seen as units which constitute meaning. In the semantic structure analysis technique which is applied by the New Testament Society of South Africa, and where the purely syntactic colon analysis of the text is written down with a semantic analysis based upon the Nida model of dynamic-equivalent Bible translation (cf Nida & Taber 1974; Louw 1976; Vorster 1979) the term 'surface structure' is used as equivalent of Richter's *form* and the term 'deep structure' as equivalent of Richter's *content*. Bearing this in mind it becomes clear why I do not wish to separate *form* and *content*. Barth & Steck's (1973:100) remark in this regard remains applicable, when they ask the question whether *überlieferungsgeschichtliche* analysis is the same thing

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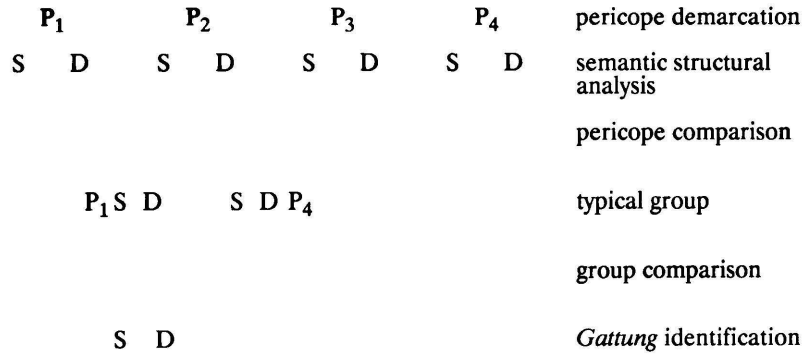
as *Gattung* classification. Furthermore, one can also ask what *gattungsgeschichtliche* work comprises of, when one should disregard the typical content and thematic scope of linguistic expressions, and stick solely to formalized phenomena.. Klaus Berger (1977:134) even goes as far as, and I feel undeservedly, describing Richter as 'hostile towards content'. *Gattungsforschung* may not be restricted to the formal only. However, Richter's viewpoint presents the framework for the refinement of results.

I will use a schematic representation to explain my views in this regard. At the same time the sketch will serve as a summary of the new approach to *Gattungsforschung* that I put forward in this essay. The sketch was adopted from the work of Markert (1973:98) but was adapted to suit my aim.



From the above sketch it is clear that the aspects of form and content are taken into consideration in all the facets of *Gattungsforschung*. Notwithstanding my sympathetic attitude towards Richter's point of view I feel that his approach is too one-sided.

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Richter's method contains a contradiction. This is due to the fact that in the pericope demarcation a phenomenon such as 'tension' (one of his *literarkritische* criteria) is, in fact, nothing else than an aspect of *content* (cf Loader 1978:9). *Content* could also play a role in structural analysis.

With regard to the identification of the *Gattung* the comparison of not only units that are structurally related is required but these units should also be semantically related. What we are concerned with here is not that which is referred to above as 'content moments' but *content* in the sense of the meaning of a textual unit which is inextricably connected to its *form*. This basic, and very important viewpoint in respect of the *Gattungsforschung* is explained in the above schematic representation by means of the symbols S (surface structure = *form*) and D (deep structure = *content*). In the same way that there is a distinction between *form* and *content* in the semantic structure analysis of a specific textual unit although these cannot be separated at all because together they constitute meaning, the aspects *form* and *content* cannot be separated in the comparison of these units which belong to a typical group.

The benefit gained through the above explanation (which largely concurs with that of Markert) is that for the first time fixed demarcated criteria are applied where diachronism (comparison of units) follows synchronism (semantic structure analysis), and where *Gattungen* is not based on *content* (traditional *Formgeschichte*) alone, neither in arbitrary manner on first *content* and then *form*. This arbitrary nature is to be found in Klaus Berger's modern approach which aims to determine *Gattungen* or 'text types' on the basis of the roles played by the actants in the communication of the text (see Berger 1977:128). According to Berger, who leans on the new reception and communication theory, we have to use as our point of departure - mainly because the primary aim of language is to communicate - the fact that all 'text types' display communication-directed characteristics and should therefore be distinguished according to the type of discourse situation. The distinction is consequently situated in the roles played by the *speaker* and the *listener* in the communication situation. The speaker, for example, announces his role explicitly by means of the so-called *illocutive* sentences such as question, allegation and admonition, and on the basis of this different 'text types' may be distinguished such as questions, instruction, salutation, admonition and narrative. Other 'text types' are determined on the basis of the *relevant participants* such as the prayer in which both God and man are participants, or on the basis of the *type of discourse* such as a dialogue or a monologue. Berger feels that in this manner he will be able to take thorough cognizance of what he calls 'a multi-linear approach to *Gattungen*'. Berger, however, shows that he does not deal with fixed criteria. He isolates some

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'text types' on grounds of the *content*. His definition of *Gattung* as well as the names given to his various *Gattungen* display some major defects. He names the Emmaus pericope (Lk 24:13-35) *Wiedererkennungsgeschichte*; the episode played out before Pilate (Mk 15:1-5) is called a 'trial', and John 1:1-18 a 'prologue'. He shows very little understanding about the problem regarding Wolfgang Richter and the distinction between *form* and *content*, and consequently also about the structural approach of modern linguistics. Berger furthermore takes little notice of the principle regarding the *comparison of additional related texts* in order to isolate *Gattungen*.

1.3 'Sitz im Leben' of the 'Gattung'

An exegete cannot study the form and content of a *Gattung* exclusively; he should also look into the *Sitz im Leben* (life setting) of the *Gattung*. The *Sitz im Leben* is the result of the customs that were prevalent during a certain period and which had awarded such an important role to the orators and listeners or writers and readers that specific literary types were regarded as necessary to act as vehicle of expression in each specific case (Koch 1974:35-43; see also Annandale 1971:18-22). In the Old Testament world and its environment we find, for example, the activities of the cult, legal institutions, customs and institutions of the king's court. Victory songs were sung when the conqueror returned, laments were sung at a funeral, instructions were delivered by the priest at the temple, et cetera (see Muilenburg 1960:229). A specific 'institution' usually is the exponent of more than one *Gattung*. Regarding the Gospels, for example, the traditions about Jesus were first transmitted orally before they were recorded in writing. During the stage of oral transmission these traditions took on certain forms depending on the nature of the function it had in the early Christian community (Travis 1977:154). Comprehensively, in New Testament literature, we can speak of the proclamation of the good news, the Christian worship gathering and the instruction in the faith as the *Sitze im Leben* of the earliest church (see Zimmermann 1974:173). In the gospels we therefore need to distinguish between the *Sitz im Leben der alten Kirche* and the *Sitz im Leben Jesu* (see Aulén 1976).

I also feel that Richter's viewpoint regarding the recognizability of the *Sitz im Leben* is too rigoristic. He claims that his viewpoint acts as corrective for the traditional approach in this respect. Since Gunkel's time (and with inclusion of the refinements and modifications that have been introduced over the years) the description of the *Sitz im Leben* of a *Gattung* has been determined by two premises, namely using as point of departure the literary form itself, and secondly the socio-

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cultural details. The first-mentioned is introduced by means of questions like the following: Who is the author? Who are the readers? Regarding the second, knowledge of Israel and the ancient Eastern households, socio-cultic history and the history of religions is necessary (see Annandale 1971:22; Koch 1974:43). According to Richter the traditional *Formgeschichte* introduced criteria in this regard that was based upon 'uncharacteristic data'. He does not wish to rely on extra-textual material of this nature, but on the data itself, which is possible through the recognition of the rules of its own structure and through its own intentionality (Richter 1971:145). To my mind Richter regards the danger of 'diachronism' against which James Barr (1961) warned during the sixties, far too seriously. We should therefore agree with Richter that the importance of synchronic analysis cannot be emphasized enough. This is also true in respect of the description of the *Sitz im Leben* of a *Gattung*. The latter, however, is an aspect in which diachronic considerations should also play a role. Questions regarding the author, readers, and socio-cultural details are necessary in order to observe the organized life setting the structure and content of a specific *Gattung* refers to. Diachronic considerations should thus always be controlled by the synchronic considerations. Synchronic investigation provides the framework for and protection against an arbitrary lapsing into 'diachronism' (see also Markert 1973:94 in this regard).

1.4 Function of the 'Gattung'

Richter (1971:133) makes the following remark: *Gattung* is therefore an operational term that is only adequately outlined by its function. What is the 'function' of the *Gattung*? The question about the 'function' of the *Gattung* is, as formulated by Markert, also a question regarding the relationship between the literary setting of a concrete textual unit that is a manifestation of a specific *Gattung*, and the typical *Sitz im Leben* of that specific *Gattung* (Markert 1973:95). This very important distinction between the literary setting and the *Sitz im Leben* of a *Gattung* is the result of the distinction made between *la langue* and *la parole* by Ferdinand de Saussure (although Richter and the exponents of the new approach do not state this explicitly). De Saussure opened new perspectives through his statement that the phenomenon of *language* (=*le langage*) finds expression on a social and individual level. On a social level this is a system of signs which is applied by a specific community to communicate by means of certain sound forms. The technical term *la langue* (= *a language*) is used to indicate this. Utterances on an individual level is the actual application of *a language*. The latter is indicated by the term *la parole*. This is the actual language activity performed by a specific person at a specific

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moment (McKnight 1978:97-81). Like the term *Gattung* the term *Sitz im Leben* is an operational-hypothetic category dealing with the phenomenon of *a language* (*la langue*). The question regarding the literary setting is only addressed when the relevant *Gattung* is applied in actual language usage (*la parole*) on an individual level. It is against this background that Markert's contribution in respect of his use of the term literary setting gains significance. The merit of the new approach in this regard is that in the *Gattungsforschung* the traditional idea of *Gattung* being an extra-literary quantity is dispensed with.

As mentioned previously the question regarding the 'function' of the *Gattung* is a question into the relationship between the *Sitz im Leben* and the literary setting of that specific *Gattung*. Hoffmann (1970:341-346) rephrases the question: Is the *Gattung* used 'functionally typical' (i e in accordance with the typical *Sitz im Leben* of the *Gattung* concerned) or is the *Gattung* used 'functionally atypical'? Hoffmann (and Markert) uses Amos 5:1-3 to explain the above. Amos 5:2 is a manifestation of the *Gattung* 'funeral oration' which has the funeral of a person as its typical *Sitz im Leben*. Admittedly the reference here is to the destruction of a nation. The death of a person and the destruction of a nation do, however, indicate the same thing as the reference בְּתוּלַת shows. In this sense one may thus, in terms of Hoffmann's terminology, refer to a 'functionally typical' use of the *Gattung* because there is no change in the *Sitz im Leben*, only a generalization. But if the context is taken into account as well as the fact that it is Amos who is speaking, the picture changes totally. In Amos's time Israel was not on the verge of destruction but experiencing a period of political growth and glory. Against this background the *Gattung* of the 'funeral oration' has thus in fact been used 'functionally atypical'. In this case the question regarding the 'function' of the *Gattung* is as follows: Why did Amos deem the specific *Gattung* of the 'funeral oration' to be suitable in this case, in other words functional within the context?

1.5 The 'Gattungsgeschichte'

Another attribute of the new approach is the fact that the last facet, the *gattungsgeschichtliche*, is an aspect which is the logical result of the aforementioned, namely the question of the 'function' of the *Gattung*. As a whole the *gattungsgeschichtliche* question is a diachronic matter. The specific methodological position this facet occupies in the new approach should be seen against the background of the necessary distinction between the synchronic and diachronic methodological facets, the warning against intermingling these two facets, and the fact that diachronism is preceded by synchronism.

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In essence Richter does not differ from the traditional *Formgeschichte* about the 'what' of *Gattungsgeschichte*. Gunkel did mention that when literary types are created they may, in the course of their usage, develop and consequently change, or intermingle with others and even form new types or eventually disappear. Like Tucker (1975:116), an exponent of the traditional approach, Richter mentions that the *Sitz im Leben* is not a historical entity in the sense that a narrow determinable historical date can be attributed to each *Sitz im Leben*. The *Sitz im Leben* is actually bound to a specific historical period. This is especially the case when an 'institution' of one kind or another forms part of the *Sitz im Leben*. Continuing along the line of the monarchy: Its roots are in the נגיד, its origin lies with Saul, its individualistic character under David and Solomon, its independent realization in the Northern and Southern Kingdom, and finally its destruction in both kingdoms. The same cross sections may be made in respect of the Prophets. Each of these sections demarcate a certain period. From this it may be deduced that the actual manifestation of a *Gattung* is only applicable to a specific *Sitz im Leben* and that changes may take place in a *Gattung* during the course of a *Sitz im Leben*. It may therefore happen that a specific *Gattung* is used outside its original *Sitz im Leben* as is illustrated in the above example of the monarchy. Even though the original *Sitz im Leben* may have disappeared a *Gattung* that had originated in accordance with it may continue to exist. However, it may also happen that a *Sitz im Leben* develops to such an extent that new *Gattungen* become necessary. In addition to totally new *Gattungen* a specific *Gattung* may in such a case also adopt elements from another *Gattung* (= *Gliedgattung*; a subordinate *Gattung*) in another *Sitz im Leben*. The newly formed *Gattung* is known by the name given by Gunkel, namely a *Rahmengattung* (= all-encompassing *Gattung*). A specific *Gattung* may also adopt a complete *Gattung* from another *Sitz im Leben*. This newly formed *Gattung* is known by Gunkel's name *Gattungsmischung* (= *Gattung* mixture). This development in the *Gattung* essentially means that a new *Gattung* was formed because one can no longer speak of exactly the same *Gattung* (Barth & Steck 1973:59, 63). The study of these and similar phenomena is known as the *gattungsgeschichtliche* investigation. It is done by comparing a specific *Gattung* with other samples of similar literary types. Individual modifications applied by the author once only are of no importance unless these modifications became active in a *gattungsgeschichtliche* sense. In the new approach such *gattungsgeschichtliche* phenomena are connected with the question into the 'function' of the *Gattung* (Markert 1973:97). However, one could rather say that, as was mentioned earlier, the *gattungsgeschichtliche* question arises from the previous question regarding the 'function' of the *Gattung*.

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This whole matter regarding the *gattungsgeschichtliche* is also related to the problem surrounding oral transmission that to this day receives a lot of attention in the traditional *formgeschichtliche* investigations, especially in respect of the research of the Pentateuch and Gospels. Klaus Koch wishes to add another two aspects as part of the *Gattungsforschung* in addition to the *gattungsgeschichtliche* investigation, namely the *Traditionsgeschichte* and the *Redaktionsgeschichte*. I feel that Barth & Steck (1973:56) and Markert (1973:85) are not convincing when they profess to not holding the same opinion. These two methodological facets each deserve to be dealt with separately (Loader 1978:5), although aspects of the *gattungsgeschichtliche* question may indeed display tangential points.

My preference for choosing the term *Gattungsforschung* as an indication of the investigation into literary types in biblical literature need not be explained any further in view of the terminological restrictions, weaknesses and confusion created by the use of terms like *Formgeschichte, Formkritik, Formenkritik, Gattungskritik* and *Gattungsgeschichte* as it has been described in the essay thus far.

2. THE NEW TESTAMENT BEATITUDE AND THE BEATITUDE SERIES IN MATTHEW 5:3-10

2.1 Introduction

The fact that the substantive ὁ μακαρισμος is used in Romans 4:6 and 9 as a name for the two sayings appearing between these two verses - sayings that have certain formal characteristics in common - leads us to believe that we are dealing with a fixed type of pronouncement. In their investigations into this type of pronouncement various scholars have announced that the beatitude is one of the most common formal pronouncements in the Greek language (see Votaw 1909:14b; Hauck 1942:369f). Many *formgeschichtliche* studies have been done on beatitudes as such. However, the traditional *formgeschichtliche* approach reveals some serious defects. There is no motivation, for example, to only talk about a *Gattung* when there appear to be certain formal similarities between sayings and passages. One can only speak of a *Gattung* when there are at least two independent literary units which show a characteristic relationship in respect of both structure and content (Richter 1971:138; Markert 1973:85). To the best of my knowledge a similar study has not been done in respect of New Testament beatitude.

In this section of this essay the New Testament beatitude and the beatitude series is investigated as a result of what may be called a 'new approach to *Gattungsforschung*' (see again arguments in previous section). At the outset it will

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be shown whether there is a *Gattung* like the beatitude in the New Testament, and if this is true whether the series in Matthew 5:3-10 is representative thereof or not. The investigation mainly consists of two parts, namely the identification of the *Gattung* and secondly the determination of the *Sitz im Leben* and its function. The question regarding the 'function' of the *Gattung* is, in contrast to the other facets of *Gattungsforschung*, not of a hypothetic-operational nature but refers to a case of actual usage. The beatitude series in Matthew 5:3-10 is used as material to illustrate this. Much attention was given to the *gattungsgeschichtliche* question in the existing *formgeschichtliche* investigations into the beatitude. Consequently *gattungsgeschichtliche* matters will be discussed very briefly.

2.2 Identification of beatitude as Gattung

A *Gattung* can only be identified once a typical group of literary units or passages have been isolated. As mentioned above, this typical group consists of at least two independent literary units or passages that are related in respect of structure and content. Pericope demarcation and semantic structure analysis are essential in isolating such a typical group (see again section 1.2). Because the specific literary unit we are interested in always displays a short and fixed construction, a pericope demarcation and structural analysis is, unlike in the larger units, unnecessary. We only analyse the grammatical-syntactic construction and its semantics. With a view to a comparative investigation a table consisting of all the ways in which the word μακάριος, -ια, -ιον and its other derivatives were formally (grammatically and syntactically) constructed in the New Testament is given. An outline of the semantics of the relevant word group is then given. By means of this method it will be possible to isolate a typical group.

When comparing the different forms we are able to make a broadly based division between the adjective, the substantive, and the verbal forms. The adjective construction is the dominant construction.

A. Substantive form:

Rm 4:6 καθάπερ καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

Rm 4:9 ὁ μακαρισμὸς οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν περιτομὴν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν;

Gl 4:15 ποῦ οὖν ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν;

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B. Verbal form:

Lk 1:48 ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μακαριοῦσίν με πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί·
Ja 5:11 ἰδοὺ μακαρίζομεν τοὺς ὑπομείναντας· τὴν ὑπομονὴν Ἰὼβ ἠκούσατε, καὶ τὸ τέλος κυρίου εἴδετε, ὅτι πολύσπλαγχνός ἐστιν ὁ κύριος καὶ οἰκτίρμων.

C. The adjective form is divided into a predicative and an attributive use.
With regard to the latter there are only four examples in the whole New Testament that also differ syntactically from one another.

a. Adjective used attributively:

Ac 26:2 Περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐγκαλοῦμαι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων, βασιλεῦ Ἀγρίππα, ἡγημαι ἐμαυτὸν μακάριον ἐπὶ σοῦ μέλλων σήμερον ἀπολογεῖσθαι,
1 Tm 1:11 κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ μακαρίου θεοῦ, ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγώ.
1 Tm 6:15 ἣν καιροῖς ἰδίοις δείξει ὁ μακάριος καὶ μόνος δυνάστης, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων,
Tt 2:13 προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,

b. Adjective used predicatively:
In this grouping two types display a conspicuous difference. In the one group the μακάριος, -ια, -ιον functions syntactically throughout as the logical *objective* in the saying, and in the other group as the *starting point* of the saying.

(i) Predicative adjective functioning as the logical objective in the saying:

Lk 12:38 κἂν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ κἂν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ καὶ εὕρῃ οὕτως, μακάριοί εἰσιν ἐκεῖνοι.
Jn 13:17 εἰ ταῦτα οἴδατε, μακάριοί ἐστε ἐὰν ποιῆτε αὐτά.
Ac 20:35(b) μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν, Μακάριόν ἐστιν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν.
Ja 1:25 ὁ δὲ παρακύψας εἰς νόμον τέλειον τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ παραμείνας, οὐκ ἀκροατὴς ἐπιλησμονῆς γενόμενος ἀλλὰ ποιητὴς ἔργου, οὗτος μακάριος ἐν τῇ ποιήσει αὐτοῦ ἔσται.
1 Pt 3:14 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πάσχοιτε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι. τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆτε μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε,
1 Pt 4:14 εἰ ὀνειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, μακάριοι, ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται.

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(ii) In respect of this grouping (where the predicative adjective μακάριος, -ια, ιον functions syntactically as the starting point of the saying act) the following additional grammatical and syntactical remarks may be made: The modes of the adjective inevitably always is the nominative. The gender and the number are determined in terms of the substantive (or the participial phrase functioning in place of a substantive) that is described predicatively by the adjective. Occasionally the subject the μακάριος, -ια, -ιον refers to is not disclosed. However, it can always be determined within the context. The subject is often expanded by means of a participial phrase and the copulative verb is often deleted. In most cases the matrix sentence is expanded by means of a motivating subordinate clause introduced by a subordinate clause of the ὅτι, γάρ or ἵνα type, or a relative subordinate clause, or a temporal subordinate clause. To summarize the syntactic and grammatical description of this group: *In this group we find a fixed syntactic construction in which the predicative* μακάριος, -ια, -ιον *always functions as the starting point of the saying but the rest that follows displays syntactic and grammatical variations.* I subsequently provide a table to illustrate these variations. The sayings are first given without the motivating subordinate clauses and then with the motivating subordinate clauses.

Without the motivating subordinate clause:

Lk 11:27 Μακαρία ἡ κοιλία ἡ βαστάσασά σε καὶ μαστοὶ οὓς ἐθήλασας.

Lk 11:28 Μενοῦν μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες.

Lk 10:23 Μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ βλέποντες ἃ βλέπετε.

Jn 20:29 λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ὅτι ἑώρακάς με πεπίστευκας; μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες

Rv 14:13 Καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λεγούσης, Γράψον· Μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπ' ἄρτι. ναί, λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα, ἵνα ἀναπαήσονται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν· τὰ γὰρ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖ μετ' αὐτῶν.

Rv 19:9 Καὶ λέγει μοι, Γράψον· Μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ γάμου τοῦ ἀρνίου κεκλημένοι. καὶ λέγει μοι, Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι ἀληθινοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιν.

Rv 20:6 μακάριος καὶ ἅγιος ὁ ἔχων μέρος ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῇ πρώτῃ· ἐπὶ τούτων ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἔσονται ἱερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ {τὰ} χίλια ἔτη.

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Rv 22:7 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ. μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου.

With the motivating ἵνα subordinate clause:

Rv 16:15 Ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης. μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ καὶ βλέπωσιν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτοῦ.

Rv 22:14 Μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

With a motivating relative subordinate clause:

Mt 11:6 καὶ μακάριός ἐστιν ὃς ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.

Mt 24:46 μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὑρήσει οὕτως ποιοῦντα·

Lk 7:23 μακάριός ἐστιν ὃς ἐὰν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί.

Lk 12:37 μακάριοι οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, οὓς ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος εὑρήσει γρηγοροῦντας·

Lk 12:43 μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὑρήσει ποιοῦντα οὕτως·

Lk 14:15 Μακάριος ὅστις φάγεται ἄρτον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Lk 23:29 Μακάριαι αἱ στεῖραι καὶ αἱ κοιλίαι αἳ οὐκ ἐγέννησαν καὶ μαστοὶ οἳ οὐκ ἔθρεψαν.

Rm 4:7-8 Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.

Rm 14:22 σὺ πίστιν {ἣν} ἔχεις κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἔχε ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. μακάριος ὁ μὴ κρίνων ἑαυτὸν ἐν ᾧ δοκιμάζει·

With a temporal subordinate clause or conditional ἐάν sentence:

Mt 5:11 μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν {ψευδόμενοι} ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ·

Lk 6:22 μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν μισήσωσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι

1 Cor 7:40 μακαριωτέρα δέ ἐστιν ἐὰν οὕτως μείνῃ, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, δοκῶ δὲ κἀγὼ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν.

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With a motivating γὰρ subordinate clause:

Rv 1:3 μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας καὶ τηροῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς.

With a motivating ὅτι subordinate clause:

Mt 5:3 Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν (Compare Mt 5:4-10 and Lk 6:20-21.)

Mt 13:16 ὑμῶν δὲ μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὅτι βλέπουσιν, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν ὅτι ἀκούουσιν.

Mt 16:17 ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Μακάριος εἶ, Σίμων Βαριωνᾶ, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψέν σοι ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

Lk 1:45 μακαρία ἡ πιστεύσασα ὅτι ἔσται τελείωσις τοῖς λελαλημένοις αὐτῇ παρὰ κυρίου.

Ja 1:12 Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς ὑπομένει πειρασμόν, ὅτι δόκιμος γενόμενος λήμψεται τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς, ὃν ἐπηγγείλατο τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

In view of the above comparative table, the groupings under (b) (predicative adjective) may be regarded as a typical group in spite of the fact that there is a syntactic difference between groups (i) (predicative adjective functioning as a logical objective in the saying) and (ii) (predicative adjective functioning as starting point in the saying). *The expressions containing the predicative adjective* μακάριος, -ια, -ιον *presents a fixed syntactic aphoristic form.*

Once all the relevant contexts have been investigated in respect of content and attention is paid to both the *lexical meaning* and the *use* (for an explanation of these terms see Van Aarde 1980b:1-4) of the applicable words the semantics of the word group involved may be described as follows (see also Van Aarde 1980b:11). In all instances (fifty five times in thirty eight pericopes in the New Testament) the word μακάριος, -ια, -ιον and the cognate derivatives μακαρίζω and μακαρισμός serve as prophecies of blessing. Fifty two times it has the semantic function of psychological events and may thus be characterized as abstract-event words (or an explanation of terminology see Nida & Taber 1974:37). It namely expresses a qualitative condition, yet also refers to a process. If we check the 'use' in all fifty-two cases we find that with the exception of Acts 26:2 and Galatians 4:15, it refers to a religious prophecy of salvation regarding joy or blessing of some nature that implies some sort of eschatological participation. In Acts 26:2 and Galatians 4:15

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the reference is to a non-religious type of joy. The last three cases (1 Tm 1:11; 6:15 and Tt 2:13) may be typified as a 'pure' abstract. Their 'uses' are different in that it refers to a predicate characteristic of God in the first two cases while the other refers to a predicate characteristic of an impersonal gift from God.

The predicative adjective μακάριος, -ια, -ιον in the sayings we have isolated above as a typical group displays the same tendency in content: *It is an abstract-event word indicating a psychological process of a prophecy of joy referring to the joy eschatological participation brings about.*

With this I have argued that the literary expression under discussion represents an identified *Gattung*. It may be labelled the *Gattung* 'beatitude'.

2.3 Identification of the beatitude series as Gattung

In Matthew 5:3-10 we find that the beatitude is collected as a series of eight sayings within a finely and artfully constructed pericope (see Van Aarde 1980b:5-7). Klaus Koch (1974:21-23) is of the opinion that a *gattungsgechichtliche* past lies hidden behind this beatitude series. He believes that the beatitude did not originate as a series but as single aphorisms. They were collected as a series at some later stage. When the development of a specific *Gattung* brings about a change of literary form one can no longer speak of the same literary form (see Van Aarde 1980a:69-71). Implicitly Koch's belief that the beatitude series is the result of a *geschichtliche* development also holds that there is a possibility that the series as such represents a *Gattung* in its own right. The aspect of *Geschichtlichkeit* cannot be introduced as criterion to identify *Gattungen* (Richter 1970:216). The *gattungsgeschichtliche* question which is essentially diachronic is a facet of *Gattungsforschung* with its own specific methodological place which it only gains towards the end. However, Koch's remarks force us to try to determine, on a synchronic basis, whether or not the beatitude series in Matthew 5:3-10 represents a *Gattung*.

Keeping the above objective in mind it is necessary once more to check all cases in the New Testament that may possibly be combined in a typical group. Because I gave an explanation of the structure of the series in Matthew 5:3-10 in another article (see Van Aarde 1980b:4-7) it will not be repeated. The following cases subsequently deserve attention.

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(a) Lk 6:20-22; 24-26

Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, ὅτι ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες νῦν, ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε.
μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντες νῦν, ὅτι γελάσετε.
μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν μισήσωσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ὅταν ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ὀνειδίσωσιν καὶ ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρὸν ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·
Πλὴν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.
οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι νῦν, ὅτι πεινάσετε.
οὐαί, οἱ γελῶντες νῦν, ὅτι πενθήσετε καὶ κλαύσετε.
οὐαὶ ὅταν ὑμᾶς καλῶς εἴπωσιν πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖς ψευδοπροφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.

In this section we find a series of four beatitudes as opposed to four corresponding woe-cries. This section fills exactly the same position in Luke's Sermon on the Plain that it does in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. Regarding their content the four beatitudes of this section largely correspond with four of the series in the Gospel of Matthew. It should be accepted - and indeed is - that there is a common source behind these pronouncements. In the Lukan passage (the 'beatitude' accompanied by the corresponding 'woe-cry') we find a familiar and well-developed literary product of a specific nature (see Dodd 1968:3-4). In this the *Gattung* 'beatitude' and the *Gattung* 'woe-cry' serves as form elements (*Gliedgattungen*) of an expanded *Gattung* that can be labelled not only as a *Rahmengattung* but also as a *Gattungsmischung* (see again section 1.5 above for an explanation of these terms). Luke applies this *Gattungsmischung* in a *series* of four.

Whatever the original form of the beatitudes had been like in the common source, it is clear that in both the Matthean and Lukan pericopes the aphoristic beatitude was compiled in the form of a *series*. Although the two sections are not *identical* in terms of content and form their *similarities* are such that they may be typified as a typical group. Indeed, units need not be templates of one another in order to be grouped as a specific *Gattung*. In this regard Richter (1971:138) refers to units that are 'similar or related' in respect of each other. In view of the fact that one can only talk about a *Gattung* when at least two *independent* literary units are similar in respect of structure and content; the fact that the two passages concerned depend on a common source does not act as a disqualification for not calling the 'series' a *Rahmengattung*. In Luke 6:20ff and Matthew 5:3ff we find the totally independent work of two different authors who (although they relied on the same source) were not dependent on each other with regard to their literary work.

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(b) Lk 11:27-28

> Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἐπάρασά τις φωνὴν γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Μακαρία ἡ κοιλία ἡ βαστάσασά σε καὶ μαστοὶ οὓς ἐθήλασας.
> αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν, Μενοῦν μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες.

In Luke 11:27-28 two beatitudes are found in two consecutive cola. The second beatitude is opposed to the first in antithetical parallelism. Jesus shows that true 'blessedness' (= eschatological joy) does not lie in being his mother but in hearing and observing his teachings.

(c) Lk 12:37, 38, 43

> μακάριοι οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, οὓς ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος εὑρήσει γρηγοροῦντας·
> κἂν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ κἂν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ καὶ εὕρῃ οὕτως, μακάριοί εἰσιν ἐκεῖνοι.
> μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὑρήσει ποιοῦντα οὕτως·

In this section three beatitudes are found within the same pericope (12:35-48). Although these do not appear consecutively there is a logical connection between them. The middle beatitude functions (in contrast to the other two) syntactically as the logical objective in the saying. We may indeed now refer to a balanced 'series'. Significantly the beatitudes in this section time and again are a summary of the content of the scopus of the pericope.

(d) Lk 23:29

> ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἔρχονται ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς ἐροῦσιν, Μακάριαι αἱ στεῖραι καὶ αἱ κοιλίαι αἳ οὐκ ἐγέννησαν καὶ μαστοὶ οἳ οὐκ ἔθρεψαν.

It is a possibility that the word μακάριοι has to be seen as having a constituent connection with the object μαστοὶ in the deep structure with the result that we find two separate subcola in the superstructure that are dependent on ἐροῦσιν. This would then imply that we have two beatitudes in this section that follow directly on

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each other but that the deletion of the latter has to be assumed. In my opinion deletion is not present in this case because στεῖραι καὶ, αἱ κοιλίαι and μαστοὶ have to be regarded as a semantic unit having exactly the same referential meaning. The same is true in respect of Matthew 13:16.

(e) Rm 4:7-8

> Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ οὐ μὴ λογίσηται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.

This section is a citation of Psalm 32:1-2 which was taken over from the Septuagint word for word, with the exception of the last stichos of the Hebrew which were not quoted. If the hemystics are not taken into consideration there are two consecutive beatitudes in this section.

(f) Rv 1:3

> μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας καὶ τηροῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς

In this case three beatitudes appear in the deep structure. The last two beatitudes were deleted in the surface structure. The question, however, is whether a case of this nature may be recorded as a series. It is also true in respect of Revelations 16:15 where the possibility of deletion exists.

The logical conclusion that may be drawn from the above information is *that the Gattung 'beatitude' is frequently used in the New Testament in combinations of which the similarities are such that we may say that a 'beatitude series' was built up.* It appears in a 'pure' form in two sections (Mt 5:3-10 and Lk 6:20ff). Syntactically Romans 4:7-8 is the closest to the *series* found in the above two passages. Although Luke 11:27-28 and 12:35-48 are not a *series* in the same sense as the above, there is a related comparison in that the beatitudes display a logical sequence in the relevant pericopes. The differences between the rest of the cases that were investigated are of such a nature that they cannot be regarded as belonging to this isolated typical group. Klaus Koch thus methodologically put the cart before the horse when he maintained that one should assume a *gattungsgeschichtliche* development from a single aphorism to a series. From our synchronic investigation it did, however, emerge that the *Gattung* 'beatitude' is applied as an element of form within the *Rahmengattung* 'beatitude series'.

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Four other cases which fall outside the New Testament but are part of the Judaic literature, have come to my attention and strengthen the thesis that in Matthew 5:3-10 and Luke 6:20ff we are dealing with a *Gattung* of own character:

In *Sirach 25:7-11* the *Gattungsmischung* is unmistakable. The author combines the aphoristic 'beatitude' with ten, the wisdom 'numerical saying'. This means that he is forced to structure the beatitude as a *series* in order to arrive at the number ten. In the introduction (verse 7) he announces the blessing (ἐμακάριζα) arising from ten types of human benediction and which at the same time imply a correct ethical life. Although the expression (μακάριος ὁ δεῖνα) is used twice only the effect is that of ten beatitudes which are constructed symmetrically around the two expressions.

In *2 Slavonic Enoch 42:6-14* (see Charles 1913:457) we find a series of nine beatitudes, and in chapter 52:1-16 (see Charles 1913:461-462) a series of seven where each is alternated with a corresponding 'woe-cry'. In both sections the term 'righteousness' functions prominently. See 42:11 ('Blessed is who sows the seeds of righteousness, for he shall reap sevenfold') and 52:16 ('And now, children, keep your hearts from unrighteousness, that you may inherit the weighing-scale of the light into eternity').

Thus both passages display similarities in content with both the Matthean and Lukan pericopes. If it is taken into account that the Slavonic Enoch book is dated around the time of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, and that both manuscripts at our disposal are based upon an earlier Greek translation of, possibly, a Hebrew original (see Rost 1971:83-84), it serves to strengthen my thesis that we are dealing with the same literary product as in the 'beatitude series' of Matthew 5:3-10.

Lastly I refer to a hymn from the Geonic period which probably originated in the time of the Talmud (see Daube 1956:198). In this hymn there is a series of ten sayings in which God is addressed as בָּרוּךְ and אַשְׁרֵי (the equivalent of the Greek μακάριος, -ια, -ιον) are semantically interchangeable. The first includes the additional supplementary component that God may be included as object of blessing while this is not the case with the latter (see the notes in Hatch & Redpath 1954:892). Keeping this in mind it is quite possible that this hymn may at least have some formal connection with the identified beatitude series in Matthew 5:3-10. Daube (1956:198-200) also wants to prove this.

2.4 The Sitz im Leben of the New Testament beatitude

The term *Sitz im Leben* should not be recorded as a historical entity in the sense that a fixed historical date is determinable in respect of each *Sitz im Leben*. More than likely the *Sitz im Leben* is related to a specific historical period (see Tucker

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1975:116). This is one of the reasons why the question regarding the *Sitz im Leben* of a formula like the beatitude within the New Testament is not that simplistic. Indeed, if it could be determined that some of the beatitudes in the Gospels are *ipsissima verba Jesu* then the question regarding the *Sitz im Leben Jesu* could also be formulated. And should it be evident that there are beatitudes in the New Testament that should be recorded as *Gemeindebildung* (see Bultmann 1970:115; Koch 1974:53), then the question regarding the *Sitz im Leben der alten Kirche* should be asked again. We shall have to accept that the evangelist Matthew stood in the center of the early Christian congregation and that he most probably had written his Gospel with his congregation in mind (Klijn 1968:45). In respect of this matter in general the early Christian *kerugma*, the early Christian congregation, and the early Christian catechesis should in all probability be regarded as the *Sitze im Leben der alten Kirche* (Zimmermann 1974:173).

Koch (1974:36) points out that it is no longer known at which occasion in the early Christian congregation the beatitude was delivered. The Old Testament custom to use beatitudes as the introduction to a wisdom argument and the positioning of the beatitude series in Matthew 5 as the introduction to the Sermon on the Mount and in Luke as the introduction to the Sermon on the Plain leads him to believe that it appeared within the framework of the *Predigtgottesdienst*, and then as the *Ausgangstext* of the preaching to the congregation.

In this regard Joachim Jeremias (1963:21) has a very interesting theory. In view of the broad distinction made between *kerugma* and διδαχή in the early church where the *kerugma* is the preaching to the heathen of salvation in Christ, and the διδαχή is an instruction to the Christian congregation with the same content as the *kerugma*, Jeremias (1963:21) regards the whole Sermon on the Mount as a classic example of an early Christian διδαχή. To Jeremias the *Sitz im Leben der alten Kirche* of the Sermon on the Mount is to be found in the catechetic instruction to the post-baptismal Christians. The evangelist thus had a parenetical objective when collecting the various isolated logia which the Sermon on the Mount was supposed to have been constituted from originally. The logical conclusion is that if the Sermon on the Mount is a catechetic instruction given to baptised members or to postbaptismal Christians, it had to be preceded by something else. 'It was preceded by the proclamation of the Gospel; and it was preceded by conversion, by being overpowered by the Good News' (Jeremias 1963:24). The 'Good News' that precedes the collected sayings of the Sermon on the Mount is therefore the preaching of the Messiah. Jesus is the messiah-king, and as such, he speaks with authority in the Sermon on the Mount: '[I]t is as if to every saying of the Sermon on the Mount we must supply the protasis: "your sins are forgiven (Matt 9:2)"

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(Jeremias 1963:29). This 'Good News', the 'protasis', is the *kerugma* and according to Jeremias the presumption should be that it precedes each logion throughout the Sermon on the Mount (διδαχή).

> The *kerugma* is now followed by the *didache*. Moreover, the protasis is only ostensibly missing: *It is found in the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount in the form of the beatitudes* (5:3-12), and in the sayings on the glory of discipleship (5:13-16). These two sections concern the whole Sermon just as in a mathematical formula a number before a bracket. *They concern every saying in the Sermon on the Mount, they are simply not repeated every time.*
>
> (Jeremias 1963:30; italics by Jeremias)

To Jeremias the implication is that the beatitude series played an important role in *baptism* in the early church. G Braumann (1960:259) also indicated that *baptism* was the *Sitz im Leben* of the beatitude series. According to him it is clear that the *Sitz im Leben* of the Sermon of the Mount should be seen as that of baptizm.

Jeremias' finding in respect of the positional function of the beatitude series in Matthew 5 in certain instances bears a striking resemblance to my own results in this regard (see Van Aarde 1980b:10). However, the theories of Jeremias and Braumann in respect of the *Sitz im Leben* of the beatitude series remain hypotheses which cannot be proven beyond any doubt. It therefore does not seem possible to give a definite indication of the congregational *Sitz im Leben* of the New Testament beatitude. Even the fact that a large number of these figure syntactically as the departure point of a saying (see Klaus Koch) is not sufficient to record the congregational *Sitz im Leben* of the beatitude as the liturgical *Ausgangstext* of the *Predigtgottesdienst* (= sermon). According to Richter (1971:145) the *Sitz im Leben* should be inferred from the structure and content of the *Gattung* - if possible (see also Van Aarde 1980a:67). With regard to the New Testament beatitude its structure and content unfortunately are not sufficient to enable one to identify its specific congregational *Sitz im Leben*. The New Testament contexts in which the beatitude occurs differ in respect of content. On the one hand the beatitude is used on the basis of the suffering the addressed person has to endure as a result of 'enemies', and on the other it is used in terms of a correct ethical life. The content element that is, in fact, constantly present in the beatitudes of the New Testament is that the beatitude is a religious prophecy of blessing that bears relation to eschatological salvation. It appears as if we will have to be content with a vague indication in respect of the *Sitz im Leben* of the New Testament beatitude: *The early Christian eschatological salvation kerugma.*

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2.5 The function of the beatitude series in Matthew 5:3-10

The question regarding the 'function' of the *Gattung* is the question regarding the relationship between the literary setting of a concrete textual unit which is a manifestation of a specific *Gattung*, and the typical *Sitz im Leben* of that *Gattung* (Markert 1973:95). In other words, the question regarding the literary setting only comes up for discussion when we deal with the application of the specific *Gattung* in the actual use of the language. Thus the question regarding the 'function' of a *Gattung* is also the question whether the *Gattung* has been used 'functional typical' or 'functional atypical' in a concrete situation (Hoffman 1970:344). With this question the traditional view that a *Gattung* is an extra-literary entity is dispensed with in *Gattungsforschung*. We now focus our attention on the function of the beatitude series in Matthew 5:3-10.

The pericope Matthew 5:3-10 fills a special position within its broader context, namely Matthew 4:23-9:35 (see Van Aarde 1980b:7-10). The latter section forms a circular composition. The identical introduction (4:23) and conclusion (9:35) give an indication of the dominant content of the passage by means of three participial phrases (διδάσκων, κηρύσσων, θεραπεύων). This is a didactic motif, a kerygmatic motif and a healing motif. The healing motif comes to the fore mainly in the miracle stories of chapters 8 and 9. The didactic motif features prominently in the Sermon on the Mount (chapters 5-7). The miracle stories are also punctuated by stories of Jesus' instructions. The pericope under discussion (5:3-10) forms the *exordium* of the Sermon on the Mount. Within this particularly prominent structural-semantic positional unit Matthew makes use of a specific *Gattung*, namely the beatitude. Repetition changes it into a form element of a new *Gattung* - the beatitude series.

The typical *Sitz im Leben* of the beatitude is ideally suited to the evangelist. This typical *Sitz im Leben* was described above as a prophecy of blessing which should be seen as an eschatological salvation kerygma. The kerygmatic quality of the beatitude series (the *exordium* of the Sermon on the Mount) also provides kerygmatic quality to the rest of the didactical dimension in the Sermon on the Mount. And because the didactic passages are alternated with the miracle stories (especially healings) in a broader context (of which the Sermon on the Mount is the first section) these didactic passages should also be determined kerygmatically. Consequently this is also true in respect of the alternating miracle stories. Summarized it means that the kerygmatic motif finds its place in the broader context within the beatitude series.

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It has now become obvious that in the context under discussion few other *Gattungen* would have been more functional and effective than the beatitude, and then in the form of a series. The literary setting of the beatitude series in Matthew 5:3-10 therefore indicates that this *Gattung* has been applied particularly 'functional typical'.

2.6 The *Gattungsgeschichte* of the New Testament beatitude

The beatitude as a specific fixed Greek literary formula is not only to be found in the New Testament. In addition to the numerous examples in classic Greek (see Hauck 1942:365-366) and in Hellenistic Greek outside the New Testament (see Kähler 1976:48-50, 52-53), there are forty-six examples in the Septuagint that meet the requirements we had set for those that had been classified as a typical group in the New Testament on the basis of a formal investigation. Thirty seven of the forty six cases are a reproduction of the equivalent Hebrew אַשְׁרֵי formula. Twenty one examples are to be found in Psalms, six in Proverbs, three in Isaiah, and one each in Deuteronomy, 1 Kings, 2 Chronicles, Trito-Isaiah, Job, Ecclesiastes and Daniel. In Romans 4:7-8 we also find a quote from the Septuagint of Ps 32:1-2. These facts lead us to believe that the New Testament beatitude, in fact, has a history. But this history should not be searched for in the literature of classic Greece or that of the Hellenistic world (Koch1974:23); it should be searched for in the Old Testament via the Septuagint, and in the Judaic literature. The investigations done by Walter Käser (1970:225-250) as well as Waldemar Janzen (1965:215-226) in respect of the form and content of the אַשְׁרֵי pronouncements within the Old Testament serve as an illustration of this.

However, this does not mean that the Old Testament אַשְׁרֵי formula has to correspond with the New Testament beatitude in all respects. Käser, in fact, indicated in no uncertain terms that there was no such grammatical similarity. Grammatically the word אַשְׁרֵי, for example, is a *status constructus* plural and is independent from its following nomen in respect of number, gender and mode - in contrast to its New Testament equivalent (Käser 1970:230). With regard to syntax and content there are marked similarities although the אַשְׁרֵי formula can only in a certain sense be regarded as the prototype of the New Testament beatitude.

Syntactically Käser indicated that the word אַשְׁרֵי generally forms the climax of the saying that follows it and is consequently emphasized. In addition Klaus Koch (1974:8) indicated that there are examples in which the word אַשְׁרֵי figures as the logical aim of the saying (see Pr 14:21; 16:20; 29:18). (Käser asks whether these three examples from Proverbs should not rather be regarded as a stylistic peculiarity of the redactor.)

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These facts correspond very closely with the New Testament beatitude. Yet this is not all; there are other important syntactic similarities. The אַשְׁרֵי formula often appears only as a single saying without embedded extensions, as is the case with the New Testament beatitude (compare Ps 34:9b אַשְׁרֵי הַגֶּבֶר יֶחֱסֶה־בּוֹ with Lk 14:15 Μακάριος ὅστις φάγεται ἄρτον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ). In other cases the matrix sentence is expanded by means of a relative subordinate clause (compare Ps 94:12a אַשְׁרֵי הַגֶּבֶר אֲשֶׁרתְּיַסְּרֶנּוּ יָהּ with with Mt 11:6 μακάριος ἐστιν ὃς ἐάν μὴ σκανδαλισθῇ ἐν ἐμοί), or by means of a motivating subordinate clause (compare Is 3:10 אִמְרוּ צַדִּיק כִּיאַשְׁרֵי כִּיפְרִי מַעַלְלֵיהֶם יֹאכֵלוּ with Mt 5:2b-3 ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς λέγων, Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν). (The reading in the textual apparatus of *Biblia Hebraica* is accepted and thus we read כִּיאַשְׁרֵי instead of כִּיטוֹב.) Sometimes the אַשְׁרֵי formula extends over two or three stichos. It should then be assumed that the word אַשְׁרֵי appears in each of these stichos (compare Pr 3:13 אַשְׁרֵי אָדָם מָצָא חָכְמָה וְאָדָם יָפִיק תְּבוּנָה with Rv 1:3 μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας καὶ τηροῦντες τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς). The content range of the אַשְׁרֵי formula often reaches further than the saying in which it appears (compare Ps 41:2-4 with Mt 16:17-19). The latter two examples of the אַשְׁרֵי formula form part of the group Käser (1970:225-229) called 'bound beatitudes'. He classified all the Old Testament examples in the Septuagint as 'bound beatitudes' and 'unbound beatitudes'. He included the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach (in which four examples of the so-called 'bound beatitudes' appear) in this classification. The frequency of the latter group is also the highest. Because the range of the 'bound beatitudes' reaches across stichos and/or cola we may accept it as a fact that the majority of the Old Testament beatitudes (including the Septuagint and Judaic literature) contain the principle of expansion within themselves.

Regarding the content aspect of the Old Testament אַשְׁרֵי formula W Käser (1970:249) came to the following conclusion:

> Sie ist Verkündigung der durch Gnade geschaffenen, durch Gnade aufrechterhaltenen, durch Gnade dem eschatologischen Ziel entgegengeführtenen Relation zwischen Gott und Mensch im Lebensbund der Gnade; dies gilt auch und gerade von den überaus zahlreichen thorabezogenen Makarismen. Im Blick auf den gestern, heute und morgen sich treubleibenden Herrn des Bundes ist die makarismische Verkündigung wesenhaft eschatologisch. Dass das eschatologische Ziel oft auf eine innergeschichtliche Zukunft verkürzt

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> erscheint - eine Beobachtung, die der ntl. Seligpreisung fremd ist - spricht nog einmal dafür dass der Gott dieses Bundes (und also dieser Relation) der Herr aller Geschichte ist. Im Blick auf ihn ist die Existenz des Menschen in dieser Relation (der ntl. Seligpreisung wiederum so gut wie unbekannt) als die des vom Gesetz Jahwes umhegten Lebens beschrieben. Die drei fur den alt. Makarismus wesentlichen Momente der Relation, der eschatologischen Orientierung und der Verknüpfung des Heilszuspruches in die Thora als der Form des Lebens aus Jahwe lassen sich mehr oder minder ausgeprägt. Darin aber klingen die makarismischen Zeugnisse des AT und NT in eins zusammen: *Seligpreisung ist Lobpreis der heilschaffenden Gnade Gottes am erwählten Menschen.*
>
> (Käser 1970:249; his emphasis)

The roots of the New Testament beatitude are to be found in the Old Testament. The examples of the beatitude series in the New Testament (as well as those in Sirach 25:7-11, 2 Slav En 42:6-14 and 52:1-16) probably found tangential points in the 'bound beatitudes' of the Old Testament. In this way a section of Old Testament kerygma continued into the New Testament - even though it was filled with new content.

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Chapter 2

The miraculous multiplication of loaves (Mt 14:13-21 and par): Historical criticism in perspective

[T]he old canard should at long last be put to rest which says that inherent in the historical-critical method itself is a denial of the miraculous...not the historical critical method as such but the doctrine of God to which the individual interpreter subscribes is what dictates whether he will be open or not to the possibility of miracle.

(Kingsbury 1975a:140)

A theology that...wishes to see its own reflection as that of a critical justification of the contents of the tradition of Christian faith in no way threatens the certain faith of believers by its critical attitude, but would much rather help...to consciously use as its theme the questions and uncertainties that may exist in the experiences of faith within a community.

(Van Huyssteen 1986:185; translation from Afrikaans)

In this essay certain aspects of the historical critical method are applied to the doublet of the narration of the miraculous multiplication of loaves in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew. The point of departure taken is that a single tradition apparently lies beyond the doublet. It is furthermore argued that the first narrative has been molded from out of a particular perspective within a Palestinian situation in early Christianity and the second from out of an universal perspective within a Hellenistic situation. Finally, it is argued that Mark, in his redactional interpretation of the narrative, used these perspectives for the purpose of eucharistic catechesis. Matthew, on the other hand, reinterpreted Mark's usage, fashioned the doublet into a messianic meal and emphasized more explicitly the

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intermediate role of the disciples in the feeding of the crowd. The article's intention is to put the historical critical method into perspective against the accusation that this method is a threat to Christian faith.

1. INTRODUCTION AND HYPOTHESIS

Over the years the denunciation of historical criticism developed into a refrain, namely that as exegetic approach it is irreconcilable with the nature of the Holy Scriptures and cannot do justice to their truth.

Through the application of aspects of historical criticism to the narrative of the miraculous multiplication of loaves (Mt 14:13-21 and parallel texts), I will attempt to place the historical-critical (methodological) hypothesis into perspective to illustrate that a particular hypothesis may expect particular answers. This exposes the invalidity of the above judgment. It mixes methodological and theological issues. 'Exegesis' should, however, result in 'theology'. But the distinctiveness of the hypothesis and corresponding results of both should be distinguished from one another. Dieter Lührmann's contribution in respect of exegetic methodology is worthy of some consideration. He emphasizes the fact that the application of any method to the Bible has certain implications regarding the justification of faith, in that exegesis is, in the end, as such a theological program (Lührmann 1984:28). It is not, however, necessary to develop an aversion to 'methods' and it would be wrong to adopt his proposal, which aims to replace the term 'methodological hypothesis' with 'theological hypothesis'.

I find myself very critical of historical criticism. I will attempt to discuss, constructively, both the possibilities and the shortcomings of historical criticism, with regard to the nature and truth of the Holy Scriptures. My thesis is that it is an oversimplification of the particular exegetic methodological and theological problems to regard historical criticism as the cause of the rational and skeptical historistic hypothesis of the Enlightenment and the post-Enlightenment. Historical criticism is, rather, 'an attempt...to handle the existing problem [text-theoretically and theologically - AG v A]' (translated from Schnell 1986).

Apart from the introduction, the essay has four main parts. Firstly, historical criticism is given perspective through exegetic methodology, epistemology and the justification of faith. Secondly, *form-* and *traditionsgeschichtliche*, and thirdly *redaktionsgeschichtliche* questions are posed in respect of Matthew 14:13-21 and parallel texts. Fourthly, I will briefly return to the hypothesis set out above.

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2. HISTORICAL CRITICISM IN PERSPECTIVE

2.1 A commitment to rationality

2.1.1 Genetic method of explanation

Historical criticism has a commitment to rationality. Yet its basis can only to some extent be traced back to the world of seventeenth and eighteenth century rationalism. It is not an irrational activity to research the origin and development of texts. All critical justification faces the responsibility towards rationality. Yet *rationalism* as such does not represent the point of departure of and bonding elements between the various methodical facets of historical criticism as exegetic approach. It is more probably the *genetic explanation* that forms the basis of historical-critical exegesis (see Lategan 1982:58). According to the genetic method of explanation the recovery of the *origin* and *development* of phenomena simultaneously represents their *explanation*. Both the possibilities and the shortcomings of historical criticism as an exegetic approach flow from this presupposition. With this method of explanation the evolutionary *development* of a text and the *author's* influence on its content constitute the object of the research (see Vorster 1982b:94).

2.1.2 Rationalism?

It is incorrect to place historical criticism and rationalism merely on an equal footing, and consequently pass off historical criticism as an exegetic approach which could summarily be described as anti-scriptural, anti-church, anti-dogma, anti-faith, et cetera. Such a negative attitude is to be found especially in the theological and ecclesiastical circles of both orthodoxy and pietism. Certain practitioners of historical criticism also stimulate this by their theological applications. Orthodoxy often teaches that anyone who depends on the 'intellect' gets lost along the road to 'faith'. Should we, however, exchange the word 'science' for the word 'intellect' we would realize that 'intellect' is not necessarily anti-scriptural, it does not wish to replace dogmatic theology with intellectual theology, neither does it wish to ban 'faith'.

Enough proof exists of believers in the period of the Enlightenment and later interpreting the Bible according to historical criticism and serving both dogmatic theology and the church. Negative criticism places too much emphasis on the extremes, such as on those who practice historical criticism by approaching Jesus' resurrection in a rational and historistic manner. W E G Paulus, an eighteenth- and

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nineteenth-century New Testament scholar, was one such exponent of historical criticism. He was known for his radical pronouncements in respect of Jesus' resurrection (see Schweitzer 1951). He did, in fact, allow an injustice to the nature and authority of the Bible. But radical points of view such as his are all too easily generalized as being historical criticism. On the other hand, the positive and pioneering work of someone like J P Gabler at the end of the eighteenth century (see Boers 1979:23-39) is not sufficiently appreciated. Healthy tolerance has always served the church and biblical scholarship and not undermined it. Without historical criticism we would have been much the poorer.

2.1.3 The Reformation

Although some theologians deny it (e g Zorn 1984:10-19, and by implication Fryer 1984:260-269; [1986]), a strong case can be made for the fact that historical criticism is a continuation and intensifying of the 'historical grammatical'/literal exegetic approach from the Reformation period. To my mind the historical-critical approach is not a renegade child of the Reformation. It is one of the Reformation's most valuable heirlooms.

It is, therefore, only logical that the historical critic would often be able to make use of the results of a 'historical grammatical' explanation and exploit them further. Although an exegetic model may be supplanted, a number of the results remain of importance. Naturally this does not only apply to the historical-grammatical method, but it also involves the results of allegorical exegesis from the Middle Ages and historical-critical exegesis from the Enlightenment. Thus we find that, with regard to the narrative of the multiplication of loaves there are, amazingly, a number of contact points between the results of Augustine's exegesis (see Boobyer 1953:77), and that of Richardson (1955:146) and Schmidt [1919] (1969:172-214).

2.2 What is historical criticism?

To arrive at a clearer explanation, we shall distinguish between three things: methodology, procedure and approach.

2.2.1 Approach

Ernst Troeltsch described historical criticism as being critical, analogical and correlative. Krentz (1975:55) described these characteristics as follows:

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* historical criticism is *critical* - in other words, it is method-probing because on a historical level only probabilistic judgments can be made, as nothing is totally certain in a historical sense;
* historical criticism is *analogical*, because the sources are used comparatively; in other words if the authenticity of an event is accepted it means that something similar (not necessarily 'identical') has occurred elsewhere;
* historical criticism is *correlative* because this approach searches for the connection between events, in the sense of cause and effect, on the basis of the premise that there must be some interaction between phenomena.

2.2.2 Procedure

In the light of the above approach and reflecting on the work of the historical critics, De Jonge (1982:78) describes the procedure adopted by historical criticism as follows:

* its methods are analytical;
* it seeks signs that will indicate that the text does not form an integrated unit;
* it tabulates differences in respect of word choices, grammar and style, discrepancies in content, doublets, et cetera;
* it attempts to explain the text in terms of text history and criticism, socio-historical and religious-historical background, sources, formal and content-related text types, oral and literary history of transmission, redactional adaptations, et cetera.

2.2.3 Methodology

In time, historical criticism became divided into three (four?) clearly distinguishable (although not separated) methods of exegesis, namely *Literarkritik, Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte*, and *Redaktionsgeschichte*. These different methodological aspects of historical criticism have developed relatively from one another and consequently often intrude on another's areas. Historical criticism does not imply that one has to work through from *Literarkritik* to *Redaktionsgeschichte*, as though one could penetrate to the text's meaning with such pluralistic methodology. Different answers to different questions are found by means of different methods. With regard to the New Testament, and the gospels in particular, the field of interest of the *Literarkritik* is the author's use of sources; for example, the author of the Gospel of Matthew used the Gospel of Mark as his main source. The *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte* emphasizes the analysis of transmission phases, the correlative

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sociological situations in the early church and the impact it had on the selection, transformation and re-interpretation of the Jesus-saying traditions. The *Redaktionsgeschichte* struggles with questions regarding the nature of the influence of the biblical author, as redactor and interpreter of a specific theological perspective in a specific ecclesiastical grouping within the early church, upon the redactional editing of transmitted Jesus traditions in a macrotext such as the whole Gospel of Matthew.

2.3 Possibilities and shortcomings

2.3.1 Distance between exegete and text

Historical criticism may also be seen as an *epistemological* matter. As an epistemological paradigm (see Van Huyssteen 1986:63-87 with regard to the term 'paradigm'), historical criticism stands in contrast to a Platonic ideation (see Deist 1984:47-56). The latter epistemological theory carries within itself the basis of the most tempting deception that ever existed in respect of biblical hermeneutics, namely that of *misplaced concreteness* (see Van Aarde 1985a:568-571).

The fact that *understanding* of the Bible always simultaneously presumes present *application* implies that two periods have been bridged: the historical time of the Bible and the present time of the exegete. From this viewpoint, Rudolf Bultmann named this interrelationship *Verstehen* (= understanding) and *Glauben* (= faith). If, however, the existence of the distance that is bridged in the hermeneutic process is not taken into account both epistemologically and exegetically-methodologically, we may find that we have to deal with misplaced concreteness. This is the reason why historical-literal exegesis now lacks conviction. This paradigm does not allow the distance between the present-day exegete and the historical Bible to be bridged methodically or adequately enough. In addition to the subjectivism which may arise from this, the approach leads to a use of Scripture that is foreign to the basic intention of the Reformation.

The origin and development of reformed scholastics since the seventeenth century is, ironically, an alienating result of the Reformation. In contrast, historical criticism contributed towards the creation of the necessary distance between the exegete and the Bible. The Reformation evaluated official ecclesiastical opinion as *norma normata* (deduced, secondary authority) in contrast to Scripture as *norma normans* (primary authority). In this way any summary analogy between the Bible and contemporary ecclesiastic thought or exegesis was dismissed. In fact, the distance between the two was emphasized. Boers (1979:17) formulates this as follows:

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> The Bible was no longer an integral, contemporary part of the living religion but was separated from it by intervening history, that very history of the ongoing life of the church which had previously provided continuity with the Bible. *A historical consciousness thus arose with the Reformation. This was not immediately recognized, but it was only a question of time before it began to become clear, and historical criticism would emerge*
>
> (Boers 1979:17; my emphasis).

The scholars of the Middle Ages did not use Scripture with such a historical consciousness before the Reformation. This was also to be noticed in the artwork of the Middle Ages. Biblical scenes were presented against a contemporary background and biblical characters were dressed in contemporary clothing. Contemporary people were even used in conjunction with biblical figures. In a certain sense this same type of intermingling of periods takes place in ecclesiastical dogma and ecclesiastical kerygma. However, the Reformation made us aware of the danger of the subjectivism that can arise from this type of concreteness. The demands made by the *sola Scriptura* principle and the hermeneutic procedure, *Sacra Scriptura sui ipsius interpres*, in fact, originated against the background of this critical historical consciousness. After the Reformation (as also acknowledged by the Roman Catholic Church some time later - see Küng 1980:510-514) the hermeneutist was not to expound texts and dogmas without taking cognizance of the possibility of misplaced concreteness. One should therefore appreciate the contribution of historical criticism in this respect. The neo-scholasticism of the period after the seventeenth century in both the Reformed and the Roman Catholic world, and the fundamentalism of our day, however, do not want to acknowledge this value of historical criticism. And we have to accept that this is the way things are when a paradigm is created and converted:

> Revolution in science occurs when scientists find the old paradigm increasingly inadequate to cope with anomalies, and some become converted to a new paradigm, though theses under the old continue to proliferate.
>
> (Montague 1979:5)

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2.3.2 An element of the exegetic process

Historical criticism does not constitute the whole exegetic process, yet it forms an essential part of it:

> Important as they are, historical-critical tools are not the only ones essential for biblical interpretation....[T]exts from the past must be interpreted in terms of their historical meaning - what they said in and to their own times - as at least one step essential to their understanding.
>
> (Tucker 1975:vi)

Viewed from a particular angle, it would, on the basis of non-fundamentalistic considerations, even be possible to regard historical criticism as an illegitimate hypothesis in the exegesis of certain types of biblical literature such as the gospels (see Frye 1971). As narrative literature the contents of the gospels have been organized according to *theme* and not historically, causatively and chronologically. Thus the gospels are described as *metahistorical* literature. To expect historical 'preciseness' in a text such as a gospel is to misinterpret it. As narrative texts the gospels stand detached from their historical authors. The interpretation of narrative texts therefore does not as such concentrate on penetrating the real world of the historical author, and the place and circumstances of reception. Neither is it concerned with the description of the early written or prescriptive contextualizations of tradition.

But the gospels, seen as narratives, are not figments of the imagination. By means of, amongst other things, transmitted traditions which have been redactionally adapted in a selective, reformative and re-interpretive manner, an evangelist communicates his own type of theological perspective as redactor-narrator. A historical-critical investigation into the application of traditions in a narrative text could therefore not be irrelevant. Questions regarding the sources of texts, the transmission of traditions, redaction history, et cetera, will at least have to find a place in introductory scientific questions such as those about authorship and original readership (see Culpepper 1984:474). Knowledge about this will ensure that the exegete does not treat the Bible in a naive fashion. And irrespective of this, the study of the redactional activities of authors should be part of the exegesis of texts with an evolutionary genesis, such as the gospels. How else then would the exegete determine the theological motive behind activities such as the rearrangement, amendment, elimination, extension and abridgement of traditions? In addition, a gospel does not develop within a vacuum. It refers to a situational

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context which includes the socio-political, economic and religious circumstances of the time. This situational context should be construed. Aspects of this could be examined more closely by, inter alia, comparing texts by means of the historical-critical method. The canon of Scripture, together with the non-canonical writings, has in this way been subjected to a full historical examination, while the exegete, in a theological sense, takes cognizance of the following remark by Funk (1966:11): 'The word of God...is not on trial'.

2.3.3 Historical criticism and the nature of faith

Stuhlmacher (1979:220) criticizes historical criticism because it can only make probabilistic judgments and cannot provide any historical certainties. He finds the so-called analogy principle of historical criticism a particular problem. We indicated at an earlier stage (section 2.2.1) that the probable reliability of an event would, according to this presupposition, only be accepted if something similar had happened elsewhere. Thus historical criticism does not make provision for the unique and for what has no analogy in religious texts. The reliability of the miraculousness of God concerning himself with man is therefore in contention. Krentz (1975:4) voices this objection as follows:

> Scholars must ask whether historical criticism, a legacy of historicism and its philosophic presuppositions, is adequate for the investigation of the Bible....Can it do justice to the inner meaning of religious literature?
>
> (Krentz 1975:4)

In answering this question we should keep the important point of departure mentioned above (section 1) in mind, namely that the uniqueness of exegetic and theological hypothesis respectively should be distinguished from one another. When the result of historical criticism, namely that we are not dealing with *bruta facta* in the gospels but with reformed and interpreted Jesus-saying traditions, develops into a question regarding the justification of faith we have finally arrived at theology. And it is simply not true that the acknowledgement of this result negates the historicity or the wonder of God concerning himself with man. Neither does it make the confession of faith impossible.

With regard to the relationship between the nature of faith and historical reliability, the following remark by Krentz (1975:32) may serve to answer his question quoted above:

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> Barth's call raised anew the question of the relationship of faith to historical method....Rudolf Bultmann also recognized the poverty of a historical approach to the New Testament. He shared with Barth a concern for the World's claim on man and *sought to use historical criticism to serve that claim*....Faith is the decision made in response to that call. *Faith is not dependent on historical knowledge. Criticism can be ruthlessly practised, because it makes the nature of faith clear.*
>
> (Krentz 1975:32; my emphasis)

From this perspective there is no need for tension between faith and historical criticism. When critical reflection on the Bible is resisted and suppressed in the name of the confession of faith it is an indication of a narrow-minded and fearful faith that only pretends to be strong but is, in fact, foundering (see Ebeling 1981:12). God is the origin of faith. Faith is not based on methodological and other scientific verifications.

3. MATTHEW 14:13-21 (AND PARALLEL SECTIONS) AND THE 'TRADITIONS'- AND 'FORMGESCHICHTE'

3.1 What are *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte*?

Although the *Traditions-* and *Formgeschichte* are, in fact, two different methods they are combined for our purposes. The point of departure is that we have to accept that traditions regarding Jesus were first transmitted verbally before being committed to writing.

Traditionsgeschichtliche exegesis is interested in the pre-literary stage, that is the stage before the tradition is recorded in writing. Broadly speaking, these stages extended from the historical Jesus via the Aramaic speaking/Palestinian Judeo-Christian circle of tradition up to and including Gentile Christianity. Someone who is, for example, interested in the historical Jesus or his preaching will, by means of a *traditionsgeschichtliche* investigation, attempt to probe the different layers of context on the different levels of tradition in order to reach the contextual level pertaining to the historical Jesus. The *Formgeschichte* focuses on the second contextual level and the *Redaktionsgeschichte* on the third. The second level is that of the early church before the gospels, as they now exist, were put into writing. The third contextual level is the particular community in the early church from which the various evangelists write as the representatives of specific 'theologies'.

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In addition to the fact that the gospels are products of a process of oral transmission, the text theory at the basis of the *Formgeschichte* consists of a specific causal relationship between the oral tradition and the written text. What this means is that a genetic relationship is presumed between the form (= *Form/Gattung*) in which a tradition has been cast and the social environment (= *Sitz im Leben*) in which it functioned. During the oral phase traditions assumed certain forms, according to the nature of the function they had in the community of the early church. The situation in everyday life (*Sitz im Leben*) in the early church, for example the *missionary kerygma* of the evangelical message, the early Christian *church service* and early Christian *catechism*, was the reason why the traditions took on functional *forms*.

In this manner the miracle story of the New Testament took its specific *form* as a result of the function it had in the early church. According to this it had no intra-ecclesiastical direction such as preaching/catechism. It had a more extra-ecclesiastical, propagandistic function. The social environment from which the miracle stories originated would be situations in the Jewish-Hellenistic community, where Jesus' power over competitive gods and miracle-workers was emphasized (see Dibelius 1971:76-78).

Different criteria have been applied to the classification of the various types of miracle stories in the gospels (see i a Betz & Grimm 1977:6). One method of classification is according to the object of the miracle, namely man or nature. Another method is according to the dynamics of the miracle, namely healing, salvation, damnation, epiphany, demonstration of power, et cetera. Theissen (1974:111-120), in addition to distinguishing between the casting out of demons and miracles of healing, also distinguishes between *Geschenkwunder* ('miracle gifts') and *Normenwunder*. The latter may be compared with the controversy dialogues between Jesus and the Jewish leaders. The miracle serves to legitimize the fact that Jesus is correct in the controversy dialogue. As far as the Synoptic Gospels are concerned, and from a superficial viewpoint, the miraculous multiplication of loaves is classified as a *Geschenkwunder* but is intermingled with the typical *Normenwunder* in the Gospel of John.

Martin Dibelius, one of the pioneers in the practice of the *Formgeschichte*, who used the above-mentioned *Sitz im Leben* as his point of departure with reference to the miracle story, subdivides the miracle story (he calls it a 'novel') into narratives about the casting out of demons, miracles of healing and miracles of nature. Dibelius (1971:67; see also p 73-74) claims that the 'novel' has the following basic pattern:

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* a description of the 'illness' or the situation that needs to be 'rectified' by means of an implicit or explicit call for help in an emergency;
* a Jesus-saying that brings about healing, or solves the problem;
* an explanation of the results of the miracle - that is, the effect it had on the person who was healed or how the onlookers reacted.

With regard to the double narration of the miraculous multiplication of loaves in Matthew 14:13-21 and 15:32-38 respectively, the following *traditions-* and *formgeschichtliche* questions may be raised: Can the double narrative be classified as a 'miracle story'? In other words, is there a parallel with the formal pattern mentioned above? Was this originally one event, but transmitted as a doublet? Or should we accept that Mark and Matthew (the two evangelists who had adopted the double narrative) had related two separate yet almost identical incidents, while Luke and John only narrated one of the two events? We will now consider the types of answers a *traditions-* and *formgeschichtliche* investigation gives to these two questions.

3.2 The miraculous multiplication of loaves: One or two events?

From a genetic perspective, the double narratives are not directly linked to each other in the Gospel of Matthew. This leads Gerhardsson (1979:56) to suspect that we are dealing with two variations of the same tradition. Matthew, however, made the two narratives look more similar than Mark did:

> When Jesus heard what had happened, he withdrew by boat to a solitary place. Hearing of this, the crowds followed him on foot from the towns. When Jesus landed and saw a large crowd, he had compassion on them and healed their sick. As evening approached, the disciples came to him and said, 'This is a remote place, and it's already getting late. Send the crowds away so they can go to the villages and buy themselves some food.' Jesus replied, 'They do not need to go away. You give them something to eat.' 'We have here only five loaves of bread and two fish,' they answered. 'Bring them here to me,' he said. And he directed the people to sit down on the grass. Taking the five loaves and the two fish and looking up to heaven, he gave thanks and broke the loaves. Then he gave them to the disciples, and the disciples gave them to the people. They all ate and were satisfied, and the disciples picked up twelve basketfuls of broken pieces that were left over. The number of those who ate was about five thousand men, besides women and children.
>
> (Mt 14:13-21; NIV)

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> Jesus called his disciples to him and said, 'I have compassion for these people; they have already been with me three days and have nothing to eat. I do not want to send them away hungry, or they may collapse on the way.' His disciples answered, 'Where could we get enough bread in this remote place to feed such a crowd?' 'How many loaves do you have?' Jesus asked. 'Seven,' they replied, 'and a few small fish.' He told the crowd to sit down on the ground. Then he took the seven loaves and the fish, and when he had given thanks, he broke them and gave them to the disciples, and they in turn to the people. They all ate and were satisfied. Afterwards the disciples picked up seven basketfuls of broken pieces that were left over. The number of those who ate was four thousand, besides women and children.
>
> (Mt 15:32-38; NIV)

Both narratives have an introduction that indicates that the crowd had become hungry. They had been with Jesus for a long time in 'a remote place' (ἐρημου τόπου). The conclusion of these two particular narratives is given in almost identical words. Both narratives specifically mention that Jesus gave the disciples the command to give the crowd something to eat. The crowd does not need to leave to go and buy food; the disciples should provide the people with food because Jesus loves them dearly.

In contrast to Mark, the mention of fish is reduced to a minimum in both these narratives. The miracle itself is not described in either of the two doublets. Nothing suggests that either the crowd or the disciples were aware that a miracle was taking place. The reference to the *twelve* and then to the *seven* baskets which were filled with pieces of bread (and fish?) that remained does, however, imply the magnitude of the miracle. Apart from the difference in the *number* of baskets, the difference in the *number* of men (besides an unspecified number of women and children) who were fed is striking: *five thousand* as against *four thousand*. The only other conspicuous difference between the two narratives in the doublet is that the *disciples* mention the hungry crowd in the first narrative while *Jesus* takes the initiative in the second narrative.

Gerhardsson (1979:27) argues his view that the two narratives are a doublet of the same tradition by comparing the three versions of the *introduction to the narrative* in the three Synoptic Gospels. The three Gospels give different accounts of the circumstances surrounding Jesus' presence in that isolated place:

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Mark narrates as follows:

> When Jesus landed and saw a large crowd, he had compassion on them, because they were like sheep without a shepherd. So he began teaching them many things (διδάσκειν).
>
> (Mk 6:34; NIV)

Luke narrates the following:

> He welcomed them and spoke to them about the kingdom of God, and healed those who needed healing (ἰᾶτο).
>
> (Lk 9:11; NIV)

Matthew has the following account:

> When Jesus landed and saw a large crowd, he had compassion on them and healed their sick (ἐθεράπευσεν).
>
> (Mt 14:14; NIV)

It therefore seems that Matthew came across a doublet of the same event in his sources, the Gospel of Markand Q, and that he integrated the accounts of the two sources with each other. He found it important not to re-narrate the teaching (διδάσκειν) that Mark and Q had recorded. With reference to the crowd Matthew placed the emphasis on Jesus' healing activities. This is noticeable as Jesus' teachings are strongly emphasized elsewhere in the Gospel of Matthew and are also mentioned in conjunction with his healing and kerygmatic activities in certain of the summarized reports (see Mt 4:23 and 9:35).

How then should we explain the phenomenon that Mark also knew the doublet since, according to the two-source theory, he was not dependent on Q? Van Iersel (1964:178-179) answers this question by regarding the following (accentuated) words in both Mark 6:41 and Mark 8:6 as the *central formula of a common tradition*:

> [Then] *taking* (καὶ λαβὼν) the five loaves and the two fish, and looking up to heaven, *he gave thanks* (εὐλόγησεν) and *broke* the loaves (καὶ κατέκλασεν). *Then* he *gave* them *to his disciples* (καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς) to set *before the people* (αὐτοῖς).
>
> (Mk 6:41; NIV)

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> *When* he had *taken* the seven loaves (καὶ λαβὼν) and *given thanks* (εὐχαριστήσας), he *broke* (ἔκλασεν) them and *gave them to his disciples* (καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς) to set *before the people* (τῷ ὄχλῳ), and they did so.
>
> (Mk 8:6; NIV)

Van Iersel regards the variation in the wording 'He gave thanks and broke the loaves' (εὐλόγησεν καὶ κατέκλασεν) (Mk 6:41) and 'When he had...given thanks, he broke them' (εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν) (Mk 8:6) as of fundamental importance. If we accept, as most scholars do, that this 'central formula' is an allusion to the celebration of communion in the early church (see Gerhardsson 1979:56-57), it is clear that, on the basis of a comparison with the corresponding words in the verse in Mark regarding the inauguration of communion (Mk 14:22), it could not have been Mark that made the words in the double narrative correspond with the words with which it was introduced.

> While they were eating, Jesus *took* (καὶ λαβὼν) bread, *gave thanks* (εὐλογήσας) and *broke* (ἔκλασεν) it, and *gave* it *to his disciples* (καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς), saying, 'Take it; this is my body'.
>
> (Mk 14:22; NIV)

It is quite possible that the inaugural words for communion had - even during the first days of the early church - become more or less stereotyped. Such a formula was evident in Paul's reference to the institution of communion:

> The Lord Jesus, on the night he was betrayed, *took bread* (ἔλαβεν ἄρτον), and when he *had given thanks* (εὐχαριστήσας), he *broke* (ἔκλασεν) it and said, 'This is my body'.
>
> (1 Cor 11:23-24; NIV)

A comparison between Mark 6:41 and 8:6 (the words of the double narrative respectively) on the one hand and Mark 14:22 and 1 Corinthians 11:23-24 (the words of the Markan and Pauline accounts of the institution of communion) on the other, indicates indisputably that the above conclusion is correct: Mark was not responsible for relating the reports on the multiplication of loaves to the tradition of communion. It had already existed in the transmitted history before Mark. The conclusion that has been drawn is also confirmed when John associates the narrative of the multiplication of loaves (Jn 6:1-15), the allusion to the Old Testament narrative of the manna from heaven (Jn 6:22-40), and the tradition of communion (Jn 6:41-59).

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The point of view that the two separate 'miracle stories', regarding the multiplication of loaves (and fish) in Mark 6:30-44 and 8:1-10 respectively, represent two traditions of the same *Vorlage* (= source) that were formed separately in different *Sitze im Leben*, is therefore acceptable.

But, is the double narrative in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark a 'miracle story' or is it a 'eucharist tradition'? This brings us to the *formgeschichtliche* question, namely whether the narrative about the multiplication of loaves should be regarded as a 'novel' (Dibelius' term) or as a catechism on communion - and that it should thus be declared functional.

3.3 The multiplication of loaves: Miracle story or eucharist catechism?

We indicated earlier that the double narrative about the multiplication of loaves (and fish?) did not report on the *miracle* as such. However, the miracle is strongly implied. The narrative(s) do not, however, contain the characteristic detail and finish of the typical miracle story ('novel') in the gospels (see Dibelius' classification and description of the above characteristics). Neither do they contain any reference to an implicit or explicit cry for help in an emergency, neither do they contain any description of the reaction of either the people who were affected or the onlookers (see Van Iersel 1964:183). In the parallel contexts in the four gospels it would furthermore not be suitable for the narrative's function to be kerygmatically propagandistic with regard to competitive (Hellenistic) miracle-workers or gods. On the other hand, our discussion has indicated that the narrative, like its parallel in the Old Testament regarding manna from heaven (see Dt 8:3 in respect of the Exodus from Egypt/the celebration of the Jewish Passover), was interpreted within the framework of the tradition of communion in the early church.

In both the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, therefore, the double narrative does not focus on the miraculous element as such and it cannot be classified as a 'novel'. In fact, the relationship between particularism and universalism could be regarded, rather, as being the focus of the content. Origen and Augustine had some idea of this in their time (see Boobyer 1953:77). This relationship bears some reference to the mission of the early church to not only the Jews but the Gentiles as well. According to Pesch (1982:17) the succession of, *first,* (particularly) the mission to the Jews and *subsequently* (universally) the mission to the Gentiles is one of the fundamental presuppositions of the mission of the early church. Pesch says that the mission to the Jews was without problems and he calls it *missio interna*. On the other hand, the mission to the Gentiles was quite problematical and he called it *missio externa*. I am of the opinion that it is this aspect that made the inclusion of

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two accounts of the same tradition in the Gospel of Mark and the Gospel of Matthew (which used Mark as its main source) functional. However, the various trends in the Gospels of Luke and John are different (see Van Iersel 1964:190-192 in respect of Lk 9:12-17 and Schenke 1980 in respect of Jn 6:26-58). Pesch's comment is endorsed by Mark's redactional placement of the double narrative within the framework of his whole gospel. Yet this is only true in respect of Mark. In the next section I will show that Matthew re-interprets this motif to present the particularism-universalism relationship from his own theological perspective. At this stage I am interested in the question of the way in which the narrative concerned possibly functioned within the framework of the tradition of communion in consecutive transmission phases of the early church.

According to Bultmann (1970:232) Mark 8:1-10 originated at a later redactional phase than Mark 6:35-44. In the first narrative Jesus took the initiative of drawing attention to the hungry crowd, while the disciples did so in the second narrative. Mark 8:1-10 shows a clearer allusion to communion than Mark 6:35-44 and the details coincide more with that of 1 Corinthians 11:24 (Jeremias 1960:178-181). Van Iersel (1964:184 and 186) is of the opinion that the first narrative originated within a Judeo-Christian situation and the second within a Gentile-Christian situation.

This viewpoint, namely that the double narrative was formed in two separate tradition circles, each on its own, is supported by the view of Friedrich (1964:14-19). According to him the theme of the shepherd is the *Leitmotiv* of the first narrative, which also hints at a Moses-Messiah typology. In addition to the allusion to the Old Testament (Ps 23:2) in the Jesus-saying, 'Come...to a quiet place and get some rest' (Mk 6:31), and the reference to 'green grass' (Mk 6:39) (Van Iersel 1964:188), the theme of the shepherd is also clearly visible in Mark 6:34.

> When Jesus landed and saw a large crowd, he took compassion on them, because *they were like sheep without a shepherd*. So he began teaching them many things.
>
> (Mk 6:34; my emphasis and translation)

According to Friedrich the narrative of Jesus feeding the crowd in a 'remote place' (ἔρημον τόπον - Mk 6:31) reminds one of Moses providing food for the people in the desert. Jesus as the 'new Moses' feeds the crowd in a messianic eschatological meal.

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Van Iersel (1964:188,189) is of the opinion that the theme of the 'eschatological meal' is indeed present in the specific narrative, but that Mark is more concerned with the equality of Jews and Gentiles around the table (eucharist) of the Lord. I feel that this also becomes clear in the topographical progression from the *particular* focus on *five thousand* (Jewish) men on the *western side of the Sea of Galilee across from Bethsaida* (Mk 6:45) to the *universal* focus on *four thousand* (Gentile) men in the *region of Decapolis* (Mk 7:31). This progression from a particular focus to a universal one could also be indicated by the *number* of baskets in each instance that were filled with leftovers, namely *twelve* as opposed to *seven*. In addition we find the narrative of the (Gentile) Syrophoenician woman who also had to be fed, like the dogs eating the children's 'crumbs' under the table (Mk 7:24-30), inserted between the two feeding reports. The report that it was the disciples (with a particular focus) that took the initiative in the first part of the double narrative, while it was Jesus (with a universal focus) that did this in the second, is thus more clearly defined.

According to Van Iersel (1964:180-181) the catechesis of the early church is the *Sitz im Leben* of the narrative, particularly so within the framework of communion which had not yet been separated from ordinary meals (see Gerhardsson 1979:57). The catechesis element is especially noticeable in Mark 6:34 and 8:17-21. Another aspect that is quite noticeable is the fact that the disciples play such a prominent and extraordinary role (see Mk 6:41 and 8:6). In the typical miracle stories the disciples are mentioned a few times only (Held 1961:171; Gerhardsson 1979:54). Here, as in the narrative of Jesus walking on water, this is not the case. Van Iersel (1964:181) links the mediating role of the disciples in the distribution of the bread to the crowd to the mediating role of the office bearers at the celebration of the communion.

The narrative of the multiplication of loaves therefore, in the view of the form critic, is not a 'novel' but 'catechesis of communion'. The *Sitz im Leben* is on the one hand, the *communion* (Mk 6:41 and 8:6) and the *whole congregation partaking* at the *communion table* (Mk 6:42a). On the other, it is the *intermediary function of officials* at the celebration of communion (Van Iersel 1964:182). From the *traditionsgeschichtliche* viewpoint, the narrative probably originated in both Judeo-Christian and Gentile-Christian tradition circles: In *Judeo-Christian tradition* the miracle element is scaled down by the integration of the themes of both shepherd and communion. In *Gentile-Christian tradition* it is related even more closely to the celebration of communion in which Hellenists, like Jews, took part (Van Iersel 1964:189-190).

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4. MATTHEW 14:13-21 (AND PARALLEL PARTS) AND THE 'REDAKTIONSGESCHICHTE'

4.1 What is *Redaktionsgeshichte*?

A serious deficiency in *formgeschichtliche* text interpretation has been that the hermeneutic importance of the holistic contexts has not been sufficiently utilized. The development of *Redaktionsgeshichte* also gave rise to the view within the historical-critical paradigm that an evangelist should be more than a mere collector of transmitted tradition. The evangelists were seen as 'theologians' in the early church, obviously not in the sense in which 'theology' has been practised since the dawning of the scholasticism of the Middle Ages. A gospel, as we see it, is the final product of a transmission process in which the evangelist as 'theologian' has redactionally adapted those traditions. By doing a historical analysis of this redactional activity the *redaktionsgeschichtliche* exegete deduces the theological intention of the author-redactor. While the *Formgeschichte* interprets a micro-form, such as a miracle story, in respect of its *Sitz im Leben* in the early church, the *Redaktionsgeschichte* interprets the holistic text as a macro-form in respect of the *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae*. The latter term refers to the specific early ecclesiastical congregational circle for which and out of which the gospels were written to interpret a specific 'theology'. In other words, this is the third contextual level to which we referred earlier (section 3.1).

The *Redaktionsgeschichte* thus cannot be visualized without the input of the other methodical facets of historical criticism. Its cross-support comes from the results of the *Formgeschichte* and, especially, those of the *Literarkritik* and the *Traditionsgeschichte*. In continuity with the *Literarkritik*, and by using the two-source theory, and in continuity with the *Formgeschichte* and *Traditiongeschichte*, by concentrating on the *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae*, the theological intent of an evangelist is deduced from redaction-plus-tradition and redaction-minus-tradition. The Gospel of Mark is regarded as being important in this process because both Matthew and Luke performed their respective redactional functions within the framework of the Gospel of Mark. It is as Crossan (1978:53) puts it by means of question and answer:

> What happened to (the) Markan form/content...? What happened, for me, was Matthew and Luke and John....For what Mark did, genetically to Matthew and Luke and how I do not know to John, was to trap them within his form with a content they could not accept, to seduce them within his structure with a substance they could not share.
>
> (Crossan 1978:53)

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In respect of *redaktionsgeschichtliche* exegesis of the Gospel of Mark itself, the process is more complex, because some uncertainty exists regarding pre-Markan tradition. In order to help solve the problem, and in addition to the investigation of possible redactional adaptations of presumed pre-Markan tradition (e g Mk 4:1-34; Mk 2:1-3:6);11:27-12:40 and Mk 14-15 - see Pesch 1977:20-21), emphasis is also placed on certain intra-textual details such as the unique beginnings and endings of discourses, and the changes in the wording and order of literary units.

4.2 The *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae* of the Gospel of Matthew

Form- and *traditionsgeschichtliche* investigation of the double narrative in the Gospel of Mark, regarding the multiplication of loaves, has delivered the following results:

* the first narrative probably originated in a Judeo-Christian situation and the second in a Hellenistic-Christian situation;
* the first narrative was probably made applicable to feeding a Jewish crowd while the second was made applicable to a universal crowd;
* Mark redactionally related the two narratives; on the one hand he did this by inserting the narrative of the Gentile Syrophoenician woman, who ate of the 'crumbs' intended for the Jews, between the two narratives; on the other hand he did this by applying the form of the 'catechesis of communion' functionally and calling the intermediary disciples/office bearers to become involved in universal missionary work.

Seen from the perspective of his particular *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae* what did the redactor of the Gospel of Matthew do with these specific Markan details? Both themes that were prominent in the Markan presentation were recorded and reinterpreted. These themes are the relationship between universalism and particularism and the particular disciple imagery.

With regard to the *disciple imagery*, Matthew adapted the Markan picture. In the Gospel of Mark the disciples are unable to comprehend who Jesus really is or what the will of God (and Jesus) entails (see Best 1977:387-388). The disciples in the Gospel of Matthew have, on the one hand, *complete insight* into the nature of Jesus' person and work. Their function is related to their missionary task as prophets (see Mt 10:40-42). On the other hand, in spite of their complete insight, they display an inclination to *little faith*. This inclination often leads them to present a perspective that could be likened to that of the Jewish leaders. This threatening commonality between the Jewish leaders and the disciples is related to disobe-

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dience, in that they are unwilling to preach and live God's will as he truly intended, towards and in respect of the (Jewish) people (λαός/ὄχλοι/προβάτα) (see Mt 7:15-20 where the term 'sheep'/τὰ προβάτα is used in v 15) (Van Aarde 1982a:87-97).

With regard to the relationship *between particularism and universalism*, Matthew modified the Markan focus on evangelization. This focus in the Gospel of Mark is characterized by the succession of, *first*, a particular Jewish focus, and *then* a universal Gentile focus. Matthew reinterprets this and creates something that is practically the opposite. Frankemölle (1982:125) summarizes this reinterpretation as follows: 'Between *missio interna* and *missio externa* there does not exist a chronological succession, but an interrelation' (my translation). Matthew's treatment of the relationship between particularism and universalism is closely related to his particular *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae*. The situation in the early church upon which the Gospel of Matthew has a bearing was probably determined by the break between the synagogue and the church (see Hummel 1966; Künzel 1978). In this situation a question such as the mission to the Gentiles was no longer in dispute. The fundamental problem of Matthew's ecclesiastical situation - however difficult it may be to reconstruct, or however incomplete the details - was the danger that the 'ecclesiastical officials' would, amidst the normal mission to the Gentiles, neglect and disregard the poor, suffering 'church community'. This 'church community' consisted mainly of Jewish Christians living in the Galilean countryside. This state of affairs could be attributed to the division between the Jewish synagogue and the Christian church. The persecution by the organized Jewish leaders at Jamnia presumably contributed to the community's unforgiving and uncharitable attitude towards the Jewish people, and their ancestors (cf Mt 27:25) who blasphemously rejected Jesus at the crucifixion. Just as the pre-paschal Jesus, during his mission to the Gentiles in Galilee (see Mt 4:15 and 15:29 as opposed to Mk 7:31), had cared for the Jewish multitude but had not excluded the Gentiles, the post-paschal 'office-bearers of the church', as an extension of the disciples, were not to neglect the disadvantaged church community. Those 'disadvantaged' are indicated by names such as 'the least of these'/ὃι ἐλάχιστοι (Mt 25:40, 45) and 'little ones'/ὃι μικροι (Mt 18:14), 'sheep'/τὰ προβάτα (Mt 18:12), 'children'/τὰ τέκνα (Mt 15:26).

The particular Matthean picture of the disciple in question that was taken from the Markan account of the double narrative of the multiplication of loaves, and reinterpreted, is therefore closely related to the relationship between particularism and universalism in the Gospel of Matthew.

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4.3 Matthean redaction

Held (1961:171-177) made a detailed and thorough study of the Matthean redaction of the following narrative in the Gospel of Matthew. In summary, two aspects are striking: Firstly, *the multiplication and handing out of fish to the crowd has been relativized quite substantially by Matthew* (see Mt 14:19 and 15:36, as opposed to Mk 6:41 and 8:7 respectively). Secondly, *the role of the disciples has without question been developed into one fulfilling a definite intermediary function*. The latter redactional change is very prominent:

> (He) broke the loaves. Then he gave them to his disciples to (ἵνα) set before the people.
>
> (Mk 6:41; NIV)

> (He) broke them (the loaves) and gave them to his disciples *to* (ἵνα) set before the people.
>
> (Mk 8:6; NIV)

> Then he gave them (the loaves) to the disciples, *and* (δὲ) the disciples gave them to the people.
>
> (Mt 14:19; NIV)

> [H]e broke them (the loaves) and gave them to the disciples, *and* (δὲ) they in turn to the people.
>
> (Mt 15:36; NIV)

The *relativization of the distribution and handing out of the fish* during the meal is interpreted by Held (1961:176) and Van Iersel (1964:193) as meaning that Matthew used it to place more emphasis on the communion of the meal than Mark did. However, this interpretation is unlikely. Fish played a very important part in the symbolism surrounding the early Christian communion ceremony. In a number of early Christian murals in the catacombs, both bread and fish appear as symbols of communion (see Richardson 1955:149). It is unlikely that Matthew intended to stress the theme of communion by relativizing the role of the fish in the double narrative. This does not mean that Matthew removed the archaic terminology of communion from the double narrative or that he failed to relate the institution of communion (see Mt 26:26-29). What did occur was that the element of catechism in the double narrative was reduced. Matthew stresses the theme of the messianic-eschatological meal (see Mt 22:1-14; 25:31-46 and 26:29). This reduction is also noticeable from the fact that Matthew did not adopt the reference in Mark 6:34 that Jesus taught the multitude 'many things' (see Ellis 1974:66 note 75).

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The fact that Matthew reduced the element of catechism in the double narrative could be related to the structure of his holistic context and the phenomenon that he makes the disciples the object of Jesus' catechism, mainly in the long discourses given by Jesus. In the Gospel of Matthew five major catechetic discourses are alternated with micro-narratives. The double narrative regarding the multiplication of the loaves is not recorded in one of these catechetic discourses but in the fourth micro-narrative, namely Matthew 13:53-17:27. In this specific micro-narrative the particular Matthean picture of the disciple and the interaction between the universal and particular mission is illustrated in a remarkable way through the handing out of the bread to the Jewish crowd.

Held (1961:172-174) neatly indicated how Matthew had adapted the particular Markan *image of a disciple* to suit his own theological perspective in the double narrative. Matthew (and Luke) omitted the crude (ironic?) reaction of the disciples to Jesus' command to feed the crowd:

> They said to him, 'That would take eight months of a man's wages! Are we to go and spend that much on bread and give it to them to eat?'
>
> (Mk 6:37; NIV)

Klostermann (1971:129) described this reaction as an 'inappropriate question' and a 'bold counter question'. This could be compared to the typical Markan image of disciples who display a lack of insight: It shows the total lack of understanding of the disciples, not only towards the person and mission of their Lord, but also towards the task he had given them (Held 1961:172). This lack of comprehension regarding their *own* task can be inferred from the fact that they re-use the key words of Jesus' command 'give them something to eat' in their own inappropriate counter-question.

Matthew, however, makes it very clear that, in his view, the disciples did not think that they actually had to go out and buy food from the surrounding villages. Their concern was that they had too little food with them:

> 'We have *here* only five loaves of bread and two fish,' they answered.
>
> (Mt 14:17; my emphasis)

Thus the disciples do indeed show insight into the implications of Jesus' command, however, they do not carry it out obediently, but point out their small supply (Held 1961:173).

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In the *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae* of the Gospel of Matthew the *insight* of the disciples as well as their *little faith* are probably related to the disciples/church officials' inclination, against the background of the (universal) mission to the Gentiles, to disregard the (particular) mission to the Jews. In the event of this happening the disciples/church officials are identified with the Jewish leaders. As a result of their formalistic religious practices the latter had no time or sympathy for the 'lost sheep of Israel without a shepherd'.

I discussed this aspect of Matthew's theology in Part I of this book. One could, in particular, refer to Matthew's meaningful linking of the double narrative of the multiplication of the loaves to the narrative of the danger of the yeast (in the bread) of the teaching of the Jewish leaders (Mt 16:1-12). The 'bread' of the Jewish leaders is contrasted sharply with the 'bread' offered to the Jewish crowd (and the Gentiles) by Jesus, through his disciples. In contrast to the 'bread' given by Jesus, the 'bread' of the Jewish leaders is poisonous formalism, devoid of all love. This is the formalistic perspective that the disciples/church officials are warned against. The Matthean redaction of Mark's picture of a disciple and his presentation of the relationship between particularism and formalism were therefore clearly and effectively presented in his recording of the double narrative about the multiplication of the loaves.

5. REFLECTION

Without expounding on the value and the shortcomings of historical criticism that have already been discussed in the light of the above research, the following statement can be made in respect of historical criticism: The nature of the Bible as Holy Scripture/Word of God and its truth has not been affected by this study. Threats to dogma and enmity towards the faith were not elements of the exegetic process or its results. What in fact transpired was that certain answers were given to specific exegetic questions. The result was that the rich variety of the biblical message came to the fore. And nothing should prevent this result from being used positively in faith-justifying hypotheses regarding the interpretation of dogma and dogma formation.

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Chapter 3

A silver coin in the mouth of a fish (Mt 17:24-27) - A miracle of nature, ecology, economy and the politics of holiness

This essay is an exercise in engaged hermeneutics with a view to the miracles of nature in the New Testament, while avoiding the fallacy of misplaced concreteness. It demonstrates Matthew's understanding of Jesus' emancipatory living in terms of a cultural anthropological interpretation of God's uniqueness and holiness. It places emphasis on the symbolic representation of the Jewish-Christian belief that the one and only God may not be portrayed in any manner, and the connection this has with the miracle story about Peter miraculously finding a silver (Tyrian) coin in the mouth of a fish from the Sea of Galilee, through Jesus' intervention. The following questions receive attention: How were the miracles of Jesus approached hermeneutically in the past? What are the place and role of Mt 17:24-27 within the immediate and broader context of the Gospel of Matthew? For our understanding of this passage, what is the implication of the recent archaeological discovery of silver Tyrian coins with images of sea-creatures? With a view to the exploitation of society's weak ones and the believer's relationship with his/her environment, how should this Peter-pericope be interpreted?

1. INTRODUCTION

For many Christians today the theology that matters is not the order and logic of dogmatic theology but the exegesis of Scripture. What does the Word of God mean? Prior to this issue is the question of hermeneutics: How do we find out what Scripture means? In the past two or three decades the field of hermeneutics, including biblical hermeneutics, has been in unprecedented ferment. Different new directions have come into being. In the middle of the 1980's it was said that the 'map' of biblical studies looked different from the 'map' drawn in the 1970's when

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historical criticism had ruled the way. Two new routes were added during the 1980's. '[O]ne route is that of *literary criticism* and the other that of *sociology*' (Petersen 1985:ix; my emphasis). However, biblical hermeneutics has become even more complex during the 1990's. A new route is criss-crossing the other, namely post-modern theological concerns (cf Wright 1992:13-14). Within this new paradigm ecology, economy, politics, cultural anthropology and inter-religious dialogue are brought together in the exegetical enterprise. I call this interest in biblical studies 'engaged hermeneutics'.

In engaged hermeneutics the relation of reader and text is taken for granted. We have become increasingly aware of the fact that as the readers of the Bible we are bringing our own social worlds to the world of the text while we are trying to make sense of it. This is also a point made by the so-called theologies of liberation as the most prominent product of engaged hermeneutics. More specifically, it is the people's struggle against exploiting structures that is taken as point of departure. The struggle to create a sustainable environment, for example, is a theme often linked with, but not exclusive to the theology of liberation. It is possible to distinguish between a so-called 'ecology theology' and a 'theology of liberation'. The latter refers to social systems, while the former refers to ecosystems. Yet, socio-ecological alliances are created for a variety of reasons. For example, environmentalists are up in arms about the presence of toxins in their environment, because they pose a threat to the health of the inhabitants, or because they destroy the ecosystems and poison plants and animals. For example, some hold that the fate and interests of our exploited earth are similar to those of exploited humans.

We cannot deny that since the industrial revolution, the exploitation of the earth's riches has often gone hand-in-hand with the exploitation of society's weak ones - women, children, and laborers without legal recourse. The struggle for human rights has both an ecological and an economic base. In addition, the demand for human rights today encompasses much more than legal aspects. Political interests and religious convictions also play a strong underlying role. The net result of this is that ecology, economy, politics and religion are intertwined.

2. THEOLOGY AND NATURE: A CONTROVERSIAL RELATIONSHIP

The exploiting structures we are talking about are, in other words, those of contemporary experience, a set of ecological, economical and political conditions often very different from those in which the people of biblical times lived. The liberation theologians are often criticized for a hermeneutic fallacy: they place pre-industrial biblical facts in a modern field of social relations. Specifically, the Jewish-Christian tradition is accused by supporters of the so-called 'planetary ecology', like

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Gregory Bateson (1972) and Fritjof Capra (see Schoeman 1990:284), of the viewing human being as the lord of the house and not as a guest in the house of Nature. The expression 'planetary ecology' implies that a human being is part of a larger social context, but that *mind* or *spiritual reality* (cf Schoeman 1990:282) is not a quality of humankind alone. It is immanent to all living systems, including sociological and ecological systems. Capra (1982:316) states that the environment is exploited because it is seen as being 'mindless'. 'Our attitudes will be different when we realize that the environment is not only alive but also mindful, like ourselves.' On the other hand, if human beings destroy their environment they destroy themselves. Capra admits that the emphasis he places on social involvement[1] has been stimulated by Bateson's 'planetary ecology'. Bateson, who called himself a 'monist', developed a description of the 'world' 'which did not split the universe dualistically into mind and matter, or into other separate realities. He often pointed out that the Jewish-Christian tradition, while boasting of monism, was essentially dualistic because it separated God from his creation' (Capra 1989:85).

However, it is highly debatable that the creation traditions of the Old Testament represent God in his act of creation as being alienated from creation, causing it to be no more than an object of exploitation and manipulation. It is true that the Jewish-Christian tradition does not view God the creator as a part of creation, nor does it regard creation as part of God. But this does not mean that no communal relationship developed between God and his creation. Just as there is no God other than the God of the covenant, there are no people other than the people of the covenant. To be truly human means to be with God. In other words, it is intrinsic to the Jewish-Christian tradition to see God as both immanent and transcendent:

> Christians have sometimes been uneasy with the notion of God 'permeating' creation, thinking it sounds like a more Eastern way of thinking. Yet it is intrinsic to the Jewish-Christian tradition to see God as both immanent (everywhere present) and transcendent....The widespread notion of God as only transcendent seems to be associated with the popular image of God as being 'out there' or 'beyond' the universe, and not 'here'.
>
> (Borg 1987:118 note 11)

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1. Capra (1989:75-89) refers to 'the worldwide Green movement, which emerged from a coalescence of ecology, peace, and feminist movements...civil rights movements [which] demanded that black citizens be included in the political process; ...the free speech movement...and the student movements....'

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This dialectical combination of God's transcendence and immanence also exists in Rabbinic teaching. In his comprehensive summary of the teaching of the Talmud and the Jewish rabbis on ethics, religion, folklore and jurisprudence Rev Dr A Cohen writes as follows:

> What, in Rabbinic teaching, is God's relation to the world? Is He thought of as transcendent and far removed from His creatures, or is He considered as being near to, and in contact with, them? The true answer is to be found in a combination of both ideas. The Rabbis did not look upon the two conceptions as contradictory or mutually exclusive, but rather as complementary.
>
> (Cohen 1968:40)

Yet God's ontological status differs from the ontological status of creation. In the Jewish-Christian tradition creation has a beginning, is not eternal but transitory, and is not the highest good. In contrast, God had no beginning and is eternal. Creation is dependent upon the one and only God for its authentic existence. God's nature is *his nature, God's doing is his doing and God's love is his love.* This point of view, namely that God's community with his creation is *his* doing because he is the one and only God, is to be seen in various places in Scripture. Thomas Wright draws the following conclusion in his significant 1992 publication on the historical and theological questions surrounding the origins of Christianity:

> To what sort of speech, then, is Christian theology (whether in the first or the twenty-first century) committed? Christians find themselves compelled to speak of the creator and redeemer god as God, the one God; not a Deist god, an absentee landlord, nor one of the many gods that litter the world of paganism, nor yet the god who, in pantheism, is identified with the world; but the God who made and sustains all that is, who is active within the world but not contained within it!
>
> (Wright 1992:135)

In other words, monotheism yields to the acknowledgement of God's total otherness, based on his uniqueness. But God's otherness does not mean that God is not permeating creation or that creation is subjected to manipulation and exploitation. However, it is nevertheless true that the faith in God's uniqueness, as we shall see, can lead and indeed did lead, particularly in the case of the Sadducees

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and the Pharisees during the late Second Temple period[2], to discrimination, social injustice and ostracism. On the other hand, it has become evident in and through the Jesus-events in particular, that trust in God as Αββα ('Father') and 'Εμμανουήλ (God-with-us) cannot in any way be reconciled with social manipulation and exploitation.

This study can be seen as an exercise in engaged hermeneutics with a view to the miracles of nature in the New Testament, while avoiding the fallacy of misplaced concreteness. We wish to demonstrate Matthew's understanding of Jesus' emancipatory living by placing emphasis on the symbolic representation of the belief that the one and only God may not be portrayed in any manner, and the connection this has with the miracle story about Peter finding a coin in the mouth of a fish from the Sea of Galilee, through Jesus' intervention (Mt 17:24-27). The setting for this miracle of nature is the Sea of Galilee. Jesus and Peter are the protagonists in this narrative.

I will attend to the following questions: How were the miracles of nature approached hermeneutically in the past? If God's uniqueness is studied from a cultural anthropological perspective, what will be the outcome? What are the place and role of the particular Peter-pericope within the immediate and broader context of the Gospel of Matthew? How should this miracle of nature be understood in terms of the social context of the Gospel of Matthew? How should these narratives be interpreted with a view to the believer's relationship with his/her environment, while avoiding the hermeneutic heresy of misplaced concreteness? These questions will naturally be investigated very briefly.

3. HERMENEUTIC EXPLORATION

3.1 How have the miracles of nature been hermeneutically approached in the past?

Since the Enlightenment many Christians do not regard biblical truths as being simply timeless, idealized truths. Many believers today realize that biblical truths

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2. Although the Gospels' portrayal of social groups and coalitions in first-century Palestine, like the scribes and Sadducees, and especially the Pharisees, can be interpreted as demonstrating some of the social injustices and dichotomies, recent studies of early Judaism(s) have shown there were many different views within all those groups, and a sharp distinction between Jewish as legalistic, exclusivist, etc. and Christian as faithful, inclusivist, etc., is not historically correct. It is also important to remember that the literary function of a group, like the Jewish authorities as portrayed in the Gospel of Matthew, may be quite detached from actual history.

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may be applied normatively to the present without one's losing sight of their literary and social historically contingent reality. Viewed thus, biblical hermeneutics not only has a theological point of departure and a direction, but will also have both a social historical and a literary background.

Insights gained in the realm of modern literary science have made the interpreter aware of the socio-linguistic and pragmatically communicative functions of the *form* (genre) of texts. As regards the literature of the New Testament, a distinction on the macro-level is made between the Gospels, Acts and Revelation as *narratives* and the Epistles as *argumentative texts* (see Vorster 1977a:18-20; Lührmann 1989:10-15). On a micro-level a distinction may be made between apothegmatic (paradigmatic) narratives, metaphorical narratives and miracle stories. The communicative intent of a narrative could be simply to inform, or to persuade. Consideration of the basic communicative intention attached to the choice of a particular form enables the interpreter to discern what should and what should not be expected from the text, as well as the nature of the questions the interpreter is expected to ask regarding the text.

Apothegmatic (paradigmatic) narratives are texts whose persuasive power is not, for example, based on a *parable* or a *miracle* as a communicative strategy. For our purposes they can pass as 'micro-narratives'. Metaphoricity functions as the determining communicative strategy in the parable as a narrative, while it is the *supernatural* and the *extra-sensory* in the case of the miracle story. In his research into the miracle stories of the New Testament, Gerd Theissen contended that first-century readers in effect apparently identified with the supernatural and the extra-sensory. In this respect he refers to a comment made by Origen to Celsus, namely that people exchanged their gentile faith for that of Christianity, on the very basis of Jesus' miracles.

The miracle stories of the Bible have either a one-sided defensive or a one-sided alienating effect on the rational human being since the Enlightenment (cf Betz & Grimm 1977:2-5). As far as the first reaction (one-sided defensive) is concerned, we find that in fundamentalistic circles the belief that miracles could indeed be performed is defended in that their factuality is simply unquestioned (cf Brown 1984:137-168). Another type of 'defence' of the possibility of the occurrence of miracles consists in interpreting Jesus' miracles as anticipated references to modern medicinal and psychiatric therapy and release from psychogenic suffering (see Jeremias 1971:92; cf the discussion by Van der Loos 1986:80-113).

The hermeneutical enterprise, whose influence on the 'rational human being' has been described as 'one-sided alienation', can be seen as a dialectical undertaking attempting to bridge the 'alienation' between our reason and the

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supernatural and extra-sensory. It is regarded as 'one-sided' because it does not, in a pragmatic sense, take fully into account the social background against which the miracle story is played out. In this respect Rudolf Bultmann's demythologization program is probably best known. According to Bultmann (1955:44) miracles are 'images', 'symbols'. Through his hermeneutic program he tries to identify the 'authentic existence' which has been cloaked in a primitive, supernatural belief in miracles (see Bultmann 1955:44-45). Such 'belief' is 'faith without credibility' and is based on 'misconception' (Bultmann 1955:45).

Similar hermeneutic attempts to counter alienation are also found among other New Testament scholars, namely Eduard Schweizer (1971), Joachim Jeremias (1971) and Walter Schmithals (1970). According to Schweizer (1971:44) Jesus' miracles are 'signs', they are actions pointing away from themselves to something else. Schweizer claims that it is clear that Jesus did not perform miracles in order to misuse his 'divine power' for the sake of proof, but to indicate something totally different *beyond* these miracles, for which the faithful believer is still waiting'. Jeremias (1971:86-96), in turn, saw Jesus' miracles as a means of depriving Satan of his powers and a prolepsis to the *eschaton*. According to Schmithals (1970:25) the 'truth' about Jesus' miracles is of a kerygmatic nature and takes place to this day in the miracle of faith as a result of freedom from anxiety and fear, and the unconditional love for all humankind brought about by the kerygma.

Gerd Theissen (1983) strongly criticized the kerygmatic exegesis because it does not really take into account the social and humanitarian relationships behind the miracle stories of the New Testament. He finds it problematic when we too readily lose sight of the reality of the fear of illness, hunger and death by simply approaching such texts cognitively and thus converting their social everyday meaning into ethereal ideas. Theissen convincingly shows that in antiquity the miracle stories functioned amid social conflict, and then as the legitimization of certain ideological interests. Theissen (1982:186) regards his own sociological approach as being a direct continuation of the *Sitz im Leben* idea of the historical critical *form criticism* (see also Osiek 1984:3). According to this view certain Jesus-traditions took on *forms* displaying particular relationships with each other in respect of structure and content, depending on the function they fulfilled in the early Christian communities. Seen thus, there is a direct correlation between the 'form' in which a tradition is handed down and the 'social milieu' (*Sitz im Leben*) in which it developed. This *Sitz im Leben* is the result of the customs prevailing in a certain culture at a certain time, and which assigned such an important role to speakers and readers, that specific literary forms were regarded as essential methods of communication. However, a distinction should be made between the different contextualizing levels regarding

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the time of the early church. A miracle story in which Jesus is the miracle worker could have taken on another form with its own intensity when it was functionally employed in the Aramaic Palestinian Jewish-Christian community. Within a Hellenistic-Jewish or Hellenistic-Gentile community it could assume other forms that, in turn, became functional there.

Historical-critical research has argued, for example, the story about Jesus' miraculous multiplication of loaves did not have the same function in Palestinian Jewish-Christian circles that it usually had in the missionary Hellenistic-Gentile kerygmatic situations. In the world of the Gentiles Jesus' power and authority over other competing gods and miracle workers was often accentuated through a miracle story. The story of Jesus' miraculous multiplication of loaves was, however, transmitted in such a manner in Jewish Hellenistic community circles that it lost the special character of a *miracle story*. According to *a form critical perspective* this specific narrative adopted the 'form' of communion catechesis, functioning as instruction in which the disciples' intermediary role is emphasized by the handing out of bread to those who were socially scorned, such as Gentiles, tax-collectors and the disabled (see the previous essay). There are indications in the New Testament that there were some Judaic-Christians who, like the Pharisees, did not want to accommodate these peripheral groups in socio-religious institutions like the temple, synagogues, households, meals and communion (see inter alia Theissen 1987:117).

Theissen (1987:120, 207) himself has an interesting view of the possible *social milieu* of the 'multiplication of loaves' within the context of the historical Jesus. The Gospels mention that certain people in Galilee, certain influential (Herodian) women in particular, were helping to support Jesus and the twelve out of their own means (see Lk 8:3 and the reference to Magdalene, Joanna, and Susanna). According to Theissen this could explain the astonishing fact that Jesus and his followers could make a livelihood without either working or begging. It could also provide the background for the accounts of the miraculous multiplication of loaves. When benefactors sent him bread, fish and fruit in this manner, and it was suddenly produced before the eyes of the many hungry people around him, such as the blind, the lame and other disabled, it could appear to be a miracle to these poor people who were not used to so much food. And when one believes that there is enough food to go round, one loses one's fear of going hungry and brings out the few fish and the bread one has hidden away for oneself, and shares them.

Theissen's social historical interpretation of texts should be judged as part of the first recent present-day attempts in biblical studies to take in a more serious exegetic light the social environment of, inter alia, the narratives about Jesus' miracles. Today the sociological aspects are taken into consideration much more

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and in a more scientific manner in the study of the miracle stories. The so-called social scientific explanation are producing increasingly better explanatory results. The work by Bruce Malina & Jerome Neyrey (1988) on Jesus' exorcism of demons is such a book. This work mainly deals with the possible social background of the so-called Beelzebub pericope (see Mt 12:22-32) and a 'Christology' labelled a 'Christology from the side'. In this approach Jesus' names (titles) are seen as labels by which Jesus of Nazareth was either acknowledged by his followers as prominent and virtuous or considered by his enemies as being deviant. In the Mediterranean world of the first century a virtuous person was one who was able to recognize and maintain the prescribed social boundaries. This meant, for example, that one did not mix with people in certain despised positions, especially not in terms of the purification prescriptions regarding what was clean and what unclean. This also made it possible for people to make a living within limited means and obligations. According to Malina & Neyrey, Jesus acted as *patron* to the *clients* of the community who could not defend their own honor, such as the sick who were also regarded as being unclean by the Pharisees. Jesus' kindness towards these people was thus experienced as an anomaly by the Pharisees. All communities, including the first-century Mediterranean community, had methods of removing anomalies. One of these was to declare the person causing the anomaly a public danger. Thus, instead of being seen as the patron of the community and the sick, Jesus was declared the leader of demons (Mt 9:34). According to Malina & Neyrey, Jesus was denounced as a wizard.

Theissen's work, which was originally published in German in 1974 contains - as is to be expected - many generalizations and is not characterized by the conscious use of social scientific models that were developed in sociology as an independent discipline (cf Elliott 1986:1-33). Theissen also neglected to explain the conflicts between Jesus and the Pharisees and Jesus' kindness towards the 'crowds' who lived in Galilee in the 'land of the shadow of death' (Mt 4:12-17; 23-25), unlike Malina & Neyrey who explained them by employing certain sociological perspectives in which aspects of 'honor' and 'shame', 'patron' and 'client' played a role. Theissen interpreted the miracle stories against the background of a conflict situation in first-century Galilee, which he described in broad terms only. According to him the tension that existed was mainly that between the people of the villages and those of the cities.

The miracle stories and, in particular, certain miracles of nature such as the multiplication of the loaves, the walking on the water, and the miraculous finding of a coin in the mouth of a fish, are all directly linked, with Galilee as background. According to narratological theories (literary theories scientifically studying

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narrative texts; cf Van Aarde 1991b:101-128) Galilee, however, not only serves as a background for certain characters, but also constitutes an area of interest in that it is the social environment contributing towards the characterization of the *dramatis personae*. In the Gospel of Matthew Galilee is called the 'Galilee of the Gentiles' (Mt 4:15). According to Theissen, Jesus' miracles were directed at the socially despised living in Galilee. This is explicitly stated in the so-called summarizing reports that interrupt the stories about Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels every now and then. Matthew 15:29-32 (see also Mt 4:23-25) serves as an example of such a summarizing report:

> Jesus left there and went along to the Sea of Galilee. Then he went up on a mountainside and sat down. Great crowds came to him, bringing the *lame*, the *blind*, the *crippled*, the *dumb* and many others, and laid them at his feet; and he healed them. The people were amazed when they saw the *dumb* speaking, the *crippled* made well, the *lame* walking and the *blind* seeing. And they praised the God of Israel. Jesus called his disciples to him and said, 'I have compassion for these people, they have already been with me three days and have nothing to eat. I do not want to send them away hungry, or they may collapse on the way'.
>
> (Mt 4:23-25; NIV)

On the basis of these texts it is clear that Jesus not only healed unhappy people with all kinds of illnesses and complaints, but that - according to the reports in the Gospels - these people were also the typical hungry 'multitude' the disciples had to feed with bread at Jesus' request, and who had inspired the miraculous multiplication of the loaves.

Theissen classified this 'miracle story' as a 'miracle gift' (*Geschenkwunder*). To this he added the miraculous catch of fish and the changing of the water into wine at the wedding in Cana. In these miracle stories Theissen identified the yoke of the fundamental socio-economic need of the people, which was relieved by Jesus. According to Theissen the rescue miracles on the Sea of Galilee take us to the world of simple fishermen, who are exposed to the dangers of the wind and the stormy waves in their little boats. In the report on the storm at sea in Acts 27 it is the person subjected to socially demoralizing circumstances, namely the prisoner, who is saved in a miraculous way.

Although the interpretation of narratives about 'miracles of nature' in the New Testament has taken the social background of this type of narrative into account since the *form critical method* was introduced, it is clear that this has been

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only a very recent development, designed to account for the social conflicts reflected by these narratives in strict scientific terms. The perspective from which texts are approached in a social scientific manner is formed by the assumption that forces in society (whether transcendent or immanent) cause both social institutions and the people, things and places they represent, to be in constant conflict. This conflict is a result of conflicting interests and an evolutionary movement towards equilibrium in society. Developments in the sociological sphere, and the sociology of knowledge in particular, have taught us that values, including social values of a religious, cultural, political or economic nature, expressed in texts serve to legitimize theoretical beliefs regarding the first principles of reality - the essence of life. Religious values are communicated through language of analogy, such as parables, metaphors and other symbols. As such, a text is the product of the social world consisting of social structures (institutions) which are built on or arise from that which is metaphysical (see Berger & Luckmann 1967:1, 2, 15; Petersen 1985:x, 29-30). Society may therefore be represented as an institutional order.

The expression 'institutional order' implies that a balanced society consists of particular social institutions, one of which is the overarching one, while the other is integrated with it in subordinate fashion. Four basic social institutions or structures can allegedly be discerned within any society: *economy*, *politics*, *family life* and *religion* (see Malina 1986:152-153). In certain societies today the economy forms the basis of social relations. One may also find that politicians exercise control over economic and religious institutions. There are, however, societies in which families and the heads of families exercise the control. The Mediterranean world of the first century is an example. In such societies *religion*, *politics* and *economy* are embedded in an institutional order of *family life* which is primarily determined through birth and nationality (cf inter alia Hollenbach 1987:52; Countryman 1989:21). Bruce Malina put it as follows:

> While all human societies presumably witness to kinship institutions, the Mediterranean world treats this institution as primary and focal....In fact in the whole Mediterranean world, the centrally located institution maintaining societal existence is kinship and its sets of interlocking rules. The result is the central value of *familism*. The family or kinship group is central in social organization; it is the primary focus of personal loyalty and it holds supreme sway over individual life.
>
> (Malina 1989:131)

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This is therefore tantamount to anachronism, misplaced concreteness, as well as reductionism, if the phenomenon of social injustice in New Testament times was to be understood only, or even primarily, in terms of modern economic, political and ecological concerns. Economic and political steps taken in the first century that led to ostracism, for example, should be interpreted in terms of the above social scientific model and perspective in the light of the primary familial structures of the period and the social, mythological and religious symbols representing these structures. The environmental issues which, in close alliance with contextual theology, are topical today should therefore be explained circumspectly from the data gained in the New Testament when it relates biblical data to the field of social relations. Our next step is therefore to gain a closer look into the circumstances and motivations in first-century Palestine that led to the social fact that the belief in God's uniqueness had tended to exploitation and ostracism. It boils down to a study of the notion of holiness in cultural anthropological terms.

3.2 God's uniqueness and the politics of holiness

The belief in God's uniqueness is expressed in a singular manner in the Decalogue. The Second Commandment, 'You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below', arises from the First Commandment, 'I am the Lord your God....You shall have no other gods before me' (Ex 20:2-3). This resulted in the regulation prohibiting the portrayal of humans or animals on coins (see Theissen 1987:6-7) in a time when money was minted in Palestine for the first time since the Hasmonean period in the second century BC (see Ronen 1987:105). Traditionally, political rulers had been portrayed on coins. In the time of Jesus the Herodian rulers apparently avoided this custom to keep the peace amongst the Jews (see Ward 1988:85). To celebrate the founding of the city of Tiberias, Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea in the period 4 BC to AD 39, had himself portrayed on coins by a 'palm branch (reed - see Mt 11:7-8) swaying in the wind' (Theissen 1987:197; Ward 1988:60). He thus apparently obeyed the Jewish law. However, the figures of animals Antipas had in his palace were regarded as idolatry. Josephus (*Vita* 12) refers to it as follows: '...that house which Herod had built there, and which had the figures of living creatures in it, although our laws have forbidden us to make any such figures' (translation by Whiston 1978:4). At the start of the Jewish war in AD 66 these figures were the first to be destroyed by the Jewish rebels under Josephus (Josephus, *Vita* 12 = 65-69 - see Whiston 1978:4, 17-19).

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Although Jews do not identify God with creation, God's covenantal deed demanded that the human being should live in 'holiness' before him because he is 'holy': 'Be holy because I, the Lord your God, am holy' (Lv 19:2; see also 1 Pt 1:16). God's 'holiness' should thus be regarded as inseparable from his 'uniqueness'. This becomes very clear in the Markan use of the *Shema* prayer by Jesus (Mk 12:29) and the scribe (Mk 12:32). Here this prayer's function is to act as introduction to the 'highest commandment', namely the instruction to love God and one's neighbor: 'Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one'. This maxim can be regarded as an analogic formula in which the nature of human being's covenantal relationship with God - who is not a human being (see Hs 11:9b) - is implied indirectly. In everyday life the Jews saw this relationship with God expressed in the confessing *Shema* prayer.

From Old Testament times order in Israel as covenantal community was inseparably linked to the manner in which the *Shema* prayer constitutively functioned. The prayer can probably be regarded as the most basic religious belief appearing in both the Old and the New Testaments. Jerome Neyrey (1988:82) refers to it as 'God's creation-as-ordered'. It contains the confession that the God of Israel is the one God, implying that God distinguishes the people of his covenant, Israel, from all other nations. By implication God's 'holiness' is replicated on a human level. All things in creation should therefore be an expression of the divine order in respect of both classification and discrimination (Neyrey 1988:68). This 'divine order' is expressed specifically through the Greek word ἅγιος (= 'holy'). This word can also be replaced by the word τέλειος (= 'complete'/'whole'): 'Be *perfect* (τέλειοι), therefore, as your heavenly Father is *perfect* (τέλειός)' (Mt 5:48). The cultural anthropologist, Mary Douglas (1966:54), expresses it in the following words: '...to be holy is to be whole, to be one; holiness is integrity, perfection of the individual and of the kind'.

To be as 'holy' as God is 'holy', thus meant to be suited to God. Cripples, retarded people and gentiles were therefore not acceptable to God and were not allowed to enter the cultic sphere in which God lived, the temple, or the assembly of the 'holy', the קָהָל/ἐκκλησία (see Dt 23:1-8; cf Van Aarde 1990:251-263). This means that 'holiness was understood in a highly specific way, namely as *separation*' (Borg 1987:86).

> To be holy meant to be separate from everything that would defile holiness. The Jewish social world and its conventional wisdom became increasingly structured around the polarities of holiness as separation: clean and unclean, purity and defilement, sacred and

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> profane, Jew and Gentile, righteous and sinner....'Holiness' became the paradigm by which the Torah was interpreted. The portions of the law which emphasized the separateness of the Jewish people from other peoples, and which stressed separation from everything impure within Israel, became dominant. Holiness became the *Zeitgeist*, the 'spirit of the age,' shaping the development of the Jewish social world in the centuries leading up to the time of Jesus, providing the particular content of the Jewish ethos or way of life. Increasingly, the ethos of holiness became the politics of holiness.
>
> (Borg 1987:86-87)

Thus, the 'politics of holiness' amounts to the fact that socio-religious groups and coalitions, like the Sadducees and the Pharisees, regulated God's presence during the late Second Temple period. In terms of their idea of God his presence amongst human being was limited. The regulations, in terms of which God was declared to be present or absent, referred to the large number of purification prescriptions. This particularly applied to the temple, the temple accessories, the temple workers and the worshipers in the temple (see Neusner 1973a:15-26).

In Jesus' time it was a serious point of contention between the Sadducees and the Pharisees whether the temple rules should also be applied to everyday life (see Saldarini 1988:234). The theology of the Pharisees concentrated on their aim to replicate the temple and all that it included in everyday life. This replication of the temple community in everyday life had certain religious implications, namely that it legitimized social ostracism through declaring people to be estranged from God. 'Unclean' and 'imperfect' people, things and places were, in other words, seen as not belonging to the domain of the kingdom of God. People from such places who concerned themselves with such things were the 'sinners' who were under the influence of demons. It is with reference to this that Matthew refers to certain of the inhabitants of Galilee, the 'land of the Gentiles' (Mt 4:15), as those living in the land of the shadow of death (Mt 4:16). For these peripheral people, the *outcasts*, the 'people who lived in darkness', the gospel of Jesus, namely that the kingdom of heaven was near and that Jesus had the 'authority' to forgive them their sins, even though they were outside the temple area as place of atonement, was like the dawning of a light (Mt 4:16). This program of Jesus' activity and the people to whom he addressed it is summarized in Matthew 4:23-25 (NIV; see also Mt 9:35-38):

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> Jesus went throughout Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, preaching the good news of the kingdom, and healing every disease and sickness among the people. News about him spread all over Syria, and people brought to him all who were ill with various diseases, those suffering severe pain, the demon-possessed, those having seizures and the paralyzed, and he healed them....
>
> (Mt 4:23-25; NIV)

John Pilch convincingly argues that healing incidents (for example 'lepers') in the gospels provide evidence that human illness 'were thought to be a source of pollution, not contagion, and that Jesus 'cure' invariably involved establishing new selfunderstandings so that these formerly 'unclean' and excluded from the holy community now found themselves 'clean' and within the holy community' (Pilch 1988b:60; cf also Pilch 1991:181-210). As indicated earlier, it has to be granted that Gerd Theissen was correct in that at least certain of Jesus' miracles were aimed at improving the fate of the socially scorned in Galilee, in particular. However, one should not lose track of the results of the historical-critical work done by Joachim Held (1961) on the miracle stories in Matthew, either. Held showed that the miracle stories were composed about a central theological theme. On the one hand 'aid-seeking people from the outside' approach Jesus *in faith*, and on the other the *little faith* of the 'disciple group' is striking. Although the miracle stories in Matthew are generally taken from Mark, one can easily detect a 'Matthean trend' in this regard (see Lange 1980:9). We shall now indicate how this trend is also to be found in the narrative regarding the miraculous finding of the silver coin - the exact amount necessary to pay Jesus' and Peter's temple tax - in the mouth of a fish.

4. MATTHEW 17:24-27 IN CONTEXT

Matthew 17:24-27 reads as follows in the New International Version. The italicized sections will be explained exegetically in the text that follows.

> After Jesus and his disciples arrived in *Capernaum*, the *collectors of the two drachma tax* [τὰ δίδραχμα in Greek], came to *Peter* and asked, 'Doesn't your teacher pay the temple tax?' *'Yes, he does,'* he replied. When Peter came into the house, Jesus was the first to speak. 'What do you think, Simon?' he asked. 'From whom do the *kings* of the earth collect duty and taxes - from their own *sons* or from others?' 'From others,' Peter answered. 'Then *the sons are exempt*,' Jesus said

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> to him. 'But so that *we may not offend them*, go to the lake and throw out your line. Take the first *fish* you catch; open its mouth and you will find a *four-drachma coin* [στατῆρα in Greek = silver coin]. Take it and give it to them *for my tax and yours*.'
>
> (Mt 17:24-27; NIV)

This pericope consists entirely of Matthew's own material which is not found in the other canonical or non-canonical gospels. It should be understood in terms of the wider context of Matthew 13:53-17:27 and then as the latter part of it. Matthew 13:53-17:27 in turn constitutes the fourth of the five important micro-narratives in the Gospel of Matthew (see Van Aarde 1982b:21-34). The structure of the Gospel can be seen as consisting of five important speeches reportedly made by Jesus, preceded and followed by micro-narratives. Ulrich Luz (1989:36) calls this division the *center model* because Jesus' parable speech in Matthew 13 constitutes the focus of the whole Gospel. Matthew 13:1-52, again, is built up around the contrast between the disciples who hear and understand (verses 11-12), and the Galilean crowd who see and yet do not see, who hear and yet do not hear or understand (verse 13). This parable discourse, dealing with the kingdom of heaven, concludes with Jesus' question to the disciples (verse 51) whether they understand all these things, and their very definite 'yes' in reply. This definite 'yes' is repeated in the following pericope with the words 'Yes, he does' (Mt 17:25a). According to Matthew the 'insight' of the disciples is related to the particular role they need to fulfill in respect of the crowd. Joachim Held (1961:171) referred to this as a 'mediating role' and with regard to the miraculous feeding of the crowd he called the disciples 'die Mittler des Mahles' ('the mediators of the meal'). Dominic Crossan (1991:397) also comments that the disciples 'are either direct recipients or active mediators in the nature miracles'. How will the disciples fulfill their calling regarding the crowd? This question remains important throughout Matthew 13:53-17:27, as well as in the whole Gospel of Matthew (see Minear 1974:28-44).

With regard to the structure of Matthew 13:53-17:27 its threefold construction is noticeable[3] (see Van Aarde 1982b:21-34; cf Luz 1989:43 note 39). These

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3. My 'literary systematizing principle' (Luz 1989:38) by focusing on the figure of Peter is according to Ulrich Luz (1990:382 note 9) 'fragwürdig' and according to Donald Verseput (1992:6 note 2) 'improbable'. However, I am still convinced that Matthew's utilization of his own material deviating from the Markan structure, his composition of subsections according to the number three, and his repetition of key words and events, for example 'son of God' and Petrine-events, can be regarded as significant literary means which he used for his careful arrangement of subsections.

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three subsections are Matthew 13:53-14:33; 14:34-16:20 and 16:21-17:27. Each of these units concludes with peculiar Matthean material in respect of Peter that does not occur in the Gospel of Mark or in the Sayings Gospel Q as Matthew's sources, namely *Peter walks on the water* (Mt 14:28-33), *Jesus' beatitude to Peter* (Mt 16:17-19) and *Peter and the payment of temple tax* (Mt 14:24-27) (see also Ellis 1974:132). Each of these three subdivisions focuses on 'insight' on the part of Peter, who is the mouthpiece of the disciples. When Peter walks on the water and the disciples acknowledge Jesus while professing: 'Truly you are the son of God' (Mt 14:28-33), the disciples 'insight', which was mentioned in the preceding parable discourse, continues (Mt 13:1-52). The same could be said about the repetition of Peter's calling Jesus 'son of God' (Mt 16:16) in the second subsection and Jesus' beatitude to Peter, about Simon being addressed as 'Peter', and the pronouncements regarding the building of the church (ἐκκλησία) on this 'rock' (πέτρᾳ) and the keys to the kingdom of heaven (Mt 16:17-19). This 'insight' of Peter, acknowledging Jesus as 'son of God', appears once more in the following micro-narrative and that is at the end of the third subdivision, the pericope about Peter's miraculous finding of the temple tax in the mouth of a fish (Mt 17:24-27). In this short narrative Peter opposes the temple authorities with an 'insight' that speaks of a perspective that resembles that of Jesus as portrayed by Matthew (see Kingsbury 1973:473). Yet, in every instance the evangelist allows the disciples' 'insight' to be preceded by *little faith*' (ὀλιγοπιστία). And this is an indication of the trend in the Gospel of Matthew according to which the disciples' perspective tends to reflect characteristics that resemble those of the elite and, in particular, the Pharisees and the Sadducees. Against the background of the disciples' unexpected 'lack of understanding' of Jesus' loving and miraculous feeding of the socially scorned, and their 'mediating function' in this respect, he cautioned them as people of 'little faith' to be on their guard against the 'yeast' of the Pharisees and the Sadducees (Mt 16:5-11). And once again the evangelist mentions that the disciples indeed gained 'insight' (Mt 16:12).

In the Gospel of Matthew the 'faith' of the disciples (Peter) refers to their 'insight' into the identity of Jesus as the obedient and trusting son of God. To Jesus this meant the fulfillment of the requirement of the law of his heavenly Father to love unconditionally. On the other hand the disciples' 'little faith' refers to a 'lack of comprehension' about the nature of their calling, namely that they, as 'sons of God' (see Mt 5:45) should obey the will of the Father in heaven that is, they were to play a 'mediating role' in the relationship between Jesus and the Galilean crowds (see chapter 6 of Part I).

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Instead of being Jesus' 'helpers' by acting as 'fishers of men' (Mt 4:19), the disciples tend to make common cause with Jesus' antagonists. The latter consist of the Pharisees in particular, who are portrayed as formalistic legalists because they do not realize that, according to the law of God, *compassion* is the most important (Mt 23:23). They are the 'blind guides' leading the blind (Mt 15:14; 23:24), and do not realize that God wishes to care for the 'lost sheep of Israel' as well (Mt 10:6-8) and does not want even one of the destitute to be lost (Mt 18:10-14).

The topographic situating of Matthew 17:24-27 in *Capernaum* accentuates the opposition against Jesus (see also Mt 11:23-24). In the Gospel of Matthew (and that of Mark) Jerusalem represents the 'theological interest' (*theologische Ort*) of Jesus' opponents (see Lohmeyer 1942:106-107). Capernaum is portrayed as an area of interest that is one with Jerusalem, the place where the temple is situated and from whence came the 'officials who collected the temple tax'.

In Matthew 17:27 reference is made to a στατήρ, the silver Tyrian[4] coin which Peter found in the mouth of a sea-creature on the basis of an authoritative word from Jesus, and which served as payment for both Peter and Jesus' temple tax. In Jesus' time the *half-shekel* was the currency used for paying temple tax (see Montefiore 1964/5:62-63; Perkins 1984b:185-186). The requirement to pay a half-shekel tax is based on Exodus 30:11-16; 38:25-26 and Nehemiah 10:32-33. As a matter of fact, all references to the so-called 'shekels of the sanctuary' are from the Priestly document (cf Richardson 1992:517 note 35). Exodus 38:25 implies that the payment must be in silver. According to the Mishna (*Shekalim* III.4) this payment was to be made in the prescribed currency (see Strack & Billerbeck 1926:763-764). For the Jews of Capernaum as well as in other parts of Galilee and Judea ('elsewhere in the Mediterranean Jewish world the arrangements are less clear'; Richardson 1992:513) this had, from the Hasmonean period (cf Garland 1987:191) been silver Tyrian coins (*m. Bek.* 8.7; *t. Ketub.* 12; cf Richardson 1992:512). The reason why it should be *Tyrian* silver coinage was that the political rulers had prohibited the Jews in the Second Temple period from minting silver (cf Richardson 1992:517). Images of animals appeared on these coins, such as an eagle with a palm branch over its right shoulder on the one side and the god Melkart (or Herakles) on the other (see Hamburger 1962:433) with the inscription 'Tyre the holy and inviolable' (see Richardson 1992:517). Tyre was one of Israel's 'bitterest enemies' and the Tyrian shekels were therefore offensive (Richardson 1992:517-518). It is

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4. 'The coin in the fish's mouth is probably, though not necessarily, a Tyrian shekel; it will do to pay both Jesus' and Peter's Temple dues' (Richardson 1992:519 note 45).

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thus worth noticing that the inscription on the coins indeed changed during the first year of the control of Jerusalem by the Jewish Zealots in 67/68 A D, and again in the following year (cf Roth 1962:41-42). The change of the inscription *Tyre the Holy* to *Jerusalem the Holy*, and again to *Freedom of Zion* 'evidences Zealot control of the Jerusalem mint' (Crossan 1991:217) during the first (successful) stage of the first Jewish revolt.

Archaeologists recently found some very interesting silver Tyrian coins in Jordan (see Thompson 1987). The images that appear on these coins are those of *sea-monsters* known to us through Greek mythology, *sea-horses* and *dolphins*, or riders on the backs of these creatures (Thompson 1987:102). The rider can be regarded as a symbol of divine power over the 'creatures of the sea'. In the world of the Semites *Ba'al Shamem* was regarded as the god of both the sea and storms. According to Greek mythology the rider could be identified with Poseidon, who showed some resemblance to Melkart of the Semites. These silver coins were possibly minted on the orders of either Alexander the Great (examples of silver coins with images of the head of Ptolemy I or Antiochus IV, with Zeus on the other side are known to exist - see Hamburger 1962:431) or the Hasmonean rulers who came later.

As it was, the images of rulers, gods, and animals as their symbols or of the sea-gods themselves, constituted a contravention of the Second Commandment. It is therefore to be expected that Jews would not of their own choice have had such coins in their possession. However, 'if one lived at a distance it would appear that one did not have to pay in this currency (*m. Seqal*.2.1,3' (Richardson 1992:513). Money changers were therefore necessary[5] at the temple (see Mt 21:12) to make it possible for taxpayers to obtain the prescribed currency (see Neusner 1989b:287-290). Because of the fact that 'the Temple dues could be paid for a period of ten days....(t)he money-changers's tables were an essential part of the Temple-cultus: they received the Temple dues in the 'provinces' [in other parts of Judea and Galilee] transported them to Jerusalem; and in Jerusalem they changed the money offered in payment to the approved coinage' (Richardson 1992:513). The 'bankers' were allowed commission at a rate of 16,5 per cent on a half-shekel (*Shekalim* VI.I).

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5. Although 'necessary' (Neusner 1989; Crossan 1991:357) and 'essential' (Richardson 1992) to the temple cult, in my interpretation of the payment of the temple tax (Mt 17:24-27) I disagree with Dominic Crossan that 'there was *absolutely nothing wrong* with any of the buying, selling, or money-changing operations conducted in the outer courts of the Temple. Nobody was stealing or defrauding or contaminating the sacred precints' (Crossan 1991:357; my emphasis).

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In the Septuagint the word 'shekel' is translated as τό δίδραχμον. Outside the Septuagint, in Josephus or Philo for example, τό δίδραχμον (singular) was the equivalent of a half-shekel. According to Matthew 17:24 the collectors of the temple tax asked Peter whether Jesus paid τὰ δίδραχμα (plural). The value therefore was the equivalent of two half-shekels. What the tax collectors probably had in mind was the commission they could earn. If the Tyrian στατῆρ were used as payment, however, it would be unnecessary to exchange the money. Giving change was also avoided since a στατῆρ was the equivalent of one shekel (two half-shekels) in those days, in other words a Septuagint τό δίδραχμον, and was therefore enough for two people (Strack & Billerbeck 1926:765, 773).

Matthew could have had two things in mind with this question. On the one hand there was the fact that certain Jewish groups refused to pay tax to the temple authorities. The Essenes (see Vermes 1975:42), for example, refused because they regarded the temple under the control of the Sadducees as being corrupt. This could probably also be attributed to the fact that it had to be paid in Tyrian currency which was regarded as idolatrous, because of the images of animals in flight such as eagles, or of animals in the sea such as dolphins and sea-horses, which appeared on the coins. Coins whose images have in fact been filed away have been found in the Qumran caves. On the other hand the tax collectors' question is meant to ensnare Jesus. He is expected either to agree or disagree with the formality of money-changing. And this practice of money-changing at the temple, which constituted a busy and profitable money market, was in reality coupled with social injustice. Every Jewish male (levites, Israelites, proselytes, and freed slaves) above the age of twenty was subjected to this (*Shekalim* I.1, 3, 5; cf Strack & Billerbeck 1926:726; Richardson 1992:513). It applied to a beggar, a self-supporting artisan, a day-laborer, a peasant from the country who owned no land, a rich aristocrat, a merchant, or others belonging to the so-called *retainers* group. If women, slaves or minors paid the temple tax it was accepted by the money-changers (at the tables in the temple or whoever were sent to collect it from peasants from the countryside) but not the payment of a gentile or a Samaritan (*Shekalim* I.1, 3, 5; cf Richardson 1992:513). However, according to the 'politics of holiness' women and children, cripples and the blind as well as the gentiles and Samaritans were excluded from entering the holy areas of the temple where the atonement ceremonies took place. Peasants and the poorer hired laborers on the farms of the rich aristocracy in particular (see Stambaugh & Balch 1986:91-92), also experienced great difficulty in fulfilling the prescribed requirements regarding the payment of the temple tax in silver Tyrian currency. Farm produce was a much more convenient means of payment (see Freyne 1980:280). Many people were therefore delivered into the

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hands of manipulators of the money market, which led to the temple becoming a 'den of robbers' in Jesus' words (see Mt 21:12-13). The socially deprived, in particular, fell prey to these economic exploiters.

The temple is God's house and although one could argue, Jesus said, that duty and taxes for God's house are not collected from the sons of God's kingdom, Jesus' action bears testimony of his obedience to the cult. However, Jesus' statement that he did not wish to offend the temple authorities (Mt 17:27), did not mean that he agreed with their politics of holiness and exclusivism. Montefiore (1964/5:71) describes this attitude in the following words: 'To refuse payment would seem to deny the whole Jewish system of worship. This Jesus never did. He pointed to its inadequacies: he insisted on the priority of inward worship over outward observance. He stood here within the prophetic tradition: but like the ancient prophets he never directly attacked the cult as such, only its abuses.'

In Matthew 17:24-27 Jesus emphasizes the *freedom* of the *sons of God* in respect of any such exploitative and particularistic politics. Jesus represents the *true temple* (τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεῖζόν - Mt 12:6); following him as the son of God in obedience to the will of God gives new content to the temple cult (see Mt 24:2 and 27:51). The pericope about the payment of the temple tax could thus be described as an anticipation of the cleansing of the temple which took place some time later in Matthew's story (Mt 21:12-17) and during which Jesus, quoting from Jeremiah's temple speech (Jr 7:11), overturns the tables of the money-changers in the temple, and heals *the sick and the blind in the temple* (Mt 21:14) while the *children in the temple* (Mt 21:15) praise him as the son of God. Peter shows 'insight' (Mt 17:25a) into the implications of Jesus' point of view. His view is diametrically opposite to that of the Sadducees and the Pharisees; in other words, he shares Jesus' vision: '...they both know and do the will of the heavenly Father' (Kingsbury 1973:473).

Functioning as the end of the third subsection, in the broader context of Matthew 13:53-17:27, Matthew 17:24-27 resembles the endings of the other two subsections in that it is characterized by Peter's 'insight' into the identity of Jesus as the Son of God. This 'insight' actually reaches a far higher level than that of the others; it is an 'insight' that results in Jesus referring to *Peter as a son of God.* In other words, the micro-narrative Matthew 13:53-17:27, ends on a tense note: it seems as if the disciples had indeed heard and understood what was said (see Mt 13:52 once more)!

In spite of this, the 'little faith' recurs (see Mt 20:17-19). It culminates in the passion narrative (Mt 26:6-16; 26:56b; 26:69-74) and it continues even after Jesus' resurrection (Mt 28:17)! It is significant that the opposing words 'acknowledge' (προσκυνέω) and 'doubt' (διστάζω), used as the last reference to the disciples in

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the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 28:17), also occur in respect of the disciples during the miracle of nature when Jesus walks on the water (Mt 14:31,33). This 'insight' as well as the 'little faith' of the disciples is expressed rather strikingly (see Giblin 1975:72). The open-end of Matthew' story is the question whether Jesus' vision had also become the vision of the disciples of Jesus. Or are these words Jesus uttered regarding 'hypocrisy' still valid?

> Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' will enter the kingdom of heaven, but only he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven. Many will say to me on that day, 'Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and in your name drive out demons and perform many miracles? Then I will tell them plainly, 'I never knew you. Away from me, you evil-doers!'
>
> (Mt 7:21-23; NIV)

5. CONCLUSIONS

What existential experience could result from our interpretation of a miracle of nature such as the one we have discussed? Does the transmission of such a miracle of nature bear testimony to faith without credibility? Should we expect modern and even post-modern man to base his belief in God on the acceptance of the fact of Jesus' miracles? If so, does that mean that our belief in Jesus as the son of God is based upon irrationality, a *sacrificium intellectus*? Or is faith something you cannot see, a witness of something still hoped for? Should we therefore seek the motive *beyond* the miracle we are expecting in our own lives, so as to attach some meaning to our wretched existence in hopeful anticipation of a miraculous change? And if the narratives regarding Jesus' miracles during the time of the New Testament wish to proclaim God's superiority over gods (from the perspective of the Gentiles) or to show how Satan was deprived of his power (from the perspective of Judaism), of what importance is this message today? Should we apply it to combat belief in witchcraft and sorcery, spiritism and satanism? Or is the effect of engaging in the intention of the miracle to be found in the 'divine working' of another miracle - the miracle of faith because we have been set free from anxiety and fear and are now open to loving all people without reservation? And what about the criticism leveled against this type of kerygmatic exegesis? Was the essence of this criticism not the fact that it merely constituted idle talk which appealed only to the cognitive, while it did not take true cognizance of the social and humanitarian relationships which formed the basis of the narrating or transmission of Jesus' miracles?

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The prohibition from minting silver demonstrates how Roman imperialism forced Jewish believers to contravene the First and Second Commandment. To pay the temple tax with a Tyrian silver coin was to be subjected to idolatry because of the image of an eagle or a fish (dolphin) as a symbol of a pagan sea-god on some of these coins. Simultaneously, it means to be subjected to the exploitation by the money-changers because Jews and especially Galilean peasants would not have had such coins in their possession. Against this social background the narrative about the miraculous finding of the silver coin in the mouth of sea-creature is probably told by Matthew for two reasons. On the one hand the superiority of Jesus as the son of God over the gods of the sea could have been portrayed by this narrative. It was because of the intervention and command of the son of God that the silver coin was found in the mouth of the fish. This miracle of nature portrays in other words the obedience of the pagan gods to the son of God. On the other hand, the fact that it was a silver coin that was found signifies also that Jesus rescued Peter from the abuses of the temple cult. However, this miracle story emphasizes Jesus' obedience to the temple cult and the law of God in spite of the fact that he paid the temple tax with a Tyrian coin. In other words, God's uniqueness and holiness is revered on the basis of the First and the Second Commandments in that he is not represented in a pantheistic manner - God is not absorbed by his creation and is not placed on equal footing with anything on earth, in the air, or in the sea. Matthew represented Jesus as the fulfillment of the covenant and humankind's loyal response towards God's loyalty. In this sense Jesus is the fulfillment of the covenant because he shows through his conduct and teachings that compassion is the fulfillment of the law, of the rules of the covenant. Jesus therefore never denied that God was holy (Borg 1987:130), but his *imitatio dei* differed. '[W]hereas first-century Judaism spoke primarily of the holiness of God, Jesus spoke primarily of the compassion of God...(and) (j)ust as the ethos of holiness had led to a politics of holiness, so also the ethos of compassion was to led to a politics of compassion' (Borg 1987:130-131). Thus, the other aspect that Matthew aims to emphasize through payment of the temple tax is the way in which Jesus avoids the exploitation accompanying the practice of money changing, and which placed even greater emphasis on the evil of socio-religious ostracism of the peripheral groups of people. In contrast to the Essenes Jesus did not turn his back on the temple cult because of the corrupt practices (see Van Aarde 1991a:51-64). What is true is that he, like the Pharisees, wished for the temple service to be replicated in everyday life. However, with reference to the prophetic traditions such as those in Isaiah 56:7 (see Mt 21:13 and Jeremiah 7:1-15), he strongly criticized the exclusive *hypocrisy* of the Pharisees. He warned his followers not to participate in hypocrisy.

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Existential experience of Jesus' miracles of nature with a view to humankind and his environment should, in order to avoid reductionism and anachronism, not be primarily or exclusively be made applicable to economic and political matters. We have indicated that the family institution represented the dominant social structure in the time of the New Testament. Accordingly, the temple was called the 'house of God' and it ruled life in an ordinary household. The 'impure', who could not enter the temple, also forfeited the care of an ordinary household. As 'a house of prayer for all nations' (Mt 21:13; Is 56:7) Jesus symbolically broadened the temple to include the socially scorned and ostracized, who could not meet God in the temple. Indeed, in his omnipotence God allows the rain in nature to fall on these people as well and he makes his sun to shine on bad and good people alike (cf Mt 5:45). The involvement of the believing community today in caring for the neglected elderly and children, and other 'homeless' people, is seen from a different perspective in the light of this.

6. A CONCLUDING REMARK ON A CONTROVERSIAL RELATIONSHIP

What do we learn about ecology from this miracle of nature? I think the answer here is: not much. But what about human being's relation to the environment - what were they like in Jesus' time? Galilee was the fertile land in which Jesus as *God-with-us* made the kingdom of heaven become a reality for mankind. The land with its sea and flowers, and paradoxically, the land of the shadow of death. It is an environment whose relationship with humanity was described as follows by Theissen (1987:76):

> Galilee was a marvellous land - a land in which everyone could have enough to eat. Shouldn't this land be there for everyone? Couldn't one indeed come to think here that distress and misery should not be part of creation?
>
> (Theissen 1987:76)

It is against this background that Theissen allows the Jew of that time, who could not but be stirred by Jesus' 'politics of compassion', to sing a song as a result of certain themes of creation in Psalm 104 about God in relationship to the human being and his/her environment:

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Creator of the world
you are infinitely great,
surrounded by beauty
and bathed in light.
You can be traced in the riddle of time
and the mystery of space.
You are manifest in the wonders of the world
and hidden in the suffering of your creatures.
You sleep in the stone and dream in the flower.
You arouse yourself in the animal
and speak to men and women.
You change light into life
and rain into growth.
You make corn and wine grow
for all,
for poor and rich,
black and white.
Lord, yours is the earth,
your garden which you gave us.

(Theissen 1987:76)

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Chapter 4

A historical-critical classification of Jesus' parables and the metaphoric narration of the wedding feast in Matthew 22:1-14

1. INTRODUCTION

Texts cannot be interpreted if they are not subjected to inquiry. Questions can, however, seem irrelevant and even illegitimate. What determines the relevance of the questions that the interpreter of Jesus' parables in the New Testament may pose? In my opinion the pragmatic aim of interpretation (the teleological dimension) is the partial answer to this question. What this amounts to is that it is necessary not only to get clarity about the motives underlying the original use of the parables, but also the practical use of the results that give rise to specific questions. The validity of the questions is in turn particularly determined by the literary nature of the parable. This nature can relate to the evolutionary, historical origins as well as the synchronic, coherent poetics of the parable. What will come to the fore in the parable, the history of origin or the poetics of a parable, should be determined by the interpreter according to the pragmatic aim. Should it occur with a view to, for example, preaching, one should thoroughly consider the communication possibilities and the communicative conditions of the particular choice.

Communication is largely facilitated by communication strategies. The literary form is no doubt one of the most important strategies in communicating literature. This touches on the old problem of the relationship between *form* and *content*. As early as at the turn of the last century, Hermann Gunkel (Old Testament) and Johan G Herder (New Testament) demonstrated insight into the relationship between form and content in the interpretation of biblical texts. It has, however, only been in recent times that the hermeneutic implications of this relationship have been recognized and used in exegesis with a pragmatic aim. The reason for this is that identification of the 'generic' literary convention helps one to

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understand the text's communicative focus (intention), and what the interpreter should both expect and ask of the text. Hirsch (1967:76) formulates this as follows: 'All understanding of verbal meaning is necessarily genre-bound'. Therefore, the realization that the determination of the intention of a text is more than the distinction between form and content is more and more noticeable among biblical scholars (see Van Aarde 1982a:7-9). 'That *genre* must stand at least partly to indicate something beyond form, I take to be self-evident. *Meaning*, a common way to designate this additional factor, is genre-bound...since generic expression must rank among the most important signal-systems used by the author' (Doty 1972:430).

New Testament scholars have distinguished, a far as the parables of Jesus are concerned, since the time of Adolf Jülicher (1910) in the footprints of Aristotle, between *comparison* and *metaphor* and consequently between, on the one hand, *comparison*, *parable*, and *example story*, and on the other, *metaphor* and *allegory*. This classical division has since been under fire. The new-hermeneutic scholars (e g Ernst Fuchs) question the distinction made between comparison and metaphor, particularly on the basis of the *Sprachkraft der Existenz* (Fuchs 1958:211-214, see also Kingsbury 1972:102), and even deny it (see later). In the circle of the *Formgeschichtler* (e g Bultmann 1970:188; Dibelius 1971:249) Jülicher's distinctions are however largely upheld. But the more the positivism of their literary and historical views is exposed to ridicule, the more traditional classification becomes regarded as irrelevant.

Since the *formgeschichtliche* period there has been less debate about Aristotelian terms in parable research with regard to classification; it is more a question of the relationship between the identification of its form and functional, communicative focus. For example, Bultmann's own contribution with regard to the interpretation of parables, besides his interest in the *traditionsgeschichte* of the parables, is the description of the technique of narrating the parables (*die Technik der Gleichniserzählung*; see Bultmann 1970:203). Although he does not mention it explicitly, the clear hypothesis is that the narrative technique involves communication strategies that can help explain the motive behind the use of Jesus' parables in the early church. Bultmann (1970:203-208) discusses the compactness of the parables as narratives with regard to characterization, economy of words, their single dominant perspective, the frequent occurrence of direct speech and monologues, repetition, the anticipation of the listener's/reader's decision with regard to the point that the parable wishes to make, and finally the law-of-end-stress (*Gesetz des Achtergewichts*). The latter stylistic characteristic amounts to the most important information being mentioned last. This is a common feature of trivial, folklorist literature.

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The identification of the different forms into which parables divide themselves, and of their respective stylistic characteristics, should therefore no longer have classification and appellation as goals in themselves. The exegete should take the hermeneutic implications of the classification into account. And if the exegete is a homilete as well, he must ask himself what implications the classification has for the ministry. The purpose of the present study is to discuss the traditional classification of the parables in the New Testament and to test them against a pragmatic goal, such as the ministry. The conclusion is that an emphasis on *metaphoricity*, together with *narrativity* and *reference* would be more functional for preaching. The parable of the wedding feast (Mt 22:1-14) is used as an example.

2. JÜLICHER'S DISTINCTION BETWEEN COMPARISON AND METAPHOR

The distinction that Jülicher (1910:52) has made between a comparison and a metaphor is traditionally the basis of further distinctions and the eventual classification of parables in the New Testament. The essence of the distinction is that a comparison as a rule would depend on an *Ähnlichkeitsrelation* (relation of similarity), while a metaphor has to do with the literary phenomenon that two comparable objects (a 'subject' is like a 'predicate' - e g 'Achilles is like a lion') is articulated in an *uneigentliche* (indirect) discourse (see Kissinger 1979:72).

Metaphoricity is hereafter seen as purely ornamental diction. This implies that the 'subject' does not furnish new information about the 'predicate' (Weder 1978:76-77). 'Ornamental diction' thus means that a metaphor is a *Mimesis des Seienden* (= a reflection of reality). Seen thus, the metaphor, according to the connotative language of Aristotelian logic, is reducible to the intended predicate in the real world (see Sellin 1982:381). The intention of the phrase 'the lion charged,' for example, can be deduced by replacing the 'subject' lion with Achilles. To summarize, the metaphor 'Achilles is (like) a lion' (1) refers indirectly (that is, in an *uneigentliche* way) to the intended reality and (2) therefore demands transformation (or interpretation), but (3) provides no new information with regard to the 'predicate' (= lion).

In contrast, *comparison* needs no interpretation. Its purpose is to teach; that is, it is didactic in nature. In terms of the example, the phrase 'Achilles charges like a lion' is a comparison. What comparison and metaphor have in common is that both are based on *analogy*. This means that both name a 'subject' in analogy to a 'predicate'. Jülicher explains the difference between a comparison and a metaphor by seeing the analogic principle in the first in terms of something *similar*

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(*Anschaulichkeit*) and in the latter in terms of *substitution* (see Sellin 1982:368). The reference between the 'subject' and the 'predicate' thus occurs directly in a comparison (the so-called *Ähnlichkeitsrelation* principle). The listener/reader immediately knows how one thing is used to demonstrate another. From the *Ähnlichkeitsrelation* he can infer a general truth principle which is didactic in nature.

Jülicher considered that the parables of Jesus in the Synoptic gospels are comparisons and not metaphors. As a child of the *pre-formgeschichtliche* 'Leben Jesu Forschung' (see Wrege 1978:11) he saw the parables of Jesus as the expression of general (moral) truths (Pelser 1985:459). He thus did away with the allegorizing and de-historizing trend in exegesis and the preaching of the parables, but on the other hand it unfortunately paved the way to moralizing and even romanticized preaching. In this type of preaching Jesus is held out to be an example of moral rectitude in a romantically idealistic manner.

Later in the essay comes the question of the untenability of distinguishing between a 'comparison' and a 'metaphor' in the above terms. This criticism indeed has had a fundamental effect on exegesis and the preaching of Jesus' parables. It indeed has had a far-reaching effect on traditional classification in allegories (in the narrower sense), parables, example stories and allegories. (According to some parable scholars the latter occur only occasionally in the New Testament.)

As mentioned above, Jülicher drew these other distinctions on the very grounds of his basic distinction between comparison and metaphor. Where he perceived the distinguishing component of allegory to be the *metaphor*, for comparison (in its narrower sense = *similtude*), the *parable* and for the example story the *comparison* (in its broader sense). The characteristics of comparison (in the broader sense) and metaphor, as discussed above, are applicable to the different types of parables. Let us briefly discuss these types and their respective characteristics.

2.1 Comparison, parable, example story and allegory

A comparison in the broad sense of the word, as indicated above, can comprehensively form a narrative discourse (= parable). A 'parable' as an extended comparison is a narration in which an idea is told in the form of a story, with the aid of an image. As far as the parables in the New Testament are concerned, the idea is intrinsically religious and often deals with something relating to the kingdom of God. In a 'parable' there is therefore an *image* (= *Bild*) and a *topic* (= *Sache*), as well as a *point of comparison* (= *tertium comparationis*) between them. The literary categories *image*, *topic* and the *tertium comparationis* can thus be distinguished in a 'parable'. However, one should not take it for granted that the

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structural synthesis of a 'parable' could be divided into these three parts, as though they were incomplete parts (see Linnemann 1977:24). The term *tertium comparationis* refers to that single idea common to the image and the (religious) topic, for example the idea of 'joy' in the 'parable' of the lost sheep in Luke 15:4-7. The other material and motives in the 'parable' function to illustrate the *tertium comparationis*.

As far as the classification of such narratives in the New Testament is concerned, a distinction is made between *parable* and *allegory*, on the grounds of the above basic distinction between comparison (in its broader sense) and metaphor. As we have pointed out, in this view the comparison is the distinguishing component of the 'parable'. Metaphor is the distinguishing component of allegory. Since the material of the 'parable' and the individual elements it contains are grouped around a single *tertium comparationis*, these elements refer, *loosely*, through the image, to realities in the real world. In an allegory more than one of the individual elements it contains refer in a *primary* way to the real world, without there being even one *tertium comparationis* in question. In the so-called allegory of the wedding feast that the king prepared for his son (Mt 22:1-14), for example, the individual element 'son' refers to Jesus Christ, the 'invited guests' refer to the Jewish leaders, their 'city' relates to Jerusalem, the 'servants' that are sent refer to the disciples' commission, and the 'uninvited outside the city' to the Gentiles and the other socially despised, et cetera. On the other hand individual elements such as 'field', 'friends and neighbors' in the 'parable' of the lost sheep (= image) refer in a loose way to the real world, with the single idea of 'joy' as the *tertium comparationis*. These individual elements can even be *unusual features* (see Linnemann 1977:18), since a parable's *tertium comparationis* in some circumstances (the so-called *parable-proper*) does not derive from an incident in the real world, but from a general, acknowledged, fact of life or experience (the so-called *comparison* in its narrower sense = *similitude*). In other cases the *tertium comparationis* does derive from a concrete incident in the real world, and it is focused on a character as the example (the so-called *example story*). Here we find the reason for, in the second place, making a distinction in 'parables' between comparison (in the narrower sense), parable-proper and example story.

Where the similitude envisages a type of situation in the real world, the *parable-proper* refers to an interesting, specific case in the real world. The similitude is thus often introduced with the question τίς ὑμῶν. *Examples of comparisons are: the yeast worked into flour (Mt 13:33), the sowing of a mustard seed (Mt 13:31), the scattering of seed on the ground (Mk 4:26-29) and the actions of a master towards his servant (Lk 17:7-10).*

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A *parable-proper*, as a freely composed story (see Linnemann 1977:4), relates to what anyone could do, and what has already been done by someone. It does not matter whether someone else will do it in the same way or not. *Examples of parables-proper are: the dishonest manager (Lk 16:1-13), the man with two sons (Mt 21:28-32), the man who gave the great banquet (Lk 14:16-24) and the judge in a certain city (Lk 18:2-8).*

As far as reference is concerned, the *similitude* is thus universally valid, whilst the *parable-proper* refers to what has happened only once. Communicatively, both the comparison and the parable-proper furnish new information about a topic by giving the listener/reader an image. The former wants to avoid opposition from the listener/reader with regard to the narrated topic by basing the image on universal validity. The latter hopes to avoid opposition by specifically not building the image on universal validity, but by presenting it as attractively as possible in literature. As a result the parable-proper is more subtle and thus less trivial, but more aesthetic than the similitude. The parable-proper is often introduced by the particles ὡς and ὥσπερ or the expressions ὁμοίως ἔστιν, ὅμοια ἔστιν, ὁμοιωθήσεται, ὁμοιωθῆτε.

The example story (*Beispielerzählung* or *Illustration*) is, like the parable, a *freely invented story* and subject to the same rules of story-telling. The communication strategy is however different: where the parable-proper creates an *analogy* between the image and the topic by means of a *tertium comparationis*, the example story creates an *exemplum*. Where the parable-proper builds the strength of its conviction on the hypothetical fact that what happens in the real world in the specific case cannot be argued by a correlating case, in the example story the 'ideological' point of view of the narrator, on the basis of the evidence regarding the specific *exemplum* in the hypothetical reality, is presented as being authoritative. *Examples of example stories are: the rich fool (Lk 12:16-21), the rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31) and the Pharisee and the tax collector (Lk 18:9-14).* With regard to the narrative about the good Samaritan (Lk 10:30-37), it has not been established whether it should be interpreted as an example story (Linnemann 1977:4) or as a parable-proper (Crossan 1973:65). According to Pelser (1985:471), it is possible to consider that it forms a meaningful unit in isolation, and that it should therefore no longer be considered an example story, but rather as a parable-proper.

With regard to allegory, like the parable-proper, it is a coherent, freely composed narrative intended to persuade. The function of allegory is that it offers an evaluation of the real world without supplying new information about it, so that this evaluation can be shared by the listeners/readers. Allegory is therefore modelled on the real world. What allegory is about is given in terms of a series of images (= items of reference) which relate to the real world. Reality, however,

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remains veiled, so that only the initiated can interpret the allegory. In other words it means something other than what it says. Whilst the parable-proper tends to be addressed to opponents, allegory addresses itself to the initiated. In the view of Eta Linneman (1977:8), the narrative about the wedding feast in Matthew 22:1-14 is the only incontestable allegory that Jesus used. She considers that the narratives about the ten maidens (Mt 25:1-13) and the farmers and the vineyard (Mk 12:1-2) are not allegories. The application, in Jesus' own words, of the parable about the sower (Mk 4:3-9; Mt 13:1-9; Lk 8:4-8), given in Mark 4:13-20, Matthew 13:10-23 and Luke 8:11-15, is certainly allegorical in nature, but the narration itself is not an allegory. This also applies to the application of the parable about the net (Mt 13:47-48), given in Matthew 13:49-50.

3. CRITICISM OF THE TRADITIONAL CLASSIFICATION

From the discussion thus far, two aspects of parable research in particular seem to be the basis of traditional classification. These are *reference* and *metaphoricity*. One thing is certain, and this is that Jesus' parables are narrative texts. When *narrativity*, however, is taken seriously in parable interpretation, the above-mentioned base begins to show cracks. The reason for this is that, in narratology, one looks at the *reference* of narrative texts with new insights. These new insights, as well as a changed view on metaphoricity which is apparent in new-hermeneutic circles in particular, causes the *formgeschichtliche* categories to lose their pragmatism with, for example, preaching in view.

The traditional classification of Jesus' parables can certainly obtain when they are isolated from their respective holistic macrotexts. But the historic, literary and theological implications of such isolation should then be thoroughly taken into account. Willem Vorster (1985a:157) refers to this as follows:

> [I]t [is] clear that the study of the parables of Jesus in isolation has certain consequences. If they are regarded as aesthetic objects, meanings are attached to them, which are different from the situation where the parables are analyzed in the context of their transmission, or in pursuance of the reason for their narration. Narratives out of context also have functions which differ from those of narratives related for a reason determined by the unnatural context. One can do various things with parables, just as with other forms of language. For this reason it is important for these matters to receive attention when the parables of Jesus are studied.
>
> (Vorster 1985a:157; translation from the Afrikaans)

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Isolation of Jesus' parables hinders the full implementation of narrativity in their interpretation. Moreover, a functional application of the traditional classification must sustain the old metaphor concept. Some New Testament scholars, like Snodgrass (1983:24), think that a compromise may be possible.

> Whether one defines allegory as extended metaphor or a series of metaphors, the question 'Can a parable be an allegory?' must be answered effectively....This is not a licence for fanciful exegesis since such significance must be rooted in the historical and literary context.
>
> (Snodgrass 1983:24)

On the other hand he says: 'Whether one chooses to call this story [that concerning the farmer and the vineyard - AG v A] a 'parable', an 'allegory', or both is not really important' (Snodgrass 1983:25). Why, then the genre-jargon? Why not simply refer to a *metaphorical narrative*?

3.1 Metaphoricity, narrativity and reference

Jülicher's distinction between comparison (in the broad sense) and metaphor have long been neither partially (see Via 1967; Crossan 1976) nor wholly (see Klauck 1978; Weder 1978; Sellin 1982) accepted by prominent parable scholars. Today *metaphoricity* is not taken to be mere ornamental diction. On the contrary, a narrator uses a metaphor to create a new reality which, from the viewpoint of affective reading involvement, can be experienced and shared (see Weder 1978:75).

The classic distinction, according to Klauck (1978), has its origin in Jülicher's shift from allegorization. This in itself was a far-reaching contribution. He, however, confused allegorization (as exegetical technique) and allegory (as a literary form). The characteristics of allegorization are (cf Klauck 1978:354-361): (1) a lack of interest in the literary-aesthetic and historical aspects of a text; (2) anachronistic 'eisegesis' from an assumed viewpoint; (3) a presupposition that a text contains an esoteric communication code that conceals its intention and is thus only directed at the informed; and (4) an interpretation process in which texts and individual elements are isolated and drawn into a new context.

Dan Via (1967:24-25), on the other hand, does uphold the distinction between a parable and an allegory, but he rejects Jülicher's view that the former has only one direct point of comparison (*tertium comparationis*) with regard to the real world and the latter more (discussed later). This view is built partly on Ernst Fuchs's new hermeneutics. Although Fuchs (1958:213-214, 217-219) upholds the

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distinction between a comparison and a metaphor, he considers that the principle of 'analogy' is the most important characteristic of a metaphor. Eta Linneman follows Fuchs's example in this.

Linneman points out that the narrator wishes to communicate to the listener/reader his evaluation of reality by means of the principle of 'analogy'. The possibility of a *new* understanding of reality is thus created for the listener/reader. The fact that the narrator wishes to convince the listener/reader (*Einverständnis*) implies that he must concede something to the listener/reader. The *concession* is the principle of 'analogy'. What is unknown to the listener/reader, namely the narrator's evaluation of reality, is stated by metaphorical narration in terms of what is known. The more unusual the narrator's evaluation, the more careful and subtle the concession must be. The power of conviction is thus dependent on the narrator's success in a literary integration of the 'world' of the listener/reader with the 'world' of the narrative, such that the 'analogy' created between the narrator and the listener/reader draws the latter into the narrative without the former making his manipulative position as narrator too obvious, thus losing this position (Linnemann 1977:28).

Robert Funk (1966) took the new-hermeneutic scholars' emphasis of *Sprachkraft der Existenz*, expressed in metaphorical language, even further. He therefore preferred to speak of 'a parable as metaphor' rather than 'a parable as analogy'. Nevertheless, in the period before1985, *narrativity* as such has not been exploited in parable interpretation. G V Jones (1964) initiated it, but it was in fact Dan Via who began to interpret the parables of Jesus in an existential way as 'genuine works of art'. According to Via (1967:178-179), the parables were however resistant to being interpreted as microtexts in the light of the holistic macrotext of a gospel as narrative (see Pelser 1985:464). A standpoint such as this implies that Jesus' parables feature as mere 'free-floating' microtexts (see Kingsbury 1972:107). It therefore inhibits the narrativity of a parable from reaching the full potential of its interpretation.

In the introduction to this essay it was stated that the genre of a text, in particular, determines its pragmatism. The literary genre is the 'holistic macrotext' of the written language and it serves as the key to understanding its parts (see Talbert 1977:11). This applies to words in a sentence and sentences in a pericope and pericopes in the text as a whole (Güttgemanns 1971:290). The 'text as a whole' is what Talbert calls the 'holistic macrotext', and what is meant by 'literary genre'. Petersen and Hirsch, respectively, formulate the hermeneutic relevance of genre-investigation as follows:

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> In all cases genre has to do with the intended *meaning* of a total text as composed, and therefore with the traits by which this meaning is to be recognized.
>
> (Petersen 1970:82, note 7)

> All understanding of verbal meaning is necessarily genre-bound. This description of the genre-bound character of understanding is, of course, a version of the hermeneutic circle, which in its classical formulation has been described as the interdependence of part and whole: the whole can be understood only through its parts, but the parts can be understood only through the whole.
>
> (Hirsch 1967:76)

What is the implication of taking into account the holistic macrotext of a gospel as narrative for the traditional classification of Jesus' parables? On the one hand the so-called allegorizing applications for certain 'parables' to which we referred earlier, should be regarded as narrator's commentary. On the other, the so-called 'parables' should be interpreted as direct speech (*besprochene Welt*) interrupting the *erzählte Welt* (narrated world; see Vorster 1985b:27-66). Direct speech (*besprochene Welt*) has more of an evaluative than an informative function. Vorster applies this narratological insight to both the Gospel of Mark as a whole and the parable discourse in Mark 4:1-34, respectively, as follows:

> In terms of the structure of Mark's narrative in which narrative discourse and direct discourse are continually alternated and where the sayings of Jesus, as we have seen often serve the function of presenting norms for the reader, this is not without significance. It gives and indication of how the author wished his readers/hearers to interpret the...story....In Mark 4:1-34, the focus is like elsewhere in the gospel when Jesus speaks...on...what he says and why he says it. The function of the speech is first of all, as with all the other sayings of Jesus in Mark, to create a context of evaluation for the reader. Besides the information it offers..., it also provides the reader with norms to evaluate the actions of other characters in the story.
>
> (Vorster 1985b:33-34)

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Perhaps the most important characteristic of a metaphorical narrative is that it is *polyvalent in scope*. What this amounts to is that a narrative such as this can be interpreted on at least two levels of meaning, namely the literal and the figurative. The communicative focus of a metaphorical narrative derives its perspective from the *association of meaning* between the 'literal' and the 'figurative'. This characteristic applies to all (types of) parables in the gospels. The condition is that they must be interpreted as microtexts within their respective holistic macrotexts. From a pragmatic point of view, such as for preaching, the traditional classification of Jesus' parables has therefore lost its function. If the metaphorical narratives in the gospels must be typified, they can be termed *riddles* (Rhoads & Michie 1982:55-58). As 'riddles' they must be unraveled according to the guidelines that the narrator offers, as far as possible.

By taking narrativity seriously in the interpretation of parables, two further problems related to traditional classification can be resolved. One is that in a comparison (in the broader sense), and in the looser, related type of parable, there can be only one *tertium comparationis* and no more (e g Linnemann). The other is that a comparison (and related types) must be explained in the light of the *tertium comparationis* (e g Via).

As far as the first question is concerned, one must acknowledge Linnemann's view that there can be more than one *Beziehungspunkt* (= point of relation) (Linnemann 1977:24-25). The more complex a metaphorical narrative, the more the levels on which the 'ideological' point of view of the narrator is manifested, and the less there is an unambiguous 'association of meaning' between the literal and the figurative. This sort of complexity is, however, limited in trivial folklore, such as Jesus' parables. Aesthetic literariness is the exception rather than the rule.

With regard to the second question, Via's problem consists therein that the *tertium comparationis* is a referential point relating to something *outside* the parable itself (Via 1967:70-72). He cannot accept it from a structural-exegetic approach. Since the structure of a parable has a centripetal, *inward* organization, he considers that it is allegorizing exegesis to explain a parable according to the extratextual reference of its *tertium comparationis*. This is the apparent reason for his upholding, on the one hand, the distinction between 'parable' and 'allegory', and on the other, the parables of Jesus as isolated aesthetic objects. Via's problem, on close inspection, is the manner in which narrative texts have an internal and an external reference.

I consider Vorster's contribution in this regard, relating to *reference*, of importance (see Vorster 1985b:58). He points out that the reference items in a narrative refer in two ways, namely 'exophorically' and 'endophorically'. The former

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concerns the reference to the world outside the microtext as well as that outside the macrotext. This world is the *situational context*. The latter type of reference concerns the reference to the so-called *co-text*, the macrotext. This 'world' is the holistic macrotext in which the microtext is present.

Both types of reference are, as far as the parables in the gospels are concerned, of an external nature. One is 'historical' and the other literary. The concepts of *Anschaulichkeit* and *Substitution* do not figure in either. And this is where the bottom of the traditional classification of Jesus' parables drops out. There is no essential difference in any of the metaphorical narratives in the gospels as far as either the analogy principle or the manner of reference is concerned.

4. THE METAPHORICAL NARRATIVE REGARDING THE WEDDING FEAST IN MATTHEW 22:1-14

It thus seems unnecessary, with a narrative model in view, to distinguish between an allegory and a parable or example story in the *formgeschichtliche* categories of Jülicher. In the discussion of the story of the wedding feast which will shortly take place, the irrelevance of this distinction will be shown. Here the purpose is to indicate that Matthew's 'riddle' regarding the wedding feast resolves itself within text-immanent boundaries if one recognizes the *Verknüpfungsprinzip* (= principle of association) among the (four) narrative-lines in the plot of the story.

Although Dan Via (1967:128-132) treated the story of the wedding feast and Matthew 22:1-14 as a'narrative parable', he did not regard the narrativity of the story very highly. Both his approach and his results are, however, unconvincing. The reason for this is his inability to determine the narrator's point of view as to what he is discussing. He has not reckoned with the combined pattern of the various narrative-lines in the plot of the story. According to Via there is less cohesion in the *parts* of the story. He has the following comment:

> The Wedding Feast is a parable, and the story element - the narration of events in time - is there. There is some movement and there is structure, but it is content or theme which generates the structure. Theme and plot are two sides of the same formal principle with plot being theme in movement and theme being plot in stasis. Of theme we ask, 'What is the point?' and of plot we ask, 'How will it turn out?' Usually one or the other is dominant in any given story, and in the Wedding Feast it is theme.
>
> (Via 1967:189)

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This approach by Via should be seen against the background of one of his earlier remarks. 'The parable does not present the organic inclusion of one of the motifs within the other, but rather the narrative structure is a juxtaposition of two fragmented forms with the continuity being provided by theme' (Via 1967:12). On the contrary, it must be pointed out that there is a coherence in the narrative structure of the story. The evangelist's redactional activity did not cause accidental linear juxtaposition of the two alleged fragmented sequences of events, but the one is correlatively modelled on the previous one.

Two of the above four narrative-lines in the story of the wedding feast are consummated *Handlungsstränge* (narrative-lines). Each of the two sequences consists of either a successful or unsuccessful mission of protagonists, sent by a king to, respectively, an 'object of aversion' (the 'city people') and an 'object of desire' (the 'street people'). The first complete narrative-line comprises a group of slaves (the protagonists) being sent to the invited guests in the city (the object). These people declined the invitation to take part in the wedding feast for the king's son and they were punished (Mt 22:4-7). The second narrative-line consists of another group of slaves being sent to the (uninvited) people outside the city - both good and bad people from the streets. These accept the call, but one of them is punished and excluded from the wedding hall (Mt 22:8-14).

From a linear, chronological perspective according to the Aristotelian paradigm, the sequence of episodes in the two narrative-lines is respectively as follows:

1. A king sends his slaves to request the invited persons in the city (a particular mission) to be present at his son's wedding feast, because it is ready (the *beginning*); they turn down the invitation and some grab the slaves, mistreat them and kill them (the *middle*); the commission ends fruitlessly, but the king punishes the murderers by ordering his soldiers to kill them and burn down their city, for they do not deserve to take part in the wedding feast (the *end*).

2. The king sends his slaves with the wedding feast invitation to the 'street people' outside the city (a universal mission), because it is ready (the *beginning*); they accept the invitation and the wedding feast is realized (the *middle*); the king inspects the guests, finds one among the 'street people' who does not really belong at the wedding feast (he does not wear a wedding garment) and he commands his servants to shut him out irrevocably from the banquet (the *end*).

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It is clear that there is a remarkable similarity between these two narrative-lines. The narrator's ideological/theological point of view can be recognized when the principle underlying the union of the two lines (*Verknüpfungsprinzip*) is pinpointed.

In view of the law-of-end-stress in folk literature, to which Via has in fact paid attention in the above-mentioned article, it seems that the story's main interest is not in the invited guests in the city, but in the uninvited people from the street outside the city. They are dealt with in the climax at the end. However, the end-stress is laid upon the 'street person' whose hands and feet were tied up and who was thrown out into the darkness, because he was not dressed in wedding clothes. The Jesus-logion at the end of the story, 'Many are invited, but few are chosen' indicates that the point about which the narrator is speaking is not his interest as such in the person without the wedding garment (Via 1967:129), but in the nature of the correlative analogy which is created between the reason for the burning down of the city in the first narrative-line and the brutal exclusion from the wedding feast in the second. It is also clear that these two narrative lines should not be treated merely as juxtaposed fragments taken from the tradition.

From the perspective of 'plotted time' it is striking that one of the 'street people', despite his acceptance of the invitation along with the others in contrast with the 'city people', is punished in the same fashion as the 'city people' in a sort of correlative action. One conclusion from this equivalence of events is that the absence of wedding clothes which made the unlucky person unacceptable at the banquet (Mt 22:11) does have a text-immanent reference: his ideological point of view, despite his acceptance of the invitation, conforms with that of the antagonists in the first narrative-line. Therefore, one may say that the events in the first narrative-line are presented by the narrator as a 'transparency' of the second narrative-line. In other words, the *Verknüpfungsprinzip* between the two sequences does not exist in terms of theme/ideology alone, as Via would have it, but also in terms of plot; in short, in terms of plot as mediated through point of view.

How does this conclusion fit in with the equivalent analogical pre-paschal Jesus commission and the post-paschal disciples' commission in Matthew's story as a whole? Particularization of this question leads us to the following two issues: firstly, the problem regarding the extrinsic reference of narrative texts, and secondly, the *formgeschichtliche* distinction between an 'allegory' on the one hand and a 'parable' on the other. I have already mentioned that this distinction does not hold good in narrative criticism. In the story of the wedding feast, the question of the differentiation between allegory and parable intrudes on the exegesis of the story. The reason is that the pericope in Matthew 22:1-14 is the one passage in the New Testament which has been reckoned in the past to be the only indisputable 'allegory'

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among Jesus' parables. Contrary to the Matthean presentation, the wedding feast parallels in the Gospels of Luke and Thomas are cast in the form of the so-called 'parable-proper'.

The reason it is unnecessary to draw a distinction between an 'allegory' and a 'parable' in narrative criticism is rooted in the currently debated question regarding the way a narration reflects the real world. On quite different grounds Dan Via (1967) and H-J Klauck (1978) dispute Jülicher's traditional distinction. Klauck furthermore rejects Jülicher's differentiation between a similitude/parable and a metaphor. Traditionally, a similitude and a parable arise from an *Ähnlichkeitsrelation* while a metaphor alludes to the literary phenomenon that two comparable objects are articulated in an *uneigentliche* discourse.

Today, metaphoricity is not viewed as mere 'ornamental diction' in the sense of a *Mimesis des Seidenden* where the 'subject' does not create new information about the 'predicate'. Like language in general, a metaphor is creatively able to establish a new view of reality. The principle of *Substitution* is therefore no longer valid.

The two aspects, *Ähnlichkeitsrelation* and *uneigentliche Rede* should therefore not be seen as the two distinguishing features of a *similitude*/parable and a metaphor. This distinction originated in Jülicher's campaign against first-century allegorical exegesis. Jülicher mistakenly confused the so-called literary form, 'allegory', with the fundamental features of allegorical exegesis, the latter of which was not merely a Hellenistic theoretical phenomenon, as Jülicher would have it, but was also known in the Old Testament, early Judaism and Qumran.

With regard to the so-called literary form 'allegory', Klauck opposed the idea of an allegory not being a realistic sketch as a 'metaphor' which symbolizes reality. Klauck (1978) indicated that a metaphor, which belongs to a clearly structured pictorial field, is surrounded by a network or bundle of possible associations. Unfortunately, he did not elaborate on this important insight. It seems that he particularly wanted to emphasize that the so-called literary form 'allegory' should not be confused with allegorizing exegesis. He defined the latter as an allegorical commentary which disregards the intentional texture of a text and confirms its own insights and convictions in the text. Klauck however neglected to carry principles over into practice.

Via's approach, on the other hand, is partially rooted in Ernst Fuchs's 'new hermeneutics'. Still distinguishing between a 'parable' and a 'metaphor', Fuchs holds that analogy is most readily apparent in metaphor which is a type of parabolic speech. 'Analogy' in the case of 'ornamental diction' refers to the phenomenon that there is talk about one thing even though something else is intended. 'Analogy' is

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not intended to increase the hearer's knowledge concerning the subject matter which the words bring to expression. Instead, 'analogy' functions, according to Fuchs, to shape the point of view of the hearer and to change it. The upshot, then, is that through 'analogy' the narrator aims at achieving a changed point of view on the part of the hearer, thus bringing him into agreement (*Einverständnis*) with the narrator concerning the reality the figurative language is expressing.

In spite of the valuable contribution of 'new hermeneutics' regarding the meaning attached to the linguistic power of existence, expressed by metaphoricity, the parables of Jesus were not studied as forms of narrative art. Via drew attention to the need to interpret the synoptic parables existentially as 'genuine works of art', or in other words, as 'real aesthetic objects', unyoked from their historical links to the life of Jesus. Unfortunately, this view makes of Jesus' parables mere 'drifting' objects.

The consequence is that the parable, because it is viewed as an aesthetic object, is not interpreted as a part of the holistic context of a gospel as a narrative. On the other hand, the evangelist, in the selection, description, and placement of his material, would be guided by his view of the whole (*Gestalt*), that is, in shaping the material during the production of the gospels so that it accords with the intended *Gestalt*. According to Erhardt Güttgemanns (1971), the gospel form should, in *gestaltist* terms, be seen as an intentional, individual creative act, which absorbs the collective tradition of the 'material'. It is a creation, a new form in which the evangelist freely and at the same time dialectically takes up the 'material' into the 'framework'. By means of the intentional miswriting of the 'material', the 'material' is raised onto another linguistic level. Güttgemanns (1971:33) describes it as follows: 'it now serves a linguistic effect which is not produced solely by means of its sum, but also, by means of the intentional composition of the form of the gospels, bestows the contextual sense-horizon upon the material'.

The grounds on which we reject Jülicher's distinction between an 'allegory' and a 'parable' do not accord with those of Via. Via builds his arguments specifically on his objection to the unconvincing theory that a parable has only one point of reference with the reality outside the text, and an 'allegory' more than one. He argues that if that were correct, it would have the effect of a parable being read from the perspective of one subjectively delineated point of view, looking out on the real world outside. And that is exactly the same as falsely allegorizing the parables of Jesus.

If one considers Klauck's distinction on this point between allegorizing exegesis and the theoretical form, 'allegory', as well as Weder's thesis that *metaphoricity* is an element in the theoretical forms of both 'parable' and 'allegory',

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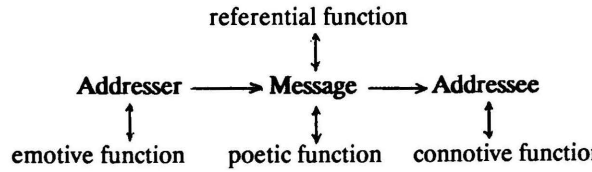
Via's objection to traditional classification can be amended. An important condition is that the *narrativity* of Jesus' parables, irrespective of whether it is an 'allegory' or a 'parable', has to be taken seriously. This would have the effect of metaphoricity becoming an element of the poetics of a parable, as a narrative. On the other hand, it allows us to assume that Jesus' parables are fully part of the selected, arranged and integrated story of a gospel as a whole. A metaphorical story in a gospel as a narrative can therefore be understood as a 'riddle' with a solution to be found in the holistic context. In this light, one can no longer deny that a 'parable-proper' contains allegorical traits.

The traditional distinction between a 'parable' and an 'allegory', on the grounds that the two text types have different ways of relating to reality or outside the text itself must therefore be rejected.

If the narrativity of a metaphorical narrative is taken seriously, there is no need in principle for such inconsistency between the two types of text. The argument can be elucidated by Roman Jakobson's communication model, simply illustrated as follows:



In narration, from the viewpoint of Jakobson's model, the 'poetic function' corresponds to the notion of plot, but the notion of plot also interacts with the 'emotive function' which includes the 'connotive function'. Although the 'poetic function' draws attention to the message of the narrative, it does not directly indicate the realities that are selected, rearranged and interpreted in the message. The message, as it were, provides 'windows' looking out on extrinsic horizons.

Applied to the Matthean story of the wedding feast (the so-called 'allegory') in comparison with its Lukan parallel (the so-called 'parable-proper'), one cannot differentiate in principle between the means of reference (extrinsic or intrinsic) of these two stories, simply because they are not different text types, although the interpretation of their parallel references would not be the same.

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From the internal references to the holistic framework of the Gospel of Luke, it appears that it is a story of Jesus' mission to Israel. It is a story of Jesus' *journey* to Jerusalem. Since the work of Hans Conzelmann on the Gospel of Luke, it has been widely assumed that the reason for presenting the Gospel of Luke as a story of a journey has to do with the evangelist's particular understanding of the 'history of salvation'. However, this understanding is not primarily 'historical', but a feature in which the 'endophoric' (intrinsic/internal) contrasts with the 'exophoric' (extrinsic/external) use of reference in language. The latter has to do with the reference to the world and its realities outside the text. The 'endophoric' use concerns the references within the macrotext itself - that is, the information in the holistic context, which represents a particular presentation of the realities outside the text. Part of this information, according to Luke's gospel, is his portrayal of the disciples, which is totally different from that of Mark or Matthew. Luke regularly refers to Jesus' followers as his 'disciples', but they do not stand apart from Israel. From this perspective, Luke, by casting the story of Jesus in the form of a journey through Galilee towards Jerusalem, with its temple at the center of Israel, directs attention to the theme of Jesus' proclaiming salvation to Israel. The disciples of Jesus, that is the crowd of followers beyond the circle of the Twelve, are those from the midst of Israel who hear his authoritative summons and follow him.

In terms of the Lukan macrotext the metaphorical story of the 'great banquet' (Lk 14:15-24) is part of a scenario in the episode of the journey itself which commences in Luke 9:51 and ends in Luke 19:44. According to Matthew, Jesus told the story after his arrival in Jerusalem. This positional change in the terms of the macrotext alters the 'endophoric' use of reference within the metaphorical stories, but it does not make them two different text types. It is not necessary to state in terms of *narrativity* or *metaphoricity* that the Matthean version is an 'allegory' and the Lukan version a 'parable'. *Reference* does not essentially have a different function in the two versions.

An important consequence of the particular position of the story of the 'great banquet' in the Lukan macrotext is, inter alia, that the declination of the invitation by the invited guests should not be understood as refusals, but as excuses for coming late. Against the inference that, in and through Jesus, God offers messianic salvation to Israel, these excuses serve to stress the point that any one who does not immediately and unreservedly accept the invitation is actually asking for a respite before joining Jesus' journey to Jerusalem. Such a person thereby excludes himself/herself from the community of true Israel (cf Lk 22:30) and is indeed not ready (cf Lk 9:60, 61 in retrospect) to continue the journey from Jerusalem onwards (cf Lk 24:52-53, from a prior perspective) - in fact, according to Acts, towards Rome.

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Thus it is clear that there is more than one point of reference in Luke's version of the 'great banquet' which refers to aspects outside microtext. Just as in the case of the Matthean parallel, both the 'street-people' and the invited are such references.

As far as the Matthean macrotext is concerned, one can assume that the characters and the events in the story of the wedding feast refer 'endophorically' in a symbolic manner to the attitude of the Jewish leaders to Jesus (the first narrative-line) and on the other hand 'exophorically' to the members of the Matthean community who are actually the implied readers of the gospel. The narrator lures the addressee into the narrated world, allows him to associate with the 'street-people', and tries to change his point of view existentially so that it does not conform to the Jewish leaders' (as antagonists) point of view, just as the person in the story without the wedding garment, rather conforms to the 'ideological' point of view of the narrator who makes Jesus the vehicle of his ideas.

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Chapter 5

Ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν (Mt 28:7): A textual evidence on the separation of Judaism and Christianity

Historical investigation quite naturally has the interest of drawing the wonder of the absolute beginning into historical context and, as far as possible, to break it up into its natural parts.

(Baur 1860:1; translation from German)

[H]istorical inquiry is a limited endeavor of probabilities and hypotheses linking its evidence together in intelligible patterns.

(Perkins 1983:23)

1. A TRANSPARENT HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

1.1 A historical problem: causes and conditions

The resurrection report in the Gospel of Matthew should be read as a transparent historical narrative. But the historical 'facts' in a historical narrative cannot directly be deduced from the transformed events in the *histoire* (Genette 1980), or *geschiedenis* (Bal 1978), which is abstracted from the transformed chronological events in the narrated discourse (*récit* - Genette). A construction of an 'imagined' chain of causalities in a story, without a social context in which such a chain coherently makes sense, can hardly lay claim to authenticity.

Mandelbaum (1967:417) formulates this type of *genetic fallacy* as follows: '...it appears to me that those who look upon history as narrative mistakenly draw a sharp line between "causes" and "conditions", and mistakenly believe that the historian's primary concern is with what they look upon as causes, not conditions'. However, causality in context can only be construed, not reconstructed. In relation to the 'facts' of history we can probably say no more than 'God alone knows'.

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It would appear to me that the confusion of historicity with causality, to which Mandelbaum objected, contributed to much of the foolishness written regarding whether or not Jesus was raised from the dead. F C Baur [1853] (1860) should perhaps be read again. When he submits the resurrection of Jesus to historical research, he does so with the question: why and with what results did the incarnation and the resurrection of Jesus (similar reports, to my mind) at the birth of the church occur at that particular point in time (Baur 1860:1-2)? He states that the church, rooted in Israel's monotheism, appeared in the land of the Jews when the Roman Empire had already reached its zenith. Baur (1860:8) was particularly interested in the influence of the contemporary *Zeitgeist* of the political universality on the history of the earliest Christianity.

In this essay I am, however, interested in a different, perhaps more fundamental, historical quest: what was there in the narratives about Jesus' birth and those relating to his resurrection from the dead that contributed to the commencement of the church and the movement away from the synagogue? For the purpose of this study the focus will fall on the resurrection of Jesus and not on his birth. My argument is that the phrase Ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν in Matthew's narrative of the resurrection will help to provide an answer.

Recent studies of the Judaic-Tannaitic writings which had their origin in the post-70 AD reformed, official Judaism (cf Katz 1984:47) suggest that the belief in the divine birth of Jesus as well as in his resurrection caused Christendom to be a strange phenomenon in Judaism. Scholars who argue that the resurrection narrative in the Gospel of Matthew is textual evidence on the separation of Judaism and Christianity after AD 70, have, to my mind, a point. However, one should not be guilty of the 'naive fundamentalism' with which Neusner (1984:273) refers, inter alia, to Katz's 'vulgar Jewish apologetics'. Of course, one can also, as Neusner correctly suggests, be guilty of 'vulgar Christian apologetics'.

To see Matthew's narrative of the resurrection as textual evidence of the clash between the synagogue and the church, to me, gives rise to at least two problems of historical nature. The one relates to the view that Matthew's narrative of the resurrection is a transparent 'history', and the other to what Neusner (1989a) calls the 'absoluteness of Christianity' and the 'uniqueness of Judaism'; he refers to the 'fundamental difference between the two religious traditions (Neusner 1985:151).

1.2 Transparent 'facts': God knows

The words Ἠγέρθη ἀπο τῶν νεκρῶν in Matthew 28:7 are the narrator's version of the words which an angel asked the women at the empty grave to tell the disciples. My thesis is that these words are a transparency of a later historical situation,

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namely the separation of Judaism and Christianity. Thus, the composition of Matthew's narrative of the resurrection is more complex than meets the eye.

Sometimes it is enlightening to try to understand an ancient complex text in the light of a similar present-day writing. An example of a present-day transparent historical narrative is the novel of Joseph Heller (1984), *God knows*. In this novel, the pre-Christian King David (tenth century BC) as a first-person narrator tells a story which the post-Christian Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844-1900) would understand (cf Heller 1984:36). For David, God died when He took the life of the child Bathsheba gave to him. 'I lost my God and my infant in the same instant' (Heller 1984:19). Retrospectively, David assesses himself in terms of the greatness and the fate of other biblical characters and thus the narration, in respect of time, moves to and fro between the time of David, the time of people such as Moses and Joseph, and the time of Nietzsche.

> Moses and me - each of us faced death by stoning from followers soon to exalt us. With God yakking away at him from one side for forty years and the people groaning and threatening on the other, it's no wonder he looks so old in that statue in Rome and went to his grave at only a hundred and twenty.
>
> (Heller 1984:24)

In this story, whose 'facts' God alone knows, when David tells about the multi-colored cloth of Joseph, the jewelry of the women and Saul's crown, he says:

> Apart from helmets for battle, those crowns were just about the only headgear around. We had no hats in Palestine but had no problem about going into temple without them, because we had no temples either.
>
> (Heller 1984:25)

Obviously, it would be fruitless to try to identify *logia* in the above extracts which are related to the twentieth century AD, the tenth century BC and even periods before and between these two epochs. The same applies to the *traditionsgeschichtliche* method of inquiry in Gospel research which tries to distinguish *logia* in the same manner. It is futile to try to identify *logia* which, as *logia*, could be the *ipsissima verba Jesu*, or which could rather be related to the Palestinian and the Hellenistic churches, or which could be ascribed to the Evangelists themselves. Likewise, the opinion that the transformation of episodes in the above extracts into the

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chronological order of a, b, c, d, et cetera can be equated to *historical facts* is an obvious absurdity. Such an abstraction of the *histoire/geschiedenis* from the narrated discourse brings only the causality of episodes in the narrated story to light. Mandelbaum's dissatisfaction with 'historiographers' who confuse causality with facts is therefore relevant. What Neusner (1985:155) says about the Jews' perception of history applies to historiography in general: 'History was not merely "one damn thing after another".

On the contrary, the historiography of any one of the periods mentioned depends on the identification of the *conditions* which are more authentically portrayed by *individual features* than by the order of episodes or even *logia*. Concerning the *Rückfrage nach Jesus*, Hahn (1974a:28-29) prefers to focus on *Einzelheiten* rather than on complete sayings: One should examine and determine accurately the relation between post-Easter and pre-Easter elements in the individual pieces of traditions.

Examples from Heller's novel illustrate this premise. God who avoids Moses and the people who grumble, on the one hand, and the reference to the statue of Moses in Rome on the other, are respectively features of one and the same logion which makes sense in different historical contexts. The reference to the crown of a king as the only adornment of the head in the monarchical period of Israel should, historically, clearly be distinguished from the reference in the same logion to the wearing of a hat by a woman in the twentieth century. Likewise, a similar remark by David on the present day custom of going to *church* without a hat is comically linked to going to the *temple*, which is a post-Davidic habit.

To construe a historical context and then interpret individual features of logia from first-century transparent historical narratives (like Matthew's narrative of the resurrection) in terms of a first-century social context should not be confused with the endeavor (see Van Aarde 1988) to describe an 'ideological narrative point of view' in terms of its communication in a first-century social context. In this article I am going to try to explain some of the historical conditions prevailing at the time the synagogue pushed the church aside. In order to do so I am going to concentrate on some features of Matthew's narrative of the resurrection.

This brings me to my second problem of a historical nature, namely the so-called 'absoluteness of Christianity' and the 'uniqueness of Judaism'. The question is: what implications does Neusner's (1985) conviction concerning the 'incomprehension between Judaism and Christianity' have for the understanding of the following features from Matthew's narrative of the passion and the resurrection: 'the lesser of two evils' (Mt 27:64), 'the raising of the saints' (Mt 27:52-53) and, in conclusion, 'He has risen from the dead' (Mt 28:7). I intend to argue that these

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expressions, as individual features, could be interpreted against the backdrop of the conditions which gave rise to the so-called ἀποσυνάγωγος (cf also Jn 9:22; 12:42; 16:2).

2. THE SEPARATION OF JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

2.1 *Extra muros* or *intra muros*

I have deliberately referred to two scholars who differ in their views and who, recently, were outspoken on the essential issues in relation to the separation of Judaism and Christianity; they are Stephen Katz and Jacob Neusner. The disagreement hinges on what Bornkamm (1961), in the early years of the *redaktionsgeschichtliche* studies of the Gospel of Matthew, referred to as the question of the setting of the Matthean church: does the congregation already exist beyond the walls of Jewry or has the clash between the synagogue and the church not yet reached finality?

In a certain sense this question can be traced back to W D Davies (1966:290):

> The engagement of Matthew with Judaism and the Old Israel needs no further comment. The one question which will not be silenced is whether this engagement took place *intra muros*, that is, as a dialogue, however crucial, within Judaism or *extra muros,* that is, an appeal or apologetic to the Synagogue from a church that was already outside it.
>
> (Davies 1966:290)

Davies (1966:315) himself read the Gospel of Matthew against the back ground of the consolidation of 'orthodox Judaism' at the end of the first century AD. Related to this view, Hummel (1966) holds that while Matthew's congregation is engaged in a struggle with Judaism, and no longer participates in synagogue liturgy, it has not broken its ties with the synagogue. However, other scholars (cf inter alia Filson 1960; Blair 1967; Hare 1967) are of the opinion that the Gospel should be read as a theological reflection against the background of the already accomplished breach between Judaism and Matthew's congregation. On the other hand, Bornkamm (see also Barth 1961; Held 1961), like Davies, assumed that the Gospel of Matthew should be interpreted against the background of the conflict which was stil continuing intra muros. This view was actually initiated in 1928 at the suggestion of Ernst von Dobschütz, and applied by Bacon (1930), in his epoch-making study of the 'five books' of Matthew against the Jews.

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Later scholars saw this problem as much more complex. According to Kunzel (1978:163-164, 178, 258), for example, the congregation of Matthew experienced a *Vierfrontenkrieg* (four-fronted war): on one side the *doppelte Frontstellung* between the extra-congregational already accomplished breach between the *synagogue* and the *church*; on the other side the intra-congregational *doppelte Frontstellung* between the nomistic scribes and the proponents of charismatic antinomism. Schweizer (1974), in turn, is of the opinion that the Gospel of Matthew intends to support those in the congregation who were confused as the result of a false alternative between a strict nomism in Pharisaic Christendom and a charismatic Hellenistic Christendom. The opinion of Barth (1961:54-154; cf also Combrink 1980:72) is closely related to this view: the Gospel emphasizes the lasting authority of the Torah as opposed to the antinomism of the gentile Christians in the congregation; simultaneously the Gospel focuses on the universal implications of the Jesus events as opposed to the threatening 're-judaising' of the Pharisaic Christians in the congregation.

Without making a study of Matthean texts as such, Steven Katz's (cf, however, Neusner's sharp criticism on the way Katz used the sources) research of the arguments regarding the circulation of official anti-Christian pronouncements, the issuing of a prohibition against the 'reading' of 'heretical books' (*Sifre Minim*) and the promulgation of the *Birkat ha-Minim* (the blessing against heretics), has decisive implications for the above-mentioned speculation on the clash between the synagogue and the church. To my mind, Katz (1984:76) convincingly indicates that even the *Birkat ha-Minim* 'did not signal any decisive break between Jews and Jewish Christians'. By thoroughly checking the arguments upon which influential theories regarding the sharp separation of Judaism and Christianity up to AD 135 (the Bar Kochba revolt) have been built, Katz (1984:76) concludes:

> If on closer examination this material turns out not to be the legitimate basis for such theorizing then the case for the obverse conclusion(s) is considerably, if not completely, vindicated. That is, there was no official anti-Christian policy at Yavneh or elsewhere before the Bar Kochba revolt and no total separation between Jews and Christians before (if immediately after?) the Bar Kochba revolt.
>
> (Katz 1984:76)

If I interpret Katz correctly, he does not deny that a conflict existed between the leaders of Yavneh and the Jewish Christians *before* AD 135. In particular, he does not agree that the separation can be seen as already accomplished by the year AD

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135 (cf also Stark 1986:314). On the other hand, it seems as if Neusner is strongly of the opinion that the religious symbols of the synagogue (that is, of 'the talmudic rabbis after AD 70' - Neusner 1985:158) and those of the Jesus-movement in the early first century should already be seen as a representation of 'different people talking about different things to different people, with no possibility of mutual comprehension, let alone dialogue' (Neusner 1989a:22; cf also Neusner 1985:148-158).

> The implications for New Testament hermeneutics will prove self-evident. The blurring of the boundaries between the one and the other, the representation of Christianity as a kind of Judaism, the appeal to Judaism for validation and judgment of (a) Christianity - these familiar traits of contemporary biblical and theological studies obscure that simple fact. *Christianity began on the first Easter.* It is, therefore, absolute in its reading of its circumstance and context. It is not a kind of Judaism. It is wholly other. The absolute standing of Christianity finds expression in its view that the words incarnation and gospel can be spelled only with a capital I and a capital G, respectively. In all time and in eternity, there have been, and can be, *only one unique, absolute Incarnation, that of Jesus Christ, raised from the dead,* and only one Gospel of the salvation of Jesus Christ. To the Gospels Judaism in all forms is simply not much to the point.
>
> (Neusner 1989a:22; italics mine)

Although one may go along with Neusner (1984:273) in regard to his complaint about Katz's Jewish apologetics, his simplistic framing of early Christendom as a unitarian movement and his fundamentalistic use of Jewish sources, I cannot accept that Neusner would allege that the church in its plurality broke all its relationships with Judaism (of whatever form) on the day of the resurrection. However, this does not detract from the fact that much can be learnt from what Neusner wrote about the difference in religious symbolic structures between the Pharisees and the Christians after AD 70 (see especially Neusner 1985:151-154; 1987:331-361). If one reads Neusner accurately and detaches *his* apologetics, one realizes that he also should make provision for a period of development during which the synagogue and the church were separating. However, it seems that he avoids the word 'conflict' totally in this regard. Furthermore, Neusner (see citation above) and Katz (1984:47), it seems to me, do not disagree with each other about the 'fact' that it was the belief in the divine conception and the miraculous birth of Jesus as well as his resurrection from the dead that gave rise to the uniqueness of the Jesus movement.

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To me it seems as if Katz is more correct in regard to details. According to him the belief in Jesus' miraculous conception and his resurrection from the dead were the fundamental reasons why the Yavneh scribes regarded the Jewish Christians, together with others in Jewish Gnostic circles (cf also Pearson 1986:453), as a heretical phenomenon inside Judaism and therefore threatened them with excommunication. Moreover, I agree with Schmithals (1987:375-378; cf also aspects of the Matthean scholars whose viewpoints I generally refer to above) that the Gospel of Matthew, in particular, mirrors a situation where the ἀποσυνάγωγος has not been accomplished yet. On the contrary, there are indications that the author of the Gospel of Matthew experienced the separation with disappointment. Judaism still wields authority over the Jewish Christians and Matthew would prefer to avoid the final rupture with Judaism (cf also Hummel 1966).

2.2 'The lesser of two evils' (Mt 27:64)

According to Braaten (1983:12-13) the Gospels create the impression, on the one hand, that the earliest followers of Jesus (and Jesus himself) did not think that they had broken their ties with Jewry and, on the other hand, that their paths were separating. Lapide & Kung (1976:21) see the cause of the break as the contradictory interpretations of the meaning of the cross and the resurrection. In their controversy with Jurgen Moltmann they say that 'Jews and Christians can walk together until Good Friday', and that they 'can remain together until Easter Monday and even conceive of the resurrection in Jewish terms', but the Jews cannot accept the belief that the crucifixion of Jesus and his resurrection culminated in the immediate realization of the kingdom of God (Lapide & Moltmann 1981:76; cf also Lapide & Kung 1976:43).

The idea of the resurrection of an individual was commonly recognized in Talmudic Jewry and for a considerable time preceding it (cf Kaplan 1988:21 29), although we are faced with varied views and little unanimity (cf Kaplan 1988:105-112). In the rabbinic period the resurrection was one of the central doctrines of Judaism. Lapide (1983:130), therefore, cannot understand theologians who do not accept the resurrection of Jesus, but do accept the incarnation - in which he, in turn, does not believe. In the relevant chapter entitled 'The lesser of two evils', in which he made this reference to the resurrection and the incarnation, he does not mention that the expression 'lesser of two evils' is derived from Matthew 27:64 (ἡ ἐσχάτη πλάνη χείρων τῆς πρώτης) and presented conversely! It is clear that he interprets the 'two evils' as referring respectively to the incarnation (miraculous conception according to Matthew) and the resurrection of Jesus. According to Matthew the Jewish leaders thought that the proclamation of Jesus' resurrection was a worse heresy than the first.

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Matthew does not explicitly say that the 'first' points to the miraculous conception of Jesus. Concerning this issue it seems as if Patte (1987:393) is of the opinion that the 'first' heresy ought to be related to the '*prophecy* [italics mine] of his resurrection' and the 'second' to the '*proclamation* [italics mine] of the resurrection by the disciples'. However, as far as the Gospel story goes there is no suggestion that Jesus ever made such a prediction in public, since the disciples do not appear in Matthew's passion narrative to remember that Jesus predicted that he would rise on the third day (cf Beare 1981:539). How could Patte suppose that the chief priests and the Pharisees knew of such a prediction? It is remarkable that the post-Easter opponents of Matthew's congregation, the Pharisees, appear as characters in the passion narrative at this point for the first time. Here it is the Pharisees who accompany the chief priests. Up to this point, the narrator has spoken of the elders of the people, or the scribes and the elders, as leading the action against Jesus. The repetition in Matthew 28:15 of the allegation of the chief priests and elders, as the Sanhedrin, that the disciples stole the corpse is explicitly mentioned as a report that was current in the time of the Evangelist - a clear indication that the Matthean resurrection narrative ought to be read as a transparent 'history'. (Justin, *ca* 150, and Tertullian, *ca* 200, also said that such a report was current among Jews in their time.) Gundry (1982) points to a possible ironical echo of the Jesus logion in Matthew 12:45: '...the end of this man is worse than his beginning; this is the way it will happen to this evil generation'. I consider that Gundry (1982:584) has a better explanation than Daniel Patte: 'The first deception apparently has to do with Jesus' messiahship and divine sonship'. The following more detailed remark by Schmithals (1985:337) therefore makes sense in the light of the separation of Judaism and Christianity:

> The Matthean congregation lives in circumstances of persecution and distress, cast upon them by the synagogue. In Mt 1:18ff the evangelist rejects the reproach from the Jews that Jesus is a premarital or illegitimate child; in Mt 27:64ff, 28:11ff he rejects the claim by the synagogue that the disciples had stolen Jesus' body, under the pretense of his resurrection.
>
> (Schmithals 1985:337; translation from the German)

2.3 'The raising of the saints' (Mt 27:52-53)

According to Witherup (1987:578), verses 51-54 form the climax of the literary structure of Matthew 27. The reference to the resurrection of the πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων in verse 53 forms the culminating point of these verses.

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Although the Old Testament background and the apocalyptic imagery which underline this passage are well recognized (cf Kratz 1973; Riebl 1978), the reference to the 'raising of the saints' has made the passage a *crux intepretum* of Matthean studies. The usual supposition seems to be that *after Jesus' resurrection* the bodies of the 'saints' came out of the graves ('God's people who had died were raised to life' - NEB) and entered the holy city (cf Van Tilborg 1988:890).

It seems that the 'sleeping saints', according to verse 52, were revivified on the day of the crucifixion in concert with the earthquake and the splitting open of the rock tombs. According to verse 53, however, the 'holy ones' did not enter the 'holy city' until after Jesus' resurrection, namely two days later. The somewhat fatuous question then arises: 'where did Matthew think the revivified saints were during the interim from Friday afternoon until early Saturday morning?' (cf Hutton, quoted by Crossan 1988:392).

Some scholars have tried to show how this reference to the raising of the saints after Jesus' resurrection should be understood against the description of the death of the divine man (cf Fascher 1941), or the death of the cosmic deity (cf Kratz 1973). Crossan (1988) interprets it as a mythological descent into *hell to liberate* the holy ones.

Dunn (1985:67), to my mind, is on the right track in his contextual interpretation of the expression in chapter 27, while he also takes the context of Matthew's congregation into consideration. He interprets the reference in verses 52-53 (and Jn 5:28-29) to the resurrection from the dead as part of the accusation of the Jewish leaders that the disciples stole the body of Jesus from the grave (Mt 27:62-66; 28:11-15). Dunn points to archaeological evidence regarding burial customs which indicates that after a lapse of time the bones of the dead were placed in an ossuary in order that God could use them on the day of the resurrection to rebuild the body. (At a later stage, after dispute, the rabbis came to the conclusion that God did not need the whole skeleton, but that a single bone would suffice - cf Dunn 1985:66.) According to this custom and view, a grave had to be empty before the resurrection event could happen.

> A claim made in Jerusalem within a few weeks of his crucifixion, that God had raised Jesus (that is, the body of Jesus) from the dead, would not have gained much credence had his tomb been undisturbed or the fate of his body known to be otherwise. The absence of any such counter claim in any available literature of the period (Christian or Jewish) is therefore important. The one exception, if 'exception' is the right word, is Mt 28:13-15 - the attempt of the Jewish authorities to

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> put the story about that 'Jesus' disciples came by night and stole him away'. Howfar back the account goes is debated. But at least it is clear that at the time of Matthew this explanation was current among the Jews (28:15). *The significance is clear: even a Jewish response to the Christian claim did not dispute the testimony about the tomb being empty; on the contrary, the emptiness of the tomb was not a point of controversy, only the explanation of why it was empty.*
>
> (Dunn 1985:67; my italics)

The difference in the resurrection faith of the Pharisaic Yavneh leaders and the earliest followers of Jesus, according to Dunn (1985:72-73; cf also Kaplan 1988:127 and Wilckens 1974:118-119 by implication), existed in the view of the Pharisees that the resurrection *of* the dead (ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν) was expected only at the consummation of time, while the Christians were of the opinion that the 'general resurrection' had already begun at the time Jesus was resurrected. Kaplan (1988:127) formulates this difference as follows:

> Although firmly based on Judaic concepts, resurrection in the New Testament is divorced from its originating context. The Christian image of resurrection, because a new age was seen as having begun with Jesus, initiated a metaphoric shift within the symbolic patterns of the apocalyptic code. Jewish apocalyptic locates divine victory over evil and the renewal of creation in the future. Christianity locates this in the transcendence of death by resurrection within the Christ event, therefore already accomplished, and at the same time sees it in the future at the parousia.
>
> (Kaplan 1988:127)

The most elaborate development of resurrection symbolism in connection *with the present life* and the experience of the Christian occurs in the Pauline tradition (cf Perkins 1984:288a; Kaplan 1988:82-95). Dunn interprets the *Pauline formula in* Romans 1:4 (ἀναστάσις νεκρῶν - 'he rose *from* the dead' [NEB]), which differs from the Pharisaic *of* the dead, as an indication of the basic difference in the views of the Pharisees and the Christians. However, in Philipians 3:11 an unusual form is used by Paul (εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν - the resurrection *of* the dead). The only comparable expression in New Testament writings is found in Luke 20:35 (again ἐκ νεκρῶν - 'of the dead'). In both passages, there is a clear distinction between the resurrection of those who 'are counted worthy', and the masses of the

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dead who have no part in the age to come. '*This* resurrection is to take place at the Parousia of the Lord' (Beare 1973:127-128). Thus, in these two exceptional passages, although a traditional Jewish formula occurs, a difference in thought regarding the Jewish concept of a general resurrection emerges. Dunn is of the opinion that Paul's description of Jesus' resurrection as the ἀπαρχή ('first fruit') of the resurrection of all Christians *from* the dead (Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων - 1 Cor 15:20-23) reflects this same issue.

> The first fruit was simply the beginning of the harvest. So the description of Jesus' resurrection as the 'first fruit' of the general resurrection could only have been coined by those who thought that with the resurrection of Jesus the final events of history had begun. *The same belief is almost certainly mirrored in the otherwise puzzling account of the dead coming out of the tombs and being seen in Jerusalem after Jesus' resurrection (Matt. 27:52-53).*
>
> (Dunn 1985:73; italics mine)

Crossan (1988:392-393) may be correct that Matthew had traditions like those in 2 Maccabees 7, 1 Enoch 51:2 (now contained in 1 Enoch 37-71, the book usually called *The similitudes of Enoch*), and Ezekiel 37:7,12 as well as in the Gospel of Peter 9:35-10:42 which could assist him in the composition of Matthew 27:52-53. In 2 Maccabees 7 the martyrs repeatedly assert their resurrectional victory as a reward for their martyred fidelity. In 1 Enoch 51:1-2 we specifically read, 'In those days, Sheol will return all the deposits which she has received and hell will give back all that it owes. And he shall choose the righteous and the holy ones from among (the risen dead), for the day when they shall be selected and saved has arrived!' (Translation according to Crossan.) In Ezekiel 37:7,12, just as in Matthew 27:51b-53 (cf also Senior 1974:321), a sequence of earthquake, opening of the graves, and resurrection of the buried ones is mentioned. In the Gospel of Peter we have the description of the 'escorted and communal resurrection' (see especially the thorough analysis in Crossan's *The cross that spoke*, 1988).

Thus we can conclude that Matthew was either unaware of or unconcerned about the awkward conjunction of verse 52 and 53 in Matthew 27. 'He wanted to mention the resurrection of the saints, and this could only happen after the resurrection of Jesus' (Crossan 1988:392). What is at stake here is the Jewish Christians' faith in the communal resurrection.

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3. Ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν (Mt 28:7): CONCLUSION

We have come to the conclusion that, among other things, it was the Jewish Christians' resurrection faith, elements of which appear in Matthew's narrative of the resurrection, which contributed to the breach between the Yavneh Pharisaic rabbis and the Jewish Christians during the period AD 70-135. On the grounds of the writings of the Talmudic scribes it seems as if the Pharisees were almost silent about the separating of Judaism and Christianity, while, on the grounds of elements in New Testament writings, the Christians existentially experienced it much more severely. Be it as it may, basic to the difference is the Christians' identification with Jesus in his death linked to the participation in his resurrection.

This resurrection faith is expressed by Matthew in the allegation that the disciples stole the body of Jesus and heretically said: Ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν: 'He has risen from the dead' (Mt 27:64-66). The 'heresy' lies in the preposition ἀπὸ which is used instead of ἐκ. On these grounds we can infer that the words of the women: Ἠγέρθη ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν (Mt 28:7) - an individual feature in a logion pretended to be said in a pre-70 AD situation - can only make sense when interpreted as a formula of the earliest Christians in a post-70 AD situation, expressing their resurrection faith as opposed to that of the Pharisees.

In conclusion, let us reconsider F C Baur's contribution again (see the citation at the beginning of the article).

The historical quest for the facts relating to the resurrection of Jesus ought to be an endeavor to integrate this miracle of the absolute beginning of the church, in so far as it is possible, with its natural elements.

But one should not forget that historical inquiry is a limited endeavor of probabilities and hypotheses linking its evidence together in intelligible patterns (Perkins 1983:23).

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Chapter 6

The Evangelium Infantium, the abandonment of children, and the infancy narrative in Matthew 1 and 2 from a social scientific perspective

1. PRECIS

Scholars argued from a form critical perspective that the original social setting of the *Evangelium Infantium* in Mark 10:13-16 should be seen as a miracle story. According to Sauer (1981:42) the phrase 'to place his hands on them' (τίθημι τὰς χεῖρας ἐπι...or ἐπιτίθημι τὰς χεῖρας) expresses 'ein typischer Ritus der Heilungspraxis'. Schmithals (1986:447-448) understands Mark 10:13-16 against the background of the healing of ostracized children. The same setting can thus be assumed with regard to Matthew 19:13-15. Subsequently, this essay shows that the Greek verb τίθημι semantically complements the word ἐκτίθημι. It is proposed that ἐκτίθημι is used in this regard to denote 'being put out of the home', while τίθημι denotes 'accommodating someone'; this especially concerns ostracized children. To bless your child or to give your child a name, implies to accept the child in your house. The father proclaims the name of the child, and by proclaiming the name recognizes it as his own. 'Through the proclamation of the name the child becomes legally existent' (Van Selms 1954:90).

The type of background against which one can read the *Evangelium Infantium* can also serve as the background to the story about the birth of Jesus, at least as told in Matthew's story. According to Matthew's narrative strategy the birth record of Jesus (Mt 1:1-17) paves the way for the birth narrative as such (Mt 1:18-25); and the birth narrative in its turn paves the way for the story of King Herod versus the newborn King of the Jews (Mt 2:1-23). Instead of leading God's people Herod, appointed by Caesar as King of the Jews, killed children and in response was feared. Susan Scrimshaw (1984:445), therefore, postulates 'dynastic politics' as the 'proximate reason' for Herod's infanticide. Jesus on the contrary -

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being an adopted child (Mt 1:19-20) - touched (Mt 19:13-15) and healed children (Mt 21:14) and in response was honored in the temple by children as Son of David (Mt 21:15).

This 'challenge and response' can be studied from the social scientific perspective of honor and shame as pivotal social values (cf Malina 1981:25-50). 'Honor, like all other goods in first-century Mediterranean society, is a limited good.... [S]ince honor is the pivotal value (much like money in our society), nearly every interaction with non-family members has undertones of a challenge to honor' (Malina 1981:29-30). Dickemann (1984), studying infanticide from a cultural anthropological perspective, mentions resource competition among individuals and families in pre-industrial societies competing for other valuables besides land and geopolitical power.

> Human history is full of cases of competition for access to office (read: economic and reproductive dominance) most especially among royalty. We should expect that the greater the value of the office, the greater the benefit of assassination of potential competitors.
>
> (Dickemann 1984:429-430)

In an earlier study Dickemann (1975) found that the practice of infanticide was used in hunter-gatherer, horticulturist, and stratified agrarian societies for purposes ranging from population control to maintenance of the social structure (cf also Scrimshaw 1984:440).

Being born into an honorable family makes one honorable. One of the purposes of genealogies as birth records is to point out a person's ascribed honor. Honor can also be ascribed to a person by 'notable persons of power' (Malina 1981:29), like God, the king or aristocrats. 'While [first-century Mediterranean] people are defined by others and because of others, they are in fact unable to change undesirable situations. Hence the need for divine intervention' (Malina 1991:71). A person can also acquire honor by 'excelling over others in the social interaction that we shall call challenge and response' (Malina 1981:29). In Matthew's narrative world Jesus is portrayed as born from despised outcasts, but being adopted as Son of Abraham, Son of David, Son of God.

In the first century Mediterranean society certain families and institutions were ascribed to be irretrievably shameful, like prostitutes and tax collectors (cf Malina 1981:46). Holiness was associated with divine order, and exclusivistic particularism (cf Neyrey 1991b:276-277). Prostitutes transgress these boundaries and do not retain the politics of purity. They are symbols of chaos. They 'respect no lines of exclusiveness' (Malina 1981:47). John Pilch (1988b:64) put it as follows:

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> (The) rules in Leviticus 11-15 listing and explaining why certain things are clean and unclean...to derive from the post-exilic era (after 537 BCE) or approximately contemporaneous with Ezra's determination to restore holiness to the community by dissolving 'mixed-religion' marriages (Ezra 10:10-11). Society was deeply concerned about being 'holy like the Lord is holy' and purifying marriages seemed one way to restore and maintain a holy community.
>
> (Pilch 1988b:64)

Matthew's story about the genesis and infancy of Jesus forms an appropriate parallel to what many find to be perhaps the most distinctive aspect of Jesus' ministry (cf Horsley 1989:182 note 42) - his association with the 'least' (i a Mt 25:40, 45), the 'children' (i a Mt 18:3; 15:26), the 'little ones' (i a Mt 18:14) and 'sheep' (Mt 18:12; cf also Mt 10:36 and 15:26). The use of these names/labels portrays the care and love of Jesus, as God-with-us (Mt 1:23) and shepherd of God's people (Mt 2:6). Against this background it is so much more comprehensible that the *Evangelium Infantium* in Mark 10:13-16 as well as in Matthew 19:13-15 should have been placed between the debate on divorce (Mk 10:1-12/Mt 19:1-12) and the rich young man's question about the implications of obeying the law in terms of compassion (Mk 10:17-31/Mt 19:16-22) (cf i a Wenham 1982:113-118; Robbins 1983:54-55).

This essay reinforces some of the most important details from the contributions recently made by Jane Schaberg (1987), Richard Horsley (1989), and Craig Blomberg (1991) regarding a 'sociological' interpretation of the Matthean infancy narrative. As Blomberg mentioned, these studies underscore Wiedemann's (1989:49-83) observation that 'infancy and childhood narratives in the ancient Roman world regularly prepared their readers for the later adult status and roles maintained by their protagonists'. Specifically, this essay continues the above-mentioned line of interpretation through its connection of the infancy narrative with the *Evangelium Infantium*, and by initiating an interpretation of Matthew 1 and 2 in terms of a social scientific model of honor and shame as well as a patron-client social interrelationship.

2. THE ORIGINAL SOCIAL SETTING OF THE *EVANGELIUM INFANTIUM*

Since the time of the Reformation Mark 10:13-16 has been associated with the practice of baptizing children (see the overview by Ludolphy 1973:31-51 of the working history of Mark 10:13-16). This is still so in modern times (see i a Cullmann 1948:65-73; Jeremias 1958:61-68; Lindemann 1983:77, 97-99). Today this

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direct association between the baptizing of children and the *Evangelium Infantium* is not generally accepted (see i a Aland 1961:67-71; Klein 1970:68-69; Schweizer 1975:112; Gnilka 1979:81; Sauer 1981:27-29; Derrett 1983:1-3; Ringshausen 1986:34-42; Schmithals 1986:44546).

As far as form is concerned, Mark 10:13-16 demonstrates the characteristics of what Martin Dibelius called a 'paradigm' and Rudolf Bultmann an 'apothegm'. Without going into detail about this, what it amounts to is that the *Evangelium Infantium* is a micro-narrative which should be formally distinguished from, for example, the parable and the miracle story. Bultmann pointed out that the children in this story should be seen as the 'idea', that is, a symbol of some concern - as though we here had to do with a parable: 'das Bild wird zur Sache selbst' (Bultmann 1970:215). Sauer (1981:41-45) has, however, very convincingly shown that Mark 10:13-16 is a combined form which shows more of the characteristics of a miracle story. Influential studies have independently or consciously supported Sauer in this view (see Derrett 1983:1-2; Ringshausen 1986:41).

What is immediately noticeable is that the introduction to Mark 10:13-16 demonstrates strong similarities with other healing narratives where the disabled are brought to Jesus as a performer of miracles, with a call on him to heal them (cf Klein 1970:59; Pesch 1977:131; Sauer 1981:41 and particularly Schmithals 1986:445). For our purposes the following terminological aspects of this research can be pointed out:

* 'brought to Jesus' (προσφέρω): in the Synoptic Gospels this expression is often used to refer to the bringing of the disabled and the sick closer, so that they can be healed (Mk 2:4 par; Mt 4:24 = 14:35; Mt 8:16 par; Mk 1:32 (ἔφερον); Mt 9:2 par; Mk 2:3 (φέροντες); Mt 9:32; 12:22; 17:16 par; Mk 9:17 (ἤνεγκα); cf also - φέρω: Mk 1:32; 2:3 par; Lk 15:18; Mk 7: 32; Mk 8:22; Mk 9:19-20 par; Mt 17:17; Ac 5:16; exceptions: Mt 18:24; Lk 23:14;

* 'that Jesus should touch them' (ἅπτομαι): in the Synoptic Gospels this expression is used only in relation to miracle stories and the raising of the dead (Mk 1:41 par; Mt 8:3/Lk 5:13; Mk 3:10 par; Lk 6:19; Mk 6: 56 par; Mt 14:36; Mk 5:27-28 par; Mt 9:20-21/Lk 8:44; Mk :30-31 par; Lk 8:45-46; Mk 7:33; 8:22 (ἵνα αὐτοῦ ἅψηται!); Mt 8:15; 9:29; 17:7 (with reference to raising from the dead); Mt 20:34; Lk 7:14; 8: 47; 22:51; exception: Lk 7:39);

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* 'the disciples rebuked the people' (ἐπιτιμάω): this expression is frequently used in the New Testament with regard to miracle stories (Mk 1:25 par; Lk 4:35; Mk 4:39 par; Mt 8:26/Lk 8:24; Mk 9:25 par; Mt 17:18/Lk 2; Mk 10:48 par; Mt 20:31/Lk 18:39; cf also Lk 4:39 and the so-called Markan seal of confession in Mk 3:12 par, Mt 12:16/Lk 4:41; outside the framework of the miracle story one has the word ἐπιτιμάω as far as the Synoptic Gospels are concerned, only in the so-called Petrine confession in Mk 8:30, 32, 33 par, and in the Lukan redaction in i a Lk 17:3, but also in the Lukan material in Lk 19:39 and 23:40);

* 'do not prevent the children' (κωλύω): this word, on its own, does not concern the baptism tradition, despite what Cullmann and Jeremias, among others, inferred from Acts 8:36; a form of baptism could be expected to be formulated interrogatively, while κωλύτε) in the Synoptic Gospels only occurs as an imperative or assertion in the indicative (Klein 1970:69; Pesch 1977:132; Sauer 1981:41); what is certainly noticeable is that this verb appears in Matthew only in relation to the parallel context, namely Matthew 19:14, and in Mark two times more in one and the same pericope which has a miraculous exorcism as its theme (Mk 9:38-41): 'Es ist ganz evident, daß im Hintergrund dieser Perikope Probleme urchristlicher Wunderpraxis stehen. Μὴ κωλύετε erweist sich somit als ein Terminus, der Raum dieser Praxis zumindest nicht unublich war' (Sauer 1981:42); 1 Corinthians 14:39 is the only place in the New Testament where the expression μὴ κωλύετε occurs outside the referential framework of the 'Wunderpraxis';

* 'Jesus put his arms around the children' (ἐναγκαλίζομαι): this expression appears only here in the New Testament and, on the strength of Proverbs 6:10 and 24:33 (Septuagint), among other references, is conveyed by 'put one's arm around', which has an affective connotation of compassion; Diodorus Siculus (one year BCE) used it by implication in the context of the healing of children: 'Kybele schließt die kleine Kinder in die Arme [έναγκ] u. heilt sie [σώζω], wenn sie krank sind'; cf also Arndt & Ginrich 1957:261); it is therefore also possible 'daß ἐναγκαλισάμενος auch in Mk 10:16 eine Heilgestus beschreibt' (Sauer 1981:42);

* 'Jesus put his hands on the children and blessed them' (τίθημι τὰς χεῖρας ἐπί...- or ἐπιτίθημι τὰς χεῖρας...): according to Sauer (1981:42) we here have to do with 'ein typischer Ritus der Heilungspraxis' (cf Mk 8: 2; Mk 5:23 par [ἔθηκεν]; Mt 9:18; Mk 6:5; 7:32; 8:23; 25; 16:18; Lk 4: 40; 13:13; Ac 28:8; cf also Ac 3:7).

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To bless your child or not to bless your child is to accept him/her in your home or to abandon him/her. The question that we would like to debate is whether the Greek word τίθημι has a semantically complementary function to the word ἐκτίθημι in the technical sense. 'Εκτίθημι is used in this context to refer to 'putting out of the house' and τίθημι to 'accommodating'. Our argument is that putting a child out of the home was often the lot of unwanted children such as the handicapped. The same fate falls on children 'born of unlawful unions' (cf Wisdom of Solomon 4:6). Physically and mentally disabled children, the blind, those with only one eye or one arm, the leprous, the deaf and the dumb were often ostracized in this way (Stockton 1983:90). The Roman philosopher and statesman, Seneca, who was a contemporary of Jesus and well known for his call for a charitable attitude (see Dibelius 1961:1694-1695), refers to incidents in this connection (see Boswell 1984:21 note 26; cf Rawson 1986:170-200).

Apart from the fact that Schmithals (1986:44748) described the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Evangelium Infantium* in Mark 10:116 as that which should be understood against the background of the healing of ostracized children, he also notes that Jesus' acceptance of the children, which is apparent from his action, should be seen as a condemnation of the practice of 'turning the children out of the home'. Persons, such as widows and orphans, who had no connection with a patriarch were necessarily marginal to the society (Countryman 1989:167-168). If accommodating the rejected child forms the original *Sitz im Leben* of Mark 10:1 16, it also forms the fundamental social setting of the Matthean parallel in Matthew 19:13-15. In my view the same social setting can be assumed to be the background of the narrative about the birth of Jesus, at least as told in Matthew's story. If the social world of the Matthean infancy narrative as a micro-contextual world mirrors this particular setting it follows that it has to correlate with what happened in the macro-social world. This is actually what we subsequently want to argue.

3. THE ABANDONMENT OF CHILDREN

In the second or third century CE, the anonymous writer of the well known letter to Diognetus (cf Wilson 1988:763 note 4) referred to the widespread Hansel and Gretel phenomenon that children were put out of homes:

> For the distinction between Christians and other men, is neither in country nor language nor customs. For they do not dwell in cities in some place of their own, nor do they use any strange variety of dialect, nor practise an extraordinary kind of life....Yet while living in Greek and barbarian cities, according as each obtained his lot, and following

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> the local customs, both in clothing and food, and in the rest of life, they show forth the wonderful and confessedly strange character of the constitution of their own citizenship. They dwell in their own fatherlands, but as if sojourners in them; they share all things as citizens, and suffer all things as strangers. Every country is their fatherland, and every fatherland is a foreign country. They marry as all men, they bear children, but they do not expose their offspring (ἀλλ' οὐ ῥίπτουσι τὰ γεννώμενα). They offer free hospitality, but guard their purity....
>
> (The Epistle to Diognetus V, *Loeb Classical Library* 1965:358-361)

The Greek word ῥιπτέω translated above as 'expose' is used in several places to refer to the ostracizing action of 'putting someone out of the house or country' (see Liddel & Scott 1961:1572). This casting away of children should probably be seen as part of primitive means of controlling population growth and ensuring survival (see Boswell 1984:10-33; Countryman 1989:22). 'The society tends to mandate infanticide in areas affecting the entire society in either ecological (overpopulation) or social (illegitimate) domains' (Scrimshaw 1984:448). In many societies records witnesses that 'adulterous conception was offered as grounds for infanticide (Daly & Wilson 1984:489). In some tribes males were said to assist upon the death of any child whose features suggested a nontribal sire. Cases are recorded that 'deformed children were described as ghosts or demons, with the rationale for infanticide expressed in terms of a struggle with hostile supernatural forces' (Daly & Wilson 1984:492). Susan Scrimshaw (1984:443) refers in this regard to stories told by the Yaudepu Enga of New Guinea about 'supernatural beings who take abandoned children and rear them to live privileged lives'. According to M H I Galaal (in Daly & Wilson 1984:494) 'infanticide of healthy children was alleged to occur for purely magical reasons...Somali (Africa) parents used to dispose babies born under inauspicious astrological signs 'in the days before Islam came to the Somali lands'.

Several references to the casting out of children are encountered in the writings of, among others, Lactantius (Institutiones Divinae 5.9), Justin Martyr (1 Apol 27), Clement of Alexandria (Paedagogus 3.3), Seneca (Controversiae 10.4.16) and Tertullian (Ad Nationes 1.3.16). It is in particular the Greek event word - ἐκτίθημι/ἔκθεσις and the Latin 'exposito' that are used to refer to this ostracizing action. It often took place under the pretext that it was a religious 'sacrificial action'. The practice in the Middle Ages of 'donating' children to cloisters with ecclesiastic approval and regulation (Deroux 1927), should be seen in the same light.

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Just as the words 'hot' and 'cold' cannot be used in a semantically independent manner - the one finds its meaning in terms of the other - the meaning of the Greek word ἐκτίθημι is complemented by the word τίθημι which can indicate, among other things, an act of 'assigning/appointing someone to a particular task, function, or role' (cf Louw & Nida 1988:483). It is in other words an act of 'choosing'. 'Choosing' need not always imply 'selection', but also the 'acceptance' or even the vocation to the fulfillment of a specific role. The name given to a child by the parents was sometimes related to the identification and vocation to fulfill a particular role or perform a task (cf Patte 1987:23-28 with regard to Joseph's name of 'Son of David' in the Gospel of Matthew, as well as the designation of 'God-with-us' given to Jesus). Joseph 'names the child, thus socially and legally accepting him as his own' (Duling 1991b:12). In this connection it is important to note that the parental custom of blessing a child and placing one's hands on that child (cf the analogy in Mark 10:16 - κατευλόγει τιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτά relates to the action of 'accepting in the home' as opposed to 'putting out of the home'. To bless your child is to promise help and care. (Horst 1961:1650 refers in this connection to Ruth 4:13-16.) As a result of the covenantal relationship between a child and his father, one of the most important signs of honor that a child can show his father is to care reciprocally for him when he is old, and to bury him (cf Neyrey [1991c]). The Greek word τίθημι is also used for this (see Ac 7:16), as well as προστίθημι (see Ac 13:36 - προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ - which literally means 'to entrust your father to his fathers') (cf Louw & Nida 1988:531).

It is known that Old Israel in its *Umwelt* took more care of its children than its neighboring peoples. In Psalm 106:37 Israel is called out to abandon the heathen practice of child sacrifice (see especially the comprehensive study by Stager & Wolff 1984 in this regard; cf also Thompson 1986:38-42; Countryman 1989:27 note 11). This does not however mean that this custom was no longer practiced by the Israelites. In Ezekiel 16, God's covenant with his people is compared to finding a little girl who had been rejected at birth, but who had been cared for by God as her parent in terms of a covenantal agreement. In Stephen's speech the putting out of Moses (see Louw & Nida 1988:728) in a death-basket is also described using the Greek verb ἐκτίθημι (Ac 7:21; cf LXX Ex 2:3).

Children were abandoned for various reasons. Apart from a survival motive, or religious considerations, children were often 'thrown away' because of an unwanted marriage and pregnancy (Boswell 1984:19) . In the Wisdom of Solomon (4:3-6), for example, these children are considered as 'born of unlawful unions'. Jane Schaberg (1987:55-56) understands the first-century Mediterranean society's attitude towards the status of the child carried by the pregnant, betrothed woman,

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like Mary as Matthew's story describes it, in the light of the depiction which appears in the Wisdom of Solomon as well as in Sirach. These texts contain references to the divorce of a seductress who became pregnant:

> So it is also with a woman who leaves her husband
> And produced an heir by a stranger.
> For first, she disobeyed the law of the Most High;
> Second, she committed an offense against her husband;
> And third, she committed adultery through fornication (ἐν πορνείᾳ)
> And produced children by a strange man.
> She will be led away unto the assembly,
> And punishment will fall on her children.
> Her children will not spread out roots,
> And her branches will not bear fruit.
> She will leave her memory for a curse,
> And her disgrace will not be blotted out.
>
> (Sirach 23:22-26; translation by Trenchard, *Ben Sira's view*, 95; cf Schaberg 1987:217 note 154)

A similar attitude toward the children of adultery appears in the Wisdom of Solomon:

> But the children of adulters will not come to maturity,
> and the offspring of an unlawful union will perish.
> Even if they live long they will be held of no account,
> and finally their old age will be without honor.
> If they die young, they will have no hope and no consolation in the day of decision...
>
> For children born of unlawful unions
> are witnesses of evil against their parents when God examines them.
>
> (Wisdom of Solomon 4:3-6; RSV - cf Schaberg 1987:56)

In the Old Testament the analogical reference in Ezekiel 16:3 to the abandonment of a child was precisely the result of an undesirable mixed marriage. Incisive studies have already been done on the prohibition on mixed marriages during the reign of the last Judean kings in particular (see i a Epstein 1942). This was mainly the effect of Ezra's post-exilic marriage reforms (see i a Bossman 1979:32-38) which, at the

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time of first-century Pharisaic purification, led to divorce being justifiable on the basis of Mosaic law (see Mk 10:1-10 and par). This state of affairs led to the ostracism of the 'impure' wife and her oldest child (cf Bakon 1981:119; Meijer & Meijer 1984:817; Goodnick 1988:17178; Weaver 1986:145-169 with regard to the period of the Roman Empire). The debate between Jesus and the Pharisees on whether or not divorce was justified (Mk 10:1-10), and his empathy with and touching (during a meal in the house of a Pharisee) of an impure woman who was called a 'sinner' and had been put out of the house (Lk 7:36-50) should probably be understood against this background.

It is still a modern-day phenomenon. The South African newspaper, Transvaler, on 25 June 1991 carried a report about young women being put out of their homes:

> In an unusual demonstration in Nazareth, Israel, yesterday [24 June 1991], about fifteen young Arabian woman protested against the killing of women by their male relations as a result of shame they had brought on their families. These women say that about forty young women are killed every year after extra-marital pregnancies, unsanctioned love affairs and wanting to marry men not considered suitable by their families.
>
> (Transvaler 1991:7; translation from Afrikaans)

These outcasts are generally abandoned to all types of social evils. Although a married/betrothed woman remained, in some sense, a 'member of the father's house' in which (she) was born...and would return to (her family) if she was divorced or left widowed and childless' (Countryman 1989:160), in New Testament times people of other fringe groups, the 'hoi polloi' (Horsley & Hanson 1985:69), who tried to exist outside the circle of normal family care, were often the only refuge of the outcast woman and/or child. In Matthew 4:23-25, 15:29-32, these people were referred to as the Jewish crowd (οἱ ὄχλοι). They were the people outside the circle of the normal caring household, and could easily starve along the way. They included physically and mentally disabled persons. The Jewish historian, Josephus, frequently refers to this socio-economic group - the 'bandits' (see Horsley 1979:37-63) - who were socially despised according to Jewish purification customs (see i a Neusner 1973a:15-26), were put out of homes, and refused admittance to the temple and synagogues (cf Elliott 1991a:100). Saldarini (1988:44) refers to them as the 'expendable class, about 5-10%, for whom society had no place or need. They had been forced off the land because of population pressures or they did not fit into society. They tended to be landless and itinerant with no normal family life and a high death rate'.

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The Christian apologist, Lactantius (ca 250-ca 325) pointed out that children abandoned thus often fell prey to wild animals or sexual abuse (Institutiones Divinae 5.9). Also Justin Martyr (ca 165) argued that Christians should be taught not to put their newly born children out of their homes, since almost all such children, both daughters and sons, would be abused as prostitutes (1 Apol 27). Clement of Alexandria (ca 160-215) also called attention to this wretchedness and noted that men would later unwittingly have sexual intercourse with their own children, who had become prostitutes (Paedagogus 3.3). Tertullian (ca 160--ca 212) objected to the custom of putting children out of the house since the children would suffer. He acknowledged that it was not usually the parents' intention to harm their children, and that strangers would sympathetically adopt the children and care for them better than parents could themselves because of the parents' limited resources (Ad Nationes 1.3.16).

Throughout the Middle Ages the church received children who had been ejected from their homes, and it functioned as a sort of children's home. In a certain sense the church thus facilitated the ostracizing practice. Thomas Aquinas (Summa Theologiae 2a.2ae.88.9, 2a.2ae.189.5, 2a.2ae.189.5.2; Quodlibetales 3.5.11.12, 4.12.23, 4.12.23.7) studied in detail the teaching of children in the cloisters, and questioned whether children who did not yet understand what it was all about could be bound by a lifelong oath, and whether such children had any place in the cloister. It would appear that this did not, in fact, reflect true concern for the children, but that the large number of children put out of their homes and given to the church by their parents disrupted church life (see Boswell 1984:29). This practice of 'sacrificing children' was called 'oblatio' and by the first century CE it had already been identified as distinct from 'expositum' (see Boswell 1984:14 note 4) by Seneca (Controversiae 10:4:16).

By the Middle Ages it had become important for the church to regulate the baptism and the claiming back of 'expositi' (see Boswell 1984:16). Ecclesiastical practices of the sixth century are known to us which even organized the sale of children. Within the Benedictine Order, in particular, we find that 'oblatio' was sanctioned. Parents were forbidden to have any further say in the instruction and formal education of these children. The instruction of these children was also distinct from the normal instruction given to children in the cloisters (see Boswell 1984:17). At first, only the children of aristocrats were received, but later children from parents in the peasant society were also taken in. In the thirteenth century the papal Decretum Gratiani began to forbid the practice of 'oblatio', and attempts were made to avoid receiving children under the age of eighteen in the monasteries (Boswell 1984:25).

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From the socio-historical information given above, it is clear that the micro-social world mirrored in the context of the Matthean infancy narrative correlates with what is found in the macro-social contextual world in which Matthew's story as a whole makes sense.

4. THE MATTHEAN INFANCY NARRATIVE

4.1 Jesus' birth record (Mt 1:1-17)

According to Lucretia Yaghijan (1992:3) a genealogical record is a kind of certificate of status in terms of ascribed honor: 'it certified the bearer as an official member of his culture in good standing, and conferred upon him the cultural credentials of role and status apposite to his ancestral heritage'. The thrust of the Matthean genealogy can therefore be considered as to point out that Jesus is the (adopted) son of Joseph, and therefore the son of David and of Abraham. From the Matthean narrative point of view a child of David and of Abraham is not someone primarily characterized by a certain biological descendance but in terms of what he/she will do, his/her vocation. In Matthew 3:7-9 the true children of Abraham are described as people doing certain things: 'they bear fruit that befits repentance' (3:8), or, more generally, they bear good fruit (7:17).

The continuity of Abraham's line was maintained in extraordinary ways: four mothers are mentioned in an otherwise male genealogy. The mention of Tamar as the mother of Perez (Mt 1:3) alludes to the tortuous way in which Judah begot Perez and Zerah (Gn 38:6-30); Rahab, the mother of Boaz (Mt 1:5), was the foreign prostitute who helped the Israelite spies at Jericho (see Joshua 20); Ruth, the mother of Obed (Mt 1:5), was also a foreigner (see Ruth 4); the very designation of the mother of Solomon as 'the wife of Uriah' (Mt 1:6) reminds the readers of David's dubious behavior (see 2 Sm 11) (cf Patte 1987:19).

4.2 The birth narrative (Mt 1:18-25)

The genealogy paves the way for the nativity story. Matthew's story presupposes that Joseph knows something about Mary's pregnancy. It seems that he thought that she had committed adultery (cf Brown 1979:125-128); 'Since he [Joseph] plans to divorce her [Mary] at all events, he must be taking it for granted that she is guilty of unchastity' (Beare 1981:68). However, the narrative does not describe how Jesus was conceived (γεννάω) but rather the reason why Mary s pregnancy should not be perceived as shameful; that which is conceived in her is not impure but is of the Holy Spirit, and thus holy.

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The Greek construction, τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου, underscores 'holy'; the text opposes diverging evaluations of Mary's pregnancy, either as something that is shameful and a cause of disgrace and rejection (Mt 1:19) or as something that one should not fear because it is of God (Mt 1:20). The divine is defined in terms of holiness, that is, in terms of a value ('the ultimate euphoric value' - Patte 1987:27).

Joseph, when wanting to divorce Mary, is described as 'her husband'; 'just,' or righteous; 'unwilling to put her to shame' (Mt 1:19); Joseph, when taking Mary into his home, is described as 'Son of David', obeying (Mt 1:24), without fear (Mt 1:20), adopting Jesus by giving him his name (Mt 1:25) and transmitting the vocation to be 'Son of David', 'Son of Abraham (Mt 1:1), 'Son of God'.

The 'true righteousness' (δικαιοσύνη - that which 'exceeds the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees' (Mt 5:20) - is expressed in love, given without discrimination to deserving and undeserving alike (Mt 5:44-48). 'The "just" man is merciful, as God is merciful' (Beare 1981:68). Four of the five instances of the verb 'to have compassion' (σπλαγχνίζομαι) and five of the eight instances of the verb 'to have mercy' (ἐλεέω) occur in the Matthean narrative in connection with healing and in almost every case the titles "Lord" and/or "Son of David" appear as part of the semantic field (Duling 1991b:10).

Except for the narrator, it is only the Jewish crowd (Mt 9:27; 12:23; 20:30 and 21:15) and the Gentiles (Mt 15:22), who address Jesus as 'Son of David' and not the disciples or the Jewish leaders. All these pericopes deal with healing and all, except Matthew 15:21-28, deal with the healing of the blind in one way or another. Matthew 21:9, the entry into Jerusalem, is an exception because it does not deal directly with healing. However, the entry bears a close relation to the following incident of healing that takes place inside the temple and leads to a climax when 'children in the temple' honor Jesus as the 'Son of David' (Mt 21:15).

5. REMARKS ABOUT JESUS IN MATTHEW'S STORY

Earlier in the present essay we pointed out that the name/label 'Son of David' in the Matthean story had to do with the assigning of and vocation to fulfill a specific caring role (cf also Duling 1991b), and that it had special reference to Jesus' role as God-with-us in saving the people from their sins. From a social scientific point of view 'sin' can be described as deviance and uncleanness. Sinners are people out of place (Neyrey 1991b:274).

It is generally acknowledged that Mary Douglas (1966:41-57), to date, has come forward with the most comprehensive explanation of the 'rationale of Israel's purity system' (cf Countryman 1989:24). According to Douglas, God's holiness

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means wholeness and completeness, not only in God, but in God's creation. Consequently, all of creation should portray the divine order relating to classification as well as discrimination (cf Neyrey 1988:68). This 'divine order' is expressed notably by the Greek word ἅγιος (cf Van Staden 1990:1): Ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἅγιος, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν (LXX Lv 19:21; cf also 1 Pt 1:16). In this analogous formula the word ἅγιος may be replaced by the word τέλειος: Ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς ὡς ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειος ἐστιν (Mt 5:48) - 'You must be whole just as your Father in heaven is whole'! It is also in this connection that Matthew, in association with Psalm 107:10 (LXX Ps 106) (see Gundry 1975:107), refers to the destitute in Galilee as those who live in the land in the shadow of death (Mt 4:16). For the victims of socio-religious ostracism, the 'people living in darkness', the gospel of Jesus, which proclaimed that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, was like the dawning of a light (Mt 4:16) . Jesus program of works and the target of his works is summarized as follows in Matthew 4:23-25 (NIV; cf also Mt 9:35-38):

> Jesus went throughout Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, preaching the good news of the kingdom, and healing every disease and sickness among the people. News about him spread all over Syria, and people brought to him all who were ill with various diseases, those suffering severe pain, the demon-possessed, the epileptics and the paralyzed, and he healed them....
>
> (Mt 4:23-25)

According to Gerd Theissen, Jesus' miracles were aimed at the socially despised in Galilee. Matthew 15:29-32 (cf also Mt 4:23-25) is an example of such a report.

> Jesus left there and went along the Sea of Galilee. Then he went up into the hills and sat down. Great crowds came to him, bringing the lame, the blind, the crippled, the dumb and many others, and laid them at his feet; and he healed them. The people were amazed when they saw the dumb speaking, the crippled made well, the lame walking and the blind seeing. And they praised the God of Israel. Jesus called his disciples to him and said, 'I have compassion for these people; they have already been with me for three days and have nothing to eat. I do not want to send them away hungry, or they may collapse on the way'.
>
> (Mt 15:29-32)

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On the basis of these verses it is clear that Jesus not only healed the unfortunate of all types of diseases and deviances; these people comprised the hungry crowd to whom, at Jesus' request, according to the Gospels, the disciples had to give bread, which led to the miraculous multiplication of the loaves. It is also striking that, in many places in Matthew, these 'people' were called the 'least' (οἱ ἐλαχίστοι - i a Mt 25:40, 45), the 'children' (τὰ παιδία - i a Mt 18:3; τὰ τέκνα - i a Mt 15:26), the 'little ones' οἱ μικροί - i a Mt 18:14) and 'sheep' (τὰ πρόβατα - i a Mt 18:12; cf Mt 10:36 and 15:26).

The metaphorical use of 'sheep' (τό πρόβατον) in Matthew 9:36 and 18:12 correlates with the expressions 'the lost sheep of Israel' (τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου 'Ισραήλ) in Matthew 10:6 and 'the little children' (τὰ παιδία) in Matthew 18:3-5, as well as 'the little ones' (οἱ μικροί) in Matthew 18:6, 10, 14 (cf Mt 10:42). The use of these names portrays the care and love of Jesus, as 'God-with-us' (= Εμμανουήλ; cf Mt 1:23). Matthew relates that Jesus, himself a socially despised person from the viewpoint of the Pharisees (cf Mt 12:24; cf Malina & Neyrey 1988), did not himself experience alienation from God, but God's presence. Matthew also related that Jesus healed the blind and the crippled, as 'unclean' socio-religious outcasts, 'in the temple' (= ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ) (Mt 21:14) and that 'children in the temple' (= ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ) honored Jesus as the 'son of David'(Mt 21:15).

John Pilch convincingly argues that healing incidents (for example 'lepers') in the Gospels provide evidence that human illnesses 'were thought to be a source of pollution, not contagion, and that Jesus' 'cure' invariably involved establishing new self understandings so that these formerly 'unclean' and excluded from the holy community now found themselves 'clean' and within the holy community (Pilch 1988b:60; cf also Pilch 1991).

5. CONCLUSION

The aim of this essay is only to suggest that the Matthean infancy narrative can be interpreted from the perspective of the social pattern of challenge and response in terms of the ascribed and acquired honor of two kings. From our insight into the macro-social contextual world we know that Herod the Great was ascribed honor by an earthly emperor when he was declared King of the Jews by the Roman senate in 40 BCE (cf i a Ferguson 1987:328-329). However, although he was a Judean by religion, his racial descent was Idumaean (cf Brandon 1973:219). Inferred from Matthew's narrative world we are told that Jesus is made honorable because of divine intervention in spite of his disgraced birth record (Mt 1:1-17) and shameful birth (Mt 1:18-25). Herod acted as patron among the people through agriculture

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and commercial enterprises (cf Brandon 1973:219) but the response to his program was fear (cf Mt 2:22) and Jewish hostility (cf Assumption of Moses 6:2-7). Jesus fulfilled the role of shepherd (ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαὸν - Mt 2:6) towards the 'lost sheep of the house of Israel' and leader who guided God's people (ἡγούμενος - Mt 2:6), and was honored by them as Son of David. Other characters are also on stage and play their roles in the Matthean infancy narrative, like inter alia the Magi and the chief priests and teachers of the law in Jerusalem. However, we did not touch upon their actantial roles. A more thorough social scientific analysis of the infancy narrative in terms of the plot of Matthew's story and its post-seventy CE contextual world has still to be done.

Specifically, it becomes clear that in Matthew's story God is shown 'to be one who sides with the outcast and endangered woman and child' (Schaberg 1987:74). The narrator retold the tradition of the divine intervention which caused Joseph's acceptance of the messianic child and his mother. Therefore, Jane Schaberg is on the right track when she understands Matthew's emphasis of God as Father as an indication that the Jesus-movement, as Matthew understood and described it, is the commencement of a new (fictive) family, a family of God (cf Mt 23:9). By making the child and not the father the model for entry into the reign of God, Jesus 'reversed the hierarchical assumptions that governed all of life' (Countryman 1989:188). Likewise, John Riches (1980:132-133) has drawn a ('valuable'- according to Countryman 1989:188 note 21) connection between this tendency and Jesus' disregard of purity. The Matthean Jesus' attitude towards the status of women as well as children represent the deliberate breaking down of boundaries. The new way was for all to assume the position of children or slaves (Mt 23:11-12; cf Countryman 1989:189). 'If my reading of Matthew's infancy narrative is regarded as a possible reading, other ears may recognize its echoes in the rest of this Gospel' (Schaberg 1987:77).

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