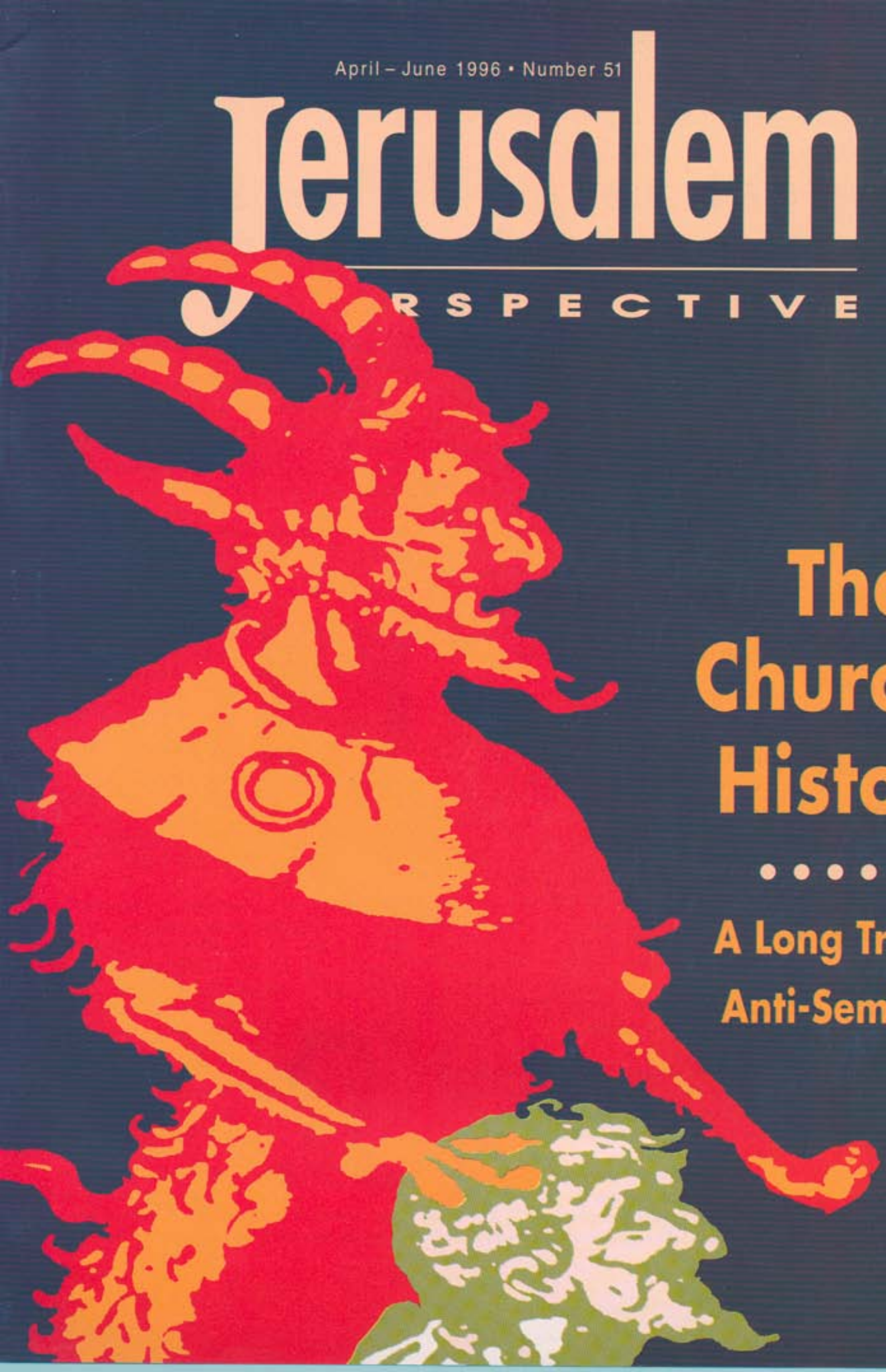
April – June 1996 • Number 51

Jerusalem Perspective



The Church's History

• • • • • • •

A Long Trail of Anti-Semitism

Perspective on This Issue

With this issue we muster the courage to face the vexing specter of anti-Semitism. Have the synoptic gospels contributed to anti-Semitism in Christian theology? For the answer, turn to page 20.

The author of Mark loved to embellish his text. Therefore, he often substituted words he picked up from other contexts in Luke, Acts and the early Pauline epistles. One special category of Mark's method of substitution is replacement of scriptural quotations. In "Paraphrastic Gospels," p. 10, **Robert L. Lindsey** surveys examples of Mark's method. Lindsey gives particular attention to the Markan version of Jesus' cry from the cross: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Mk. 15:34).

The late Dr. Robert L. Lindsey, pastor, scholar and doyen of the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research, pioneered a new understanding of synoptic relationships. Lindsey (1917–1995) was born in Norman, Oklahoma. In 1939 he first came to the land, then called Palestine, in order to study Hebrew. He returned permanently in 1945, and for the next forty-two years served Baptist congregations in Israel as pastor and Bible translator. He and his colleague, Prof. David Flusser of the Hebrew University, developed a fresh approach to the gospels. Lindsey's published works include, *A Hebrew Translation of the Gospel of Mark*, *A Comparative Greek Concordance of the Synoptic Gospels*, and *Jesus Rabbi & Lord: The Hebrew Story of Jesus Behind Our Gospels*.

■ Three textual variants for the location of the "Miracle of the Swine" story are found in each of the synoptic gospels (Mt. 8:28–34; Mk. 5:1–20; Lk. 8:26–39): "land of the Gadarenes," "land of the Gerasenes," and "land of the Gergesenes." In "Gergesa, Gerasa, or Gadara? Where Did Jesus' Miracle Occur?" p. 16, **Ze'ev Safrai** attempts to answer two questions: 1) Where did the miracle take place?; and, 2) How reliable is Christian tradition? In other words, how accurate was the memory of second- and third-century Christians concerning the locations of events in the life of Jesus?

Professor Safrai was born in Jerusalem in 1948. He majored in Talmud and Jewish History at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and minored in Archaeology and Geography. He received a Ph.D. in 1979 from the Hebrew University for his dissertation on "The Land of Samaria." Since 1979 he has taught at Bar-Ilan University near Tel Aviv in the Department of Land of Israel Studies, where he is now department chairman. In his research, Safrai concentrates on the history of the land of Israel in the Roman-Byzantine period, with particular emphasis on the connection between talmudic literature and archaeological remains. He has written several books, the latest of which is *The Economy of Roman Palestine* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

■ When we hear the word "anti-Semitism," we think of contemporary hate groups such as skinheads, the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazis; the attempted annihilation of the Jewish people by Nazi Germany during World War II; the pogroms of the nineteenth century against the Jews of czarist Russia; the Inquisition and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492; the heinous medieval blood libels; and the anti-Jewish laws enacted by the state church of the Byzantine-Roman Empire. In "Anti-Jewish Tendencies in the Synoptic

Gospels," p. 20, **R. Steven Notley** suggests, however, that anti-Judaism in Christian sources first finds expression, not in the writings of the church fathers, but in the final redactional stages of the gospels.

Notley is an American who has lived over eleven years in Jerusalem with his wife and three children. He received his doctorate in the History of Religions with a concentration in Judaism and the Origins of Christianity from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1993. From 1986 until 1991 he served as the founding director of Shoresh Study Tours, a biblical study tour program attached to Christ Church (Anglican), Jerusalem. In 1993 he returned to Jerusalem to take a joint post as Visiting Lecturer in Religious Education with King's College London and as a visiting scholar at the Hebrew University. He also lectures on Historical Geography at the Institute of Holy Land Studies and on New Testament at St. George's College (Anglican). His responsibilities as a visiting lecturer with King's involve the development of educational field study in Israel for students of religious studies, R.E. teachers from the U.K., and for Christian clergy on sabbatical.

Christian interest in prophecy has a rich history. The scriptural expositions of John Nelson Darby (1800–1882) in England, and his American disciple, Cyrus Ingerson Scofield (1843–1921), have had a lasting influence on evangelical Protestant thinking. Scofield reworked Darby's ideas and incorporated them into the notes of his *Scofield Reference Bible*. He taught that the return of Christ and the rapture of the saints would occur before a seven-year period of tribulation preceding a millennium of Christ's reign on earth. In "Esteeming the Jewish People," p. 36, **Joseph Frankovic** discusses the perverse fascination some Christians have with the Jewish nation, which usually expresses itself in the treatment of Jews as merely objects in their "end time" scenarios.

Frankovic is a student at The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, where he is pursuing a Ph.D. in Midrash under the direction of Professor Burt Visotsky. A regular contributor to JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE, Frankovic has worked closely with Jerusalem School members Robert Lindsey and Brad Young.

I am pleased to announce the unveiling of a new *JP* column—"From Moses' Seat." This sort of column is a feature of many publications, and is often titled something like "Soapbox." Essays appearing in *JP*'s new column will deal with current, sometimes controversial, issues.

Joseph Frankovic's "Esteeming the Jewish People," on pages 36–37 of this issue, is an example of what we have in mind—first-person articles by Jerusalem School members and others. Columnists will speak freely on what they believe are relevant issues for Christian and Jewish audiences. Though perhaps not a feature of every issue of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE, "From Moses' Seat" will run fairly regularly.

What should be a Christian's response to the return of the Jewish people to their ancestral homeland, and the state of Israel's founding? It should *not* be that of one member of the clergy whom I heard exclaim while preaching in Jerusalem, "Praise the Lord! Soon blood will flow through this land up to the horse's bridle." His comment was a reference to a popular "end time" scenario. His convictions were sincere, yet he displayed a remarkable and much too prevalent callousness.

Those of us who live in Israel, Jews and Christians alike, do not thrill to such scenarios, since it is our blood that will flow should they come to pass. For a different perspective, hopefully a more balanced perspective, read our first "From Moses' Seat."

David Bivin

Editor

JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE is an independent quarterly magazine reporting on recent discoveries relating to the life and teachings of Jesus. It features the work of Jewish and Christian scholars, particularly the scholars of the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research.

Publisher & Editor David Bivin

Contributing Editors
David Flusser, Joseph Frankovic, R. Steven Notley, Mendel Nun, Dwight Pryor, Ronny Reich, Halvor Ronning, Chana Safrai, Shmuel Safrai, Ze'ev Safrai, Marvin R. Wilson

Design Helen Rivera

Design Consultant Richard Sears

Photographer Janet Frankovic

SUBSCRIPTIONS
One-year (4 issues): US$36 – £24 – NIS90

Two-year (8 issues): US$60 – £40 – NIS150

Introductory: A one-year trial subscription is $18, £12 or NIS45, half the regular price. This offer is valid for new subscribers only.

BACK ISSUES
Issues 1–20 (Oct. 1987–May 1989; four-page issues) are US$1.50 – £1.00 – NIS4.00 each. Issues 21–47 (Jul./Aug. 1989–Nov./Dec. 1994; sixteen-page issues) are US$5.00 – £3.50 – NIS12.50 each. Issues 48 (Jul.–Sept. 1995) and following are US$7.50 – £5.00 – NIS19.00 each.

JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE accepts payment in the following currencies: Israeli shekel; pound sterling; United States, Canadian, Australian or New Zealand dollar; French, Swiss or Belgian franc; Norwegian or Danish krone; Swedish krona; Dutch florin; German mark. Prices in Israeli shekels apply to delivery in Israel only.

Payment may be made by money order, bank draft or personal cheque, but must be in the local currency of the bank on which the cheque is drawn. For example, a cheque in U.S. dollars must be drawn on a U.S. bank; a Eurocheque in German marks must be drawn on a German bank. Cheques should be made payable to "Jerusalem Perspective."

Credit card payments: JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE accepts the following credit cards: VISA, MasterCard, Diners Club, American Express, Eurocard and Isracard.

JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE is indexed in *New Testament Abstracts*, *Religious and Theological Abstracts*, *Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus* and *International Review of Biblical Studies*.

Printed in Israel. ISSN 0792-1357

Color Separation & Plates: Tafsar L. Jerusalem

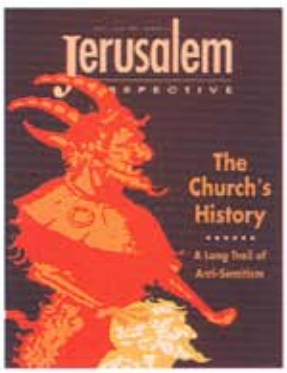
Printing: Sabinsky, Tel Aviv

Articles published in JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE express the views of their authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editor or other members of the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research.

To subscribe or request further information: JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE P.O. Box 31820, 91317 Jerusalem, Israel. Tel. 972-2-335544. Fax 972-2-335566.
U.S. office: P.O. Box 2050, Redlands, CA 92373-0641. Tel. 909-793-4669. Fax 909-793-1071. **U.K. office:** 15 Teddington Business Park, Station Road, Teddington, Middx., TW11 9BQ. Tel. 0181-943-0363. Fax 0181-943-3767.

Jerusalem PERSPECTIVE

Exploring the Jewish Background to the Life and Words of Jesus



COVER: The Devil assisting a Jew (from a 17th-century version of a 15th-century engraving at the entrance to a bridge in Frankfurt). To medieval Christians, the Jew was the Devil incarnate.

20 ►

10 ▼

16

Contents

April–June 1996 • Number 51

Departments

Readers' Perspective

A "Truer" Picture of Jesus?

I have read issue 49 (JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE, Oct.–Dec. 1995) with great interest, especially "Unlocking the Synoptic Problem: Four Keys for Better Understanding Jesus" by the late Dr. Robert Lindsey, which I assume summarizes the underlying approach of the Jerusalem School.

The attempt to recognize a Hebrew original of the gospels, and to illustrate the Jewish background of Jesus himself, must be valuable in increasing our understanding of Christian faith. But may I make a few critical observations on the matter raised in Lindsey's conclusion concerning which gospel presents a "truer" picture of Jesus, or is "more reliable" or "superior."

1. In using such terms, Lindsey seems to make the same basic assumption as the synoptic scholars he criticizes, that the gospels as we have them obscure, rather than illuminate, the real Jesus. Like them, he looks for Jesus in a series of hypothetical documents, for none of which there is objective evidence, except, perhaps, for the Hebrew proto-Matthew mentioned in Papias. (The sources mentioned in Luke 1:1 can only be distinguished from our gospels by the *a priori* acceptance of Lukan priority, which is one of the points at issue.)

Such an assumption presupposes (a) that there was no living eyewitness tradition to validate the canonical gospels, (b) that there was no apostolic oversight of their production, and (c) that all earlier documents had inexplicably been lost, or suppressed, by a church eager to preserve the apostolic teaching. And yet there is increasing support for early dating of all the gospels to within a generation of the events they describe.

2. In treating the evangelists as mere redactors, whose aims were primarily to restore a chronological biography of Jesus, Lindsey's scheme seems to underplay their role as theologians. They were writing gospels, not biographies, and recording spiritual, not chronological, truth.

3. Lindsey's scheme seems to take a low view of Scripture *qua* Scripture, at variance with Jesus' own outlook. He used the canonical Hebrew Scriptures as the authoritative word of God, and made no attempt to search for the "real" Moses in hypothetical sources, as modern Old Testament scholars have done. Christians—except for the Jewish Ebionites, who believed in Matthean priority—have always believed in the inspiration of the New Testament Scriptures, and that all four gospels bear the Spirit's authority.

To discern more of Jesus' Jewish background in the gospels may be of great value. But to search for a "truer" picture of Jesus in conjectural, reconstructed documents is significantly to devalue scriptural inspiration, as well as God's spiritual provision for his worldwide Church.

Dr. J. C. Garvey
Danbury, Essex, England

Richer Veins of Gold

Our very grateful thanks to you and all the contributing editors for the wealth of material in the last three issues of *JP* and the back copies 1–20 recently received. The years of dedicated, loving research are very evident and we truly appreciate that the material has been made available to us.

In our country, the pioneers who discovered gold in the streams and panned for small quantities of nuggets are honoured as heroes, as are others who came later and boldly went to great depths to find richer veins of gold.

In the same way, we appreciate the commentaries written over the centuries, but the courageous, innovative work of Dr. Robert Lindsey and the members of the Jerusalem School will, we are sure, change the minds and hearts of all who have "ears to hear."

Ray and Sheila Burke
Johannesburg
Republic of South Africa

Blazing Hearts

Abraham Heschel wrote: "The light of holiness blazes in my life and heart like tongues of fire, and I am overcome with rapture and yearning to serve God...all day and all night." May all believers have this blazing heart this coming new year to fulfill God's purposes in their lives. May God continue to bless you.

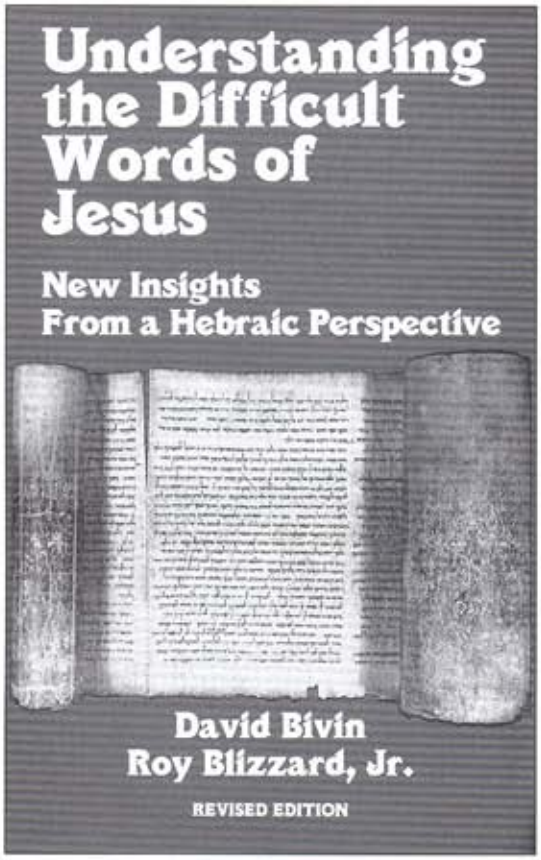
Mayme R. Bass
Rosenberg, Texas, U.S.A.

Interpreting Scripture the Correct Way

I am a great admirer of your magazine, JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE, and I pass it on to all my English-speaking friends.

Let me add that your book, *Understanding the Difficult Words of Jesus*, plus the first issue of your magazine, has changed the way we interpret Scripture. As a pastor of a small messianic congregation, interpreting Scripture the correct way is extremely important—at least for me.

Pastor Julio Dam
Asunción, Paraguay



A second revised edition of Understanding the Difficult Words of Jesus: New Insights from a Hebraic Perspective *by Roy B. Blizzard and David Bivin appeared in 1994. Readers can order the 172-page book ($9.99) from the publishers: Destiny Image Publishers, P.O. Box 310, Shippensburg, PA 17257-0310, U.S.A. (Tel. 800-722-6774); and Center for Judaic-Christian Studies, P.O. Box 293040, Dayton, OH 45429, U.S.A. (Tel. 513-434-4550). The book can also be ordered from any of the Jerusalem School's affiliates (see page 9).* **– Ed.**

Two Greek Words for "Love"

I find JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE extremely interesting and a great help in teaching in a Bible college in Germany.

I write now regarding the text of John 21:15–17. In the Greek text Jesus uses ἀγαπάω (agapaō) for the Greek verb "love," but Peter uses φιλέω (phileō) in his reply. The explanation often given is that the first word means a higher, truer love, whereas the second word means only to be fond of. It is certain that Jesus and Peter were not talking Greek! My question is: Does Hebrew have two words that would differentiate between the love of Christ for Peter and Peter's love for Christ?

By the way, on Easter Sunday when I was preaching to a deaf congregation, I was again impressed that the mother tongue of Mary, possibly not a well-educated woman, was Hebrew (Jn. 20:16). The Greek text has "Hebrew," but, strangely, the *New International Version* chose to translate "Aramaic."

Dr. William H. Pape
St. Catharines, Ontario
Canada

Only in the first and second "Do you love me?" addressed to Peter did Jesus use the verb ἀγαπάω (agapaō). *In the third address, Jesus used the verb* φιλέω (phileō), *the same verb Peter used in each of his responses. In answer to your question, "No, Hebrew, unlike Greek, does not have two words for "love," and this is one of myriad indications that the gospel of John was originally composed in Greek.* **– Ed.**

Eternal Forgiveness of Sin Through Yeshua?

I am the Congregational Leader of The Synagogue of Yeshua the Messiah. Recently in my life I have come to the conclusion that the Messiah did

JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE welcomes letters and faxes to the editor. We will use this column to share as many of our readers' comments, queries and requests as possible.

Direct your letters to:
JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE
P.O. Box 31820
91317 Jerusalem
Israel

Our fax number is 972-2-335566.

Correspondence may be edited for clarity or space.

JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE Bulk Rates

Distribute JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE in your church (with your minister's permission, of course) or organization, and to your friends. Take advantage of our bulk rates (prices include postage):

2–5 copies
US$7.50 – £5.00 – NIS19.00 each

6–10 copies
US$7.00 – £4.70 – NIS17.75 each

11–20 copies
US$6.50 – £4.35 – NIS16.50 each

21–50 copies
US$6.00 – £4.00 – NIS15.25 each

51 or more copies
US$5.50 – £3.70 – NIS14.00 each

Send your order to:
JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE,
P.O. Box 31820,
91317 Jerusalem, Israel.
Tel. 972-2-335544.
Fax 972-2-335566.
JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE accepts the following credit cards: VISA, MasterCard, Diners Club, American Express, Eurocard and Isracard.

not die for the eternal forgiveness of sins as Christianity portrays. I do not believe that the *Brit Hadashah* [New Testament] is Scripture or Yeshua [Jesus] is G-d.

Christianity believes that man was separated from G-d when Adam and Eve sinned in the Garden. I do not. If they were separated from G-d, then why did He cover them with the hides of animals? Surely this is an act of compassion. Sin does affect your relationship with G-d, but it does not seem to sever it.

Some people say that animal sacrifices before Yeshua were not for forgiveness of sins. But how can that be? Clearly G-d said that by performing animal sacrifices the people's sins would be forgiven (Lev. 4:20, 26, 35; 5:10, 13; 19:22; Num. 14:19; 15:25, 28). Now the rabbis understood that it was what was in the heart that determined whether the sin was forgiven. In other words, did the person truly repent. This is shown in 2 Samuel 12:11–14 where David asks G-d to forgive him and Nathan tells him G-d has forgiven him. There were no animals sacrificed.

Ezekiel 40–48 describe the millennial temple. It has never been built, yet there are sin offerings being performed by and for people. Why are sacrifices being performed for forgiveness of sin in the millennium if the Messiah died for our eternal sins?

Boyd K. Fasick
Colorado Springs
Colorado, U.S.A.

Share new insights into the life and words of Jesus . . .

One of the most effective ways you can help us share more about the Jewish background to Jesus and his teaching is by making sure that JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE is available in libraries.

A copy of *JP* in a library may be read by hundreds of people. There are still scores of libraries that are not subscribers—college, university, seminary and Bible school libraries. Many would happily subscribe, if they knew about *JP*. JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE is the only English-language periodical that concentrates solely on the presentation of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels.

Do not overlook local public libraries. Also, many churches have large libraries and are looking for new acquisitions.

The quickest way to introduce JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE to a library is to give a gift subscription. Because *JP* is a periodical, chances are good that the library will continue to subscribe after your gift subscription expires. Your gift will be a seed that will continue to grow. Of course, we'll send an announcement informing the library of your gift.

It takes more time, but you can be just as effective by contacting librarians—by letter, telephone or in person—and mentioning JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE. Show the librarian a copy of *JP*, if possible. Don't forget that *JP* is indexed in *New Testament Abstracts, Religious and Theological Abstracts, Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus and International Review of Biblical Studies.*

Remember that gift subscriptions are now only half the regular price—US$18 or £12. Giving all the back issues of JP will make it even more likely that a library will want to continue receiving JP.

. . . by introducing others to JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE.

Affiliates of the Jerusalem School

The Jerusalem School's U.S. affiliates are: **Center for Judaic-Christian Studies**, P.O. Box 293040, Dayton, OH 45429 (Tel. 513-434-4550; Fax 513-439-0230); **Centre for the Study of Biblical Research**, P.O. Box 2050, Redlands, CA 92373 (Tel. 909-793-4669; Fax 909-793-1071); and **HaKesher**, 9939 S. 71st East Ave., Tulsa, OK 74133 (Tel. 918-298-2515; Fax 918-298-8816).

The Jerusalem School's U.K. affiliate is: **CFI Communications**, 15 Teddington Business Park, Station Road, Teddington, Middx., TW11 9BQ (Tel. 0181-943-0363; Fax 0181-943-3767).

Center for Judaic-Christian Studies

The Center for Judaic-Christian Studies, directed by Dwight Pryor, is a non-profit organization that seeks to cultivate among Christians an appreciation of their Hebrew heritage. A founding member of the Jerusalem School, Dwight believes that to explore and understand the Jewish roots of the Christian faith is to expand and enrich the Christian experience. This premise is at the heart of the educational endeavors of the Center.

The Center has produced a 13-part television series, "The Quest: The Jewish Jesus"; published books, such as the award-winning *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible* (Mazar, Doubleday), and the best-selling *Our Father Abraham: Jewish Roots of the Christian Faith* (Wilson, Eerdmans); sponsored scholarly research in Israel; and conducted national conferences, seminars and lectures in churches of all denominations.

Centre for the Study of Biblical Research

The Centre for the Study of Biblical Research (C.S.B.R.), directed by Dr. William Bean, was founded in 1984 to augment the work of the Jerusalem School. C.S.B.R.'s initial focus was to generate funds to purchase computer equipment for the School. (For the first years of the School's existence, C.S.B.R. was the School's only source of financial support.) C.S.B.R. now publishes *Fluent Biblical and Modern Hebrew*, a home-study Hebrew course, and acts as JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE's U.S. subscription office. C.S.B.R. organizes conferences and seminars, and recently has established several synoptic gospel study groups that meet monthly in the southern California area. Dr. Bean's book, *New Treasures: A Perspective of New Testament Teachings Through Hebraic Eyes*, was recently published by Cornerstone Press.

Derek White, ready for action at CFI Communications.

HaKesher

HaKesher (Hebrew for "the Connection") is directed by Ken and Lenore Mullican. Ken is a microbiology supervisor. Lenore, the daughter of Dr. Robert Lindsey, is a faculty member at Oral Roberts University. She grew up in Israel and is fluent in Hebrew.

HaKesher's principal objectives are to foster awareness of the Jewish roots of the Christian faith, promote teaching of the Hebrew language and culture in the local church as an aid to in-depth Bible study, and serve as a clearinghouse of information for people and organizations interested in a Hebraic perspective. HaKesher devotes much of its efforts to disseminating the writings, lectures and sermons of Robert Lindsey. For example, it is possible to obtain from HaKesher cassette tapes of sermons Robert Lindsey preached in Jerusalem in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

CFI Communications

CFI Communications, directed by Derek White, is the U.K. office of Christian Friends of Israel. Among CFI's main objectives are to impart to Christians an understanding of their Jewish roots and of modern Israel, and counter anti-Judaism embedded in Christian preaching, teaching and thinking. CFI directs much of its efforts toward education, publishing a bimonthly newsletter and monthly digest of current events in and around Israel, and producing videos and cassette tapes. CFI has also developed a wide range of practical assistance projects in Israel.

Paraphrastic Gospels

by Robert L. Lindsey

As Robert Lindsey realized in 1962, Mark reworked Luke's gospel in writing his own. Mark liked to substitute synonyms for nearly anything that Luke wrote. If, for instance, Luke used the singular of a noun, Mark substituted the plural form of the same noun in writing his gospel. And vice versa: if Luke used the plural, Mark substituted the singular. In this article, Robert Lindsey surveys a unique substitution category found in Mark's gospel: the replacing of one verse of Scripture with another.

ALFRED BIERNHEIM

The four Evangelists of the Greek New Testament, though concurring at many points, demonstrate a remarkable degree of disparity when retelling their versions of the life of Jesus. This is especially true of Mark and John.[1] Their accounts are very early Greek paraphrases of the gospel records.[2] Mark's gospel predates John's by about forty years, and it will be the Markan paraphrastic method that will occupy our attention here.

When reading Matthew, Mark and Luke in modern translation, a reader generally cannot see the differences in wording of the underlying Greek texts. This is because the differences are often synonymic. If perceptible at all, they can easily escape notice. In scores of places, where Luke used a certain word or phrase, Mark used an equivalent, but different word or phrase. The best way to grasp how Mark operates is to look at examples from the gospels themselves.

Markan Synonyms

In Matthew 9:1–8, Mark 2:1–12 and Luke 5:17–26, there is a story about a paralytic who is carried to Jesus on some sort of stretcher. Matthew and Luke agree against Mark that the paralytic was carried on a κλίνη (*klinē*).[3] Mark has chosen κράβαττος (*krabattos*) as a synonym.[4] The variance is reflected in the *New American Standard Bible*. *Klinē* is translated as "bed" and *krabattos* as "pallet."

Added Detail and Dramatization

A slightly different example is found in the story about the woman with a hemorrhage. Matthew 9:20 and Luke 8:44 both say that the woman "came up behind him and touched the fringe of his garment," whereas Mark 5:27 says that "she came up behind him in the crowd and touched his garment." In this case, the slight change from προσελθοῦσα (*proselthousa*, coming, approaching) to ἐλθοῦσα (*elthousa*, coming) is not reflected in English translations;[5] but Mark's addition of ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ (*en tō ochlō*, in the crowd) and omission of τοῦ κρασπέδου (*tou kraspedou*, the fringe) are.[6] Furthermore, Mark 5:26 includes details that are absent in Matthew and Luke: the woman "had suffered much under many physicians, and had spent everything she had, but instead of getting better she grew worse." These added details are characteristic of Mark's method. He enjoys enriching his story with vivid tidbits of information. In Mark 1:41 he reports that Jesus was moved with compassion; in Mark 4:38, that Jesus was fast asleep on a cushion; in Mark 6:39, that the people sat on green grass; and in Mark 6:13, that the twelve anointed the sick with oil.[7]

Replacement of Scripture Quotations

The above synonymic interchanges and supplemental details are mild examples of Mark's paraphrastic tendencies. To catch a glimpse of more dramatic ways in which Mark paraphrastically handled his primary written source (i.e., Luke's gospel), we need only examine Mark's quotations from Scripture. When Luke quotes from Scripture, Mark usually cites a different verse or alters Luke's verse by expanding or changing certain of its features.

Isaiah or Malachi?

At the beginning of all three synoptic gospels, John's preparatory ministry is described. To clarify John's role, Luke quotes from Isaiah 40:3–5. He specifically informs the reader that the quotation comes from the prophet Isaiah. Mark, too, says that he is quoting from Isaiah, but only includes Isaiah 40:3. Perhaps compensating for the dropping of Isaiah 40:4–5, Mark inserts (before the quotation from Isaiah!), "Behold, I send my messenger before your face, who will prepare your way." For one reason or another Mark does not inform the reader that he has introduced Malachi 3:1 into a context supposedly representing what was said by Isaiah.

What motivated Mark to do such a thing? It appears that Mark has been influenced by a second gospel story that speaks about John the Baptist. In Luke 7:27, Jesus claimed John to be the one whom the prophet Malachi described. Despite the fact that John did not formally join Jesus' movement, Jesus strongly affirmed John's ministry by saying that "none of those 'born of women' is greater than John." Having been impressed by such marvelous statements about John, Mark lifted Malachi 3:1 from this second John the Baptist context. When he placed the Malachi verse from Luke 7:27 into the first John the Baptist context of Luke 3:4, he inadvertently ended up suggesting that the

Page 11:
Late third-century fresco from the catacombs in Rome depicting the woman who touched one of the tassels (tsitsiyot) of Jesus' garment.

compound reference stems from Isaiah. Note also that Mark chose to drop, in its entirety, the second John the Baptist context at the place where Jesus affirms John's role of heralding the Coming One.[8] The placement of the Malachi verse at the beginning of his gospel in the context of John's preaching and baptizing activities strongly suggests that Mark knew the material preserved in Luke 7:24–35, but opted not to include it in his retelling of the gospel story. Instead, he merely hinted at Jesus' affirming witness of John by relocating a key verse.

Psalms or Isaiah?

According to Luke 3:22, the heavenly voice at Jesus' baptism quoted Psalms 2:7: "You are my son. Today I have begotten you."[9] According to Mark 1:11, however, the heavenly voice said: "You are my son, my beloved. With you I am well pleased," which is apparently a combination of Psalms 2:7, Isaiah 44:2 and 62:4.[10]

Psalms 31 or 22?

The last words Jesus spoke on the cross are not identical in the first three gospels. Luke records that Jesus quoted from Psalms 31:5: "Into your hands [literally, 'hand'] I entrust my spirit. You will redeem me, O LORD; you are a faithful God."[11] Mark, however, writes that Jesus quoted in Aramaic from Psalm 22:1: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? Why are you far from delivering me, from the words

ROWOHLT ARCHIVES

Earliest known depiction of Jesus' baptism. After immersing himself, Jesus climbs out of the Jordan River with John the Baptist's assistance. A dove hovers in the upper left corner of the photograph. This fresco was found in the late second-century crypt of Lucina in the catacombs of Rome.

of my groaning?"[12] Mark's version is certainly difficult to grapple with theologically. Did God abandon Jesus? Or is this simply another example of Mark's editorial replacement habit? Throughout his gospel Mark does portray Jesus as being abandoned by family members, trusted disciples, and here, perhaps, even by God.

As Shmuel Safrai has noted, "It seems likely that Jesus, who in the last days before his crucifixion had already told his disciples of his impending death and its meaning, would recite in his final moments the verse from Psalm 31, 'Into your hands I entrust my spirit,' rather than the verse from Psalm 22, 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?'"[13] Luke has preserved a magnificent glimpse of Jesus as an observant Jew. Psalms 31:5 is even today still part of the standard, Jewish deathbed confession.[14] This prayer is exactly what one would anticipate on the lips of a dying, observant Jew.

Editorial Changes

These differences between Mark and Luke in quotations of Scripture appear to be due to the editorial changes of one of the authors. In nearly every case, evidence exists suggesting that Luke's text is earlier, more Hebraic, or more comprehensible. To my mind, Mark had Luke's gospel before him as he wrote and did not hesitate to lace the story with additional elements.

Conclusion

How does Mark's paraphrastic habit affect our perception of the formation of Scripture? Ancient Jews, including the followers of Jesus, did not make the often arbitrary distinction moderns make between translation and interpretation.[15] This ancient attitude can be readily seen when we study the Septuagint and targums vis-à-vis the Hebrew Masoretic Text. The Septuagint and targums are as much paraphrastic interpretations as they are translations. The eminent Jewish scholar, Saul Lieberman, once described the Septuagint as the oldest of the preserved *midrashim*.[16] Moreover, Josephus, a famous contemporary of Mark, claimed in his *Jewish Antiquities* to be recording in Greek a precise account of Israel's history based upon the Hebrew Scriptures themselves,[17] but according to modern standards, produced a free, paraphrastic retelling of the biblical narrative.

Thus, Mark's manner of writing should neither surprise nor undermine our concept of the formation of Scripture. Rather, our concept of the formation of Scripture must be broad enough and sufficiently informed to accommodate Mark's methods. The ancient records indicate that Jews and Christians living in the first two centuries of this era embraced an understanding of inspiration of Scripture that was broader and less rigid than that embraced by many Christians today. Our views of inspiration often place demands on the synoptic gospels that they were never intended to bear. The Jesus who is forced out of the text under such demands tends to have a steamrolled appearance. He usually resembles one of us—a good Baptist, Mennonite, Methodist, Nazarene, Pentecostal, or whatever the denominational orientation of the reader may be. To correct our habits, we must strive to see the gospels as an organic part of Second Temple-period Judaism's rich diversity. Only then can we come to terms with Mark's method and begin to bring the demands we place on the gospel texts in line with those they are able to bear. JP

*Out of esteem for our teacher, Robert Lindsey, we have collaborated to make this article and his "Unlocking the Synoptic Problem" (*JP *49 [Oct.–Dec. 1995], 10–17, 38) available to readers of* Jerusalem Perspective. *These articles mark the end of Robert Lindsey's scholarly career. With his health waning and incapacitated by a series of strokes that accompanied the diabetes from which he suffered, Dr. Lindsey was able to complete only a first or second draft of each article. Though we could not preserve Dr. Lindsey's writing style, great effort was made to preserve faithfully the content of his articles. We are responsible for the articles' conclusions and endnotes. – Joseph Frankovic and David Bivin*

1. A rule of thumb is: Opposite a parallel story in Luke, Mark will change up to fifty percent of Luke's words; where Matthew has a story parallel to Mark, Matthew will copy about seventy percent of the words found in Mark, but give, against Mark, about ten percent of the words Luke uses; where John has a story parallel to one found in the synoptic tradition, he will have phrases reflecting one or more of the synoptic documents, resulting in a mixing of the words, especially the words of Mark and Luke—less often copying readings from Matthean parallels.

2. One helpful way of viewing John's gospel is in light of the Book of Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy is a retelling of the Exodus and wilderness experience. It is a theological reflection on the past and a restating of the commandments, to prepare the Israelites for the transition from a nomadic to an agriculturally based, sedentary lifestyle. In particular, certain aspects of the biblical commandments were developed and emphasized to meet new challenges. The gospel of John is similar. It represents a theological development in the presentation of who Jesus is. Moreover, John's method

is freer than Mark's.

3. Cf. Mt. 9:2 with Lk. 5:18, and Mt. 9:6 with Lk. 5:24. In Lk. 5:24 the word κλινίδιον (*klinidion*, a little bed), the diminutive of κλίνη (*klinē*), is used.

4. Cf. Mk. 2:4, 11.

5. The change from *proselthousa* to *elthousa* in Mk. 5:27 and the change from *klinē* to *krabattos* in Mk. 2:1–12, both examples from the triple tradition, are places where Matthew and Luke agree against Mark. Such agreements are termed "minor agreements" by scholars. For the significance of these minor agreements against Mark, see Nigel Turner, "The Minor Verbal Agreements of Mt. and Lk. Against Mk.," *Studia Evangelica* 73 (1959), 223–234; and E. P. Sanders, "The Overlaps of Mark and Q and the Synoptic Problem," *New Testament Studies* 19 (1973), 453–465.

6. The Greek κράσπεδον (*kraspedon*) is used in the Septuagint to translate the Hebrew צִיצִת (*tsi·TSIT*, tassel). Cf. Numbers 15:38. Matthew and Luke make clear that the woman touched the braided tassels that were attached to the corners of an observant Jew's garment.

7. Some scholars term the additional details provided by Mark "Markan freshness" and view such additions as evidence of the primitive nature or originality of Mark. These extra details, however, are often lifted from other books of the New Testament or the Septuagint. Already at the turn of this century Benjamin Bacon had noticed Mark's habit of lifting material from other sources. See Bacon's comments to Mark 1:1 (Hosea 1:2, LXX), Mark 1:13 (Naphtali 8:4), Mark 6:13 (James 5 :14), Mark 6:23 (Esther 5:3), and Mark 7:19 (Acts 10:15, 11:9) in *The Beginnings of the Gospel Story: A Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Sources and Structure of the Gospel According to Mark, with Expository notes upon the text, for English Readers* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1909), pp. 8, 13, 66, 75, 89.

8. Cf. Mt. 11:7–19 and Lk. 7:24–35.

9. In most English translations all three synoptic writers appear to agree upon the words of the heavenly voice: "You are my son, my beloved. With you I am well pleased." Yet, there is a variant reading for Lk. 3:22. This reading is attested by the fifth–sixth-century Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis manuscript, the Old Latin manuscripts, the Gospel of the Ebionites, and by several church fathers. The variant reading is, "You are my son. Today I have begotten you." This is a quotation from Ps. 2:7 and is much more suitable in the context of Jesus' baptism, the commencement of Jesus' public ministry. Luke's text was likely "corrected" by a scribe to bring it into alignment with Mt. 3:17 and Mk. 1:11. This scribal tendency of aligning the wording of one synoptic text with the other two can be seen in numerous places, if we pay close attention to the readings of the various New Testament manuscripts.

For a discussion of this variant reading, see Alfred R. C. Leaney, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke, in Black's New Testament Commentaries* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1958), pp. 110–111. Though agreeing with the editors of the United Bible Societies' third corrected edition, who accept the reading, "You are my son, my beloved. With you I am well pleased," Joseph A. Fitzmyer has a helpful discussion of the variant in *The Gospel According to Luke (I–IX), The Anchor Bible*, Vol. 28 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981), p. 485.

10. Mark may have been influenced by Lk. 20:13 in his choice of "beloved."

11. Lk. 23:46.

12. Mk. 15:34.

13. Shmuel Safrai, "Spoken Languages in the Time of Jesus," *Jerusalem Perspective* 30 (Jan./Feb. 1991), 8. Note that Stephen also quoted from Ps. 31:5 as he was being put to death (Acts 7:59; cf. Jn. 19:30), and Peter exhorted those who were sharing the sufferings of Jesus to commit their souls to God (1 Pet. 4:19).

READING SYNOPTICALLY

To adequately study the synoptic gospels, one needs a synopsis. Without such a tool, studying three gospels at the same time can be a frustrating experience. When comparing parallel stories in the double and triple traditions, one simply does not have enough fingers to mark all the pages. A synopsis makes the task much more bearable because the texts of Matthew, Mark and Luke are displayed in parallel columns on the same page. Probably the most user-friendly synopsis is the edition by Burton H. Throckmorton, *A Synopsis of the First Three Gospels*, 4th rev. ed. (Toronto, Camden and London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1994). – ***Ed.***

14. Cf. *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, ed. Joseph H. Hertz, rev. ed. (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1948), p. 1065.

15. See Joseph Frankovic, "Pieces to the Synoptic Puzzle: Papias and Luke 1:1–4," *Jerusalem Perspective* 40 (1993), 12–13.

16. Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, in *Greek in Jewish Palestine / Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1994), p. 50.

17. *Antiq.* 1:5, 17.

Gergesa, Gerasa, or Gadara?

Where Did Jesus' Miracle Occur?

by Ze'ev Safrai

Christian tradition, at least since the fourth century, has identified Kursi-Gergesa with the miracle of the swine. But can this tradition be trusted? An Israeli geographer-historian gives us his answer.

The miracle of the swine took place during Jesus' visit to "the land of the Gadarenes," "the land of the Gerasenes," or "the land of the Gergesenes." All three of these New Testament variants have solid textual support. On the basis of the textual evidence alone, we cannot determine which of these variants is the original in any of the three synoptic versions.[1] Despite this frustrating textual problem, we can determine, on the basis of geographical considerations, the location of the miracle. We are confronted by two questions. First, where did the miracle happen, or, what site did believers connect with the miracle? Second, how reliable, in this instance, is Christian tradition? Did second- and third-century Christian communities have accurate traditions about the deeds of Jesus? Before we launch into a geographical discussion, we must survey what early Christian writers had to say about the miracle of the swine.

JANET FRANKOVIC

Left:
Remains of the western section of Kursi harbor's breakwater (view to the north).

Below:
The breakwater at Kursi harbor, and in the distance, the ridge down which the swine may have stampeded.

JANET FRANKOVIC

Origen, Eusebius and Saba

Origen (3rd century) identifies Gergesa, an "ancient city" in the vicinity of the "Sea of Tiberias," as the site of the miracle of the swine. "Sea of Tiberias" is also the name used for the Sea of Galilee in second-century rabbinic literature; hence, Origen has preserved historically reliable details.[2]

Eusebius (4th century) contradicts himself: in one place he identifies a village named Gergesa beside Lake Tiberias as the site of Jesus' miracle,[3] while immediately before he mentions Gadara, apparently commenting on one reading of Matthew 8:28 that has "Gadara."[4] In still another place, treating the name *Girgashi* (the land of the Girgashites) mentioned in Deuteronomy 7:1, Eusebius noted that "others say that it is Gadara."[5] Thus, it would seem that Eusebius identified *Girgashi* with Gadara. Eusebius, however, sometimes mentions towns and villages that existed in his day, because of some similarity to a biblical site, without equating the two places; therefore, Eusebius may not necessarily be equating Gadara with *Girgashi*.

Eusebius' writings give us the impression that he was acquainted with the textual variants "Gadara" and "Gergesa." He locates the miracle of the swine at a village somewhere on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee, but perhaps also implies that the miracle's setting was the Greek city of Gadara.

By the sixth century Kursi, on the eastern shore of the lake, was widely recognized as the site of the miracle, and an important monastery was built there. According to Cyril of Scythopolis, the monk Saba came to pray at this monastery.[6] But can we be sure that the Kursi tradition was transmitted faithfully from generation to generation for centuries? Perhaps the miracle had been relocated by local Christians?

Geographical Considerations

Origen was correct when he said that Gerasa does not lie beside the Sea of Galilee, and that, therefore, the miracle of the swine could not have taken place in Gerasa because the pigs rushed down a steep bank into the lake. Furthermore, many scholars question whether the territory of Gadara extended to the lake's shore—the Yarmuk River, which south of the lake enters the Jordan River from the east, is generally assumed to constitute the boundary between the territory of Gadara (south of the Yarmuk) and the territory of Susita (north of the Yarmuk). However, Hammath Gader (meaning, the hot springs of Gader) lies north of the Yarmuk. As its name shows, Hammath Gader belonged to the territory of Gader (= Gadara); accordingly, Gadara's territory must have extended north of the Yarmuk. Nevertheless, I am not thoroughly convinced that Gadara's territory extended to the lake's shore.

In rabbinic sources, Kefar Tsemah is included in a list of towns in the "territory of Susita."[7] The list also appears in a sixth-century inscription discovered near Tell Rehov in the Beth Shean Valley.[8] In this context, the term "territory" is likely used in an administrative sense. The exact location of Kefar Tsemah is not certain, but, apparently, it was located between Hammath Gader and the lake, perhaps next to Kibbutz Haon. At that point on the lake's coast there was a large harbor that would naturally have served as Gadara's port. Though visited by vessels transporting goods to and from Gadara, geographically and administratively the port belonged to Susita's territory; consequently, we should not expect the gospels to refer to this area as "the land of the Gadarenes." Though the rabbinic list of towns in the territory of Susita dates from about the second century, I doubt that there were changes in the area's administrative structure between the first and second centuries.

The Graves of Gog and Magog

Origen mentions an "ancient city" named Gergesa beside the Sea of Galilee. At first glance, one might think that this is only a literary description. The term "ancient city" sounds suspect, yet Origen has accurately described the Gergesa of his day, as the following midrash proves:

> R. Nehemiah said: "When the Holy One, blessed is he, shows Israel the graves of Gog and Magog, the feet of the Shechinah will be on the Mount of Olives and the graves of Gog and Magog will be open from south of the Kidron Valley to Gergeshta on the eastern side of Lake Tiberias. And he came until he entered [*nichnesah*; read instead, "Naosa," i.e., Nysa Scythopolis]."[9]

According to this midrash, the graves of Gog and Magog will stretch from Jerusalem to Gergeshta (= Gergesa), which is described as a settlement on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee. Thus, we learn that a place called Gergesa really existed east of the lake. Though its location was still known in Origen's time, Gergesa was apparently desolate; therefore,

Origen called it "an ancient city."

Origen's description of Gergesa enables us to understand how variants of "Gergesenes" arose in the gospel texts. Originally, the reading was "the land of the Gergesenes." Then, the unknown "Gergesenes" was corrected to the known "Gerasenes," residents of the famous Hellenistic city Gerasa. Those who were acquainted with the land, however, knew that Gerasa was a great distance from the Sea of Galilee; as a result, the text was "corrected" to "Gadarenes," residents of another famous city whose suburbs were located close to the Sea of Galilee.

Incidentally, here we have an illustration of a well-documented philological tendency: in the copying of ancient texts, an unknown name will almost always be "corrected" to a known name. In the case of Gergesenes-Gerasenes-Gadarenes, therefore, we should prefer the less known place-name (Gergesa) over those that are better known (Gerasa and Gadara).

Summary

In the first century, there was a town on the eastern coast of the Sea of Galilee called Gergesa, or Gergeshta. Later, this place appeared as Kursia or Kursi in the accounts of Cyril of Scythopolis, and as Karshin in talmudic literature. Apparently, both pronunciations were used concurrently. When the miracle of the swine was first recounted, the audience probably was already acquainted with the midrash in Song of Songs Zuta that mentions Gergeshta. If so, this adds a new dimension to the story: Jesus performed a miracle at a site that was to play a significant role in the messianic age. The place-name was not mentioned solely out of geographical concerns, but to portray Jesus' deed as part of a greater messianic task.

To what extent did the early Christian community succeed in accurately transmitting the location of events in Jesus' life from generation to generation? This question has not received sufficient scholarly attention.[10] Here, however, we have shown that in at least one case—that Kursi-Gergesa was the scene of Jesus' miracle of the swine—the community accurately transmitted the name of a miracle site.[11] Apparently, Christian residents of Galilee, familiar with local geography, faithfully preserved this tradition.

Kursi continued to serve as a Christian holy place even after the Muslim conquest in 637. Numismatic evidence testifies that the site was still functioning as a holy place at the end of the seventh century. Nevertheless, most Christian pilgrims did not mention Kursi in their journals, suggesting that they did not visit it as part of their itinerary. One pilgrim who did visit Kursi was St. Saba. Another was St. Willibald, who visited the land about 724–730.[12] Kursi also appears in Eutyches of Alexandria's list of holy places (10th cent.), and in a list of Jewish holy places (8th–9th cent.). This still unpublished list of Jewish holy places, found in the Parma Library's manuscript 1087/9, mentions "the memorial of Jonadab ben [son of] Rechab in Kursia." The document's contents, especially the term "memorial," identify it as the earliest known list of Jewish holy places. Although needing further study, the list is proof that Jews took over an abandoned Christian holy place in Kursi and converted it into a tomb commemorating the biblical hero, Jonadab son of Rechab. In the eighth century, both the Christian and Jewish inhabitants deserted Kursi. With their departure, Kursi's holy sites became relics of the past. JP

Map of the ancient villages and cities bordering the Sea of Galilee

1. Mt. 8:28; Mk. 5:1; Lk. 8:26. For a discussion of the site, see C. Kopp, *Die heiligen Staetten der Evangelien* (Regensburg, 1959), pp. 282–287.

2. Origen to John 6:41, chpt. 24.

3. Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 74.16.

4. Eusebius' wording and explanation are very similar to the words of Origen, suggesting interdependency. Both authors may have used the same lost geographical lexicon.

5. Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 64.1.

6. Cyril of Scythopolis 108.14.

7. Tosefta, Shevi'it 4:10; Jerusalem Talmud, Demai 23d.

8. Y. Sussmann, "A Halakhic Inscription from the Beth Shean Valley," *Tarbiz* 43 (1974), 123 (Hebrew).

9. Song of Songs Zuta 1.4 (p. 11).

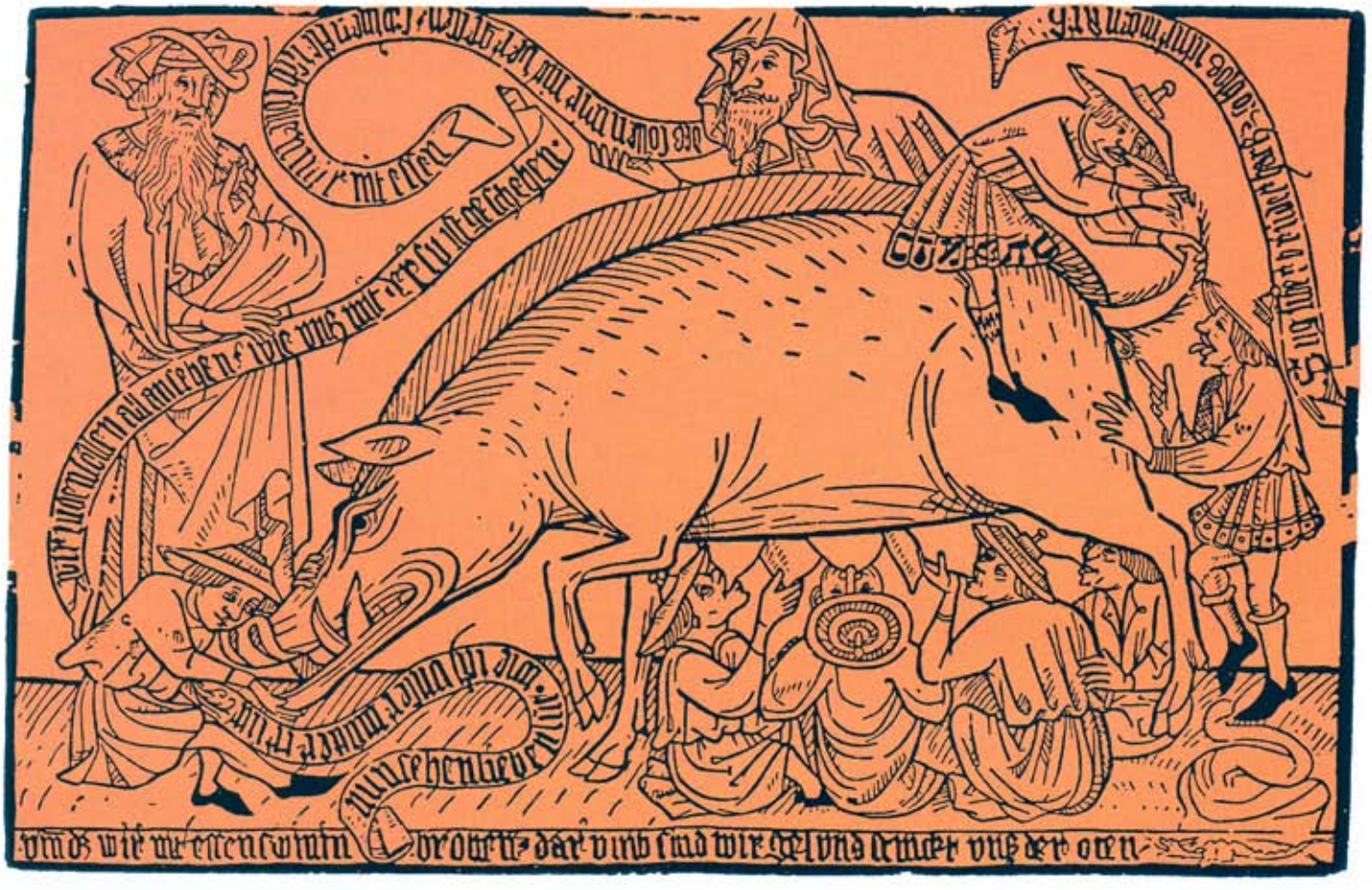
10. For a preliminary discussion of holy places in Jerusalem, see J. Wilkinson, "Christian Pilgrims in Jerusalem during the Byzantine Period," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 108 (1976), 75–101.

11. An alternate Christian tradition, transmitted by Eusebius, places the miracle at Gadara. In my opinion, this identification represents a later development.

12. A reliable history of Willibald's travels was written by a nun named Hugeburc. See J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims* (Jerusalem, 1977), p. 128.

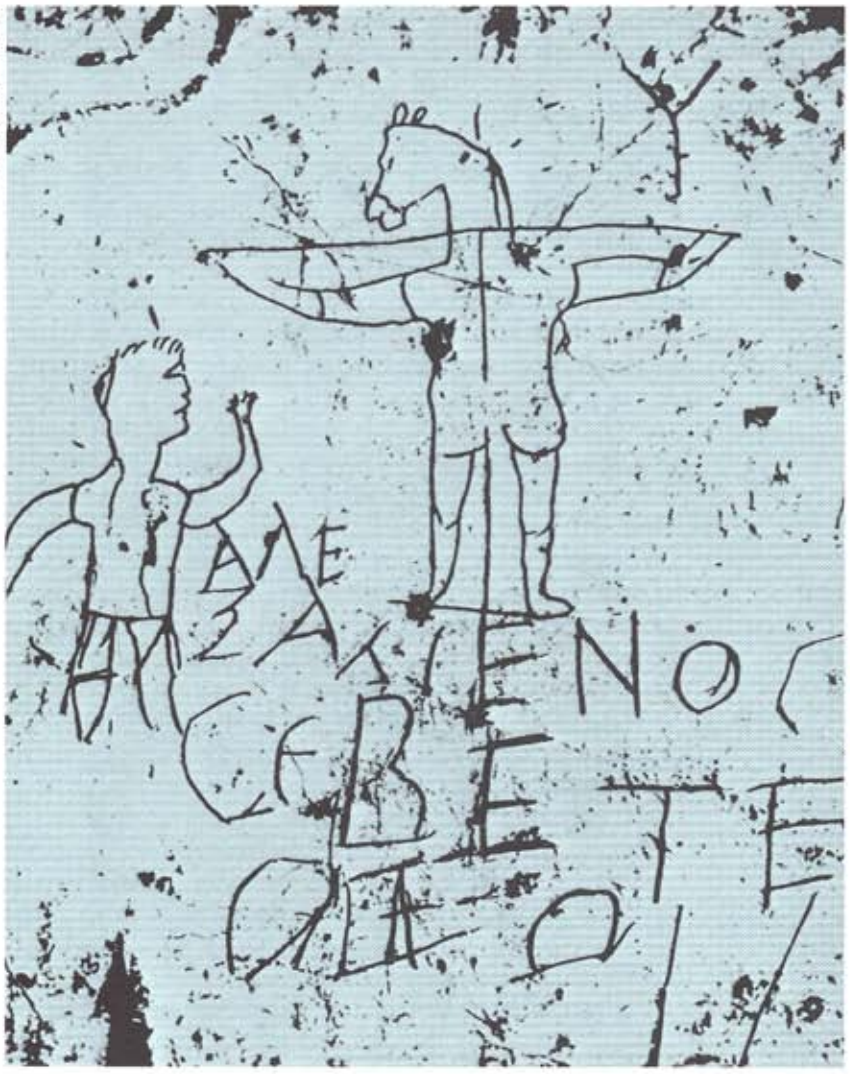
anti-jewish tendencies in the synoptic gospels

by R. Steven Notley



The scourge of anti-Semitism has not departed from the Church. Though recently there have been encouraging signs, many Christians still harbor prejudice against Jews. The synoptic gospels may have helped spawn this prejudice. They may even play a continuing role in perpetuating it.

PHOTO CIRITH, JERUSALEM



Above:
The Crucified One portrayed with the head of an ass. Graffito from the third century deriding both Christianity and Judaism. Jesus was depicted as having an ass' head because of the ancient pagan libel that the Jews worship an ass. Interestingly, in the third century, at least one pagan still realized Jesus was a Jew.

Right:
The earliest known English depiction of a Jew. This caricature from the Forest Roll of Essex (1277) bears the superscription Aaron fil[ius] diaboli ***("Aaron, son of the Devil").***

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

Was Jesus anti-Semitic? Did he actually reject particular aspects of his own Jewishness? Some verses in the gospels do appear anti-Jewish. However, did these anti-Jewish tendencies begin with Jesus and his followers or did they originate elsewhere? A thorough examination of the gospels reveals that not all of the accounts are identical in their presentation of Jesus and his contemporaries. Each of the writers has left his own individual style on his composition. In this study we will carefully consider the differing accounts in hope of determining whether anti-Jewish or anti-Judaistic sentiments belonged to Jesus and his first followers. For the purposes of the study I have ordered the gospels according to their increasing anti-Jewish sentiment.

Lukan Reflections of a Persecuted Church

Conflict between Jesus and his Jewish contemporaries is rare in Luke. Over half of the instances where Luke portrays Jesus dining, it is as a guest in the home of a Pharisee, an unlikely scenario if the Pharisees are indeed the enemies of Jesus.[1] Scholars have explained the relative absence of anti-Jewish tensions in Luke's gospel to be a result of the writer's removal of the tensions that were originally part of the stories. Yet, they are at a loss to give a reasonable explanation why Luke would do such a thing.

Two bits of evidence suggest that Luke did not remove the conflicts from the record. Instead, they were likely not there to begin with. First, Luke's record of the speeches in Acts indicates that he was willing to include anti-Jewish rhetoric when he found it in his literary sources.[2] Second, within Luke's gospel itself there is evidence he used more than one source, and these sources present different degrees of religious tension. Luke may be merely passing on the accounts that he received. The best evidence for Luke's multiple sources is what are called by scholars, "Lukan doublets." Doublets are two versions of a single saying.[3] In Luke one of the pair reflects a more Semitic style, while the other is a more refined Greek. What is important for our study is that the Jewish-Christian tensions are more pronounced in the refined Greek version of the saying.[4]

Let us look briefly at the record of Jesus' encouragement to his followers concerning the assistance of the holy spirit:

> And when they bring you before the synagogues and the rulers and the authorities, do not be anxious how or what you are to answer or what you are to say; for the holy spirit will teach you in that very hour what you ought to say. (Lk. 12:11–12)

This saying is a simple assurance by Jesus that if his disciples are required to give an account for their teaching, the holy spirit will assist them. The idea of the holy spirit as a teacher is well-known in first-century Jewish thinking. Jesus' saying fits well within its religious and historical setting. As we shall now see, the saying is reshaped in subsequent versions, both in its form and in its setting.

Mark's Abandoned Holy Man

Mark presents the most strained relationship between Jesus and his contemporaries. From the beginning to the end of his gospel, Jesus must contend with those of "hardness of heart" (Mk. 3:5; 16:14). These conflicts are not the result of an anti-Jewish attitude on the part of Mark, but a part of the literary framework for his gospel. He presents Jesus in the image of the prophet Jeremiah, whose message of repentance was rejected by the Israelite leadership. Likewise, Jesus is on a prophetic mission doomed to failure. A central element in the foreshadowing of his rejection is a gradual abandonment of Jesus by all who are close to him. The fact that the supporting figures in the drama are Jewish is not important for Mark. What is important is that at the point of Jesus' death he is abandoned by everyone. Since much is made of the conflict stories that are the product of Mark's hand, it is important to demonstrate briefly how this motif affects the perception of Jesus' relationship with his Jewish contemporaries.

Page 20:
Fifteenth-century German woodcut of "The Jewish Sow." This early German libel associated Jews with the pig, one of the "unclean" animals prohibited by the Bible. Here, four Jews suckle a sow. A rabbi straddles the sow backwards, sucking her tail.

Page 21:
Woodcut from 1492. Jews desecrating the host at Sternberg.

Luke 21:12–14	Mark 13:9–11	Matthew 10:17–20
But before all this they will lay their hands on you and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and prisons, and you will be brought before kings and governors for my name's sake. This will be a time for you to bear testimony. Settle it therefore in your minds, not to meditate beforehand how to answer....	But take heed to yourselves; for they will deliver you up to councils; and you will be beaten in synagogues; and you will stand before governors and kings for my sake, to bear testimony before them. And the gospel must first be preached to all nations. And when they bring you to trial and deliver you up, do not be anxious beforehand what you are to say; but say whatever is given you in that hour, for it is not you who speak, but the holy spirit.	Beware of men; for they will deliver you up to councils, and flog you in their synagogues, and you will be dragged before governors and kings for my sake, to bear testimony before them and the Gentiles. When they deliver you up, do not be anxious how you are to speak or what you are to say; for what you are to say will be given to you in that hour; for it is not you who speak, but the spirit of your Father speaking through you.

Mark includes details from both members of the Lukan doublet in his version of the saying. For example, the holy spirit, which is central to Luke 12:11–12, is absent in Luke 21:12–14. Yet, it reappears in Mark and Matthew. The eschatological setting, which is important in Luke 21, is emphasized by Mark.[5] These things must take place in order that "the gospel must first be preached in all nations" (13:10). According to Mark, the conflict portrayed with the religious authorities becomes increasingly more violent: Jesus' disciples will be "beaten in the synagogues." We can see that Jesus' saying has undergone significant changes. These alterations may be colored by later violent conflicts between Jesus' followers and Jewish religious authorities.[6] Nevertheless, if we are not careful, we may be distracted from a profound insight by Jesus concerning the teaching work of the holy spirit.[7]

Jesus and His Family

According to Mark there existed considerable tension between Jesus and his family.[8] Only in his gospel do we hear that Jesus' family comes to seize him because they think "he is beside himself" (Mk. 3:19b–21). Mark's presentation of these problems influences his

version of the saying, "*Whoever* does the will of God is my brother, and sister, and mother" (Mk. 3:31–35). Mark widens Jesus' statement to give it a universal application rather than its original, simple reference to his family. Thus, most scholars interpret Jesus' words in Mark as a rejection of his family.[9] Even the United Bible Societies' *Synopsis of the Four Gospels* entitles the account, "Jesus' True Kindred,"[10] as if Jesus attempts to replace his physical family with a spiritual one. His followers now are his *true* family.

We might be tempted to accept Mark's version of Jesus' statement if there was not evidence that differed with Mark's reading. In the parallel in Luke we have a slightly, but distinctively different, form of the saying: "My mother and my brothers [they] are those who hear the word of God and do it" (Lk. 8:21).[11] Some commentaries suggest that we have two independent statements by Jesus. Such an explanation is possible, but I think improbable. Taking into account Mark's overall style of reshaping his material, I believe that Mark changes the saying from its earlier form to fit his theme of "abandonment."

The earlier form of Jesus' saying, preserved in Luke, is part of contemporary Jewish interpretation of the nation's response at Sinai: "And they said, 'All that the LORD has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient'" (*Revised Standard Version*, Exod. 24:7). The sages debated the significance of the reversed word order in the Hebrew passage—literally, "we will do and we will hear." They used the question of order to weigh the relative importance of study and observance of the Torah.[12] Shmuel Safrai has brought to our attention a stream of ancient Jewish piety, the Hasidim, who "maintained that deed is to be preferred even at the expense of Torah study."[13] Jesus' saying indicates his and his family's affirmation of that stream of Jewish thinking which put an emphasis on the observance of the Torah and not merely its study.[14]

Christian receiving a loan from a Jewish moneylender. Woodcut; title page of* Der Judenspiess, *a satirical pamphlet published in Strasbourg in 1541. The caption reproaches the moneylender for his lazy way of making a living.

Jesus and the Disciples

The relationship between Jesus and the disciples is far more confrontational in Mark's gospel. Even Jesus' frustrations with the Twelve, recorded in Matthew 16:7–11, are amplified in Mark. Jesus addresses them in a tone that is normally directed at the unrepentant. They are "hard of heart" (Mk. 6:52; 8:17) and spiritually "blind and deaf" (Mk. 8:18). Neither Matthew nor Luke echo Jesus' caustic tone towards his disciples.

Jesus' most scathing rebuke is reserved for Simon Peter. Prof. David Flusser has mused that for Mark, Peter plays the role of Sherlock Holmes' Dr. Watson. Holmes' associate is eager to speak, but invariably mistaken. Mark (8:32–33) and Matthew (16:22–23) depict Peter taking Jesus aside in an attempt to correct Jesus' notion of his coming passion. Jesus' rebuke of Peter seems unduly harsh.[15] Moreover, few readers take note that Luke has no knowledge of Peter's intervention or Jesus' rebuttal.[16] Instead, Mark's description of an air of bitterness and the lack of understanding by the disciples is his way of preparing the

Epistle of Barnabas

(end 1st–beg. 2nd cent.)

"Take heed to yourselves now, and be not made like unto some, heaping up your sins and saying that the covenant is both theirs [the Jews'] and ours [the Christians']. It is ours."

– Epistle of Barnabas 4:6–7
(trans. *Loeb Classical Library* edition)

reader for events in the Garden of Gethsemane, where even Jesus' disciples will abandon him: "And they all forsook him and fled" (Mk. 14:50; cf. Mt. 26:56).

Jesus and the Pharisees

Mark broadens Jesus' conflicts in order to suggest possible explanations for the tragic events that led to the cross. The Pharisees in Mark's gospel are presented as violently opposed to Jesus' ministry from its beginning. Already in the story of the healing of the man with the withered hand we find the Pharisees and the Herodians "plotting how they might destroy him" (Mk. 3:6).[17]

Mark's presentation of the Pharisees has colored the very thinking and language in Christian societies. In modern-day English the term "Pharisee" carries a derogatory connotation.[18] These assumptions regarding the Pharisees have influenced even the translation of the synoptic parallels to Mark. In the Lukan ending to the same story, the *Revised Standard Version* reads: "But they were filled with *fury* [ἀνοίας, *avoias*] and discussed with one another what they might do *to* Jesus" (Lk. 6:11). Yet, the word ἀνοία (*anoia*) in Greek literature does not mean "fury, anger."[19] It instead denotes "folly, confusion, bafflement." The English translators of Luke have read the Greek text through the eyes of Mark's conclusion. Luke's conclusion, on the other hand, suggests no anger or violence. The expression "what to do *with*..." is an expression we hear elsewhere in the mouth of the high priests who are frustrated with the miracles and teaching of the Apostles (Acts 4:16).[20] Outside of the New Testament, the expression comes on the lips of the Pharisee Shim'on ben Shetah, who is frustrated with a first-century Hasid, Honi the Circle-Drawer (Mishnah, Ta'anit 3:8).[21] In each instance, the expression designates reaction to a miracle performed by someone who has stretched the prevailing thinking of the day. In no instance does it demand, nor even suggest, violent intent. There is no reason to impose the sense of Mark's text on the Greek of Luke's account.[22]

Jesus, the Holy City and the Temple

Mark's hand can again be recognized in his portrayal of Jesus' attitude towards Jerusalem and the temple. In Luke, Jesus laments over Jerusalem on three occasions (Lk. 13:34–35; 19:41–44; 23:28–31). His prophetic message of impending judgment is full of pathos and sorrow. According to Mark, Jesus neither weeps nor laments over Jerusalem. The writer slowly severs Jesus' ties to the nation.

He weaves into his narrative hints to the destruction of Jerusalem that allude to the words and actions of the prophet Jeremiah. The "Parable of the Fig Tree" (Lk. 13:6–9), which communicates God's patience and mercy, becomes in Mark the "Cursing of the Fig Tree" (Mk. 11: 12–14; Mt. 21:18–19). The action against the fig tree recalls the words of Jeremiah, "When I would gather them, says the Lord, there are no grapes on the vine, nor figs on the fig tree; even the leaves are withered..." (Jer. 8:13). Mark intends that Jesus' actions be read as a message of coming judgment against Jerusalem.[23]

Moreover, in Mark's gospel, Jesus' actions in the temple are expanded beyond a protest against injustice by some in the temple precincts to a cessation of the sacrificial system itself.

Illustration from a mid-fifteenth-century German block book. Leading a group of Jews, an Antichrist challenges a Christian preacher.

Luke 19:45–46

And he entered the temple and began to drive out those who sold, saying to them, "It is written, 'My house shall be a house of prayer'; but you have made it a den of robbers."

Mark 11:15–17

And they came to Jerusalem. And he entered the temple and began to drive out those who sold and those who bought in the temple, and he overturned the tables of the money-changers and the seats of those who sold pigeons; and he would not allow anyone to carry anything through the temple. And he taught, and said to them, "Is it not written, 'My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations'? But you have made it a den of robbers."

Scholars usually overlook the fact that according to Luke's account there is no violence in Jesus' protest.[24] Mark records, however, that Jesus overturns tables and chairs. Rather than Luke's "sellers," Mark broadens Jesus' wrath to include "sellers," "buyers" and "money-changers." Finally, of all the gospels, only Mark states that Jesus would not allow anyone to carry anything through the temple. Jesus' actions in effect shut down the temple.[25] He is not protesting misconduct in the temple confines, but the temple system itself.

If Mark's story were all that we possessed, the real significance of Jesus' words and actions might be missed. Jesus' citation of Jeremiah 7:11 is a challenge to the Sadducean priests' complacency and false confidence in the physical presence of the temple.[26] Joseph Frankovic has demonstrated that Jesus' use of Jeremiah's words is a blunt warning clearly understood by those present:[27] If the religious leaders continued to ignore his call to repentance, their role as trustees for the spiritual life of the nation would come to an end.

Ignatius
(c. 36-108)

"It is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practise Judaism. For Christianity did not base its faith on Judaism, but Judaism on Christianity."

– Ignatius, the third bishop of Antioch (*Epistle to the Magnesians* 10:2–3; trans. *Loeb Classical Library* edition)

Jesus in His Passion

Mark's description of the growing hostility toward Jesus from his religious contemporaries dominates his version of the passion narrative. Nevertheless, the Pharisees who are presented as Jesus' main antagonists are strangely absent in the events of Jesus' trial and crucifixion—Mark may have intended to implicate them in his night meeting of "the whole Sanhedrin" (Mk. 14:55; Mt. 26:59)—but his account is not without its problems.

Flusser, in his study on the trial of Jesus, has dealt with the legal problems of a night trial and the extent of the leadership's involvement.[28] He concluded that Luke's narrative provides a more reliable account of those fateful events. According to Luke, Jesus was questioned by the high priest in the morning, not at night (Lk. 22:66). Likewise, Vincent Taylor[29] and Paul Winter[30] have recognized the independent quality of Luke's narrative.

I have addressed elsewhere the issue of the Sanhedrin's role in Jesus' questioning.[31] Luke gives only a single mention of συνέδριον (*synedrion*; Lk. 22:66). This is a reference not to "the council" (סַנְהֶדְרִין [*san·hed·RIN*] or בֵּית דִּין [*bet din*]) but to the council chamber (לִשְׁכַּת הַגָּזִית [*lish·KAT ha·ga·ZIT*]). Thus, Luke's narrative lacks the Jewish legal problems created by Mark's account on both the issue of the time of the questioning and the involvement of "the whole Sanhedrin." Those who meet to question Jesus early on the fifteenth of the Jewish month of Nisan are only a small band of high priests and those related to them in the running of the temple.[32]

One of the most critical points in Mark's passion narrative is his portrayal of the crowds in Jerusalem. The differences in the gospels are stark. In Luke the multitudes who followed Jesus "bewailed and lamented him" (Lk. 23:27). These are not necessarily limited to the followers of Jesus, but include others who were lamenting the fact that another innocent Jew was being led to a horrible death.[33] The people are contrasted with the leaders, the high priests and their entourage, who "scoffed at him" (Lk. 23:35). Even those who were crucified with Jesus were divided in their opinion about him (Lk. 23:39–43).

No such ambivalence exists in Mark. The chief priests have stirred up the crowds. Before the cross the crowds deride Jesus and wag their heads, Markan language borrowed from Psalms 22:8.

Whereas Luke distinguishes between the attitude and actions of the crowds and that of the leadership, Mark presents a picture in which everyone is culpable in the death of Jesus: "So *also* the chief priests mocked him to one another with the scribes."

While Mark's theme of "abandonment" is directed at Jewish figures, it is not necessarily Mark's intent to slander the Jewish people as such. What leads us to this conclusion? According to Mark, not only do Jesus' Jewish contemporaries forsake him, but also his heavenly father. Only Mark records Jesus' Aramaic cry from the cross, "*Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*? [My God, My God, why have you forsaken me?]." We already have noticed that Mark uses language from Psalm 22 to describe the events of Jesus' crucifixion. In the climactic events on the cross Mark uses the Psalm again (Ps. 22:2) to suggest that even the Father has abandoned Jesus!

Neither of the two remaining synoptic writers follow completely Mark's version of the cry from the cross. Luke, together with John, knows nothing of the cry of abandonment. Matthew is familiar with the tradition, but recognizes that Mark by preserving the form of address "*Eloi, Eloi*" in Aramaic destroys the sense of the crowd's response—*Eloi* in Aramaic means "my God," but cannot be a diminutive form of "Elijah"; *Eli* in Hebrew means "my God," and can also be a diminutive form of "Elijah." Thus, we hear the confusion by those at the foot of the cross (Mt. 27:47). Since the ambiguity does not exist in Aramaic, Matthew, as he does on other occasions, corrects Mark and quotes Jesus in Hebrew. What is more important for us in our study is to recognize that the motif of abandonment extends beyond "the Jews" and includes God. The heightened tensions that are part of Mark's unique contribution were not intended to single out the Jewish people or any sub-groups such as Jesus' family or disciples. For Mark, the Jewish people were merely part of a larger canvas.

The personifications of* Ecclesia *(the Church) and* Synagoga *(the Synagogue) were erected at the entrances of many medieval Gothic cathedrals throughout Europe.* Ecclesia, *wearing a crown, gazing straight ahead and holding her head high, stands triumphant; whereas,* Synagoga, *having lost her crown, holding her broken staff and wearing a blindfold, stands defeated and rejected. These 13th-century statues (*Synagoga, *left;* Ecclesia, *below) adorn the facade of the Strasbourg Cathedral.

BOTH PHOTOS: KUNSTGESCHICHTLICHEN INSTITUT DER PHILIPPS-UNIVERSITAET, MARBURG, GERMANY

Matthew and the Jewish People

Flusser has commented that one of the paradoxes in Matthew's gospel is that it often possesses some of the most Hebraic verses, and yet at other times is the most anti-Jewish.[34] He was the first to observe that these two characteristics actually are related. Anti-Jewish sentiments are seldom seen in verses that exhibit Hebraic linguistic influences. On the other hand, when such sentiments do exist they are usually in verses possessing a refined Greek. Flusser concluded that the anti-Jewish tendencies in Matthew's gospel are a later scribal revision of an earlier version of Matthew's text.[35] We noted a similar tendency in one of the two sources for Luke's doublets. There, also, the doublet component that exhibits Greek stylization shows increased religious tensions. We will give attention to three examples of anti-Jewish tendencies in Matthew's gospel.

Jesus and the Pharisees

Jesus' seven "Woes" upon the Pharisees in Matthew 23 echo the Talmud's own self-critical seven kinds of Pharisees.[36] We also need to bear in mind that, although Jesus delivers a harsh indictment against these contemporaries, he opens the address with an affirmative statement: "The Pharisees sit on the seat of Moses; *Do what they say* and not what they do..." (Mt. 23:2). The "seat of Moses" was the seat of instruction in the synagogue.[37] Jesus' comment affirms the authority of these first-century teachers to instruct the people. We have already stated that Jesus affirms the Hasidic stream of Jewish thinking that puts more emphasis on action than study. In the same vein, Jesus' criticism in Matthew 23 is directed at those who are not faithfully following through on the spirit and letter of their own teaching.

Justin Martyr
(c. 100–165)

"They [the Jewish Scriptures] are not yours but ours."

– Justin Martyr, **Christian apologist**
(*Dialogue with Trypho* 29.2)

In the latter part of the chapter we hear the accusation that the Pharisees have rejected those sent by the Lord:

Matthew 23:34–36

Therefore I send you prophets and wise men and scribes, some of whom you will kill and crucify, and some you will scourge in your synagogues and persecute from town to town, that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed on earth, from the blood of innocent Abel to the blood of Zechariah the son of Barachiah, whom you murdered between the sanctuary and the altar. Truly, I say to you, all this will come upon this generation.

Luke 11:49–51

Therefore also the wisdom of God said, "I will send them prophets and apostles, some of whom they will kill and persecute," that the blood of all the prophets, shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation, from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah, who perished between the altar and the sanctuary. Yes, I tell you, it will be required of this generation.

The saying in both Matthew and Luke resembles a prophecy mentioned in an intertestamental work, the Book of Jubilees:[38]

> And I will send to them witnesses so that I may witness to them, but they will not hear. And they will even kill the witnesses. And they will persecute those who search out the Law, and they will neglect everything and begin to do evil in my sight. (Jub. 1:12)

As we noted above, Matthew has singled out the Pharisees (cf. Mt. 23:27 = Lk. 11:44; Mt. 23:29 = Lk. 11:47). The context thus created suggests that the Pharisees were accused of killing the prophets, wise men and scribes.[39] Matthew's accusation actually contradicts the attitude of tolerance and latitude that was indicative of the Pharisees and that is behind their claim, "If we had lived in the days of our fathers, we would not have taken part with them in shedding the blood of the prophets" (Mt. 23:30). Neither the prophecy of Jubilees nor Jesus' saying in Luke 11:49–51 makes any mention of the Pharisees.

The accusations in the hands of Matthew are intensified and foreshadow the events of Jesus' passion. In Luke, Zechariah's death between the altar and the sanctuary is mentioned, but according to Matthew, those to whom Jesus speaks (i.e., the Pharisees) are guilty of his murder.[40] According to Matthew, those sent by God are not only persecuted and killed, but some are even crucified. Finally, the wording that the blood of the righteous will come "upon" the guilty foreshadows the curse of Matthew 27:25.

What we witness in Matthew 23 is the kernel of authentic sayings of Jesus. Yet, by reading the Matthean sayings beside their Lukan parallels we can often distinguish between the sayings in their original form and the work of a later Matthean reviser. For the most part, the form of the sayings is best preserved in Matthew. Nevertheless, the sayings bear signs of alteration in intensity and direction. Jesus did direct his harshest statements at the religious leadership of his day. Yet, it may be that the singular focus of the diatribe to accuse the Pharisees is a result of Markan influences upon Matthew. Matthew, or his final reviser, also amplifies the denunciation to a degree that eclipses its original

thrust. He is preparing us for the events of the passion where guilt for the shedding of righteous blood will be heard once again.

A Matthean Malediction

The influence of Mark on Matthew's passion narrative is recognized.[41] On a few occasions we find that Matthew corrects the Markan tradition, but these are the exceptions. Thus, some of the tensions in Matthew between Jesus and his Jewish contemporaries are a result of Markan influence. Matthew, however, brings the events to a level of conflict that outreaches even Mark. This is most clearly evident in the malediction in Matthew 27:24–26.

gesting a Roman imprimatur on the crucifixion.

The origins of the malediction may lie in a subsequent event at which leaders of the early church were present. Luke records a statement by the high priest at a meeting of the Sanhedrin: "We strictly charged you not to teach in this name, yet here you have filled Jerusalem with your teaching and you intend to bring this man's blood upon us" (Acts 5:28).

Is it a mere coincidence that we find in Acts 5:28 the phrase "this man's blood upon us"[43] on the lips of those who were the primary opponents to Jesus and likely present at the hearing before Pilate?[44] The saying in Acts seems to be the seed for Matthew's transposed curse. Under Markan influence, Matthew broadens the involvement of those guilty of handing Jesus

Matthew 27:22–27

Pilate said to them, "Then what shall I do with Jesus who is called Christ?" They all said, "Let him be crucified." And he said, "Why, what evil has he done?" But they shouted all the more, "Let him be crucified." So when Pilate saw that he was gaining nothing, but rather that a riot was beginning, he took water and washed his hands before the crowd, saying, "I am innocent of this man's blood; see to it yourselves." And all the people answered, "His blood be on us and on our children!" Then he released for them Barabbas, and having scourged Jesus, delivered him to be crucified. Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the praetorium, and they gathered the whole battalion before him.

Mark 15:12–16

And Pilate again said to them, "Then what shall I do with the man whom you call the King of the Jews?" And they cried out again, "Crucify him!" And Pilate said to them, "Why, what evil has he done?" But they shouted all the more, "Crucify him!"

So Pilate, wishing to satisfy the crowd, released for them Barabbas; and having scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified. And the soldiers led him away inside the palace [that is, the praetorium]; and they called together the whole battalion.

Three observations are needed regarding Matthew's version of the event:

- A comparison of the synoptic accounts demonstrates that Pilate's act of absolution from complicity in the death of Jesus and the curse of the crowd are a disruptive intrusion into the running narrative. Neither Mark nor Luke betray any knowledge of the Matthean addition.
- From an historical and political perspective, it is difficult to see a Roman procurator absolving himself of the authority that only he possessed.[42]
- The Matthean addition creates an internal contradiction. After portraying Pilate's removal from involvement in Jesus' sentence of crucifixion, the Evangelist states that it is *the soldiers of the governor* who take Jesus away. Furthermore, all the gospels describe a centurion present at the crucifixion (Mt. 27:54; Mk. 15:39; Lk. 23:47), sug-

over to Pilate. They now include the "crowds of Jerusalem" (Mt. 26:47, 55; 27:15, 24).[45] When the curse is set within the Markan mob setting, the Matthean reviser transforms a defensive statement by a small group of priests into a curse upon the entire Jewish nation!

Matthew's "True Israel"

Perhaps, in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem, growing anti-Jewish sentiments among some Gentile-Christian circles evolved into a view that the entire Jewish nation had been rejected and replaced by the Gentile church. Though such notions were not widespread, they found their way into the most popular gospel of the church.[46] This idea of God's

unilateral rejection of the Jewish people provided fertile ground for the Christian anti-Semitism that flourished in subsequent centuries. It is worthwhile to follow how this uniquely Matthean "theology of replacement" entered into the gospel.

Matthew 7:21 required more than mere physical association. It required action—obedience to God's will. In the larger literary context, the "Lord Lord" saying is set next to the parable of the Two Foundations (Mt. 7:24–27; Lk. 6:47–49) where Jesus also emphasizes the need for

Matthew 7:21–23

Not everyone who says to me, "Lord, Lord," will enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven. On that day many will say to me, "Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and cast out demons in your name, and do many mighty works in your name?" And then I will declare to them, "I never knew you; depart from me, you evildoers."

Matthew 8:11–12

I tell you, many will come from east and west and sit at table with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, while the sons of the kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness; there men will weep and gnash their teeth.

Luke 6:46

Why do you call me "Lord, Lord," and not do what I tell you?

Luke 13:26–30

Then you will begin to say, "We ate and drank in your presence, and you taught in our streets." But he will say, "I tell you, I do not know where you come from; depart from me, all you workers of iniquity!" There you will weep and gnash your teeth, when you see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets in the kingdom of God and you yourselves thrust out. And men will come from east and west, and from north and south, and sit at table in the kingdom of God. And behold, some are last who will be first, and some are first who will be last.

Jesus categorically rejected a "cult of personality."[47] His call to discipleship recorded in action and obedience to the will of God. Both of the sayings set a high standard for those who would follow Jesus. Luke's version of Matthew 7:22 presents an even clearer picture of the attitudes of those who thought mere association with Jesus was all that was needed: "We ate and drank in your presence, and you taught in our streets" (Luke 13:26).[48]

We can observe that the saying is fragmented in both Matthew and Luke. The latter half of Luke's saying, Luke 13:28–29, is detached by Matthew and used elsewhere in his conclusion to the healing of the centurion's servant (Mt. 8:5–13; Luke 7:1–10). On that occasion, Jesus praised the centurion's concern for matters of Jewish ritual purity—that a pious Jew might be polluted in his visit to a Gentile's home. Jesus exclaimed, "I tell you, *not even* [οὐδέ, *oude*] in Israel have I found such faith" (Lk. 7:9).

Matthew alters Jesus' statement slightly but significantly: "Among *no one* [παρ' οὐδενί, *oudeni*] in Israel..." (Mt. 8:10).[49] Matthew continues that the lack of faith on the part of Israel will result in their rejection in the last days: "The sons of the kingdom [i.e., Israel] will be thrown into outer darkness."[50] We want to look closer at whom the writer intended to sit in the

Melito
(died c. 190)

"He who hung the earth is hanging;
he who fixed the heavens has been fixed;
he who fastened the universe has been
fastened to a tree;
the Sovereign has been insulted;
the God has been murdered;
the King of Israel has been put to death by
an Israelite right hand."

– Melito, bishop of Sardis
(*Homily on the Passion*, lines 711–716)

A Rowlandson caricature of two Jewish moneylenders drafting the stipulations of a bond with a naive young aristocrat.

place of "the sons of the kingdom," but we need first to draw attention to the same "rejectionist" idea in Matthew's conclusion of the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mt. 21:33–46; Mk. 21:1–12; Lk. 20:9–19).

The parable originally was meant as an attack on the religious establishment, the temple authorities, whose place of leadership Jesus prophesied would be taken and given to others who would be more faithful to the "owner of the vineyard" (i.e., God).[51] The reviser of Matthew's gospel, under the influence of Mark's "Cursing of the Fig Tree" (Mk. 11:12–14; Mt. 21:18–19), uniquely concludes the parable: "Therefore, I tell you, the kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a nation producing the *fruits* of it" (Mt. 21:43).

The work of the reviser is subtle and only careful attention to the changes will detect the seeds that he has sown. His revisions are constrained by the fact that the gospel was already composed, and its earlier perspective often took a positive view of the Jewish nation's role in God's purposes.[52] No explicit mention is made by the reviser that Israel is replaced by Gentiles at the feast with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Yet, in a secondary introduction to the apocryphal Second Esdras, those who supplant Israel are more clearly defined.[53]

> Thus says the Lord Almighty: "Your house is desolate; I will drive you out as the wind drives straw; and your sons will have no children, because with you they have neglected my commandment and have done what is evil in my sight. I will give your houses to a people that will come, *who without having heard me will believe*. Those to whom I have shown no signs will do what I have commanded. They have seen no prophets, yet will recall their former state...see the people coming from the east; to them I will give as leaders Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and Hosea and Amos and Micah and Joel and Obadiah and Jonah and Nahum and Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who is also called the messenger of the Lord." (2 Esdras 1:33–40)

Those who will replace Israel at the table with the patriarchs and the prophets are clearly Gentiles. They have not previously known the Lord. Flusser has suggested that the work of the Christian writer parallels the thinking of certain pre-Christian Gentile circles who had adopted many of the practices and beliefs of Judaism without actually converting.[54] After the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple they came to view themselves as the inheritors of the promises to Israel. These notions may also have influenced Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* (see 21.6 and 80.1).

If Flusser's suspicions are correct, this "rejectionist" philosophy penetrated into the strata of the gospel tradition through the hands of a final Gentile reviser of our Matthew. Nevertheless, the notion that God rejected Israel is

An eighteenth-century caricature: members of London's Great Synagogue enjoy the forbidden food.

clearly foreign to the spirit of Jesus' teaching and that of his first followers. Unfortunately, the discontinuity between the attitude of Jesus toward his own people and that found in the revision of Matthew's gospel is not often recognized. There are still today some who would propagate this same "theology of replacement." It is the duty of those working to hear clearly the words of Jesus to ensure that such distorted perceptions do not become identified with the historical Jesus.

Conclusion

In this brief study I have tried to demonstrate that at its earliest stage the church was marked by a relative freedom from anti-Jewish sentiment. However, the natural evolution of early Christianity from its Jewish context brought tensions that have penetrated even into the early strata of the synoptic tradition. Mark amplified the conflict between Jesus and his contemporaries. Mark's primary motives were to present Jesus as an abandoned Messiah. For the most part, he possessed no anti-Jewish penchant.

The gospel of Matthew, on the other hand, possesses a number of anti-Jewish statements that may be the work of a later Gentile scribe. These revisions paint the entire Jewish nation as culpable for the death of Jesus. In the scribe's thinking, Israel had been rejected in lieu of the Gentile church. These ideas reflect little of Jesus' own thinking or experience. Ironically, Jesus himself knew of some in his own day who saw the people of Israel as rejected and viewed themselves as the sole custodians of the holy Scriptures and the holy place. To these first-century supplanters—the Samaritans—Jesus' response was simple but categorical: "Salvation is of the Jews" (Jn. 4:22). JP

1. Pharisees are also presented in a positive light in Acts. Gamaliel (Acts 5:34) is said to be honored, and there are Pharisees numbered among the early Christians (Acts 15:5). Paul in his speech before the Sanhedrin does not shy away from his identification with the Pharisees (Acts 23:6).

2. See C. O'Neill, "The Attitude to the Jews," *The Theology of Acts in Its Historical Setting* (London: S.P.C.K., 1970), pp. 77–99; J. Dupont, *The Sources in Acts* (London: Dartman, Longman & Todd, 1964).

3. See John C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), pp. 80–107.

4. This literary observation accords with what Flusser has recognized concerning the anti-Jewish montages of Matthew: David Flusser, "Two Anti-Jewish Montages in Matthew," *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), p. 552.

5. See Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, 8th ed. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1969), p. 507.

6. Cf. Acts 5:40; 7:54–58; 12:2–3; Josephus, *Antiq.* 20:200–201.

7. See the author's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "The Concept of the Holy Spirit in Jewish Literature of the Second Temple Period and Pre-Pauline Christianity," submitted to the Hebrew University, Jerusalem (1993), pp. 195–204.

8. Jesus does express that there is the risk of a breach in family relationships resulting from the call to discipleship: "There is no man who has left home..." (Mt. 19:29–30; Mk. 10:29–31; Lk. 18:29b–30). He also recognized that to hear the word of God and do it held precedence over family ties (Lk. 11:27–28; cf. 14:25–26). Yet, this is decidedly different from Mark's presentation of Jesus' renunciation of his family.

9. Cf. Henry Barclay Swete, *The Gospel According to St Mark*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1909), p. 70.

10. *Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, ed. Kurt Aland (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1982), §121, p. 112.

11. Joseph Fitzmyer entitles the Lukan pericope, "Jesus' Mother and Brothers are the Real Hearers" (*The Gospel According to Luke I–IX, The Anchor Bible*, vol. 28 [Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1981], p. 722).

12. See Shmuel Safrai, "Teaching of Pietists in Mishnaic Literature," *The Journal of Jewish Studies* 16 (1965), 15–33. See also Adolph Büchler, *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety from 70 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1968).

13. Shmuel Safrai, "Jesus and the Hasidim," *Jerusalem Perspective* 42, 43 & 44 (Jan.–Jun. 1994), 16.

14. Brad Young has demonstrated that this same notion is behind Jesus' parable of "The Solid Foundation" (Mt. 7:15–20; Lk. 6:43–45). He notes that the parable strongly resembles the parable of Elisha ben Avuyah concerning "The Two Builders" (Avot de-Rabbi Natan, Version A, chap. 24; Version B, chap. 35). Both are intended to give emphasis to good deeds, or observance, as well as study of the Torah (Brad H. Young, *Jesus and His Jewish Parables: Rediscovering the Roots of Jesus' Teaching* [Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1989], pp. 251–259).

15. Flusser has suggested to me that Mark's language in the rebuke (Mk. 8:33) betrays his knowledge and transposition of an identical rebuke directed at Satan found in Matthew's temptation narrative—ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ (*hypage opisō mou, Satana*, Go behind me, Satan). Compare the textual variants of Mt. 4:10. Evidence of Mark's redaction of the temptation narrative has already been recognized in his allusion to the Testament of Naphtali 8:4. (See Benjamin Bacon, *Beginnings of the Gospel Story* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1920], pp. 8, 13, 66, 77, 89.) Moreover, Mark abbreviates the story with his omission of the citation of Ps. 91:11, "He will give his angels charge of you," but then awkwardly hints to the Psalm with his abrupt conclusion, "and the angels ministered to him." Cf. Ernest Best, *The Temptation and the Passion: The Markan Soteriology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 9–10.

16. It is also seldom noted by scholars that Lk. 9:21–22 does not reflect Mark's "messianic secret." For example, see Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke*, 5th ed., *The International Critical Commentary* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1896), p. 247; E. Earle Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke, New Century Bible* (Greenwood, S.C.: Attic Press, 1974), p. 140; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, p. 775.

17. Mark never gets around to telling us why they are angry. To put it simply, Jesus has done nothing to transgress the Sabbath. Similar questionable notions are made concerning Jesus and other issues of halachah. Whereas Mark states that *all* Jews practiced ritual hand washing before meals, a mishnah in Parah 11:5 indicates that there existed some latitude (E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* [London: SCM Press, 1985], pp. 185–186). Likewise, pressing legal questions surrounding the incident of the "Plucking of the Grains on the Sabbath" (Mt. 12:1–8; Mk. 2:23–28; Lk. 6:1–5) may mitigate an interpretation that Jesus disregards the restrictions concerning work on the Sabbath. See Menahem Kister, "Plucking on the Sabbath and Christian-Jewish Polemic," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990), 35–51; Shmuel Safrai, "Sabbath Breakers?" *Jerusalem Perspective* 27 (Jul./Aug. 1990), 3–5.

18. Webster's dictionary (*Webster's II New Riverside Dictionary*) gives "hypocritical" as one of the word's definitions.

19. See Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., revised and augmented by Henry Stuart Jones with Roderick McKenzie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), p. 145. See also Flusser, *Judaism*, pp. xxv–xxvi.

20. Flusser has drawn attention to a similar expression later in Lk. 19:47–48a. There the antagonists are the chief priests and the scribes. Luke states that "they did not find anything they could do." In the verse, they and not the Pharisees are accused of seeking "to destroy him." The description of the conflict and plotting on the part of the temple authorities has influenced the language of Mark's conflict stories in a complex fusion

Origen
(c. 185–254)

"And these calamities they [the Jews] have suffered, because they were a most wicked nation, which, although guilty of many other sins, yet has been punished so severely for none, as for those that were committed against our Jesus."

– Origen, church father
(*Against Celsus* 2.8)

of redactional activity. See Flusser, *Judaism*, p. xxvi.

21. See Safrai, "Jesus and the Hasidim," p. 6. Joseph Frankovic has brought to my attention that the phrase in Aramaic appears in a similar context in Leviticus Rabbah 12:1 (ed. Margulies, p. 247).

22. Joseph Frankovic has brought to my attention an account in Leviticus Rabbah 9:9 (ed. Margulies, pp. 192–193) in which a woman spits in Rabbi Meir's eye. His disciples, according to the midrash, were understandably angry with her. What is of interest to us is the literary development in a later version of the same text. It reads that the disciples are ready to kill her. Thus, we may see a parallel literary tendency in the gospels and the midrash on Leviticus to heighten the conflict. See M. Gaster, *The Exempla of the Rabbis* (New York, 1968; repr. of 1924 Cambridge ed.), p. 105.

23. Cf. Vincent Taylor, *Mark*, p. 459.

24. The Greek verb ἐκβάλλειν (*ekballein*) can carry the same nonviolent sense as הוֹצִיא (*ho·TSI'*, to escort out). See the entry "ἐκβάλλω" in Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 4th ed., trans. and ed. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 237.

25. See Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, pp. 61–71.

26. Jesus' citation parallels a type of rabbinic interpretation known as *gezerah shavah*. See Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, in *Greek in Jewish Palestine / Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1994), pp. 59–60.

27. Joseph Frankovic, "Remember Shiloh!" *Jerusalem Perspective* 46 & 47 (Sept.–Dec. 1994), 25–29.

28. Flusser, "A Literary Approach to the Trial of Jesus," *Judaism*, pp. 588–592.

29. Vincent Taylor, *The Passion Narrative of St. Luke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

30. Paul Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1961), p. 20.

31. R. Steven Notley, "Who Questioned Jesus?" *Jerusalem Perspective* 25 (Mar./Apr. 1990), 8–10.

32. See Dan Barag and David Flusser, "The Ossuary of Jehoḥanah Granddaughter of the High Priest Theophilus," *Israel Exploration Journal* 36 (1986), 39–44.

33. See Brad Young, "The Cross, Jesus and the Jewish People," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990), 23–34; Flusser, "The Crucified One and the Jews," *Judaism*, pp. 575–587.

34. Flusser, "Two Anti-Jewish Montages in Matthew," *Judaism*, p. 552.

35. Malcolm Lowe and David Flusser, "Evidence Corroborating a Modified Proto-Matthean Synoptic Theory," *New Testament Studies* 29 (1983), 25–47. Cf. Ernest L. Abel, "Who Wrote Matthew?" *New Testament Studies* 17 (1971), 138–152.

36. See David Flusser, "'Some of the Precepts of the Torah' from Qumran (4QMMT) and the Benedictions Against the Heretics," *Tarbiz* 61.3–4 (1992), 362–363 (Hebrew).

37. Pesikta de-Rav Kahana 7:2 (ed. Buber). For other literary references, see the entry קְתוֹרָא in Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (repr. New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1950), p. 1434. Stone seats with the inscription "Seat of Moses" were discovered in the ancient remains of synagogues at Hammath Tiberias and Chorazin. See E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, (London, 1934), pp. 21–24; "Chorazin," *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993), p. 304; *Second Revised Catalogue of the Ancient Synagogues of the Holy Land*, ed. S. J. Saller (Jerusalem: Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1972), pp. 54–55.

38. However, Flusser is correct that Matthew's "wise men [i.e., sages] and scribes" is preferable to Luke's "apostles" ("Two Anti-Jewish Montages in Matthew," *Judaism*, p. 553).

39. On the Jewish traditions regarding the death of Zechariah and the passage in question, see S. Blank, "The Death of Zechariah in Rabbinic Literature," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 12–13 (1937–1938), 331.

40. Matthew's editing of his literary sources to present the Pharisees in a more negative light can be seen in his transposition of Jesus' lament over Jerusalem (Mt. 23:37–39; Lk. 13:34–35). In Luke the lament

(continued on page 38)

John Chrysostom
(c. 347–407)

"The synagogue is not only a brothel and a theater; it also is a den of robbers and a lodging for wild beasts...when God forsakes a people, what hope of salvation is left? When God forsakes a place, that place becomes the dwelling of demons.... The Jews live for their bellies. They gape for the things of this world. Their condition is no better than that of pigs or goats because of their wanton ways and excessive gluttony. They know but one thing: to fill their bellies and be drunk."

– John Chrysostom, presbyter in Antioch
(*Orations against the Jews* 1.3.1, 1.4.1)

Warning Germans of the Jewish "threat" to their fatherland, this poster hung in 1920 on the walls of the Reichstag in Berlin.

Martin Luther (1483–1546)

"Let me give you my honest advice. **First**, their synagogues or churches should be set on fire, and whatever does not burn up should be covered or spread over with dirt so that no one may ever be able to see a cinder or stone of it. And this ought to be done for the honor of God and of Christianity in order that God may see that we are Christians, and that we have not wittingly tolerated or approved of such public lying, cursing and blaspheming of His Son and His Christians....

"**Second**, their homes should likewise be broken down and destroyed, for they perpetrate the same things there that they do in their synagogues. For this reason they ought to be put under one roof or in a stable, like gypsies, in order that they may realize that they are not masters in our land, as they boast, but miserable captives, as they complain of us incessantly before God with bitter wailing.

"**Third**, they should be deprived of their prayerbooks and Talmuds in which such idolatry, lies, cursing and blasphemy are taught.

"**Fourth**, their rabbis must be forbidden, under threat of death, to teach....

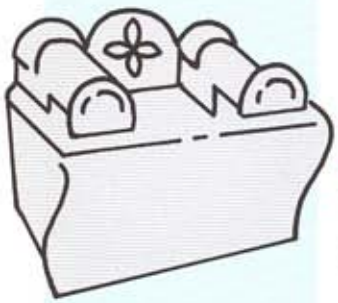
"**Fifth**, passport and traveling privileges should be absolutely forbidden to the Jews. They have no business in the rural districts since they are not nobles, officials, merchants, or the like. Let them stay at home.

"**Sixth**, they ought to be stopped from usury. All their cash and valuables of silver and gold ought to be taken from them and put aside for safekeeping. For this reason, as already stated, everything they possess they stole and robbed from us through their usury, for they have no other means of support. This money should be used in the case—and in no other—where a Jew has sincerely become a Christian, so that temporarily he may get one or two or three hundred florins, as he may require. This is so that he may start a business to support his poor wife and children, and the old and feeble. Such wickedly acquired money is accursed, unless, with God's blessing, it is put to some good and necessary use....

"**Seventh**, let the young and strong Jews and Jewesses be given the flail, the ax, the hoe, the spade, the distaff and spindle, and let them earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, as Adam's children are commanded. For it is not proper that they should want us accursed Gentiles to work by the sweat of our brow and that they, pious crew, idle away their days at the fireside in laziness, feasting and display. And in addition to this, they boast impiously that they have become masters of the Christians at our expense. We ought to drive the unprincipled lazybones out of our system. If, however, we are afraid that they might harm us personally, or our wives, children, servants, cattle, etc., when they serve us or work for us—since it is surely to be presumed that such noble lords of the world and poisonous bitter worms are not accustomed to any work and would very unwillingly humble themselves to such a degree among the accursed Gentiles—then let us apply the same cleverness [i.e., expulsion] as the other nations, such as France, Spain, Bohemia, etc., and settle with them for that which they have extorted through usury from us, and after having divided it up fairly, let us drive them out of the country for all time. For, as has been said, God's rage is so great against them that they only become worse and worse through mild mercy, and not much better through severe mercy. Therefore, away with them....

"To sum up, dear princes and nobles who have Jews in your domains, if this advice of mine does not suit you, then find better advice so that you and we may all be free of this insufferable devilish burden—the Jews."

– Martin Luther, from his 1543 tract titled *Concerning the Jews and Their Lies*



FROM MOSES' SEAT

Esteeming the Jewish People

by Joseph Frankovic

Fascination with the Jewish people, the reborn nation of Israel, and the land of Israel, seems to be escalating in churches. Throughout the English-speaking world Christian preachers and Bible teachers can be heard on radio and television unlocking cryptic passages from Ezekiel, Daniel and Revelation. Their publications occupy the shelves of nearly every Evangelically oriented bookstore. Purveyors of apocalyptic sensationalism, they ascribe to the Jewish people and the land central roles in the impending, divinely ordained finale of human history.

Echoing these ideas, many Christians believe that the Jews must immigrate to their homeland in fulfillment of biblical prophecies. The return of the Diaspora communities to Israel is a salient feature of much Christian theology concerning the end of the age. According to this view, once the ingathering of the exiles is complete, one can be certain that the great and final battle—the battle of Armageddon, which will precipitate Christ's glorious return—is close at hand.

Preoccupation with Christ's second coming underlies much professed love for and interest in the Jewish people and their homeland. I find this "love" and "interest" cause for concern. As it is popularly depicted, the eschatological drama culminating in the *Parousia* has Jews in the land of Israel playing the lead role. Embedded deep in the script of this drama, however, the land is ravaged and Jews slaughtered before Christian expectations are fulfilled.

I am reminded of Jesus' rebuke to John the Baptist (Mt. 11:4–6). Jesus tells John to rewrite his theology concerning the messianic task. John had erred on a point, namely, what the Messiah would do once he appeared. John thought that the Messiah would inaugurate an outpouring of divine retribution against the wicked; but Jesus had come to usher in a great redemptive movement fueled by God's grace and characterized by restoration, healing and hope. John had overlooked Jesus' role as redeemer, and only saw him as the divinely appointed judge.

Could there be errors in our theology, too? Could the dazzling scenarios—the battle of Armageddon, the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem, and Christ's thousand-year reign—be inaccurate? Jesus explicitly said that people would be living their lives *as usual*—eating, drinking and marrying (Lk. 17:27)—when the divinely appointed eschatological judge, to whom Jesus referred as the Son of Man, suddenly comes (cf. Mt. 24:36–42; Dan. 7:13). There are no unfulfilled prerequisites holding back this terrifying, awesome event. As I heard Dr. Robert Lindsey emphasize, when Noah entered the ark, the flood *unexpectedly* swept the earth. When Lot hastily departed Sodom, fire *suddenly* fell from heaven (Lk. 17:26–30). The Son of Man can return tomorrow, or he may come now!

The growing fixation on eschatology is unsalutary. It distracts us from Jesus' teachings. It inhibits us from living a life characterized by wisdom, foresight and commitment to long term goals. Had we devoted ourselves to Jesus' unique approach to Torah within the context of Second Temple-period Judaism, this eschatological fixation may not have assumed such prominence in our theology.

If eschatological concerns are not the most salutary motive for showing interest in Israel, then what changes in our thinking should be made? Christian interest in the Jewish people, their land and faith should stem from an appreciation for what Judaism and the Jewish people have given us, and from the realization that the Jewish community remains a great reservoir of biblical learning from which we can draw to enrich our faith. Viewing our relationship to the Jewish community in this way is the truest foundation on which genuine love for the Jewish people can rest. The Jewish people have given us nothing less than our faith in God. Their Bible has become our Bible; their prophets have become our prophets; and their salvation history has become our history. The

Jewish conception of God is essentially our conception of God. This is the reason that Judaism continues to be invaluable to Christianity. By reading Jewish authors, we can gain insights into God's grace, love, mercy, compassion and justice. And of course, comparative reading of early rabbinic texts so often provides the data necessary for clarifying the words of Jesus.

The descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are returning to their ancestral homeland in unprecedented numbers. The State of Israel is a reality. Hebrew is a flourishing, living language. Archaeologists have been excavating throughout the region for decades. What are the implications for Jesus' twentieth-century disciples? Should they read more vigorously the book of Revelation and excerpts from Ezekiel and Daniel in order to excel in "end time" prophecy? Unfortunately, this seems to be one of the more common responses.

Such behavior robs us of invaluable opportunities to enrich our faith. Talmudic and midrashic texts constitute the most valuable corpus of literature for comparative study of the synoptic gospels. Visiting the sites that Jesus once frequented contextualizes the gospel stories. Studying Hebrew is an excellent way to gain insight into Jesus' sayings. Reading what Jewish scholars have written about the Bible and God can lead to a broadening of theological horizons. These are healthy reasons for being interested in the Jewish people and the land of Israel. Though they can never compete with the spectacular, eschatological scenarios of popular radio and television preachers, they are the right reasons, and in time, they will lead those who are motivated by them to a greater degree of spiritual maturity. JP

DAVID BIVIN

The Valley of Armageddon, which derives its name from* har, *meaning hill, or tell, and* Megiddo, *the ancient fortified city that overlooked the valley and guarded the strategic pass between the coastal plain and lower Galilee, is a later designation for the biblical Jezreel Valley. Mentioned in Revelation 16:16, Armageddon is identified in Christian tradition as the site of the culminating, apocalyptic event of human history.

(continued from page 34)

follows a warning given by the Pharisees to Jesus (Lk. 13:31–33). He responds that he must go on to Jerusalem and pictures his death in light of Hebrew prophetic experience, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets..." Matthew moves the saying to follow the accusation of the Pharisees' involvement in the death of the prophet Zechariah (Mt. 23:37–39). In the new context the lament reads as if Jesus is accusing the Pharisees once again of the death of the prophets. Thus, an essentially positive portrayal of the Pharisees in Luke becomes accusatory in Matthew.

41. W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *Matthew, The Anchor Bible*, vol. 26 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1971), p. xxxix.

42. It is true that we have the account of Pilate giving in to the massive demonstration in Caesarea that demanded the removal from Jerusalem of the standards with Caesar's image (Josephus, *War* 2:169–174), but this is a far cry from the absolution of authority depicted by Matthew.

43. See Acts 18:6 where the expression is used again to denote "guilt." Cf. 2 Sam. 1:16; Jer. 51:35.

44. I.e., Annas, Caiaphas, John and Alexander. See Barag and Flusser, "The Ossuary of Jehohanah," pp. 39–44.

45. The Lukan indistinct reference to "they" (Lk. 23:18–25) may have contributed to the original confusion.

46. Matthew is the most frequently used gospel for the Sunday liturgical readings. See F. C. Grant, *The Gospels: Their Origin and Their Growth* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), p. 153.

47. Flusser, *Judaism*, p. 555.

48. See William Manson, *The Gospel of Luke, The Moffatt New Testament Commentary* (New York: Harper & Row and London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930), p. 168.

49. Some early manuscripts have attempted to harmonize Matthew's reading with Lk. 7:9. Metzger is correct, however, in his preference for the reading that we have cited here. Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, corrected edition (London and New York: United Bible Societies, 1975), p. 21.

50. One of the clear signs of Matthean editing in our passage is his coupling of the concept of "the kingdom" with the idea of election. In contemporary Jewish understanding, they were distinctive concepts. The same coupling is evident in Mt. 13:24–30.

51. Young, *Jesus and His Jewish Parables*, pp. 282ff.

52. For example, whereas Mk. 7:27 places a temporal restraint on the "giving the children's bread to the dogs," Mt. 15:26 states categorically that it is not right.

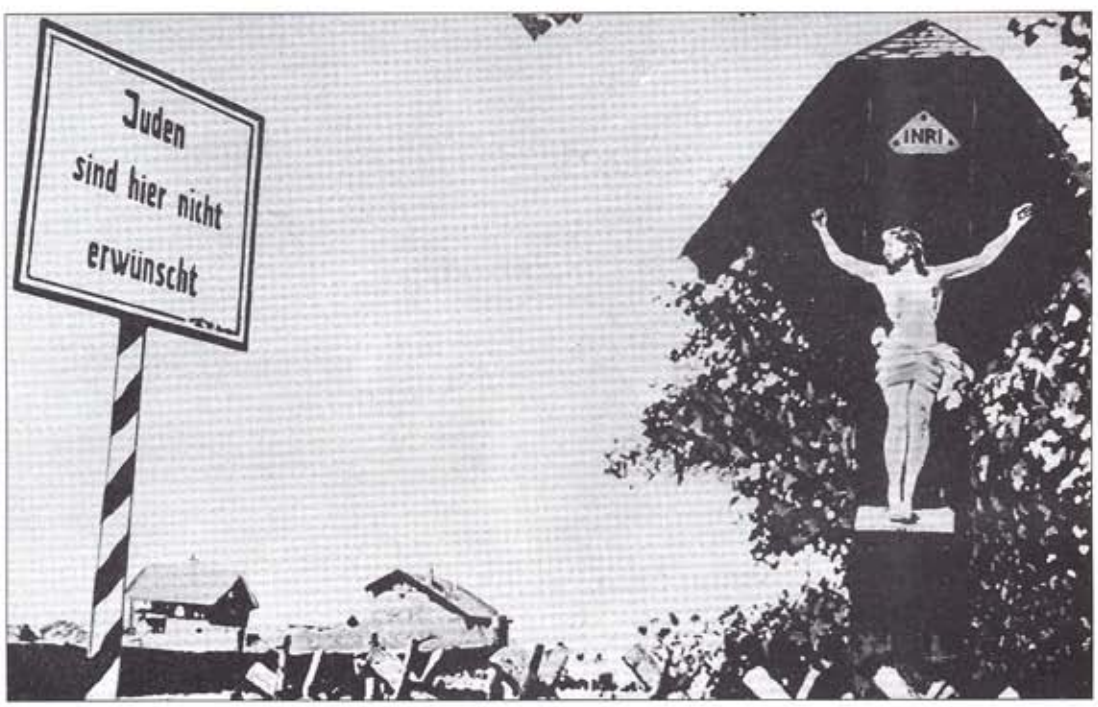
53. The issue of authorship of 2 Esdras is a complicated one. The main portion of the book (chap. 3–14) was probably written by a Jewish writer towards the end of the first century A.D. Our passage is part of a later addendum (chap. 1–2) that was composed by a Christian writer sometime in the second century A.D. See Michael E. Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael E. Stone, in *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* (Assen: Van Gorcum and Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), pp. 412–414.

54. Flusser, "Matthew's 'Verus Israel,'" *Judaism*, pp. 567–568.

Bailey Smith

"It's interesting at great political rallies how you have a Protestant to pray, a Catholic to pray, and then you have a Jew to pray. With all due respect to those dear people, my friends, God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew."

– Bailey Smith, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, addressing 15,000 listeners gathered for the August 1980 Religious Roundtable's National Affairs Briefing in Dallas, Texas



YAD VASHEM JERUSALEM

Standing at the entrance to a pre-World War II German village, this sign warned travelers that Jews were not wanted. Jesus remained outside, too.

The Jerusalem School

A Unique and Unprecedented Collaboration

The Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research is a consortium of Jewish and Christian scholars who are examining the synoptic gospels (Matthew, Mark and Luke) within the context of the language, land and culture in which Jesus lived. Their work confirms that Jesus was an organic part of the diverse social and religious landscape of Second Temple-period Judaism. He, like other Jewish sages of that time, taught in Hebrew and used specialized teaching methods to teach foundational Jewish theological concepts such as the kingdom of heaven, God's abundant grace, loving God and loving one's fellow man.

The Jerusalem School scholars believe Jesus' words and deeds were first transmitted in Hebrew, and that, through careful linguistic and comparative study, much of this earlier stratum of the synoptic tradition can be recovered from the Greek texts of the synoptic gospels. The School's objective is to recover as much as possible of that earlier Hebrew stratum.

Future publishing projects of the School include: 1) a series of academic volumes, the first of which will deal with the Jerusalem School's distinctive methodology; 2) an idiomatic translation of the Gospels and Acts with annotations highlighting the text's Hebraic nuances and briefly explaining the significance of Jesus' words and deeds; 3) the *Jerusalem Synoptic Commentary*, a detailed commentary on the synoptic gospels. Current research of Jerusalem School members and others is regularly reported in the pages of JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE.

The Jerusalem School was registered in Israel as a non-profit research institute in 1985. Its members are Prof. David Flusser, Prof. Shmuel Safrai, David Bivin, Dr. Weston W. Fields, Dr. R. Steven Notley, Dwight A. Pryor, Halvor Ronning, Mirja Ronning, Prof. Chana Safrai and Prof. Brad H. Young.*

**Dr. Robert L. Lindsey (d. May 31, 1995), a founding member of the Jerusalem School, pioneered, together with Prof. Flusser, the methodology upon which the School's synoptic research is based.*

International Synoptic Society

The International Synoptic Society supports the Jerusalem School of Synoptic Research by serving as an intermediary through which interested individuals can participate in the School's research.

The Society solicits funding for publication of the Jerusalem School's research; facilitates informal discussion groups focusing on the synoptic gospels; and sponsors student research assistants.

Annual membership in the Society is: Regular £60 or US$100; Fellow £180 or $300; Sponsor £300 or $500; Patron £600 or $1000; Lifetime membership £3000 or $5000 and over. Membership dues can be paid in monthly or quarterly installments.

Members of the Society receive a certificate of membership and a free subscription to JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE. They also are entitled to unique privileges such as pre-publication releases. Major publications of the Jerusalem School will be inscribed with Society members' names.

Checks should be made payable to "Jerusalem School" and designated "ISS." Members in the United States can receive a tax-deductible receipt by sending their dues through the Jerusalem School's U.S. affiliates: Center for Judaic-Christian Studies, P.O. Box 293040, Dayton, OH 45429 (Tel. 513-434-4550; Fax 513-439-0230); Centre for the Study of Biblical Research, P.O. Box 2050, Redlands, CA 92373 (Tel. 909-793-4669; Fax 909-793-1071); and HaKesher, 9939 S. 71st East Ave., Tulsa, OK 74133 (Tel. 918-298-2515; Fax 918-298-8816).

Glossary

hasidic — pertaining to the Hasidim (חֲסִידִים, *ha-si-DIM*, pious ones), a sect of charismatic sages who shared the Pharisees' ethical and religious values, but also were characterized by an extreme familiarity with God and a greater emphasis on deeds than study of Torah. Singular: חָסִיד (*ha-SID*).

Lukan doublet — a saying of Jesus appearing twice in the gospel of Luke, apparently the result of Luke's copying from two sources, each of which had a different version of the saying.

Masoretes — the Jewish scholars of the sixth to ninth centuries A.D. who compiled the Masorah, a body of notes on the textual traditions surrounding Scripture. In particular, the Masoretes devised vowel signs with which to vocalize the Bible's consonantal text.

Masoretic Text — the text of the Bible produced by the Masoretes.

midrash — (מִדְרָשׁ, *mid-RASH*; pl., *midrashim*) literally, an inquiry or investigation, but as a technical term, "midrash" refers to a rabbinic interpretation, or exposition, of biblical text. The term can also be applied to a collection of such expositions or, capitalized, to the whole midrashic literature written during the first millennium A.D.

minor agreements — instances within the pericopae of the triple tradition where Matthew and Luke exhibit verbal agreement against Mark. Minor agreements usually consist of only a word or phrase.

Mishnah — (מִשְׁנָה, *mish-NAH* ["repetition," from *shanah*, to repeat]) the collection of Oral Torah compiled and committed to writing around 200 A.D. by Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi. It records the sayings of sages who lived and taught during the previous several hundred years.

pericope (pə-rik'ə-pē) — an episode or story unit in the synoptic gospels; a division of a synopsis. Plural: pericopae.

synoptic — adjective derived from συνόψεσθαι (*synopsesthai*), a Greek word meaning "to view together or at the same time"; specifically, refers to the first three gospels of the New Testament. The synoptic gospels (Matthew, Mark and Luke) are so similar in form and content that it is convenient to view them together. The three are often printed in parallel columns; such a book is called a synopsis.

Talmud — (תַּלְמוּד, *tal-MUD* ["instruction," from *lamad*, to study]) a collection of Jewish halachah and aggadah comprising the Mishnah and the Gemara. There are two Talmuds: the Jerusalem, or Palestinian, Talmud was completed about the end of the fourth century A.D.; the Babylonian Talmud, which became authoritative, was completed about a century later.

targum — an Aramaic translation of a portion of the Hebrew Scriptures. Plural: *targumim* or targums.

triple tradition — the pericopae that are shared by all three synoptic gospels (for example, the Baptism of Jesus, the Stilling of the Storm).

Transliteration Key

HEBREW & ARAMAIC

Syllables of transliterated words are separated by dots. Capitalization is used to indicate the accented syllable in words of more than one syllable. See p. 11 of the Nov/Dec 1989 issue for a full description of the transliteration system used in JERUSALEM PERSPECTIVE.

Consonants

א – ʾ (silent)
ב – b
ג – g
ד – d
ה – h (or silent)
ו – v
ז – z
ח – ḥ (voiceless guttural)
ט – t
י – y (or silent)
כ – k
כ״ – ḵ (like ch in the Scottish *loch*)
ל – l
מ – m
נ – n
ס – s
ע – ʿ (voiced guttural)
פ – p
פ״ – f
צ – ts (like ts in nets)
ק – k
ר – r
ש – sh
ס – s
ת – t

*The form of the letter at the end of a word.

Vowels

(The א is used here as a point of reference.)

א – a (like a in father; rarely like o in bone)
א, אַ – a (like a in father)
א – e (like e in net, or e in hey, or somewhere in between)
א, אֵ – e (like e in net)
אִ, אִי – i (like i in ski)
אֹ, אוֹ, אֹו – o (like o in bone)
אֻ, אוּ – u (like u in flu)
א – e (silent, or as short as e in happening, or as long as e in net)

Diphthongs

אַי – ai
אוֹי – oi
אוּי – ui

GREEK

Transliterations are based on the Society of Biblical Literature system.

Kursi

MENDEL NUN

JANET FRANKOVIC

JANET FRANKOVIC

Top: *Ruins of the fish storage tank at Kursi, framed by (across the lake) the Sea of Galilee's western coast.*

Middle left: *A section of the mosaic floor in the 5th–6th-century church at Kursi. The animal depicted in the mosaic, defaced by Moslems in the 8th century, may be the representation of a pig—notice the cloven hind feet. If so, the pig probably commemorates the miracle that Byzantine Christians believed occurred here.*

Middle right: *This Roman milestone once sat upright beside the coastal road that passed Kursi.*

Bottom: *The perfectly chiseled outer edge of a huge limestone foundation stone at the southwestern corner of Kursi's massive breakwater. Notice the stones that have fallen from the original wall.*

JANET FRANKOVIC