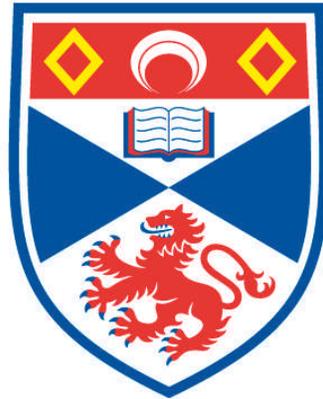


**THE CHRISTOLOGICAL STONE TESTIMONIA IN THE
NEW TESTAMENT**

KLYNE RYLAND SNODGRASS

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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THE CHRISTOLOGICAL STONE TESTIMONIA IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of St. Mary's College
The University of St. Andrews

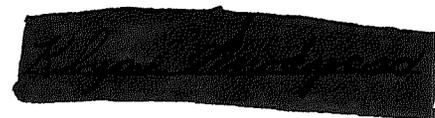
In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Klyne Ryland Snodgrass

February 26, 1973



I hereby affirm that the composition of this dissertation and the work of which it is a record were done by the candidate and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree.

A black rectangular redaction box covering the signature of the candidate.

In 1966 I completed the Bachelor of Arts at Columbia Bible College in Columbia, South Carolina. In 1969 I received the Master of Divinity, magna cum laude, from Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Illinois. In October, 1969, I was admitted to the University of St. Andrews as a research student and was accepted as a candidate for the Ph. D. degree in October, 1970.

I hereby affirm that the conditions of the Ordinance and the Regulations for the Ph. D. degree at the University of St. Andrews have been fulfilled.



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Without the assistance and encouragement of two men, this dissertation would not have been written. The first is Dr. Richard Longenecker who provided a great deal of assistance in my seminary days when I initially began considering doctoral studies. His contribution has not been limited to professorial tasks. He has proven to be a good friend, a Christian scholar, and a source of much encouragement. The second is Principal Matthew Black. It was he who nurtured my interest in the "testimonies," and it was he who suggested that I confine my study to the stone quotations. At various points he made crucial suggestions that led to very fruitful research. It has been a real pleasure to know him and to work with him, and I am grateful for his help.

I would like to express my appreciation to the rest of St. Mary's as well. The atmosphere set by the faculty was conducive to research and high educational ideals. Prof. Ernest Best and Prof. R. McL. Wilson were particularly helpful, and both read substantial portions of this work at various times and made instructive comments. The academic interchange with colleagues at St. Mary's was always stimulating and rewarding.

I am grateful to the library staff at the University Library for their courteous and efficient assistance and also to the libraries of Cambridge University and the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (U. S. A.) for permitting me to do portions of my research in their facilities.

My entire family has been patient and helpful during my academic pursuits. My wife, Phyllis, has been very understanding and a constant

source of encouragement. She did a great deal of the typing and made many sacrifices so that this study could be carried out.

Since the candidate is an American, preference has been given to American methods of spelling, and Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language (unabridged), 1965, has been used as a guide.

...ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

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ABBREVIATIONS

A-G	<u>Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT</u>
A. H.	<u>Adversus Haereses</u>
A. J.	<u>Adversus Judaeos</u>
AJSL	<u>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</u>
A. M.	<u>Adversus Marcionem</u>
<u>Antiq.</u>	<u>(Josephus) Jewish Antiquities</u>
ASTI	<u>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</u>
b	<u>The Babylonian Talmud</u>
Barn.	<u>The Epistle of Barnabas</u>
BC	<u>The Beginnings of Christianity</u> (ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake)
B-D	<u>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament</u> (F. Blass and A. Debrunner, trans. Robert W. Funk)
BDB	<u>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</u> (Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs)
<u>Bell.</u>	<u>(Josephus) The Jewish War</u>
<u>Bib</u>	<u>Biblica</u>
<u>BJRL</u>	<u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</u>
<u>BZ</u>	<u>Biblische Zeitschrift</u>
<u>CBQ</u>	<u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>
<u>Cher.</u>	<u>(Philo) De Cherubim</u>
<u>Clem.</u>	<u>Clement</u>
<u>CTM</u>	<u>Concordia Theological Monthly</u>
<u>D. E.</u>	<u>(Eusebius) Demonstratio evangelica</u>
<u>Det. Pot. Ins.</u>	<u>(Philo) Quod Deterius Potiori insidiari solet</u>
<u>Dial.</u>	<u>(Justin) Dialogue with Trypho</u>
<u>DJD</u>	<u>Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan</u>
<u>EAA</u>	<u>Études sur les Actes des Apôtres</u> (Dupont)
<u>E. P.</u>	<u>(Eusebius) Eclogae prophetae</u>
<u>ET</u>	<u>The Expository Times</u>
<u>ETL</u>	<u>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</u>
<u>F</u>	<u>The Fragment Targum</u>
<u>Flor.</u>	<u>(4Q) Florilegium</u>
<u>Gig.</u>	<u>(Philo) De Gigantibus</u>
<u>HJ</u>	<u>The Heythrop Journal</u>
<u>HTR</u>	<u>Harvard Theological Review</u>
<u>HUCA</u>	<u>Hebrew Union College Annual</u>
<u>IEJ</u>	<u>Israel Exploration Journal</u>
<u>Instit. Orat.</u>	<u>(Quintilian) Instituto oratoria</u>
<u>Interp</u>	<u>Interpretation</u>
<u>JAOS</u>	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>
<u>JBL</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
<u>JETS</u>	<u>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</u>
<u>JPOS</u>	<u>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</u>
<u>JSS</u>	<u>Journal of Semitic Studies</u>
<u>JTS</u>	<u>The Journal of Theological Studies</u>
<u>L-S</u>	<u>A Greek-English Lexicon</u> (ed. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott)

<u>Leg. All.</u>	(Philo) <u>Legum Allegoriae</u>
<u>Leg. Gaj.</u>	(Philo) <u>De Legatione ad Gaium</u>
LXX	The Septuagint
M-M	The <u>Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament</u> (ed. James Hope Moulton and George Milligan)
MBR	<u>Mélanges Bibliques en hommage au R. P. Béda Rigaux</u> (ed. Albert Descamp and André de Halleux)
MPs	The Midrash on Psalms
MT	The Massoretic Text
<u>Mut. Nom.</u>	(Philo) <u>De Mutatione Nominum</u>
N	Targum Neofiti
NT	New Testament
NT	<u>Novum Testamentum</u>
NTS	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
O	Targum Onkelos
OT	Old Testament
p	The Palestinian Talmud
p., pp.	page, pages
PEQ	<u>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</u>
PRE	<u>Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer</u>
PsJ	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
R	(After an abbreviation of a book of the OT) Midrash Rabbah
RB	<u>Revue Biblique</u>
<u>Rer. Div. Her.</u>	(Philo) <u>Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres sit</u>
RLC	<u>Recueil Lucien Cerfaux</u>
RQ	<u>Revue de Qumran</u>
S-B	<u>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</u> (H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck)
SDt	Sifre on Deuteronomy
SE	<u>Studia Evangelica</u>
SEA	<u>Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok</u>
SLA	<u>Studies in Luke-Acts</u> (ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn)
<u>Som.</u>	(Philo) <u>De Somniis</u>
ST	<u>Studia Theologica</u>
Tanch.	Midrash Tanchuma
TB	<u>Tyndale Bulletin</u>
TDNT	<u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u> (trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley)
Test.	(4Q) Testimonia
Test. of Zeb.	Testament of Zebulun
Thom.	The Gospel of Thomas
TS	<u>Theological Studies</u>
TWAT	<u>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</u> (ed. G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren)
TWNT	<u>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</u> (ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich)
TZ	<u>Theologische Zeitschrift</u>
v., vs.	verse, verses
VC	<u>Vigiliae Christianae</u>
vol.	volume
VT	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>
ZAW	<u>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>
ZNW	<u>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>
ZST	<u>Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie</u>

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The use of the OT in the NT has been a subject of widespread interest in previous generations, but it has taken on much greater significance for modern NT research.¹ The availability of new materials, particularly the Qumran Scrolls, has provided additional insight into various problems. Consequently, analyses in this area, as well as being intriguing, are among the most fruitful of all NT studies.

No aspect of the use of the OT in the NT is more interesting or rewarding than that of the stone testimonia. Their frequent occurrence in the NT (Mt. 21:42-44//; Acts 4:11; Rm. 9:32-33; and I P 2:4-8) and the varied applications of the image to explain the early Church's theology make them a subject of prime consideration for the NT exegete. In addition they are important for the study of Christian origins since they were used from the inception of Christianity² and since they appear in various parts of Jewish literature. In fact, this is one of the few images or concepts where there is sufficient data to trace the development and use of the

¹Working bibliographies may be found in Krister Stendahl's The School of St. Matthew (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1954), pp. 218-238, and in Robert Horton Gundry's The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 235-240.

²Edward Gordon Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan & Co., 1964), p. 269, referred to the use of Ps. 118:22 as one of the "sheet-anchors of early Christian teachings."

image from the OT to the patristic writings. The importance and frequency of the stone image in the ancient literature do not alter the fact, however, that it is a curious and unnatural figure for the modern mind.

It is not surprising that this image has attracted attention throughout the Church's history. In modern times the position of prominence enjoyed by the image is largely due to the emphasis placed on it by Rendel Harris in his two small volumes on testimonies,³ the starting point of modern study on the use of the OT in the NT.⁴ A discussion of Harris' thesis or of testimonia in general invariably must consider the collection of stone quotations, even though this collection is almost the only one of its kind. This unique combination of texts has been treated in the context of broader discussions, and several short studies have dealt with one aspect of the stone testimonia or with the subject in general,⁵ but

³Rendel Harris (with the assistance of Vacher Burch), Testimonies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916-1920), I, 18-19, 26-32; II, 19-20, 59-61, 66, 85-86, and 96.

⁴C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1952), p. 25. Dodd's qualification that Harris' work is the starting point at least in Great Britain should be extended to include all the English speaking world.

⁵Those who have dealt with the imagery as a whole are : 1) Joachim Jeremias, Golgotha, Heft I, Angellos (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926), pp. 51-88 [originally in Angellos, II (1926), 75-128]; and "λίθος, λίθινος," TDNT, IV, 268-280; 2) Oscar Cullmann, "πέτρα," TDNT, VI, 95-99; 3) S. H. Hooke, "The Corner-Stone of Scripture," The Siege Perilous (London: SCM Press, 1956), pp. 235-249; 4) Edward F. Siegman, "The Stone Hewn from the Mountain (Daniel 2)," CBQ, XVIII (1956), 364-379; 5) Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (London: SCM Press, 1961), pp. 169-188; 6) John Hall Elliott, The Elect and the Holy (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 16-38; 7) Lloyd Gaston, No Stone on Another (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 213-229; and 8) C. N. Hillier, "'Rock-Stone' Imagery in I Peter," TB, XXII (1971), 58-81. (The last is more a summary of research on the stone than an exegesis of I P.)

it is startling that no systematic and comprehensive study of the stone quotations has been made available to the NT exegete. The only study of the stone testimonia to reach publication in book form was published in Latin.⁶ This study by P. Sciascia made several contributions, but its scope is somewhat limited. It was not designed to trace the development of the image, nor did it give adequate attention to parallels in non-biblical literature, especially the Qumran Scrolls. The brevity of this study (130 pp.) prohibited discussion of many of the questions that arise in an analysis of the stone testimonia. Other studies have been done, but to date there is no adequate treatment of this group of citations available.⁷

There are several areas in which previous analyses have not done justice to the phenomena of the stone quotations. Understandably, attention has been given to the background of the testimonia, but there are factors that have been overlooked or that should be re-evaluated. The OT text itself contains features that have been ignored or misunderstood. The intertestamental, Qumran, and rabbinic literature contribute significantly to an appreciation of the Church's use of the image, but variations in the understanding of passages in these bodies of literature can lead to quite different understandings of the image in the NT. For

⁶Pius Sciascia, Lapis Reprobatus (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1959).

⁷An unpublished Th. D. dissertation was done by John Tillman Holland at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, in 1958 entitled The Rock-Stone Symbolism in the New Testament. Since this study was primarily concerned with the bestowal and meaning of the name of the Apostle Peter, it did not give adequate consideration to the stone testimonia. Errors in the linguistic analysis and several unfounded assumptions limit the value of the dissertation.

example, on the basis of the Qumranites' use of the stone testimonia, Lloyd Gaston concluded that the stone image was originally used of the Church as a community and only secondarily of Christ.⁸ Prior to his inquiry there had been no doubt that the opposite was true. A decision on the validity of Gaston's suggestion and on other issues raised by the testimonia can be attained only after a satisfactory analysis of the background of the image involved. With regard to the NT, it is particularly reprehensible that those dealing with the stone quotations have not paid sufficient attention to the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen and its connection to the testimonia, one of which (Ps. 118:22) serves as the conclusion to the parable. Since Jülicher's publication of his study on the parables,⁹ it has been popular to view the quotation of Ps. 118:22 as a later addition which bears no relation to the parable. Principal Matthew Black, in connection with the present study, recently drew attention to the Semitic wordplay between בן and אבן which explains the basis of the relation between the parable and the quotation.¹⁰ It will be necessary for this study to verify the existence of the wordplay in Judaism and to analyze the Synoptic parable fully. The numerous problems that one encounters in attempting to deal with the parable require lengthy discussion, but the effort is necessary if adequate consideration is to be

⁸Gaston, pp. 193-194 and 213-229.

⁹A. Jülicher, Die Gleichnisreden Jesu (Freiburg i. B.: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr, vol. I, 1888; vol. II, 1889).

¹⁰"The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," NTS, XVIII (1971-1972), 12-14. Principal Black originally made the suggestion independently of Philip Carrington's commentary According to Mark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 256. The references in his article were obtained in conjunction with this dissertation, as he acknowledged in his original address.

given to the stone testimonia.

Another crucial area that must be discussed is the legitimacy of the use of the stone quotations. The main part of the problem of legitimacy involves the relation of the various stone passages. May an interpreter properly connect two OT verses such as Is. 8:14 and Zech. 12:3 or Is. 28:16 and Zech. 3:8?¹¹ May one refer to other "stone" or "rock" passages as parallels for interpreting the NT passages? Both pastor and scholar of ancient times and the present have taken liberties in drawing parallels that are at least questionable if not completely uncalled for. As the analysis of the patristic material will show, the post-apostolic Church found the OT to be an abundant quarry from which nearly every rock or stone, from the one Jacob used as a pillow (Gen. 28:11f.) to that which killed Goliath (I Sm. 17:49), could be understood of Jesus. Modern scholarship has not been nearly so lax, but various references to a stone or rock have been seen as parallel without any attempt to authenticate the connection.¹² In both testaments verses speaking of or alluding to a rock have been taken as allusions to the stone imagery without adequate consideration, and the question will have to be raised whether it is legitimate to equate "rock" and "stone" as is frequently done. One such passage where the stakes are highest is Mt. 16:18. Does the ascription of the name "Peter" bear any relation to the stone testimonia as some have

¹¹As for example, George A. F. Knight, A Christian Theology of the Old Testament (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1959), pp. 186-187.

¹²A parallel is frequently drawn between the living stone of I P 2:4 and the source of living water in Jn. 7:37-38 (coupled with the water-bearing rock of I Cor. 10:4). For example, Sciascia, pp. 66-68.

suggested?¹³

In attempting to trace the development of the image, not only will questions have to be raised about the relation of biblical passages to other biblical passages, but it will be necessary to inquire into the relation of the biblical passages to passages from other literature such as the Qumran Scrolls and the rabbinic writings. David Flusser has suggested a literary connection between I P 2:4-10 and IQS VIII.5-8.¹⁴ Joachim Jeremias has argued that the NT stone references, especially Mt. 16:18, are based on the rabbinic אבן שתייה legend.¹⁵ Jeremias' position has been widely assumed without further critical analysis, but there are several reasons for at least questioning the validity of his treatment.

An inordinate amount of attention has been given in previous studies to determine the position of the stone in the building which is mentioned or implied in the stone passages. This question will have to be considered, but it is not nearly as important as tracing the development of the image and understanding its application.

The student of the stone testimonia is invariably drawn into broader subjects such as the concept of the new temple and the testimonia hypothesis. The purpose of this study is to analyze the christological use of the stone quotations in the NT and to trace their christological development from the OT to the early patristic period, but it is impossible

¹³Lindars, pp. 181-183; and Gaston, pp. 223-229.

¹⁴"The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity," Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin, vol. IV of Scripta Hierosolymitana (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1965), pp. 233-234.

¹⁵Golgotha, pp. 68-87.

to do this in isolation from subjects that overlap. In particular, the testimonia hypothesis is much too large an issue to be dealt with in this study, but it will be necessary to make reference to the hypothesis and to make note of any light that the stone quotations shed on it.

It should be mentioned that the term "testimonia" is used throughout this study without any thought of a single collection of verses such as one would envisage with Harris' "Testimony Book." One should not go to the other extreme, however, of using the term for every OT quotation in the NT.¹⁶ Joseph Fitzmyer defined "testimonia" as "the current name for systematic collections of Old Testament passages, usually of messianic import, which are thought to have been used by early Christians."¹⁷ Similarly the word will be used here in a general sense to refer to verses which one may reasonably suspect were consciously appropriated from the OT by Jews and/or early Christians as "testimonies" or "proofs" of the activity of God, and of the identity and character of the Messiah and his followers.

In order to understand and appreciate the christological use of each quotation in the NT and the development of the image, we propose to do an exegesis of the stone passages in both testaments and to analyze the relevance of the similar extra-biblical literature. The analysis will involve material that was produced over a period of at least 1200 years. At times the evidence will not be as complete as one would like, but the

¹⁶For which Martin Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1969), p. 217, rebuked Lindars. Lindars did, however, refer to those OT quotations which give evidence of the earliest formulation of Christian doctrine (p. 13).

¹⁷"'4Q Testimonia' and the New Testament," Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), p. 59. [Published originally in TS, XVIII (1957), 513-537.]

importance and frequency of the image in the early Church and its relevancy for the present Church necessitate a deeper and more complete inquiry than has been done heretofore.

Chapter 2

THE STONE IMAGERY IN THE OT

Although the Semitic words for stone and rock were common everyday words, the metaphorical use of these terms in certain contexts of the OT gained for them the theological significance that led to their NT use.¹

SURVEY OF THE TERMS USED

The primary word in the study of the OT stone testimonia is אבן, but it is necessary to consider the related words as well. צור and סלע are used interchangeably and refer to rock that is not detached from a natural formation.² Quite frequently both צור and סלע carry the connotation of height and may be translated as "cliff,"³ but at times they mean no more than a large mass of rock. Thus both words are used of a place of refuge and of the rock in the wilderness that gave water. אבן, on the other hand, is used to designate stones that are detached from a natural rock formation, whether in their natural state (as the stone on which

¹The theological significance referred to bears no relation to the cultic significance of stones discussed by William Robertson Smith, Lectures on the Religion of the Semites (3d ed.; New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1969), pp. 200-212 and 568-571.

²H. W. Hertzberg, "Der Heilige Fels und das Alte Testament," JPOS, XII (1932), 36.

³אבן is a synonym, but is used only twice and only in the plural (Jer. 4:29 and Job 30:6).

Jacob slept, Gen. 28:11f.) or in their use by man. It can be used to refer to stones in a field (II Kings 3:19), boundary markers (Josh. 15:6), stones for throwing (whether by hand, Lev. 20:2, or by war machines, II Chron. 26:15), pillars (Gen. 31:45), jewels (II Sm. 12:30), stones for building (I Kings 5:31), weights (Lev. 19:36), and other stones used in a variety of ways by mankind.

This distinction between אבן and סלע/צור is maintained throughout the OT although all three words are used figuratively in similar ways. אבן and סלע are both used as symbols of hardness (Job 41:16 and Jer. 5:3)⁴ and possibly of rulers (Jer. 51:26 and Is. 31:9).⁵ All three words are used to symbolize strength (Job 6:12; Ps. 62:7; and 31:3-4), to refer to altars (I Sm. 6:14; Jd. 6:20-21; and 13:19), and, with proper names, to designate landmarks (Josh. 15:6; Jd. 7:25 and 21:13), but in the last two of these examples אבן would indicate a different type of altar or landmark than would צור and סלע. צור may be connected with צרוז, a small stone or pebble (II Sm. 17:13 and Amos 9:9), and צר, a flint knife (Ex. 4:25 and Josh. 5:2), but that does not make it equivalent to אבן. There is one passage, however, where אבן and צור are parallel,⁶ and some have gone so far as to conclude that "rock" and "stone" are

⁴The idea is, of course, present in צור, and Ezek. 3:9 uses צר to symbolize insensitivity.

⁵Although in these texts אבן could be understood literally and סלע as referring to the Assyrian god.

⁶Job 22:24 uses צור in such a way that it could be taken as a parallel to אבן (cf. 14:19). If צור is the correct reading (note BDB, p. 849), however, it still could be understood of a natural rock formation. צור was probably used to obtain the assonance between על-עפר בצר and בצור... אופיר. The reading צור in Ps. 89:44 is probably incorrect.

therefore interchangeable.⁷ In Is. 8:14 אבן נבֹהֵף ("a stone of stumbling") is used in synonomous parallelism with צור מכשול ("a rock of offence"), but it is the ideas that are equated rather than אבן and צור. The first expression would indicate a stone lying in the path while the second would refer to a part of a rock formation that jutted up into the pathway. At any rate, this passage is unique, and one cannot conclude from it that the two words are interchangeable. While אבן and סלע/צור are put to similar figurative use in certain cases, there is a clear distinction between them in the OT. אבן is used of stone free from a natural rock formation while צור and סלע are confined to use of rock that is part of a natural formation.

THE WORDPLAY BETWEEN אבן AND בן

The possibility of a Semitic wordplay between אבן and בן has been suggested by Principal Matthew Black.⁸ The OT evidence shows that the existence of such a wordplay is beyond doubt and that this wordplay was so common that it can be referred to as "traditional."⁹

While the etymologies of both words are somewhat uncertain, one connection between them is their similar relationship to the verb "to build" (בנה) which can be used of building a house or raising a family. For example, בנה is used in Ruth 4:11f. where the hope is expressed that Ruth

⁷So S. H. Hooke, "The Corner-Stone of Scripture," The Siege Perilous (London: SCM Press, 1956), p. 236.

⁸See supra p. 4.

⁹J. Massingberd Ford, "The Jewel of Discernment," BZ, XI (1967), 109.

will build a house for Boaz as Rachel and Leah built the house of Israel.¹⁰ Thus a house to the Semitic mind could be either a house built with stones (Lev. 14:40f.) or a family made up of sons and daughters (Gen. 7:1; 18:19 et al.).¹¹

The first actual occurrence of the wordplay is in Ex. 28:9f. where the priest's garments are described. The two stones that went on the shoulder-pieces of the ephod were to have had the names of the children of Israel engraved upon them (six names on each of the two stones). The words אבנים ("stones of remembrance for the children of Israel") of v. 12 bring the wordplay out clearly, but it was already in mind in vs. 9 and 11. Even if the writer had not intended the wordplay, the readers (or listeners) could not have missed the assonance. The אבנים stand for the בנים. The similar idea of each tribe being represented by an engraved stone on the high priest's breastplate follows in 28:17f., and again the wordplay is evident in v. 21 (...בני ישראל...). The parallel passage in Ex. 39 which describes the actual making of the priest's garments repeats the account in chapter 28 almost verbatim. (Note especially 39:6, 7, 14 for the wordplay.)

The wordplay occurs also in Josh. 4 where one man from each of the twelve tribes was to take a stone from the middle of the Jordan for a sign to the coming generations. The wordplay is evident in 4:6, 7, 8, 20, and 21. (Vs. 6-7: בניכם... האבנים... והיו האבנים האלה לזכרון לבני ישראל, "your children...the stones...and these stones will be for a

¹⁰Cf. Dt. 5:9; II Sm. 7:13, 27; and I Kings 11:38.

¹¹See BDB, p. 109f.; and Philip Carrington, According to Mark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 249.

memorial to the children of Israel.") It is implied that the stones had a double significance. Each stone represented one tribe of the children of Israel, and the stones collectively served as a memorial for the succeeding generations of the children of Israel. Thus in a double sense the stones are "for the children." Again, even if the writer did not intend a wordplay, the readers could not have missed it. A similar case where twelve stones represent the twelve tribes appears in I Kings 18:31.

Another instance of the wordplay occurs in Is. 54:11-13. Yahweh gave a word of comfort to Zion by the promise "I will set your stones (לאבניך) in fair colors...and all your borders of precious stones (לאבני).¹² The result would be that "all your children (בניך) will be disciples of Yahweh, and great will be the peace of your children (בניך)." The wordplay between לאבניך of v. 11 and בניך of v. 13a and b is certain. Christopher North pointed out that it is unusual to have the same word in parallel stichs as with בניך in v. 13 and suggested that one should read בניך ("your builders") for the first and retain בניך ("your children") for the second.¹² He cited 1QIs^a as having this reading, but there has been some mistake. For the first occurrence of "children" Qumran has בניך (instead of the reported בוניכי), but it does have the second corrected to "builders" by waw written above the word. Despite the error in reporting,

¹²The Second Isaiah (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 193-195 and 251. He thought that a "double entendre" between "builders" and "sons" is contained in one word at Is. 49:17 where he again pointed בניך as בניך following the Vulgate, targum, and 1QIs^a. For rabbinic evidence of the same understanding of Is. 54:13, cf. J. Duncan M. Derrett, "The Stone the Builders Rejected," SE, IV, ed. F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1965), p. 185; and *infra*, p. 191. Derrett saw the play at Is. 54:13, but apparently not with 54:11.

the suggestion is a good one. On the basis of the understanding of "children" as "builders" in Is. 49:17 in IQIs^a and the rabbinic writings, "builders" should probably be read in 54:13a.¹³ The result is a three-way wordplay between three words that were traditionally used together. The occurrence of "precious stones" in v. 12 would have served to strengthen the wordplay. These "precious stones," if not all the stones mentioned, should be interpreted as the rulers and leaders of the people. Evidently the writer felt that the connection between these words was so well-known that he could make a complex wordplay without fearing that anyone would miss the point.

In Lam. 4:1-2 there is another occurrence of the wordplay. Whether the אבני־קדש of 4:1 should be understood as "precious stones"¹⁴ or the more traditional "stones of the sanctuary" is not important for our purposes. The wordplay between בן and אבן could be made with various kinds of stones as the texts above show. The play between אבני־קדש of v. 1 and בני ציון of v. 2 is plain enough from this passage alone.¹⁵ It is made even more certain by a comparison of the stock phrase "at the head of every street" in v. 1 with the same phrase in 2:19 where the young children (עולל־יך) are at the head of every street and Is. 51:20 where

¹³On Is. 49:17 see David Flusser, "The Text of Isa. XLIX,17 in the DSS," *Textus*, II (1962), 140-142.

¹⁴J. A. Emerton, "The Meaning of אבני־קדש in Lamentations 4:1," *ZAW*, LXXIX (1967), 233.

¹⁵*Ibid.* "There is general agreement that the precious metals and stones of v. 1 are to be understood figuratively of the 'precious sons of Zion' in v. 2..."

the sons (בְּנֵי) lie at the head of every street.¹⁶ Evidently the presence of children at the head of every street was a common phrase used to describe the scene at the destruction of a city.

Finally one can see evidence of the wordplay in Zech. 9:16 where it is reported that Yahweh will save the flock of his people for the stones of a crown. In v. 13 the sons of Zion (בְּנֵי) were in view. The wordplay is not as plain as some of the passages, but it seems fairly clear that the writer had the play in mind and intended more than just a comparison.¹⁷

There should be no doubt then that there was an old and well-known wordplay in the Hebrew language between בֵּן and אֶבֶן regardless of the type ^{of} stones meant. The passages from Ex. 28; 39; Josh. 4; Is. 54; and Lam. 4 put this beyond question. This does not prove, of course, that the Gospels made use of the wordplay, but it does show that the wordplay was common and available for use.

THE ROCK IMAGERY AS A NAME FOR GOD

The most common symbolic use of the words that concern us is their use as a name for God. The word chosen to convey this meaning is nearly

¹⁶The use of עוֹלָלִיךָ in 2:19 may have been motivated by the desire for a wordplay with עוֹלָלָה, a favorite word of the writer to refer to God's dealings with Zion. The same word is used in Nahum 3:10 to refer to children dashed in pieces at the head of every street.

¹⁷Josh. 10:11; Is. 58:12; and Ps. 147:2 may give additional evidence for the wordplay, but the stones in Ps. 102:14 should be understood literally. One should note also that the nation Israel is referred to both as a son (Ex. 4:22 and Hos. 11:1) and as a stone (Dn. 2:34f.). Similar to the stone image is the concept of the vine to which Israel is likened in several passages. In Ps. 80:16 בֵּן is even used of the vine. Cf. Gen. 49:22 where בָּנוֹת ("daughters") is used for branches of a vine.

always צור , and it is used thirty-three times in this way. Four times סלע is used of God in poetic parallelism with צור, and only once does it stand alone as a name for God (Ps. 42:10). סלע may be understood of an Assyrian god in Is. 31:9 (צור is used of a heathen god in Dt. 32:31 and 37), but it could refer instead to the ruler of Assyria.¹⁸ There is also the possibility that אבן is used as a name for God in Gen. 49:24.

The use of this imagery for God is most often found in the prayers of Israel, and one may agree that the name conveys a "prayer tone."¹⁹ Although the name is used in different connections, including reference to God as creator (Dt. 32:4, 15f.), it carries mainly the idea that God is a refuge or protection for his people. It is primarily the God of salvation who is named "the Rock."²⁰

Since this ascription was one of the most important titles for Yahweh in the OT, there is the possibility that it has affected the stone testimonia. Joachim Jeremias has suggested that it prepared the way for a messianic interpretation of many of the stone passages.²¹ While this possibility should be kept in mind, it will have to be evaluated after a more complete inquiry into the stone passages themselves.

¹⁸Edward J. Kissane, The Book of Isaiah (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1960), I, 343-344, rejected both these views and interpreted the verse as referring to a fortress that will pass into other hands. He rejected the equation of the rock with the ruler because it is not attested elsewhere.

¹⁹A. Wiegand, "Der Gottesname צור und seine Deutung in dem Sinne Bildner oder Schöpfer in der alten jüdischen Litteratur," ZAW, X (1890), 96.

²⁰Ibid., 86.

²¹"λίθος, λίθινος," TDNT, IV, 273.

Gen. 49:24

The only place that אֵבֶן is used strictly as a title of Yahweh is Gen. 49:24. The passage is usually considered to be corrupt, and few commentators have dealt with the divine epithet in any detail. This portion of Jacob's Testament praises Joseph as a prosperous individual who has suffered and been sustained in persecution by Yahweh.

M. Dahood did away with the title by the vertical transposition of two words ("stone" and "arms") and the omission of an 'ayin which was the result of dittography. His translation reads:

But his bow was scattered by the Mighty One,
and his slingstones were scattered;
by the hands of the Bull of Jacob
by the name of the Arm of Israel.²²

The situation is not quite as simple as this however. Dahood used the variant וַיִּפְזְרוּ instead of the MT וַיִּפְזוּ and assumed that the resh from this verb may have been carried into the second half of the verse at the time of the vertical transposition and expanded to "shepherd." He also had trouble fitting his revision of the verse into the context. To understand the first two parts of v. 24 as applying to the archers of v. 23, he had to resort to the idea that the archers were viewed collectively and comprehended by singular suffixes.²³ This revision of the text is possible, but it seems too complex and tendential to be probable.

Contrary to the pointing of the MT, the text as it is preserved

²²"Is 'Eben Yisra'el a Divine Title? (Gen. 49:24)," Bib, XL (1959), 1002. His reconstructed text reads:

וְחֶשֶׁב בְּאֵיתָן קֶשֶׁתוֹ וַיִּפְזְרוּ אֲבֵנֵי יָדָיו
מִיַּדֵי אֲבִיר יַעֲקֹב מִשֵּׁם זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל

²³Ibid., pp. 1005-1007.

probably should read:

By the hands of the Mighty One [or "Bull"] of Jacob
By the name of the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel.²⁴

The context shows that אבן, if a legitimate title, would have carried the connotation of support and salvation as did צור and סלע. Joseph had been saved from the archers by the Stone of Israel.

The suggestion has been made that the use of this title had in mind the stone of Bethel in Gen. 28:18f.²⁵ This stone was set up to commemorate a manifestation of Deity and the place of the visit was named the "house of God." However, one should not read too much into Jacob's action, for the setting up of stones as memorials was quite common (Gen. 31:44f.; Josh. 4:20; 24:26; I Sm. 7:12). The value of the stone was not intrinsic, but in its ability to commemorate the event. Still, the use of a stone to commemorate the presence of God (as Gen. 28:18f. and I Sm. 7:12) may have played a part in the ascription of the title to God.

The main objection to this title, of course, is that it occurs only here in Gen. 49:24. אבן is used almost as a designation for God in Is. 8:14 where it is said that Yahweh will be a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, and in I Sm. 7:12 the stone set up is called the "stone of help" because "Here Yahweh helped us." It is possible that אבן is a legitimate title for God, but it is more likely that the text has not been accurately preserved. The LXX and targums give no support for the MT reading or for the use of אבן as a title for God.²⁶

²⁴Cf. Hooke, p. 235. He omitted "shepherd" of the MT as an explanatory gloss.

²⁵Hertzberg, p. 35. Cf. Hooke, p. 236 quoting Eduard Meyer; and A. Kapelrud, "אבן," TWAT, I, 52-53.

²⁶See infra, pp. 71-72 and 97-98.

THE ISAIAH STONE PASSAGES

The Is. stone passages are the first occurrences of the imagery that are really important. Both of the texts to be considered present problems for the exegete, but they are crucial for the understanding of Is. and for OT theology.

Is. 8:14

The context of this passage is the Immanuel section in which first Ahaz (chapter 7) and then the people (chapter 8) were warned against panic and fear of the political situation. The time was 735-734 B. C. when Tiglath-pileser III and the Assyrian forces were threatening Palestine and when Syria and Israel were trying to force Judah to join a confederation against Assyria.²⁷ The message of Isaiah was primarily a message of encouragement for Judah, but from the first it implied the necessity of faith in Yahweh. The refusal to trust in Yahweh by both the king and the people resulted in a prophecy of disaster. The ideas of the remnant and the ultimate success of the people were ever in mind, but judgement would come to Judah because the people had trusted in conspiracies rather than Yahweh. Is. 8:5-8 speaks of the invasion of Judah, vs. 9-10 of the failure of the nations to destroy Judah, and vs. 11-15 of Yahweh's instructions to Isaiah.

There is little agreement by commentators on the meaning of these instructions, and several emendations have been proposed. The most troublesome word is מקדש ("sanctuary") in v. 14. The most straightforward sense

²⁷Hooke, p. 236.

is to take it as a sanctuary in the sense of an asylum. Some, feeling that the word must conform to the idea of judgement in the rest of the verse, have interpreted it as a holy object to be avoided because punishment will come to those who have contact with it.²⁸ An appeal is made to 5:16 and Ezek. 28:22 for the idea of Yahweh being sanctified as one to be avoided, but it is questionable that the thought in these texts implies the necessity of avoidance of God by his people. If מקדש is retained, it will have to be interpreted as a sanctuary in the sense of an asylum or refuge.

A good number of commentators thus have sought to emend למקדש to למוקש, a "snare." This would make both parts of the verse refer to judgement, but the occurrence of למוקש in the second half of the verse militates against its being used in the first half. If it were used in both halves of the verse, and especially the way this verse is laid out, it would be an unusual instance to say the least.

Johannes Lindblom not only made the emendation of למקדש to למוקש, but also emended תקדשו of v. 13 to תקשירו to stay in keeping with קשר in v. 12. Understanding קשר in the sense of "bind," he translated: "You shall have Yahweh as your ally."²⁹ He thus saw a

²⁸George Buchanan Gray, The Book of Isaiah, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), p. 153. Cf. also C. von Orelli, The Prophecies of Isaiah, trans. J. S. Banks (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1889), p. 62; and Joseph Addison Alexander, Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah, ed. John Eadie (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1865), I, 190.

²⁹A Study of the Immanuel Section in Isaiah (Isa. vii,1-ix,6) (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1958), pp. 30-31. However, קשר is not attested in the hiphil in the MT.

wordplay between the political confederacy of the people and the personal alliance with Yahweh that they should have. The main problem in this passage is the transition from the idea of Yahweh's being a protection in v. 14a to his being a judgement in v. 14b. Besides the objections already mentioned, the emendation to *למוקש* only pushes the difficulty of transition back so that there is a complete break between vs. 13 and 14. This is especially evident in Lindblom's approach where there is a personal alliance with Yahweh in v. 13 and yet he is a snare in v. 14.

G. R. Driver came close to avoiding the difficulty completely by emending *תקדשו* to *תקשירו* (as Lindblom) and *תקדש* to *תקשיר* (which he translated "a cause of difficulty"). He suggested that *קשר* ("bond" or "conspiracy") may have come to mean "knotty affair" or "difficulty." His translation of vs. 12-14 reads:

You shall not call a difficulty all that this people calls a difficulty; fear not what they fear nor have what they have in awe. (v.13) It is the Lord of hosts whom you will find difficult, and he must be the object of your fear and your awe; (v. 14) and he will become a cause of difficulty and a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence to the two houses of Israel, a trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.³⁰

The difficulty of transition has been avoided by making the whole passage refer to judgement. The resultant meaning is that even the person who does not align himself with the people and who has Yahweh as the object of his fear and awe will find Yahweh difficult. However, in explaining his translation, Driver had to introduce the protasis of a conditional sentence for a proper understanding. ("...God will be their difficulty if they show any weakness.")³¹ The insertion of the protasis is based on

³⁰"Two Misunderstood Passages of the OT," JTS ns, VI (1955), 83.

³¹Ibid., 84. (Italics mine)

nothing in the text. In addition, it is questionable whether קשר can mean "difficulty," especially in this context, and מקשיר is not attested in the MT.

Hans Wildberger likewise attempted to remove the difficulty of transition by making all the passage a warning or threat. He accepted the emendation of תקדישו to תקשירו (v. 13) and changed מקדש to מקשר (v. 14) and translated the latter as "conspiracy." He understood the conspiracy in this context to refer to a plot within Jerusalem to overthrow the king. The plot would have been in association with the military pressure from Syria and Israel to place a Tabeite on the throne (7:6). Isaiah's concern was not for this conspiracy, but to warn the people that Yahweh was the one conspiring against them.³² However, the emendation to מקשר is questionable, and the supposition that the reference is to an internal conspiracy does not have enough basis in the text.

Kissane moved the transition in the opposite direction that most do. He retained מקדש and understood it as a sanctuary in the sense of a refuge. Then he inserted ולא before אבן which, as he pointed out, could easily have dropped out as a result of haplography. He translated: "And He will be [to you] a sanctuary, and [not] a stone of offence; But a stumbling-block..."³³ The LXX does have the negative before "stone," but it also has it before "rock" (which Kissane translated without the negative). He also made a distinction between אבן נגף ("stone of offence") and צור מכשול ("stumbling-block") by saying that the former is a symbol

³²Jesaja 1-12 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlags des Erziehungsvereins, 1972), pp. 334-337.

³³Kissane, pp. 94-97.

of trouble while the latter is a symbol of complete ruin.³⁴ This solution is not satisfactory since it is doubtful that a distinction between the two terms can be maintained. In Jer. 13:16 the feet stumbling (נִגְּף) on dark mountains is compared to the shadow of death, and Ps. 119:165 uses "stumbling" (מִכְשׁוֹל) and does not mean complete ruin. Especially since the two phrases are used in parallel structure, it is difficult to make a distinction in their meanings. One certainly cannot negate one phrase on the basis of the LXX and leave the other positive when the LXX negates both.

Somewhat similar is the suggestion that וְלֹא־בִּנְיָן should be understood as an original וְלֹא־בִּנְיָן כִּי־יִבָּנֶה³⁵ or better וְלֹא־בִּנְיָן . This too does away with the abrupt transition, but to hold that the original rendering involved a negative that has dropped out requires the acceptance that a second negative before צוֹר has also dropped out or that the one negative served for both parts of the parallelism. Even more bothersome is the attempt to reconcile the rest of vs. 14-15 with the statement that Yahweh will be neither a stone of stumbling nor a rock of offence. V. 15 requires that he be both of these and a trap and a snare, for it gives a fourfold result of the fourfold description in v. 14 of Yahweh's position against his people.

With Lohfink,³⁶ none of these suggestions is of sufficient merit since each of them creates more difficulty than it alleviates. Modern day

³⁴Ibid., 97.

³⁵R. R. Ottley, The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), II, 149. The suggestion is attributed to Scholz.

³⁶Norbert Lohfink, "Isaias 8,12-14," BZ, VII (1963), 99-101.

commentators are not the first to feel the difficulty of the passage however. The variations of the LXX and targum show that they have wrestled with the passage as well. Both insert the protasis of a conditional sentence at the beginning of v. 14. The LXX retained "sanctuary" and negated the stone of stumbling and rock of offence and further changed the verse to make the judgement palatable. The targum, after the protasis, went the opposite direction and read "vengeance" (פֹּרְעוֹן) and applied the judgement to the two houses of the princes of Israel for breaking with the house of Judah. The text as it is preserved in the MT should be preferred since it is the more difficult reading and since it is also supported by IQIs^a. The differences of the LXX and targums are an attempt to explain away the judgement of Yahweh.

The passage may not be quite as difficult as it has been made. The cryptic nature of the passage may be due to the fact that the oracle was given under extreme pressure. (Note 8:11 where Yahweh is said to have spoken with "strength of hand.") If the emotional pressure was so great as to require comment, it could certainly cause a transition to be more abrupt than one would desire. An additional feature that would cause abruptness is the author's use of popular religious symbols such as "sanctuary" and "rock."³⁷ In this discussion of the security of the people, it is evident that the people had erred in placing their confidence in political alliances rather than in Yahweh (8:6, 12, and 19f.) Isaiah was warned to have the proper respect for Yahweh that the people had neglected.

³⁷ Wildberger, p. 338; and Lohfink, p. 103; and Volkmar Hertrich, Der Prophet Jesaja: Kapitel 1-12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), all point to the sharpness of Isaiah's message.

"Sanctify" can be used in this sense, especially in the hiphil. In Num. 20:12 it was said that Moses and Aaron did not believe in Yahweh to sanctify him (regard as holy) before the people, and it is evident that they took matters into their own hands. (Cf. Num. 27:14 as well.) Again in Is. 29:23 the proper relationship to Yahweh and trust in him are in view with the use of קדש. (It may even be that Is. 29:23b is dependent on Is. 8:13 because of the association of קדש and ערץ.)³⁸ In Is. 8:12f. the people had more respect for political powers than for Yahweh, but Isaiah was warned against following such a course.

If v. 13 is interpreted this way, מִקְדָּשׁ of v. 14 can be retained, for one would expect some explanation of the result of complying with the commands of v. 13. The word should be understood in the sense of an asylum (as Ezek. 11:16), for the basic idea is the presence of God with the people. With the recurrence of "Immanuel" in 8:8 and 10, it is clear that the sign of 7:14 was prominent in the prophet's thinking. The same idea was in mind here. If the right regard is paid to Yahweh, he will be "God with us."

One still must face the problem of the transition to the idea of judgement. Waw can and often does serve to introduce an antithesis,³⁹ and it should be so understood here. Given that the prophet was using familiar imagery and was speaking under stress, one should expect the transition to be abrupt. The effect is one of shock for the reader. Where he would expect the idea of a rock in the sense of "refuge" to be associated with the idea of a sanctuary, he finds that the refuge has changed to a rock

³⁸Lohfink, p. 101.

³⁹E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley (eds.), Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 485.

that brings trouble. If מִקְדָּשׁ of v. 14 would have brought back ideas of the son in 7:14, the אֲבִן (on the basis of the close connection of בֶּן and אֲבִן discussed above) would have served as an even greater shock. The passage is abrupt and even cutting, but it was meant that way. Where one would expect ideas of the "son" (Immanuel) and a refuge ("rock" as a title for God), he is confronted with the stone of stumbling and the rock of offence.

Thus, the text preserved in the MT should be retained.⁴⁰ Although tersely written, it is understandable and in keeping with the basic features of Isaiah's message. 8:12-14 express differently the same thought that is given in 7:9: "If you will not believe, surely you will not be established."⁴¹ Yahweh is a protection for those in the right relationship with him, but he is a source of destruction for those who are not.

The idea that Yahweh is a source of destruction is conveyed partly by the phrases "stone of stumbling" and "rock of offence." The reference is to an obstacle in a pathway over which the unsuspecting are caused to fall. The suggestion of J. Ford that the stone here is a jewel which discerns between good and evil cannot be accepted.⁴² At this point the word is only a useful symbol and has no importance in itself. It is important, however, that one remember that 8:14 is an expansion of the interpretation

⁴⁰Lohfink, pp. 98-104.

⁴¹Herrtrich, p. 151.

⁴²Ford, p. 113. She based her argument on a survey of the stone imagery and concluded that passages such as Is. 28:16; 8:14; etc. all refer to jewels. In her opinion such a jewel could be used for a foundation stone because of the influence of the Jewish legend that twelve gems were made into one to be the center of the earth. Her methods are questionable.

of the sign in 7:14.⁴³

Is. 28:16

The approaches of commentators to the chapter in which this verse is found have been quite varied. A number of scholars have assigned vs. 1-4 to the future fall of Samaria (721 B. C.), vs. 7-22 to the time of Hezekiah (711-705 B. C.), and vs. 5-6 to a later redactor. Bentzen and Lindblom have argued that there are several reasons for accepting that vs. 1-22, with the exclusion of vs. 5-6, make up one long speech.⁴⁴ Kissane likewise accepted this section as one long speech (including vs. 5-6) and, because of the parallels between chapters 7 and 28, assigned chapter 28 to the same period as the earlier chapter.⁴⁵

In addition to the parallels drawn to chapter 7 by Kissane, Hooke has drawn attention to the connection between the necromancy in 8:19 and the covenant with death of 28:15.⁴⁶ Both chapters 8 and 28 deal with false refuges as opposed to a true refuge in the time of Yahweh's judgement. Attention should also be drawn to the parallel imagery of the waters of judgement in 8:7-9 and 28:17-18. (Note especially שטף ועבר in 8:8 and שוטף כי יעבר in 28:15 and 18.) Evidently the people had reassured

⁴³"The Sign of Immanuel," The Siege Perilous (London: SCM Press, 1956), pp. 231f.

⁴⁴See Joh. Lindblom, "Der Eckstein in Jes. 28,16," Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum Pertinentes Sigmundo Mowinckel Septuagenario Missae (Oslo: Forlaget Land Ogkirke, 1955), pp. 128f., for a survey of the approaches to the chapter.

⁴⁵Kissane, p. 299.

⁴⁶"The Sign of Immanuel," p. 231. Cf. also "The Corner-Stone of Scripture," p. 238.

themselves in the face of Isaiah's earlier message with the words of 28:15. It is tempting to draw another parallel between the two chapters on the basis of the stone imagery in both despite the differences in detail. That one is justified in doing so is evidenced in the parallel between 28:13 (וּכְשֶׁלוּ אַחֲזֵר וְנִשְׁבְּרוּ וְנוֹקְשׁוּ וְנִלְכְּדוּ "...and they will fall back and will be broken and snared and taken") and 8:15 (וּכְשֶׁלוּ בָם "And many will fall on them, indeed they will fall and be broken and snared and taken").

Thus chapter 28 is concerned with the same situation as chapters 7-8, the political crisis just prior to the Assyrian invasion of Palestine. Because the people had rejected Isaiah's previous message and had comforted themselves in the conspiracy they had made, another word from Yahweh was given.

All that the immediate context enables one to say about v. 16 is that Yahweh either had laid or would lay a place of refuge (the cornerstone of sure foundation) which would protect the one who believed from the coming judgement. Those who ignored this foundation and continued to trust the alliances they had made would be swept completely away by the waters of judgement.

The passage presents several problems, the first of which is the time meant for the laying of the foundation. The problem centers on the MT reading יָפַד (a piel perfect with an understood relative, "Behold me, who have laid...").⁴⁷ Most commentators have suggested that the participle should be read, and this would be more natural, but the occurrences in Is.

⁴⁷Kautzsch-Cowley, p. 487, who also suggested that the participle might be better.

29:14 and 38:5 of a construction similar to the MT reading should cause one to proceed with caution. The readings מִסֵּד of IQIs^a (which should probably be read as a piel participle) and יֹסֵד of IQIs^b, however, give additional grounds for understanding a participle which would be translated "I am founding."

Besides the reading accepted for מִסֵּד , the determination of the time is also influenced by the way one takes וְשָׁמַח of v. 17. It is possible to take both as preterites as Kissane did,⁴⁸ but then it is necessary to make an unexplainable switch to the future in v. 18. Because of the connection with v. 18, it would be best to take וְשָׁמַח as future. This does not necessarily determine the meaning of the time of מִסֵּד . On the basis of grammar alone, the question cannot be decided, but the participial understanding "I am founding" should probably be favored.

In other passages involving the cornerstone, alternatives have been offered for the type ^{of} stone meant, but there should be no question that the stone thought of here is a foundation stone. Edwin E. Le Bas, however, argued that the stone meant is a pyramidion that would test the accuracy of "an entire pyramid" (taking בָּחַן as active rather than passive).⁴⁹

⁴⁸Kissane, pp. 301 and 307.

⁴⁹"Was the Corner-Stone of Scripture a Pyramidion?" PEQ, LXXVIII, (1946), 113 et passim. There is little in favor of the interpretation of בָּחַן as active. See Hooke, "The Corner-Stone of Scripture," p. 242; Kemper Fullerton, "The Stone of Foundation," AJSL, XXXVII (1920-21), 2-3; and M. Tsevat, "בָּחַן," TWAT, I, 588-592. See also IQS VIII.7; IQH VI.26; and VII.9. W. M. Ramsay, Pauline and Other Studies (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1906), p. 253, [published earlier in Expositor, 5th series, IX (1889), 35f.] reported that stone blocks have been found in ancient Roman quarries that had been marked REPR (obatum), i. e., they fail to meet building specifications.

His attempt to explain away the idea of the foundation in v. 16a is not convincing, and his neglect of the sure foundation in v. 16b (מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד) displaces his whole argument.⁵⁰ A comparison of the similar terms in I Kings 5:31 ("...great stones, costly stones to found the house with hewn stones") and 7:10 should remove all doubt as to the type^f stone meant. It was an expensive cornerstone that served as a corner of the foundation of a building. The great value of foundation stones lay in their size (eight or ten cubits according to I Kings 7:10).⁵¹ Such a stone at the corner would be the most important part of the foundations, for it would be the stone that would determine the lines of the rest of the building.⁵²

More important than either of the previous problems is the question of the meaning of the stone in this context. The passage has often been understood directly of the Messiah, and Fullerton was so convinced

⁵⁰See Hooke, "The Corner-Stone of Scripture," pp. 240-241; and G. R. Driver, "'Another Little Drink'--Isaiah 28:1-22," Words and Meanings, Peter R. Ackroyd and Barnabas Lindars (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 59, for a critique of Le Bas' theory.

⁵¹Josephus wrote of foundation stones up to forty-five cubits in length (Bell. V.224; cf. 153 and 189) although Joachim Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), p. 22, did not take his dimensions seriously. The walls of the temple area have yielded stones up to twelve meters long and one that weighs over one hundred tons. (See J. Simons, Jerusalem in the Old Testament, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952, p. 357. James Patrick, "Stone," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906), IV, 618, reported of a stone found at the ruins of Baalbek that was thirteen feet by thirteen feet by sixty-four feet and another found in a nearby quarry that was fourteen by fourteen by seventy. The lowest stone of the southeast corner of the wailing wall is fourteen feet by three feet and eight inches "squared and polished with a finely dressed face."

⁵²R. J. McKelvey, "Christ the Cornerstone," NTS, VIII (1961-1962), 354. [This article reappeared as Appendix C in his The New Temple (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 195-204.]

that no other interpretation could satisfy that he viewed vs. 16b-17a as a marginal note that had intruded into the text.⁵³ Such a drastic view is not necessary and fails to come to grips with Isaiah's message.⁵⁴ It has usually been pointed out that a building was in mind which was contrasted with the building in which the rulers had placed their confidence. Kissane, because he took the verbs as preterites, thought that the passage referred to an already existing spiritual building. He understood the foundation stone as confidence in Yahweh and the walls as the upright conduct of the people, but he did not define the building precisely.⁵⁵ Others have suggested that the building was the future Kingdom of God and that the stone was either faith in God, the condition of access to the building, the relationship of God to his people, or the remnant. Finally, several have taken the building as a whole to be the remnant.⁵⁶

The tendency to identify the stone with faith in God is due to the belief that the stone bore the inscription "faith"⁵⁷ or possibly even the

⁵³ Fullerton, p. 40. He argued that Ps. 118:22 and Zech. 3:8b are also glosses upon the stone and are due to a "lithic messianic doctrine in existence in this late period."

⁵⁴ Walter Eichrodt, "Prophet and Covenant: Observations on the Exegesis of Isaiah," Proclamation and Presence, ed. John I. Durham and J. R. Porter (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1970), pp. 180-181.

⁵⁵ Kissane, p. 307.

⁵⁶ See Lindblom, "Der Eckstein in Jes. 28,16," pp. 124-125, and Fullerton, pp. 21-29 for surveys of the views on the cornerstone. For a refutation of the view of Jeremias that the stone here is evidence of the idea in Jewish legend that a holy stone holds down the primeval sea, see Hertzberg, passim; and infra, pp. 207-210. There is no basis for such a legend in the OT.

⁵⁷ S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, trans. G. W. Anderson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), p. 135. See Lindblom, "Der Eckstein in Jes. 28,16," p. 123, for a synopsis of Mowinckel's comments on the passage.

whole clause "He who believes will not be in haste."⁵⁸ It is by no means evident from the text that the stone carried any inscription and, as Lindblom,⁵⁹ one would have expected it to be expressed more clearly, especially if the stone were to be identified with faith. Lindblom, however, did take the final clause ("He who believes...") as an interpretation of the preceding metaphorical language, an interpretation introduced by asyndeton, and therefore understood that the cornerstone symbolized faith in Yahweh. For him the measuring line and mason's level of v. 17 suggest a wall and are identified with justice and righteousness. He expressed the thought without imagery as: "Jahwe hat eine Schöpfung in Zion, deren Hauptelemente Glaube, Recht und Gerechtigkeit sind."⁶⁰ He explained that God was already working (pointing יד as a participle) and that the new creation was present in the youths who were the disciples of Isaiah. After the catastrophe, they became in reality the remnant.

Hooke understood the stone to refer more directly to the remnant, and because the stone was a cornerstone, suggested that the meaning is "the precious centre [from the idea 'pivotal'] of the securely-founded redeemed community which will emerge from the eschatological tribulations of the consummation envisaged by the prophet."⁶¹

That the remnant was in mind is clear from 28:5 (unless one assigns vs. 5-6 to a later redactor). It may be reading into the chapter, however, to say that the stone itself was the remnant. The main point of Isaiah's

⁵⁸F. F. Bruce, This Is That (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1968), p. 65.

⁵⁹"Der Eckstein in Jes. 28,16," p. 127.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹"The Corner-Stone of Scripture," pp. 242f.

pronouncement was to contrast the refuge that would be swept away (to which the people insisted on clinging) with the real refuge, the stone, that Yahweh had provided. Those who trusted in the latter would make up the remnant. The building then would be the remnant,⁶² but the stone would be the foundation on which the remnant was to be brought together. Justice and righteousness were indispensable, but if one stays with the imagery, they are not parts of the building. They are standards to which the building was expected to conform.

As has been shown, there is a close connection between chapters 8 and 28, and the message of 28:15f. is basically the same as 8:11f. The only refuge from Yahweh's judgement was the one provided by Yahweh, and the alliances the people were trusting would lead to destruction. Since the message is basically the same and there are exact verbal parallels between the two chapters (8:8 and 28:15 and 18; and especially 8:15 and 28:13), one must ask the relation of the stone in 8:14 to the stone in 28:16. At first sight it appears that there is no relation between the two uses of "stone" since in 8:14 the stone is descriptive of Yahweh's judgement while in 28:16 the stone is a place of refuge which Yahweh lays. The similarities between the two chapters would indicate, however, that the stone of Is. 28:16 is a development of the stone in 8:14. Having delivered the message of 8:14 and received the words of rejection from the people (cf. 28:15), the prophet apparently spent much time thinking about

⁶²See Lindblom, "Der Eckstein in Jes. 28,16," 124, who assigned this view to Schmidt, Guthe, Hempel, and Müller. Cf. Walter Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, trans. J. A. Baker (London: SCM Press, 1961-67), I, 384, but his position is unclear since he seems to suggest that the stone is the remnant in II, 172.

the coming judgement. The imagery of the shaking of the foundations of the earth (2:19f.; 24:18f.) and the sweeping waters (28:17f.) show Isaiah's concern for a place that would not be shaken or swept away. In chapters 25 and 26 he spoke of a building, a refuge, provided by Yahweh. In 28:13f., realizing that the fate of 8:15 would inevitably come because the people had rejected his message (28:15), he repeated the message of judgement, but prefaced it with a renewal of the promise that there was a sure refuge, a foundation that would not be shaken or swept away. The two stones were not identical, but Isaiah realized that he who was a stone of stumbling had also provided the stone of sure foundation.

The stone of 28:16 would then be parallel to the sanctuary of 8:14 and would be an expansion of the promise in 7:14 to which 8:14 is itself connected.⁶³ Attention should be given to the fact that in both 7:14 and 28:14-16 לִבֵּן is followed by a promise instead of the threat that one would expect from the contexts, and one should note the similarity between 7:9b and 28:16d. That the all important sign of 7:14 was in mind in 8:14 and 28:16 should not come as too great a surprise since Isaiah placed an emphasis on the Davidic heir as the hope of the future. The stone of Is. 28:16, the refuge, was Yahweh's promise (or plan) of a divinely controlled government with a righteous heir on the Davidic throne.⁶⁴ The frequent

⁶³See *supra*, pp. 25-28; and Hooke, "The Sign of Immanuel," pp. 231-232. Apparently Eichrodt, "Prophet and Covenant," pp. 177-178, noticed the connection between chapters 8 and 28.

⁶⁴Cf. Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic* (London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 175; Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* (London: SCM Press, 1967), p. 67; Eichrodt, "Prophet and Covenant," pp. 177 and 180-183; and Josef Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem Jahwes Königssitz* (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1963), p. 172. On the Davidic heir, see Lindblom, *A Study of the Immanuel Section in Isaiah*, pp. 35-39 and 56.

use of פנה to designate a leader of the people serves to reinforce the idea that the heir to the Davidic throne was in mind.⁶⁵

The remnant then was not the refuge, which is not really logical, for the refuge called for a response of faith. The people were surely not to put their faith in a small group of human beings.⁶⁶ Rather, the remnant was made up of those who trusted Yahweh's refuge, his plan or promise of an ideal government under a righteous heir.

Before leaving Is. 28:16, comment should be made on the verb usually translated "shall not be in haste." Often an emendation has been offered to bring the text into line with the LXX "shall not be ashamed," but it is doubtful that the text needs to be altered. P. Wernberg-Møller has pointed out that the Qumranites understood the root as "to be dislodged" and that there is an Arabic equivalent with the same meaning.⁶⁷ This would fit the context perfectly.

THE ZECHARIAH STONE PASSAGES

The most enigmatic of all the stone imagery is that which occurs in the book of Zechariah. As so many of the symbols used in this book, the stone imagery is capable of being interpreted in various ways, and the problem is so complex that it caused one writer surveying the stone imagery

⁶⁵Cf. Is. 19:13; Jd. 20:2; I Sm. 14:38; and Zech. 10:4. The cornerstone in Jer. 51:26 may well be a reference to a leader.

⁶⁶Fullerton, p. 32: "It does not seem probable that Isaiah would encourage the Remnant to have faith in itself." (Italics his)

⁶⁷The Manual of Discipline (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957), p. 126. Other suggestions for a proper understanding without emendation have been offered by Kissane, p. 307; Lindblom, "Der Eckstein in Jes. 28,16," p. 126; and Driver, "Another Little Drink," p. 60.

virtually to ignore Zechariah's contribution.⁶⁸ Although the Zechariah stone passages are not quoted in the NT, it is necessary to include them in this analysis.

The time of Zechariah's writing was 520-516 B. C., and his purpose was to encourage the returned exiles. More specifically, he was concerned with reminding the people of God's promises, with establishing Zerubbabel as the legitimate heir to the Davidic throne, and with the completion of the building of the temple.⁶⁹

In the two main passages that concern us (Zech. 3:9 and 4:7-10), the stone appears rather abruptly, and therefore the context is not very helpful for ascertaining the meaning of the image. In 3:8f. the stone is set before Joshua the high priest as proof that the Branch will come. In 4:7f. the success of Zerubbabel is expressed in terms of his bringing forth a stone. Apparently a different stone is then referred to in 4:10.

One must ask first of all what kind of stone was meant. There have been a number of proposed solutions that are without adequate basis,⁷⁰ but the main suggestions are either some stone used in the construction of

⁶⁸Edward F. Siegman, "The Stone Hewn From the Mountain (Daniel 2)," CBQ, XVIII (1956), 373. He devoted one paragraph to 3:9, but made no reference to 4:7-10.

⁶⁹W. A. M. Beuken, Haggai-Sacharja 1-8 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967), p. 289.

⁷⁰Edwin E. Le Bas, "Zechariah's Enigmatical Contribution to the Corner-Stone," PEQ, LXXXII (1950), 107, listed thirteen suggestions that have been made to interpret the stone. Le Bas in this article set forth the wild theory that the pyramidion he found in Is. 28:16 was buried in Mt. Zion (on the basis of Is. 28:16) and was later released to become the headstone mentioned in Zechariah, thus fulfilling the prophecy of its release in Ps. 118:22!

the temple⁷¹ or a jewel from the priest's garments.⁷² Since those few who have held to the latter virtually have ignored the relevance of 4:7-10, their view must be rejected. One may agree with Hooke that the stone of 3:9 does not have any architectural significance if it is not taken with the stone of 4:7-10 (which he did not),⁷³ but regardless of the approach one takes to the book, it would be strange if such an important symbol were used in two different ways so closely together without any hint of explanation. In addition, both contexts speak of the "seven eyes." It is safe to conclude that the passages must be dealt with together and that the stone in question was some stone used in the construction of the temple.⁷⁴ The correctness of this view will be confirmed in the following discussion.

Until recently it was accepted that this stone was the top stone or crowning stone in the building. Even McKelvey, who argued convincingly that the cornerstone in other passages is a foundation stone, accepted the view that in Zech. 4:7 the stone is clearly a stone at the top of the building.⁷⁵ From an analysis of the text, it is not clear what kind of

⁷¹Albert Petitjean, Les oracles du proto-Zacharie (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1969), p. 184. Kurt Gallig, "Serubbabel und der Wiederaufbau des Temples in Jerusalem," Verbannung und Heimkehr, ed. Arnulf Kuschke (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1961), pp. 67-96, argued that the stone in 4:7 was the foundation stone which was "miraculously exposed," but that the stone in 3:9 was a precious stone. Hans Schmidt, "Das vierte Nachtgesicht des Propheten Sacharja," ZAW, LIV (1936), 48-60, interpreted both passages as references to the "holy rock of Mt. Zion." For a discussion of this legend, see infra, pp. 78-80 and 206-217.

⁷²Hinckley G. Mitchell, John Merlin Powis Smith, and Julius A. Bewer, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), p. 157.

⁷³"The Corner-Stone of Scripture," p. 246.

⁷⁴Petitjean, p. 184. Cf. Beuken, p. 285.

⁷⁵McKelvey, p. 353.

stone was meant, for ראש can mean "chief" or "first in a series" as well as "top." (One has to assume the same is possible for ראשה which does not occur elsewhere.) The context speaks of both foundation and the completion of the building, so it does not help either. If one had no additional help, he might be inclined to favor the view that the stone is a top stone because of the emphasis in 4:9 on the completion of the building, but Petitjean has drawn attention to the importance of the foundation stone in Near Eastern texts as relevant for an understanding of Zech.⁷⁶ The parallels are so strong that one cannot deny that Zechariah had a foundation stone in mind as well. In several Near Eastern texts the laying of the foundation of a temple is reported to have been a time of purification of the land (cf. 3:9), and the foundation stone was engraved for a memorial to the king who founded it (cf. 3:9). The day of the laying of the foundation stone was a day of peace and friendship, and the community was assured of prosperity and security (cf. 3:10).⁷⁷ The laying of the first stone was a particularly important event. Prior to the laying of the foundation, there were purifications and lamentations (cf. 3:3-5), but the laying of the first stone, which was performed by the king himself, brought joy and celebration (cf. 4:7).⁷⁸ As W. Beuken has

⁷⁶Petitjean, p. 185 et passim.

⁷⁷Ibid. Cf. pp. 186f., 189, 216f.

⁷⁸Ibid. 224f. Petitjean has collected several of the most relevant texts. Of special interest, as rendered by Petitjean, are: 1) on a prism of Asarhaddon, "Pour la vie de mon âme, pour la longueur de mes jours, j'ai porté sur ma nuque la première brique; j'ai posé le fondement et fixé l'ouvrage de briques;" 2) from the Cylinder of Gudea A, XX, 24-26, "Gudéa, le constructeur du temple, porta sur la tête le coussinet, (comme une) tiare pure, dans le temple. Il posa les fondations, les assises dans le sol;" 3) A, XI, 6f., "Le jour où tu y porteras une main pieuse, au ciel un vent annoncera la pluie. Que du ciel il t'apporte l'abondance... Grâce

indicated, the parallels that Petitjean has drawn are so strong that one is forced to accept the conclusion that we are dealing with the first stone of the temple, especially since there are no inscriptions that refer to the top stone.⁷⁹

It does not appear that the foundation stone of Is. 28:16 is an exact parallel to the foundation stone of the Zech. texts. The parallels in the Near Eastern texts indicate a stone small enough for the king to carry or even prepare himself,⁸⁰ i. e., a ceremonial foundation stone, while the stone in Isaiah was the most important functional stone in the foundation (cf. I Kings 5:31 and 7:10). This is not to say that jubilation would not have been associated with the actual foundation stones as well.

That the foundation stone was in mind is reinforced still more when one compares the account in Ezra 3:8-13 of the celebration at the laying of the foundation of the second temple. The text does not state explicitly that Zerubbabel laid the stone, but it does list him as a co-director of the work (Ezra 3:8). The conclusion that Ezra 3:8-13 and Zech. 4:7-10 relate to the same event seems valid.

The importance of the Near Eastern parallels can be seen when one attempts to analyze the two passages in Zech. A passage that was almost beyond comprehension (3:9-10) has become understandable. The stone set before Joshua was the foundation stone about which the high priest made

aux fondations de mon temple (une fois) établies...Grâce (aux fondations)
..."

⁷⁹Beuken, p. 289.

⁸⁰See n. 78 and James B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 317.

sure of the divine will before construction was begun. The "seven eyes" indicated the divine concern and care, and the fact that Yahweh himself engraved the stone pointed to the reality that he was the founder, the one who was starting this new enterprise. The laying of the stone assured the community of the divine favor for forgiveness and security.⁸¹

In 4:7-10 the same event was in mind, but the focus was on the role of Zerubbabel, the legitimate heir to the Davidic throne, and the ceremony of the laying of the first stone. Through the intervention of Yahweh nothing would prohibit this new beginning of his people. After this foundation was set, the prophet received an additional word in which he was assured that just as Zerubbabel had laid the foundation, he would complete the building.

There is still some doubt as to the meaning of v. 10. האבן

בדיל is usually translated as "plummet," but this is unlikely. usually has the meaning "tin" or "alloy," but it is not used elsewhere as an adjective and probably should be understood as in apposition to אבן.⁸² Petitjean took the word as "tin" and as referring to metal placed in the foundation to serve as a foundation document. In such a case, it would have carried the inscription of Yahweh described in 3:9.⁸³ On the other hand, the writer may have been referring to the final stone of the building at this point. The intention of the new oracle (4:8-10) was to assure the people that Zerubbabel would complete the temple. It would be logical to understand the question "Who has despised the day of small things?" as

⁸¹Petitjean, pp. 181-190.

⁸²Kautzsch-Cowley, p. 413.

⁸³Petitjean, pp. 235f.

referring to the uproar of Ezra 3:12-13. Those who had wept at the beginning would later rejoice when the temple was finished. From the context this seems probable, but this is not a place where one can be certain.

In order to understand the use of the foundation stone in the context of Zech., it is necessary to ask the relation of the stone to the term "Branch" in 3:8f. and 6:12f. where the "Branch" is associated with the building of the temple.⁸⁴ The term "Branch" has apparently been borrowed from Jer. 23:3-5 and 33:14-26, and in the prophetic writings it is used as a technical term which brings together both royal and priestly functions.⁸⁵ Some commentators have seen a wider reference in the use of this term,⁸⁶ and the prophet probably was thinking of an ideal king. Part of his purpose, however, was to present Zerubbabel as the legitimate heir to the Davidic dynasty, the main feature in which Zechariah as the prophets before him placed his hopes.⁸⁷ Just before the Branch was introduced in 3:8, Joshua was told that he and his associates were men of a sign. (Probably the thought being that as Joshua had been cleansed from filthy garments, so would the nation be cleansed.) As verification of the

⁸⁴Petitjean, p. 441, felt that 3:8-10; 4:6b-7; and 6:10-12 were composed to celebrate the laying of the first stone.

⁸⁵Joyce G. Baldwin, "Šemah as a Technical Term in the Prophets," VT, XIV (1964), 97.

⁸⁶Hooke, "The Corner-Stone of Scripture," pp. 244f. and 249; and Baldwin, p. 97, interpreted the term messianically. Cf. Charles Augustus Briggs, Messianic Prophecy (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886), pp. 444-446, who said that Zechariah was looking for a second Zerubbabel as Jeremiah and Isaiah had looked for a second David and that neither Zechariah nor his hearers could suppose that the second temple was the realization of the earlier promises. See also Joseph Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956), pp. 194f.

⁸⁷Petitjean, p. 443 and cf. p. 205.

statement, the promise was given that the Branch would come, and immediately the stone was placed before Joshua to guarantee his coming. At least in this passage the Branch serves only a secondary function since the foundation stone is the main subject.

The primary interest of Zechariah was the divine intervention for the destiny of the nation.⁸⁸ In a variety of ways he attempted to encourage the people to faith by pointing to the working of Yahweh. The introduction of "my servant the Branch" in 3:8 would have reminded the people of the promises of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the laying of the foundation stone would have assured them of the divine favor and would have stood as concrete evidence that Yahweh still had a purpose for them.

The use of the stone in Zech. then is fairly straightforward as it designates the first stone in the foundation of the second temple. This stone was important for the people because it was a symbol of the divine favor and an assurance that Yahweh would complete his purpose.⁸⁹

One might expect that since Zechariah was dependent on the earlier prophets at several points he may have borrowed the stone imagery from Isaiah. If he has borrowed his stone imagery, there is no evidence to indicate it. What is interesting is that both Isaiah and Zechariah used the stone imagery in connection with the purpose of God. In Zech. the stone is not a symbol for the purpose of God as in Is., but it is the physical evidence that God's purpose is still in effect.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 441.

⁸⁹ Several features in the text point to God's promises to Israel. Besides the term "Branch," one should note the phrase in v. 10 to denote peace and prosperity ("under his vine and under his fig-tree"), cf. Micah 4:4. Possibly there is an allusion to Is. 11:2 if the "seven eyes" which indicate the divine favor referred to the Spirit as 4:6 might suggest. See Hooke, "The Corner-Stone of Scripture," p. 245.

Zech. 10:4

In a context that is reminiscent of the false refuge and erring leaders of Is. 28, there is an occurrence of "corner" that should be observed. The latter part of the verse indicates that a leader of the people was in mind. Derrett thought the reference was undoubtedly to the Messiah,⁹⁰ but even though later traditions interpreted the word (and the parallel words) messianically, it is not so evident in the passage. In the explanation that follows in v. 5, the plural is used which would make one think that a general strengthening of Judah was in mind.

Zech. 12:3

The stone is used in this verse simply as a metaphor to illustrate the trouble that Jerusalem will cause for the nations who attack her. There is no deeper significance to the use of the term, nor is there any connection with any of the other stone passages.⁹¹

THE CORNERSTONE IN PSALM 118

As with many of the psalms, the chief difficulty here is in determining the occasion of composition. The majority of commentators have regarded this psalm as composed in the post-exilic era to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles. Artur Weiser and Mitchell Dahood, however, both assigned the psalm to pre-exilic times, but while Weiser viewed the

⁹⁰Derrett, p. 181 n. 4.

⁹¹Contra George A. F. Knight, A Christian Theology of the Old Testament (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1959), p. 186.

occasion as an autumn festival for Yahweh,⁹² Dahood understood it as thanksgiving for delivery from death and for a military victory.⁹³ The psalm is clearly a processional liturgy sung at some celebration in and around the temple. Several of the older commentators associated this psalm with the rebuilding of the temple, and it is tempting to view the composition of the psalm in connection with the laying of the foundation stone recorded in Ezra 3:8-13 because of the mention of the cornerstone and because of the occurrence in Ezra 3:11 of the formula of praise used in Ps. 118:1.⁹⁴ This would require, however, that one understand the gates of v. 19 as provisional or, more likely, that v. 22 is a reference to the past after the rebuilding of the temple had been completed.

The different parts of the psalm were sung antiphonally by various groups of people. The main section, vs. 5-19, was sung by an individual who spoke on behalf of the congregation. The words of interest to us (v. 22) were part of the response of the members of the procession.

The position of the stone intended cannot be determined by the context. Some have assumed that ראש פנה means "top of the corner," i. e., a crowning stone, but it could just as well mean "the chief corner," for ראש can mean "chief" or "first in a series" as well as "head" or

⁹²The Psalms (London: SCM Press, 1962), pp. 724f. Sigmund Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), I, 170, also said that the psalm is probably pre-exilic.

⁹³Psalms III. The Anchor Bible (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1970), pp. 155-156.

⁹⁴As E. W. Hengstenberg, The Psalms, trans. John Thomson and Patrick Fairbairn (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1848), III, 376; and Franz Delitzsch, Biblical Commentary on the Psalms, trans. David Eaton (rev. ed.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1889), III, 214.

"top."⁹⁵ Since the stone in Zech. was a foundation stone, it is probable that the same is true here, even if the psalm does not refer to the same event. The position of the stone is not critical to the meaning since all have agreed that the most important stone was meant.

Most commentators have accepted that the stone is a symbol for the nation Israel. The nation had been despised, humiliated, and chastened by the other nations, but has now been exalted to the most important place in the building of God. If this interpretation is correct, one may assume that there is no allusion to the stone passages in Is. and Zech., and he actually can say little else about the stone in this passage. In fact, it is not terribly important in the psalm, for the speaker has already given the information about the nation's salvation from disaster.

There is one flaw, however, in this otherwise acceptable interpretation. Delitzsch pointed out that it is unlikely that a Jew would refer to the other nations as "the builders."⁹⁶ It is true that it was said of Cyrus that he would build Yahweh's city (Is. 45:13), but he was clearly a special servant. The strangeness of foreigners building up Judah is expressed in Is. 60:10. If "the builders" does refer to heathen nations, it is certainly an unusual instance.

⁹⁵McKelvey, p. 354. For the meaning of ראש as "chief," see Ex. 30:23 (Ezek. 27:22); I Sm. 23:18; II Kings 25:18; Jer. 31:7; Job 29:25; Ps. 137:6. For its meaning as "first in a series," see I Chron. 12:9; Ex. 12:2; Nm. 10:10; 28:11. In Jd. 7:19 it is used for the beginning of a watch, and it is used quite often for the leaders of the people. Hooke, "The Corner-Stone of Scripture," 248, took the stone as "almost certainly" that of Zech. 4:7, which he understood as the "crown of the building." Weiser, p. 728; and Edward J. Kissane, The Book of Psalms (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1964), p. 541, took the stone as a foundation stone bearing the weight of the building.

⁹⁶Delitzsch, III, 214.

An alternative to the usual interpretation is that suggested by Weiser. Since he viewed vs. 5-21 as the thanksgiving of an individual, probably the king, he took the stone of v. 22 as referring to him.⁹⁷ Presumably "the builders" referred to those who had caused the individual's distress. Similarly, Derrett followed Jewish tradition and said that the psalm was referring to David and that "the builders" referred to the specialists (Samuel, David's family, Goliath, and Saul) who overlooked him.⁹⁸ Either of these views must be admitted as a possibility, but they both regard the individual as speaking of his own troubles and not on the behalf of the congregation. The tone of the psalm seems to militate against this. In vs. 10f. it is more natural to assume that the individual was speaking for the community, and vs. 23-27 indicate the involvement of the people.⁹⁹

There are parallels between this psalm and Is. 28 that should be taken into consideration. Besides the reference to the stone, one should note that the principle on which the psalm is based ("It is better to take refuge in Yahweh than to trust in nobles," v. 9) and the danger of other nations encompassing the land are parallel to the message and situation in Is. 28 where Yahweh is proclaimed as the only refuge when judgement comes from Assyria. A third parallel may be drawn between Ps. 118:23 and Is. 28:29, both of which probably refer to the stone. (מַאֲת יְהוָה הִיְתָה זֹאת)
 "This is from Yahweh; it is marvelous in our eyes"
 and זֶם זֹאת מֵעַם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת יֵצֵא הַפְּלִיא עֲצָה הַגְּדִיל תּוֹשִׁיָהּ "This

⁹⁷Weiser, p. 724.

⁹⁸Derrett, p. 181f.

⁹⁹See Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, 38 and II, 28.

also comes from Yahweh of hosts; he is marvelous in counsel and excellent in wisdom.") The similarities could simply be the result of the use of common formulas of praise, but it is possible that the author of the psalm was dependent on Is. 28.¹⁰⁰

One must grant that there are several ways that the psalm may be viewed, but the most satisfactory is to view it as a processional liturgy to celebrate the rebuilding of the temple, possibly at the Feast of Tabernacles (cf. Sukkah IV.5). The basis of the praise is that Yahweh has brought his people back from captivity and has re-established them in their own land. The stone mentioned was the foundation stone of the second temple, and the builders who rejected it were the Jewish leaders who wept because of their memory of the first temple. The psalmist looked back to the reconstruction of the temple, but in the celebration could declare that the foundation stone of the temple was the foundation of God's purposes for his people. If the parallels to Is. 28 are justified, the psalm stands in an indirect relation to both the Is. and Zech. stone passages. It would look back to the actual foundation stone of the second temple insofar as it was a symbol of God's purposes for his people.

THE STONE IN DANIEL 2

The last occurrence of the stone imagery in the OT that has relevance for our purposes is the well-known stone of Dn. 2:34-35. This is the stone in Nebuchadnezzar's dream which destroyed the image and which became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. The interpretation

¹⁰⁰G. Heinrich A. v. Ewald, The Psalms, trans. E. Johnson (London: William and Norgate, 1881), II, 181, connected the psalm to Is. 28, but did not explain why.

given in vs. 44-45 explains that the stone is a symbol for a universal kingdom that God will establish and that will not pass away. The writer emphasized the divine origin of this kingdom in contrast to the human kingdoms depicted in the image by such phrases as "without hands" and "fill the whole earth."¹⁰¹ Some have argued that there is a secondary reference to the Messiah in this passage,¹⁰² and one can see how the term was understood individually at a later date,¹⁰³ but since the emphasis in the context is entirely corporate, such attempts are not justified.

Unless there is an allusion to Mount Zion in the mountain that fills the whole earth,¹⁰⁴ there is no unambiguous identification of this kingdom with Israel until 7:27 (although certainly no loyal Jew would have thought otherwise).¹⁰⁵ The close connection of Dn. 2 and 7 is generally accepted.¹⁰⁶ The four kingdoms of chapter 2 correspond to the four beasts of chapter 7, and the universal kingdom of chapter 2 is made up of the saints of the Most High in chapter 7. The importance of this connection for our purposes is that the stone of Dn. 2 corresponds to the Son of Man

¹⁰¹The latter is used in the OT only of God's glory and knowledge. See Siegman, p. 371.

¹⁰²As Seigman, p. 370.

¹⁰³See Norman W. Porteous, Daniel, (London: SCM Press, 1965), p. 111.

¹⁰⁴As Siegman, p. 369; and C. F. Keil, The Book of the Prophet Daniel, trans. M. G. Easton (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1872), p. 110.

¹⁰⁵H. H. Rowley, "The Unity of the Book of Daniel," The Servant of the Lord (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), p. 264.

¹⁰⁶Otto Plöger, Das Buch Daniel, XVIII, Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1965), p. 56. On the unity of the book, see Rowley, passim.

in Dn. 7. As Carrington has suggested,¹⁰⁷ the equivalence between בן and אבן may underlie the Aramaic text.

It remains to ask if there is a connection between the stone in Dn. and any of the other stone passages. The writer may have known of the stone in Is. 28:16 because of the probable allusion in Dn. 9:27 to Is. 28:22 (כלה ונחרצה), but there is no reason to believe that he was dependent on any of the other stone texts for his imagery. One may be reminded of the use of the stone in Is. 8 and 28 where the stone serves both for destruction and a foundation, but the use of the stone in Dn. 2 is unique and primarily the result of independent thought as far as can be determined.

Conclusions

Not all of the conclusions which have been obtained from this analysis of the OT stone passages are of the same significance for an understanding of the NT stone testimonia. For example, one might interpret Ps. 118 differently without materially affecting his understanding of the NT passages. Some of the conclusions from the OT, however, are not so open to question and are determinative for one's understanding of the testimonia as a whole. The following should be included in the latter category:

- 1) There is a clear distinction between the use of אבן and the use of צור and סלע.
- 2) There is in the OT a traditional wordplay between בן and אבן.
- 3) The text of Is. 8:14 as it is preserved in the MT should be retained as the correct reading.
- 4) Is. 8:14 and 28:16 were associated by the original author.
- 5) Since Zech. 3:9 and 4:7 refer to a foundation stone, the only possible reference in the OT to a crowning stone of a building is Zech. 4:10.
- 6) There is no evidence that one should connect the Is., Zech., and Dn. stone passages. Ps. 118:22 probably refers to the laying of the

¹⁰⁷Carrington, pp. 249f.

foundation stone described in Zech. 3:8 and 4:7 and may refer indirectly to Is. 28 as well.

7) The use of the stone in connection with the purpose (or promise) of God and its use as a symbol of the universal kingdom in Dn. 2 paved the way for the later eschatological significance given the term.

Chapter 3

THE USE OF THE STONE IMAGERY IN JUDAISM

The application of the stone imagery by the early Church assumes a depth of background that is not provided by the OT alone. An understanding of the use of the relevant terms and verses in Judaism greatly enhances the interpretation of the NT passages.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE LXX

The OT distinction between "rock" and "stone" is maintained in the LXX. Unless a more precise word or a circumlocution is used, רֹקַח and עֵבֶר are always rendered by πέτρα , never λίθος , and יְבִיט is always translated by λίθος , never πέτρα . The use of "rock" as a name for God has virtually been dropped. Apart from rare cases (as II Sm. 22:2) some circumlocution such as ἀντιλήπτωρ , is used to avoid the "earthiness" of this title.

The most significant feature of the LXX rendering of the stone passages is the insertion of ἐπ' αὐτῷ in a number of manuscripts to provide an object for belief in Is. 28:16. This suggests a personal understanding at least, if not a messianic one.¹ Since the words were omitted by the hexaplaric recension,² it is conceivable that ἐπ' αὐτῷ has been

¹Joachim Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," TDNT, IV, 272.

²The words are also omitted by 393 and 538, but are present in 88 accompanied by an obelus. Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias*, Vol. 14, *Septuaginta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), pp. 65 and 92, suggested that the obelus in 88 may be a pseudo-obelus inserted by later revisers to indicate that the words were omitted in the hexaplaric recension.

added in the other manuscripts because of the influence of the NT.³ (Both Rm. 9:33 and I P 2:6 have ἐπ' αὐτῶ in non-LXX quotations of Is. 28:16.) This explanation, however, leaves unsolved the problem of the origin of these words in the NT. To say that they were added by the Church leaves one uneasy since so much in Christian theology is built upon the presence of these words.⁴ In the Hebrew text the content and object of belief were not specified, and it appears that ἐπ' αὐτῶ was added to meet this need. A similar remedy was effected in the targum by the addition of בלילי ("in these things"), which refers to the appointing and strengthening of a king. The targum, therefore, furnishes important evidence for the textual originality and messianic interpretation of ἐπ' αὐτῶ in the LXX tradition.⁵

This conclusion is verified from another consideration. We have already pointed to the connection between Is. 8:14 and 28:16 made by their author. A connection between the two verses also exists at the LXX level. As noted previously, the LXX text of Is. 8:14 has been changed partly by the addition of a protasis of a conditional sentence. J. Ziegler has pointed out that the translator of the LXX who restructured Is. 8:14 was dependent on Is. 28:16. The introduction of καὶ ἔδν ἐπ' αὐτῶ πεποιοῦς

³So Lloyd Gaston, No Stone on Another (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), p. 219.

⁴Alexander Sperber, A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 328f., argued on this basis that without doubt Peter found this tradition already in the OT in Greek and concluded that in NT times the OT must have been known in at least two different Greek forms.

⁵J. de Waard, A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), p. 56; and Karlheinz Müller, Anstoss und Gericht (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1969), p. 79.

⁷ης in 8:14 has been derived from καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ in 28:16.⁶

One other interesting feature provided by the LXX is the rendering of **האבן הראשה** of Zech. 4:7 as τὸν λίθον τῆς κληρονομίας. Apparently the translator read **הירשה** instead of **הראשה**, and may have been aware of the use of **אבן** as a reference to the Davidic heir.⁷

THE STONE IMAGERY IN THE QUMRAN SCROLLS

A survey of the relevant terms indicates that there has been some modification in their usage in the Qumran Scrolls. **צור** is rarely used, which is somewhat surprising due to the importance of the word as a name for God in the OT and the emphasis in the scrolls on the idea of a refuge from the attacks of the enemy. Despite the emphasis of the community on Ps., Is., and Dt., all of which use **צור** as a name for God, this "prayer name" occurs only once in the Hodayot (XI.15) and once in "The Words of the Luminaries" (4Q Dib Ham V.19).⁸ The parallel term, **סלע**, occurs as a name for God in 1QH IX.28, and God is described as a wall (**חומה**) in 1QH III.37,⁹ but it appears that the members of the sect were not as eager to use these descriptive names for God as the OT writers.

⁶Joseph Ziegler, Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias (Münster i. W.: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934), p. 95. He noted the similar change in the targum and concluded that the interpretation is due to a school tradition. See also Pius Sciascia, Lapis Reprobatus (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1959), p. 82.

⁷Matthew Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," NTS, XVIII (1971-1972), 13 n. 3.

⁸The text of the latter is uncertain. See Maurice Baillet, "Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân, Grotte 4: 'Les paroles des luminaires'," RB, LXVIII (1961), 208 and 228.

⁹Cf. Zech. 2:9.

While צור is used rarely in the scrolls, סלע and אבן remain as important terms. In the OT סלע was used synonymously with צור of rock that was part of a natural rock formation, but in the scrolls, while retaining the OT meaning, it encroaches upon the semantic field of אבן in that it is sometimes used of stones that may be picked up. In CD XI.10-11 a Sabbath regulation states that no man should "pick up in his dwelling house a stone or dust" (סלע ועפר). The use of אבן with עפר in CD XII.15-16 is parallel. In "The Vision of Samuel" (DJD V 160, 3-4, ii,3) סלע again could be taken of a rock that can be lifted up.¹⁰ At the same time סלע is used of a rock in which a pool of water stands (CD X.12) and often to designate a support that cannot be moved. In IQS XI.4-5 סלע is the truth of God; in IQH VI.26 and VII.8 it is the bedrock upon which a building is built; and in IQH IV.3 it is the place where God has established the psalmist. Thus סלע in the Qumran Scrolls can refer to rock in a natural formation or sometimes to stones detached from their natural formation. The meaning of אבן is the same as in the OT.

The Connection Between בן and אבן

While as yet a definite wordplay between בן and אבן has not appeared from Qumran, this "traditional wordplay" was known. Besides the rendering of Is. 54:13 in IQIs^a (where בני יי has waw written above it)

¹⁰John M. Allegro (ed.), *Qumrân Cave 4*, Vol. V, DJD (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 10. The exact meaning of the passage is not clear. Allegro translated ... העמד להמה סלע למרוצ ... by "...will raise up for them a rock for a headstone..." The reference could be to some kind of a support or to a memorial as in I Sm. 7:12. John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan'," RQ, VII (1970), 180-182, suggested a different understanding of the text which would allow סלע to be taken in the usual sense.

and DJD V 179, 1, ii (which is based on Lam. 4),¹¹ both of which may imply a knowledge of the wordplay, a fragment of one of the Qumran hymns helps to establish a close connection between בן and אבן. In IQH f II.8 it is probable that there is an occurrence of אבן with an apocopated aleph. The text reads על הבונים תבחוננו (the triple nun in the verb is the result of dittography)¹² and should be translated "Over the stones you prove me." The stones in question were an instrument of testing derived either from Ex. 1:16 (the birthstool), Jer. 18:3 (the potter's wheel),¹³ or precious stones.¹⁴ From the mention of dust and clay in this fragment, the reference to על-האבנים of Jer. 18:3 seems most likely. If this is an occurrence of an apocopated aleph as most have taken it to be,¹⁵ the connection between בן and אבן is obvious, especially in light of the fact that בן occurs in lines three and ten.

Even apart from this fragment, one may conclude that the wordplay was traditional from the way that the community interpreted certain passages in which the stone imagery occurs. Most illustrative is the commentary on Is. 54:11-12 (4QpIs^d). Unfortunately the remains of the fragment begin

¹¹Allegro, pp. 75-76.

¹²Svend Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), p. 262.

¹³Jacob Licht, The Thanksgiving Scroll (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1957), p. 222.

¹⁴A. Dupont-Sommer, Le livre des hymnes découvert près de la Mer morte (IQH), Vol. VII, Semitica (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1957), p. 105.

¹⁵Cf. Holm-Nielsen, p. 262. He suggested the possibility that "toward the children" might refer to the members of the community, but he favored the apocopated aleph interpretation. K. G. Kuhn (ed.), Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), p. 2, listed אבן הבונים under אבן.

with the last part of v. 11 and end with the last of v. 12, but the interpretation given shows plainly that the community understood the stones as designating members of their own group.¹⁶ This is true on any rendering of the text, but Y. Yadin's reconstruction seems much more in line with the biblical text than the original publication of the fragment by Allegro. According to Yadin, the biblical phrase "I will set your stones in fair colors" is interpreted by "...He will lay all Israel like antimony in the eye" in line one, which makes כֹּהֲנִים refer to all Israel as in line three.¹⁷ In the rest of the passage the סַפִּירִים ("sapphires") are the כֹּהֲנִים ("priests") which on the basis of the biblical text are the foundations of the community, the building. The priests are like sapphires among the stones which are the other members. This interpretation of the "true house" as the community is in line with Qumran thought in other places, notably IQS VIII.4-9.¹⁸

The imagery of a building or a wall built of stones to represent a group and its individuals is common in the Qumran material. IQH VI.26f. states that God has laid (or will lay) "a foundation upon a rock and a girder...tested stones for a strong [building]." The passage is constructed

¹⁶Cf. Allegro, DJD V 164 1, 3, pp. 27-28. [Published earlier as "More Isaiah Commentaries from Qumran's Fourth Cave," JBL, LXXVII (1958), 220-221.] He translated lines 1-3: "...] all Israel sought thee according to thy word. 'And I shall lay your foundations in lapis [lazuli...]' Its interpretation is that they have founded the Council of the Community, [the] priests and the people a congregation of his elect, like a stone of lapis lazuli among the stones..." One should notice that in IQIs^a 54:11 וַיִּסְדְּדוּ has תִּי written above it.

¹⁷"Some Notes on the Newly Published Pesharim of Isaiah," IEJ, IX (1959), 39-42. Cf. Strugnell, pp. 195-196.

¹⁸Yadin, pp. 41-42. Cf. the similar imagery in Rev. 21:14, 19f.

from Is. 28:16f., and the אבן of the OT passage has been made plural. The "building" mentioned refers to the community,¹⁹ and the stones to the individuals who made up that community.²⁰ In 1QS VIII.5-9 the community is described in terms of a sanctuary. Line seven has also been constructed from Is. 28:16, but אבן has been changed to חומה. The reason for this change is almost certainly that the author interpreted the biblical passage of the community and wanted a word for something consisting of more than one stone.²¹ By implication the members of the community are the stones in that wall. In 1QH VII.8f. the imagery from Is. 28:16 is used of an individual, but he was probably speaking as a representative of the community.²² One should notice CD III.19f. and IV.11-12 where the sure house built by God, which is made up of the sons of Zadok, is set against the house of Judah. As the latter indicates, this imagery was not confined to descriptions of the community. 1QpHab X.1 speaks of a "condemned house" and CD IV.19; VIII.12 and 19 speak pejoratively of the "builders of the wall" who preach and follow error. (In the 1QpHab X.1 the singular אבן of the biblical text has been made plural, and it seems likely that the reference is again to individuals.) For additional references that speak of the building imagery, cf. DJD I 36 17,2 (where a close connection between

¹⁹Dupont-Sommer, p. 55. Contra Holm-Nielsen, p. 104, who thought that the psalmist was taking refuge in God himself who is as steadfast as a fortified city. According to the text, God establishes the city.

²⁰Otto Betz, Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1960), p. 162.

²¹P. Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957), p. 126.

²²Betz, p. 163.

individuals and foundations is in view); IQS IX.6; XI.8; IQSa I.12; 4QpPs 37 III.16; and 4Q Flor. I.6. The extent to which the community saw themselves as a walled city is indicated by IQS VI.17 where rules for the admission of novices are based on the rules from Lev. 25:29 for selling a house in a walled city.²³

Thus, while the wordplay does not appear as yet in the material from Qumran, there is indication that there was a close verbal connection between בן and אבן, and there are several texts that assume the result of the wordplay; i. e., that a stone can represent an individual.

Qumran's Treatment of the OT Stone Imagery

Not all of the OT stone passages were relevant for the community, at least in the manuscripts published so far, but the interpretation of at least one verse, Is. 28:16, is of major significance for an understanding of the NT. A survey of the scrolls shows that at least two other stone texts were referred to.

Is. 8:14. As a result of the lacunae in the few places where allusions to this text occur, one is somewhat hampered in his attempt to understand how the community used it, but what does remain provides some interesting suggestions.

In DJD I 38 1,2 באבן נוף is a probable allusion to our passage. From the way the text is laid out, the editors have suggested a metrical

²³Wernberg-Møller, p. 108. There are several tantalizing fragments in which the occurrence of "stone" is unexplained. Cf. D. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik (eds.), Qumrân Cave I, Vol. I, DJD (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 145. 29 1,2 and 2,2; 46 1, 1-2 and 46 5 (46 1, 1-2 has סוד אבני and 46 5 has מבני); and also DJD V 186 I, ii,2 [published earlier as "An Astrological Cryptic Document from Qumrân," JSS, IX (1964), 291-294.]

arrangement of the stichs so that an interval is left between the two halves of each stich. A similar metrical arrangement can be seen in IQ 5 and IQ 10 (DJD I).²⁴ In line one of the fragment "their heart" on one side of the column is contrasted with "my heart" on the other. It appears that what was a "stone of stumbling" for others was the opposite for the writer. This would be in keeping with the biblical text where Yahweh is said to be either a sanctuary or a stone of stumbling. The most likely guess is that the community was in view in the fragment.

In DJD V 173 5,1-6 a psalm fragment based on Ps. 118 has בֵּית מְכֻשָׁל ("house of stumbling") in line two. Allegro took this as a reference to בֵּית יְהוָה in Ps. 118:26 and צוֹר מְכֻשָׁל in Is. 8:14.²⁵ If this were so, it would indicate that the stone imagery of the two chapters had been linked, but the allusion to Is. 8:14 is by no means certain, and one does not have sufficient evidence to draw a conclusion.

J. Carmignac thought that וְזָחִיָּה פֶּה of IQH II.8 has been taken from וְזָחִיָּה...לִפְּהָ of Is. 8:14 (or as IQIs^a וְזָחִיָּה...לִפְּהָ).²⁶ This is not certain, but in its favor is the fact that the psalmist (or the community which he represented) was a snare for sinners, but a cure for the repentant. Thus the two functions of destruction and salvation were combined in the one person. If this passage is based on the Is. text, it indicates that

²⁴Barthélemy and Milik, DJD, I, 142. The text that concerns us is laid out and translated as follows:

בלבבי מרוקים להל]	[בלבבם
]... עם לי ים	[זו] באבן נגף

"...en leur coeur. En mon coeur...pierre d'achoppement, [et] avec les..."

²⁵Allegro, DJD V, pp. 52-53.

²⁶Jean Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancien Testament, et spécialement des Poèmes du Serviteur, dans les Hymnes de Qumran," RQ, II (1960), 363. Cf. de Waard, pp. 60-61.

the text was interpreted by the psalmist to refer to himself, probably as a representative of the community.

1QIs^a 62:10 presents a variant that probably alludes to Is. 8:14 in what is obviously an eschatological passage. For the OT מאבן, the scroll reads מאבן הנוף. Rather than just a general clearing of stones to prepare a highway as the OT context, the use of the definite article would suggest that the scribe viewed a specific practice (or person) as an obstacle to the coming of salvation.

Evidence that the community interpreted the broader context of Is. 8 of themselves is provided by 1QH and 4Q Flor. In 1QH VII.20-21 the writer referred to himself as a father to children of mercy and a foster father to men of portent. The allusion is probably to Is. 8:18.²⁷ In 4Q Flor.15f. (DJD V 174 1-2,15f.) Is. 8:11 is interpreted of the "last days." It is the community that the Lord turned aside with a strong hand.

The state of these manuscripts does not permit certainty, but there is evidence that Is. 8:14 was important for the community. The members may have interpreted the thought from Is. 8:14 of one person or thing serving for both destruction and salvation in terms of themselves, but apparently they could also use the image from this verse in a derogatory sense of others.

Is. 28:16. Of the texts in which we are interested, Is. 28:16 was by far the most important for the Qumran sect. This verse and its immediate context have left their stamp on several passages in the scrolls.

In 1QS V.5 where instructions were given for those who joined the

²⁷Holm-Nielsen, p. 135. It is possible that the allusion is to Zech. 3:8.

community, it is said that a man "shall circumcise in the community the foreskin of inclination and the stiffness of neck in order to lay a foundation of truth for Israel, for the community of the eternal covenant" (ליסד מוסד אמת לישראל ליחד בריית עולם). The allusions to Is. 28:16 are more explicit in other passages, but the מוסד...יסד of the MT is plain enough.²⁸ Betz equated "truth" (אמת), which characterizes the foundation, with the teaching of the community,²⁹ and this is probably implied. What is stated explicitly is that the proper conduct of the members would create the conditions for the accomplishment of God's eternal covenant.³⁰ Using the words of Is. 28:16, the writer described the community as the foundation on which God would fulfill his promise.

This is more explicit in the description of the community in IQS VIII.5-8. The passage states that the community was an eternal plant and a holy house, a holy congregation that would atone for the earth and punish the impious (VIII.5-7a). Lines 7b-8a are the most relevant for our analysis:

היא חומת הבחן פנת יקר בל
 יזעזעו יסודותיהו ובל יחישו ממקומם
 ("This is the tested wall, the precious corner;
 its foundations will not quake nor be moved
 from their place.")

Obviously the writer of IQS has understood the promise of a sure refuge in Is. 28:16 (אבן בחן פנת יקרת... לא יחיש) as fulfilled in the eschatological community of which he was a member. The detailed modifications

²⁸Cf. Wernberg-Møller, p. 93; and Betz, p. 161.

²⁹Betz, p. 161.

³⁰Bertil Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and in the New Testament (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 22.

made in applying the verse to themselves show its importance for the members of the community. The two successive occurrences of אִבֵּן in the MT have been combined to form a wall which, as mentioned above, was more easily interpreted of the community than a single stone.³¹ Betz suggested that the defective writing of בִּתּוֹן was intentional to provide a wordplay with בִּתּוֹן ("watchtower"),³² but the occurrences of בִּתּוֹן written defectively in IQIs^a 28:16; IQH VI.26; and VII.9 and the occurrences of other words written defectively make this doubtful.³³ It was no accident, however, that בִּתּוֹן was written with the article against the MT. This suggests the audience's familiarity with the scriptural allusion as if to say "That is the well-known tested wall."³⁴ One should notice too that the qualification of the MT concerning the one who believes has been left out of the interpretation. Rather, the foundations have been made the subject of both the verb adapted from the MT clause and a similar verb. Parallel verbs were required to agree with the twice occurring מוֹסֵד of the biblical text.³⁵

Just prior to the lines that are based on Is. 28:16, the two-fold function of the community is mentioned in which the community serves both to atone and to judge. It could be that these two diverse functions are

³¹Betz, p. 160. According to Wernberg-Møller, p. 126, the writer drew the word from Is. 26:1 to which he alluded in line three.

³²Betz, p. 160. Cf. A. R. C. Leaney, The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning (London: SCM Press, 1966), p. 216. In the MT בִּתּוֹן occurs only at Is. 32:14. In IQH VI.26 where אִבֵּן has been made plural, this wordplay would be especially doubtful.

³³Wernberg-Møller, p. 126, who mentioned וְלִרְצַת in IQS VIII.3 and יַעֲבֵר in VIII.22.

³⁴Ibid. (Italics his)

³⁵Betz, p. 161.

drawn from the similar idea in Is. 8:14. If so, it would indicate that the writer had brought Is. 8:14 and 28:16 together and had applied both to the community.

In a passage which has already been mentioned, 1QH VI.25-27, Is. 28:16 has been developed somewhat differently. The writer described his situation as follows:

כבא בעיר מצור ונועז בחומה נ/ש גבה
עד פלט ואש [] אמתכה אלי כי אמת
תשים סוד על סלע וכפיים על קו משפט
ומשקלה א [] ל [] ות אבני בחן לב י
עוז ללוא תתועזע וכול באיה בל ימושו...

(" I am as one entering a fortified city and seeking refuge in a high wall until deliverance [comes] and I will...your truth, O God, because you will set a foundation upon a rock and a girder by a measuring line of justice and a level...tested stones for a strong ...which will not quake and no one who enters there will totter.")

The influence of Is. 28:16-17 on this passage is evident. As in the Is. passage, God is the one who will lay the foundation, and the building must conform to the measuring line of justice and the level of [א]. (The MT has

צדקה למשקלה, "righteousness for a level," but the aleph is fairly clear in the manuscript. Probably אמת, "truth," was what was written.)³⁶

As in 1QS VIII.5f., the writer of this passage has taken the liberty to reword the text he borrowed to conform to his concept of the community.

The foundation idea has been expressed differently, and על סלע has been inserted to make the foundation idea even stronger.³⁷ The emphasis of the Is. passage was on the stone that would serve as the most important part of the foundation, but the emphasis here is on the stability of the building.

³⁶Licht, p. 117; Otto Betz, "Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde," ZNW, XLVIII (1958), 56; and Dupont-Sommer, p. 55, all suggested אמת.

³⁷The use of על סלע with the Is. 28:16 passage will have to be considered in connection with Mt. 16:18. See infra, pp. 216-219.

Not only is the building founded on a rock, but it is expressly stated that this strong building will not quake (תהוּעוּע, the same word as in 1QS VIII.8).³⁸ Additional emphasis is placed on the stability with the assurance given to the members that "no one who enters there will totter" (וְכֹל בֹּאֵיהּ בִל יִהוּטוּ). This last clause was adapted from Is. 28:16d, "The one who believes will not be in haste." The אבן בהן of the MT has been changed as well. The cornerstone idea, which was the main point of the Is. passage, is neglected in 1QH VI unless כפּיּם ("girder" or possibly as rabbinic evidence indicates, "stone"³⁹) has taken over that function.⁴⁰ The אבן has been made plural in the hymn and represents the individuals who make up the building. It probably was no accident that אבן remains as descriptive of these "stones," for according to 1QS I.17 the community was subjected to persecution from Belial.⁴¹

Holm-Nielsen has suggested that the fortified city (line 25) is God himself,⁴² but this is not in keeping with the context. Beside the fact that God is the one who will lay the foundation (line 26), lines 27-28 (וְכֹל בֹּאֵיהּ, "all who enter there") suggest that the community was in mind.

³⁸The context requires that a word denoting some type ^{of} building be inserted before עוּע. Cf. Holm-Nielsen, p. 119.

³⁹Georg Hoffmann, "Lexikalisches," ZAW, II (1882), 71-72. (Baba Bathra I.1) Cf. Holm-Nielsen, p. 119.

⁴⁰Betz, Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte, pp. 161-162, suggested that it did.

⁴¹Ibid., 160. The idea of election could be included in the term.

⁴²Holm-Nielsen, p. 104. In 1QS XI.12 God is spoken of as the one who saves when the writer totters (טוּט) despite the fact that 1QH VI.26 says the members cannot totter. Also, God is referred to as a "wall of strength" in 1QH III.37. God ultimately is the refuge, but the hymn is about the building that God has founded on the rock.

Also lines 29-31, which suggest the opening of the gates of a besieged fortress, make it clear that the community which would fight the holy war of the end time was in view. Again the existence of the community has been defined in terms of the sure foundation prophesied by Isaiah.

Basically the same idea appears in 1QH VII.8b-9:

...והשימני כמנדל עוז כחומה נשנבה ותכן על סלע
 מבויתי ואושי עלום לסודי וכול קירותי לחומת בחן
 ללוא ה' / דעזע

("...and you will set me as a strong tower, as a high wall, and you will establish my building on the rock and eternal foundations for my foundation and all my walls for a tested wall that will not quake.")

The passage is descriptive of an individual who has trusted in God, but apparently he was speaking as a representative of the community. As in 1QH VI.25f., it is stated that God has established a building on a rock. The stability of the building is again emphasized, and here it is said that eternal foundations make up the psalmist's foundation. Probably these eternal foundations are the eternal purposes of God which the community saw as fulfilled in themselves. Of primary importance is the statement that God has established "all my walls as a tested wall which will not quake" (וְהָיָה / דְּעִזָּע [sic]). This phrase is similar to 1QS VIII.7 but other words expressed in this passage are closer to 1QH VI.25f. The dependence of the passage on Is. 28:16 is certain, and again it is plain that the stone of sure foundation in the biblical text was replaced by imagery more applicable to the community.

In the discussions of the previous passages nothing was said about the meaning of סוד. Betz translated it in this passage and in 1QH VI.26 as "Kreis" and explained further, "es meint einen Kreis von Männern, einen

Konventikel."⁴³ In IQS IV.6 Wernberg-Møller translated סוד as "basic elements"⁴⁴ and Lohse as "Ratschläge."⁴⁵ Quite often it has been translated "counsel," especially when it is used with "truth" (סוד אמת).⁴⁶ Mowinckel argued from the use of the word in biblical Hebrew that it should be understood as "council" meaning "the intimate fellowship of a group" and that when used with "truth" it means "the true right religion."⁴⁷ The importance of סוד for our purposes is that it must be understood as יסוד at least in IQH VI.26 and IQH VII.9. This is clear from the contexts of these passages. In VI.26 the סוד is set on a rock, and the rest of the passage is given in building imagery. In VII.9 סוד is used with אושי ("foundations"). A comparison with other passages provides confirmation. Beside IQS VIII.8 where יסוד is used in what is certainly a parallel passage, one should notice IQS VII.17-18 where יסוד היהד and זוע (which is used in IQS VIII.8; XI.4f.; IQH VI.27; and VII.9) are used in connection with community regulations. Other than Betz, most scholars translated סוד as יסוד in the passages with which we are interested. Mowinckel, commenting on this possibility, said that the difference between the understanding "foundation" and his "the true right religion" is not

⁴³Betz, "Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde," p. 57.

⁴⁴Wernberg-Møller, p. 26.

⁴⁵Eduard Lohse (ed.), Die Texte aus Qumran (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1964), p. 13.

⁴⁶Cf. Menahem Mansoor, The Thanksgiving Hymns (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961) at IQH I.27; II.10; V.9; and V.26. Cf. Holm-Nielsen, at IQH I.27 and V.26.

⁴⁷Sigmund Mowinckel, "Some Remarks on Hodayot 39.5-20," JBL, LXXV (1956), 272.

great.⁴⁸ One reason for the use of one word when the other was meant may well be because the community saw themselves as the foundation of Israel. If this idea was as important to them as their use of Is. 28:16 would indicate, the interplay between the two words should not be surprising.

There is at least one fragment from cave four that was based on Is. 28:16-17. Very little is left of the fragment (DJD V 163, 12), but it is worth mentioning. The pertinent part of the fragment reads:

ויתר יותר	line 4	A remnant will remain...
]האבן אש	line 5	the stone...
]והנים וא	line 6	priests...
למשקלת	line 7	for a level...

The main difference between this fragment and the other passages based on Is. 28:16 is that importance is placed on the stone itself and not just on the terms used in association with it.

The importance of Is. 28:16 for the community is evident in that the Qumranites used the language of this verse in their self-description. Apart from the fragment mentioned above, there is little indication that the singular אבן was important as a technical term, but the members of the community understood the whole verse in an eschatological sense and felt that they fulfilled the promise conveyed by the stone. Their corporate understanding of the verse required language that would more easily represent a community. The frequency of occurrence and the similarity of the various passages indicate that the stone imagery was adapted to provide a favorite self-definition. The community itself was the sure foundation

⁴⁸Ibid. Cf. b Sanh. 92b where כּוּד is used for יְסוּד, and the LXX where the following Greek words are used to translate כּוּד: in Ps. 25 (24): 14, κραταίωμα, "strength;" in Job 15:8, σύνταγμα, "arrangement;" in Jer. 23: 18, ὑπόστημα, "base" or "support;" and in Jer. 23:22, ὑπόστασις, "foundation" or "substance."

which God had placed as the only refuge from the overwhelming floods.

Ps. 118:22. So far at least, no explicit use of this verse has appeared from Qumran. Due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts of Ps. 118, v. 22 does not even appear, but there is room for the missing lines.⁴⁹ Ps. 118 was an important psalm for the community as is evidenced by the liturgical use made of portions of the psalm in 11QPs^a XVI.⁵⁰ One would have expected that Ps. 118:22 would have been put to good use by the community, but there is no evidence that it was.

One fragment that suggests a possible allusion to Ps. 118:22 is 2Q 23 1-11. The writer was prophesying the demise of one of his enemies and wrote, "You will be thrust from the cornerstone" ([תדוחו [ן] מאבן (פנת). The editors have suggested a possible reminiscence of Ps. 118 because of the use of דחה in Ps. 118:13,⁵¹ but אבן פנה could as easily be a reference to Is. 28:16 or just a title for the community.

Zech. 3:9. Only one fragment suggests the use of Zech. 3:9 by the community. If Allegro's restoration is right in DJD V 177, 10-11, 1-3,

⁴⁹See Patrick W. Skehan, "A Psalm Manuscript from Qumran (4QPs^b)," CBQ, XXVI (1964), 320-322. 4QPs^b gives Ps. 118:1-3, 6-11, 18-20, and 23-26. See also Yigael Yadin, "Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)," Textus V (1966), 1-10; or J. A. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 160f. 11QPs^a I.1-5 has Ps. 118:25-29.

⁵⁰See Sanders, p. 156; or his The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11, Vol. IV, DJD (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 37. On the liturgical character of the scroll, see M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a)," Textus, V (1966), 30; and Shemaryahu Talmon, "Pisqah Be'emša Pasuq and 11QPs^a," Textus V (1966), 12; and the use made of Ps. 118 in DJD V 173 5,1-6.

⁵¹M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân, Vol. III, DJD (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 83.

additional scripture was given to prove the statement that Yahweh's promises are pure, purified seven times. The proof was given in terms of the stone set before Joshua on which were seven eyes. The implication is that the stone of Zech. 3:9 represented the promises of God. Enough of the fragment remains to make the allusion to Zech. 3:9b clear, and the context indicates that the community has understood the passage to be speaking of themselves.

Dn. 2. Most surprising of all is that, at least as yet, there is no evidence that the community made use of the stone in Dn. 2. Dn. was not unimportant for the community, for besides manuscripts of the canonical book, 4Qps Dan ar^{a-c} indicate the respect with which Dn. was regarded.⁵² As we will see, the stone imagery from Dn. 2 was important for Josephus and the rabbinic writings and would have been useful in expressing the community's beliefs, but unless further evidence appears, Qumran makes no contribution to an understanding of the stone in Dn. 2.

Concluding statement. The significance of the Is. stone passage has not been diminished in the Qumran Scrolls; rather, the role of Is. 28:16 at least, if not 8:14 as well, has expanded. There is no evidence as yet that this emphasis carried over to the other OT passages. One would not be surprised, however, if the publication of the remaining material from Qumran, particularly the Temple Scroll, made further use of Is. 28:16 or showed that the other OT stone passages were important as well.

⁵²Cf. J. T. Milik, "'Priere de Nabonide' et autres ecrits d'un cycle de Daniel," RB, LXIII (1956), 411f.; and, more generally, see F. F. Bruce, "The Book of Daniel and the Qumran Community," Neotestamentica et Semitica, ed. E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969), pp. 221-235.

THE STONE IMAGERY IN THE RABBINIC WRITINGS⁵³

Although an inquiry into the rabbinic writings requires caution, the contribution of these writings to an understanding of the stone testimonia is significant.⁵⁴ Since the targums in particular contain traditions that are pre-Christian, they will occupy most of our attention.

With regard to the use of terms, the targums maintain the distinction between "rock" and "stone." Unless the targumists used a more descriptive word (as כרך, "a fortified place" or שקיף, "cleft"), the Hebrew צור is nearly always rendered by טינרא ("rock") or תקיף ("strong" or "protector"), and סלע is translated as כיפא ("rock") or תוקף ("strength"). אבן, on the other hand, is retained as אבנא unless a more precise word is used (as מתקל, "a weight" or מרגלי, "a jewel"). כיפא is used for אבן in the Targum on Proverbs, but this is due to the Syriac nature of that targum.⁵⁵ The meaning of כיפא is developed somewhat in the targums, however, since it is used of the shore (Targum on Jd. 7:12).⁵⁶

In the talmudic literature⁵⁷ the distinction between the terms is not nearly so precise. סלע is used of stones and clods; טינר is used

⁵³Since the relevance of the OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is minimal, reference to the pertinent passages from these bodies of literature will be made in conjunction with the rabbinic material.

⁵⁴For a discussion of some of the problems in dealing with the rabbinic material, see J. W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1954), pp. 35-51.

⁵⁵Wilhelm Bacher, "Targum," The Jewish Encyclopedia (1906), XII, 62. About one half of the Targum on Proverbs parallels the Peshitta account. See infra, pp. 102-103 and 213-215.

⁵⁶See also the Targum on Psalm 77:18.

⁵⁷"Talmudic" is used here in its broader sense to include the Mishnah, the two Gemaras, the earlier Midrashim, and the Tosefta.

of stone that is not part of a natural formation; and כּי פּא is used in several ways that encroach upon the semantic field of אבן.⁵⁸

As in the LXX, the targums always use some circumlocution to avoid calling God a rock. צור is usually rendered as תּקּיף and סלע as תּוקף, but other words are used as well. In the talmudic literature, however, צור is retained as a name for God.⁵⁹

The Connection Between בן and אבן

Since אבן is usually retained in the targums, the wordplay between בן and אבן would have been evident to readers of the targums. This is true of Ex. 28; 39; Josh. 4; and Is. 54, but at times the wordplay has been lost because of the change of אבן to מרגלי ("jewel"). This occurs in the Targum on Lam. 4:1 and in PsJ Ex. 28; 39:6 and 14, but the retention of אבנא in PsJ Ex. 39:7 is probably due to the wordplay (... אבני דזכרנא לבני ישראל), "stones of memorial for the sons of Israel"). In O, F, and N אבנא is used throughout Ex. 28 and 39.

The wordplay between בן and אבן may stand behind other targum renderings as well. The אבן ישראל of the last part of Gen. 49:24 has been explained in the following ways by the various targumists:

1) O-- דבמימריה זון אבהן זבנין זרעא דישראל
"...who by his word sustains the fathers and the children of the seed of Israel."

2) PsJ-- ומתמן זכא למחוי פרנסא ולאחחברא בגלויף
שמחן על אבניא דישראל
"...and from there he [Joseph] was entitled to be a ruler and to be joined in the engraving of the names upon the stones of Israel."

⁵⁸ Marcus Jastrow (ed.), A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (New York: Jastrow Publishers, 1967), pp. 996, 533, and 634-635 respectively.

⁵⁹ b Ber 5b; LevR XXIII.12; PRE 43. The title is also retained in Sirach 51:12 (§ 11).

3) N-- מן תחות אדרע גבורתיה מתפרנסין כל שבטיא דישראל
 "...with the strength of whose arm all the tribes of Israel are sustained."

4) F-- דמן תחות אדרע גבורתיה מידברין ואתין שיבטיי דישרי
 "...under the arm of his strength the tribes of Israel are led and do come."⁶⁰ (Ginsburger gave the last phrase as כל שבטיא דבני ישראל,⁶¹ but this is not listed as a variant by Doubles nor did he list Gen. 49:24 as one of Ginsburger's errors.)

The explanation of PsJ appears to be dependent on the tradition found in b Soṭah 36b where Gen. 49:24 and Ex. 28 are brought together. O, N, and F have understood "the stone of Israel" as referring to the children or tribes of Israel, and it appears that the bridge between the OT and the targums was the assonance between בן and אבן, particularly for O and Ginsburger's reading of F. There is the possibility that the Hebrew Vorlage behind the targums was בני ישראל (or אבני ישראל with the prosthetic aleph) and that the first yodh dropped out as a result of haplography. Regardless of the Vorlage, it seems safe to conclude that the targumic renderings of Gen. 49:24b are a result of the close connection between בן and אבן.⁶²

Other renderings that are a result of the connection between בן and אבן occur in the Targum on Ezek. 28:14 and 16 where the OT בתוך בעמא ("...in the midst of the stones of fire") is rendered as אבני-אש and קדישא ("...on the holy people") and in the Targum on Ps. 118:22 where

⁶⁰Text according to Malcolm C. Doubles, "The Fragment Targum" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 1962).

⁶¹Moses Ginsburger (ed.), Das Fragmententargum (Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1899), p. 26.

⁶²In the talmudic literature the stone of Gen. 49:24 is interpreted as Israel, Jacob, and God. (See ExR XIII.1; EsR VII.10; ExR XLI.6; PRE 32; Tanchuma עקב 8a and תרומה 6 (46b); GnR LXXXVII.7 and XCVIII.20.) One should note that in GnR LXX.9 the stone mentioned in Gen. 29:2 is said to allude to the Shekinah, which might provide indirect evidence for the MT reading of Gen. 49:24.

the OT אבן is changed to שליט ("young man, servant, or lamb").⁶³

In the talmudic literature the connection between בן and אבן is again verified. The wordplay occurs twice in b Semahoth 47b-48a:

This is an argument from minor to major: if with the stones (אבני) of the altar which do not see and speak, eat or drink because they make peace between Israel and their Father in heaven the Torah declared, "Thou shalt lift no iron tool upon them" (Dt. 27:5), the children (בני) of the Torah, who are an atonement for the world, how much more [should they not lift up an iron tool against each other!] Similarly Scripture declares "Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of unhewn stones" (Dt. 27:6) ...if with stones which do not see or hear, speak or eat or drink... must be "whole" before [the Holy One, blessed be He], how much more the children of the Torah...must be "whole" before the Holy One, blessed be He.

While the wordplay in Lam. 4:1 was lost in the targum's rendering, it is evidenced in references from the talmudic literature. In LmR IV.1 one of the interpretations given of "The hallowed stones are poured out" is that it refers to the men of Jerusalem. Verification is offered by "the precious sons of Zion" of the next verse. In ExR XLVI.2 the command to "hew two tables of stone" is explained by the context of Eccl. 3:1f. ("To everything there is a season," etc.). "A time to cast away stones" (Eccl. 3:5) is explained by Lam. 4:1; "a time to gather stones together" is explained by "The Lord doth build up Jerusalem" (Ps. 147:2) and by "For they shall be as the stones of a crown, glittering over his land" (Zech. 9:16). Likewise, EcclR III.8.2 explains "a time to cast away stones" in connection with Israel on the basis of Lam. 4:1.

Other references show this inclination to refer to Israel or the Israelites as stones. In ExR XX.9 Pharaoh is depicted as one who gave

⁶³Cf. J. Levy (ed.), Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim (Leipzig: Verlag von Baumgartner's Buchhandlung, 1867), p. 6; and John Lightfoot, Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae, ed. by Robert Gandell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1859), II, 435.

away precious jewels because Israel was a pile of precious stones in his possession. In EsR VII.10 Israel is compared first to rocks (on the basis of Num. 23:9 and Is. 51:1) and then to stones (on the basis of Gen. 49:24 and Ps. 118:22). The other nations are compared to potsherds (on the basis of Is. 30:14), and a proverb is given that states that regardless of whether the pot falls on the stone or the stone on the pot, the pot is broken. This is interpreted to mean that anyone who attacks Israel receives what they deserve, and the interpretation is verified by a quotation of Dn. 2:45. In b Sanhedrin 26b one of the interpretations of the mythical foundation stone is that it refers to Hezekiah and his party because the righteous are referred to as foundations (Prov. 10:25). Finally, Jacob's twelve sons are symbolized by twelve stones in several passages.⁶⁴

This evidence should suffice to verify the wordplay in both targumic and talmudic literature. In both branches of the rabbinic material, the wordplay is attested and stones are interpreted as persons.

The Prophetic Stone Passages

While the relevance of the Qumran Scrolls for an understanding of the stone testimonia was primarily in connection with Is. 28:16, the rabbinic material provides information on each of the OT texts.

⁶⁴In GnR LXVIII.11 the tradition of several stones fusing into one to serve as Jacob's pillow (Gen. 28:11) is given as twelve stones fused into one to symbolize the twelve tribes fused into one nation. In b Soferim 43b Jacob is reported to have quarried twelve stones and written the names of his sons on them, after which the eleven other stones bowed down before that bearing Joseph's name. See also J. Massingberd Ford, "Thou art 'Abraham' and upon this Rock," HJ, VI (1965), 296-298; and cf. the similar wordplay between יב and related words in b Sotah 42b.

Is. 8:14. We have already had occasion to mention the targum's rendering of Is. 8:14-15. The difficulty and harshness of the MT has been alleviated by the insertion of the protasis of a conditional clause. In addition, the whole passage has been made to speak of judgement by the change of מקדש to פורען. The resultant meaning is that God will be an instrument of judgement to both houses of Israel. In 14b and 15 the emphasis of the targum shifts to the division of the two houses of Israel, and it appears that one of the two houses of Israel has become the stone over which many will stumble.

The targum on this verse contributes little to the understanding of the stone, but it does provide further evidence that Is. 8:14 and 28:16 were associated in pre-Christian Judaism. It appears that the protasis of the conditional sentence inserted in 8:14, זאם לא תקבלון ("and if you will not hearken"), reflects בכינ קבילו ("Wherefore hearken") of 28:14. Likewise, the mention of the sanctuary in 28:12-13 may reflect the OT of 8:14, and אימתן of 28:16, if it means "fear-inspiring," may refer to the destructive effect of the stone in 8:14.

The use of Is. 8:14 in the talmudic literature is rare, but the interpretation given in b Sanhedrin 38a is important. The incident is as follows:

Judah and Hezekiah, the sons of R. Hiyya, once sat at table with Rabbi and uttered not a word. Whereupon he said: Give the young men plenty of strong wine, so that they may say something. When the wine took effect, they began by saying: The Son of David cannot appear ere the two ruling houses in Israel shall have come to an end, viz. the Exilarchate in Babylon and the Patriarchate in Palestine, for it is written, And he shall be for a Sanctuary, for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both houses of Israel. Thereupon he [Rabbi] exclaimed: You throw thorns in my eyes, my children! At this R. Hiyya [his disciple] remarked: Master, be not angered, for the numerical value of the letters of yayin is seventy, and likewise the letters of sod: When yayin [wine] goes in, sod [secrets] comes out.

It is evident that Is. 8:14 has been understood of the Messiah, and there is a good possibility that the בן / אבן connection occurs here as well. The reason for the rabbi's response was probably because the young men were foretelling the abolition of his office,⁶⁵ but the Christian use of the verse may well have given additional offence. To what degree this third century comment rests on earlier tradition, it is difficult to say. It is possible that the prophecy was only "the result of the wine," or it may belong to a tradition that was old enough to affect Christian thought. The evidence from Qumran is not very helpful since the allusions to Is. 8:14 occur in badly preserved manuscripts. The way in which the NT uses Is. 8:14 as a proof text suggests that the tradition of associating Is. 8:14 with the Messiah was pre-Christian, but this third century comment is the only clear evidence of this interpretation outside the NT.

Is. 28:16. The Targum on Is. 28:16 is of the utmost significance:

בכין כדנן אמר יזי אלהים האנא ממני בציון מלך מלך
 תקיף ניבר ואימתן אתקפנייה ואחסניניה אמר נביא
 וצדיקיא דהימינו באלין במיתי עקא לא יזעזעון
 ("Therefore, thus said Yahweh Elohim, 'Behold I will appoint in
 Zion a king, a mighty king, strong and powerful; I will make him
 mighty and strong.' The prophet said, 'And the righteous who trust
 in these things will not tremble when distress comes.'")

The cornerstone of sure foundation of the OT has been interpreted as referring to a strong king. A survey of other targum passages where the cornerstone occurs in the OT shows that both "cornerstone" and "foundation stone," where appropriate, have been interpreted as referring to rulers. For Jer. 51:26, which speaks of Babylon, the targumist has rendered the OT ולא יקחו ממך אבן לפנת ואבן למוסדות ("And they will not take

⁶⁵See the explanatory note to the translation in the Soncino edition, p. 238.

from you a stone for a corner or a stone for foundations") as *זלא ירבון* ("And they will not elevate from you a king for a kingdom or a ruler for a rulership"). Cf. the similar renderings of the targumists for Zech. 4:7; 10:4; and Ps. 118:22.⁶⁶ For the targumists both "cornerstone" and "foundation stone" are idiomatic for rulers. In the context of the Targum on Is. 28:16, the ruler meant is the Davidic heir, the Messiah, and again the *אבן--בן* connection may stand behind the interpretation.

The importance of this targum passage for the NT is evident in that the NT uses Is. 28:16 of Christ, but its relevance for a study of the NT use of the stone imagery depends on the date of the origin of the targum tradition. It is generally accepted that parts of the Targum of Jonathan go back to pre-Christian times.⁶⁷ That there were written targums in NT times has been verified by the Targum of Job found in cave eleven at Qumran,⁶⁸ and it is unlikely that the more important books were not paraphrased before Job. More specifically, as far as the date of the origin of the tradition behind Is. 28:16, there are two points that should be made. First, as J. de Waard has suggested, there is the probability that

⁶⁶Cf. the Targum on Is. 31:9 where the OT *סלעו* is rendered *שלטונוהי*.

⁶⁷Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (2d ed. rev.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), 196; and Samson H. Levy, "The Date of Targum Jonathan to the Prophets," *VT*, XXI (1971), 190.

⁶⁸Cf. J. P. M. van der Ploeg and A. S. van der Woude (eds.) *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971); J. van der Ploeg, *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte 11 de Qumran* (Amsterdam: N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1962); and Matthew Black, "Aramaic Studies and the Language of Jesus," *In Memoriam Paul Kahle*, ed. by Matthew Black und Georg Fohrer (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Topelmann, 1968), p. 24.

1QS VIII,8 is dependent on the targum in its use of עזר .⁶⁹ Second, as A. Diez Macho has pointed out, it is inconceivable that the Jews would introduce into the targums messianic interpretations that were fulfilled in Jesus.⁷⁰ It is possible to push this principle too far, but it would hold true particularly for passages that the Church interpreted as messianic and used against the Jews as is the case with Is. 28:16. When one views this evidence in light of the Qumran use and the LXX rendering of Is. 28:16, it is safe to conclude that the interpretation of the sure cornerstone of foundation as referring to the promised Messiah is pre-Christian.

Turning to the talmudic literature, one finds that Is. 28:16 is used surprisingly few times. It is used in an eschatological sense to interpret "a time to gather stones together" (Eccl. 3:5) of the time when God will cause the exiles to return or will rebuild the temple.⁷¹ Another place suggested where the influence of Is. 28:16 has been felt is in the quite involved mythology of the אבן שתייה , the foundation stone which supposedly served as the center of the world and held back the deep, which was the basis on which the world was founded, and which lay in front of the ark.⁷² Despite the parallels, it is questionable whether Is. 28:16 was involved in the formation of this tradition. The primary focus of the foundation stone mythology is on cosmology and creation, i. e., on the role

⁶⁹de Waard, p. 54.

⁷⁰A. Diez Macho, "The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum: Its Antiquity and Relationship with the Other Targums," Supplement to Vetus Testamentum, VII (1962), 226.

⁷¹LevR XVII.7 and DtR III.13; Ecc1R III.8.2. Is. 28:16 is also used with reference to the temple in Tanchuma עקב 8a to interpret Ex. 31:18.

⁷²See R. J. McKelvey, The New Temple (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 188f.; and infra, pp. 207-211.

that stone supposedly played in creation and in the maintenance of the world. One rabbinic passage (p Yoma 42c) does connect Is. 28:16 with the foundation stone mythology, but it is more likely that the tradition was derived from Job 38:4a and 6 ("Where were you when I laid the foundations of the earth?...On what were its foundations fastened? Or who laid its cornerstone?) which is explicitly referred to in b Yoma 54a.

Ginzberg pointed out that the oldest source of this tradition (Yoma 5.2) plainly states that the foundation stone came down at the time of the early prophets, and therefore it is impossible to assume that the Mishnah identified it with the stone with which creation supposedly began.⁷³ He likewise thought it probable that אשתי is the same as אשתיה and that אבן שתיה should be translated as "fire-stone," i. e., "meteor." The tradition, by this reasoning, is based on II Sm. 24:16 and I Chron. 21:26 according to which a meteor fell on the spot that was later the holy of holies. Subsequently the tradition was connected with שתי, "loom" and שתי, "foundation," and still later the tradition concerning the foundation of the temple was added.⁷⁴

Enoch XVIII.1 provides earlier evidence for the belief in a cornerstone which served in the foundations of the earth, but there is nothing that would connect this idea to Is. 28:16 or to the developed rabbinic legend. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch 25 (ms. B) presents a stone as the source of creation, but this stone came from the belly of Idoil. (In ms. A "light" takes the place of "stone" in this legend.) It will be

⁷³Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1947), V,15.

⁷⁴Ibid.

necessary to consider the relevance of the אבן שתיה legend in connection with the NT, but there is not sufficient evidence to associate Is. 28:16 with the origin of this tradition.

It seems strange that a verse as important as Is. 28:16 was used so rarely in the talmudic literature. (It is not quoted at all in the Babylonian Talmud.) Billerbeck suggested that there has been a rabbinic censorship of the messianic interpretation of Ps. 110,⁷⁵ and possibly this same tactic was employed for Is. 28:16. One is not surprised that Is. 8:14 and the Zech. stone passages are referred to infrequently, but Is. 28:16 was too important in the OT and late Judaism to be passed over so lightly. A vestige of the eschatological interpretation remains in the few passages where Is. 28:16 is used as proof that the exiles will return or that the temple will be rebuilt.⁷⁶

The Zech. stone texts. The messianic interpretation of the stone imagery is continued in the Targum on Zechariah. In 3:8f. this emphasis has been shown by the rendering of the OT צמח as משיחא.

ארי האנא מיתאיית עבדי משיחא ויתגלי
ארי הא אבנא דיהבית קדם יהושע

("...for behold I will bring my Servant, the Messiah, and he will be revealed, for behold the stone which I have laid before Joshua...")

Except for the change to Messiah, this is a straightforward paraphrase of the OT, and as there the stone is not the Messiah but a verification that the Messiah will be revealed.

⁷⁵Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), IV, 453 and 458f. [Hereafter S-B.]

⁷⁶See n. 71.

In the Targum on Zech. 4:7b, however, the stone is interpreted directly of the Messiah.

וַיְגַלֵּי יְהוָה מִשִּׁיחֵיהּ דְּאִמִּיר שְׁמִיהּ מִלְּקִדְמִין
וַיִּשְׁלוֹט בְּכָל מַלְכוּתָא

("...and he will reveal his Messiah whose name was spoken from the beginning, and he will rule in all kingdoms.")

The qualifying statements make it clear that the promised Davidic heir was in mind. McNamara has argued that to speak of the Messiah as being revealed (rather than coming, בּוֹא or אָתָּא) is representative of first century Palestinian Judaism.⁷⁷ If this is true, it is indicative of the antiquity of the targum tradition.

The Zech. stone imagery did not receive much attention in the talmudic literature, but the messianic interpretation of Zech. 4:7 is attested. In Midrash Tanchuma תולדות 20 and Yalkut Shimoni, Zech. 4:7 and 10 both are understood of the Messiah.⁷⁸ In GnR XCVII, Zech. 4:7 is quoted with reference to Zerubbabel, but the whole passage has messianic overtones.

Zech. 10:4 in the OT does not belong to the stone imagery specifically since it refers only to the corner (פֶּנֶה), but the rabbinic interpretation should be noted. The OT ... מִמֶּנּוּ פֶּנֶה מִמֶּנּוּ יֵתֵר ("From him the corner, from him the nail...") has been paraphrased as מִנִּיּה מַלְכִּיּה מִנִּיּה ... מִשִּׁיחֵיהּ ("From him his King, from him his Messiah..."). ExR XXXVII.1, however, interprets Zech. 10:4 of the kings of Israel in general and specifically of David (on the basis of Ps. 118:22). In b Hullin 56b the passage is interpreted more generally of the rulers of the people.

⁷⁷Martin McNamara, The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), p. 249.

⁷⁸Both these rabbinic passages also interpret the stone of Gen. 28:11 messianically.

The Zech. stone imagery is not quoted in the NT and therefore is not as significant for our purposes. At the same time, however, the rabbinic interpretation of these passages shows clearly the close association of the stone imagery with the Messiah.

The stone of Dn. 2. As mentioned above, the stone of Dn. 2 is interpreted in EsR VII.10 as the nation Israel and her ability to defeat other nations.⁷⁹ In this tradition the stone has a two-fold destroying ability. ("If a stone falls on a pot, woe to the pot! If a pot falls on a stone, woe to the pot! In either case, woe to the pot!")

More important are the passages that give a messianic interpretation of the stone in Dn. In NmR XIII.14, Yalkut Shimoni on Zech. 4:7, and PRE 32, Dn. 2:34 is quoted as proof that the Messiah will come to rule. A tradition recorded in Midrash Tanchuma (תולדות 20, תרומה 6, and עקב 8) and attributed to Rabbi Laqisch (c. 250) interprets the stone directly as the Messiah.⁸⁰

Psalms 118:22

The Targum on Ps. 118:22-29 should be given in full:

22) A youth was rejected by the builders. He was among the sons of Jesse and was entitled to be appointed king and ruler.

טליא שביקו ארדיכליא הוה ביני בניא דישי
וּזְכָאָה לְאַתְמַנְאָה לְמַלִּיךְ וְשׁוֹלְטָן

23) "This was from Yahweh," said the builders; "This is wonderful for us," said the sons of Jesse.

24) "This day Yahweh made," said the builders; "Let us rejoice and be glad in it," said the sons of Jesse.

25) "We pray you, Yahweh, now," said the builders; "We pray you, give success now," said Jesse and his wife.

26) "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Word of Yahweh," said

⁷⁹See supra, p. 74.

⁸⁰In IV Ezra 13:6 and 26f. the stone of Dn. is seen as the messianic kingdom.

the builders; "They will bless you from the temple of Yahweh," said David.

27) "God, Yahweh, illumine us," said the tribes of the house of Judah; "Tie the lamb (אֵילִם) with chains for a festival sacrifice until you have offered it and sprinkled its blood on the horns of the altar," said Samuel the prophet.

28) "You are my God and I will give thanks before you, my God, I will praise you," said David.

29) Samuel answered and said, "Praise (him), assembly of Israel, and give thanks before Yahweh for he is good, for his goodness is eternal."

The first question that must be answered is that of the identity of the youth in v. 22. (Strack-)Billerbeck⁸¹ and Jeremias⁸² interpreted the targum as referring to David, but Gärtner understood the youth as the Messiah, David's son.⁸³ In favor of interpreting the youth as David are the facts that he was among the sons of Jesse and that all the people involved in the antiphonal praise were contemporaries of David. Gärtner suggested that מֶלֶךְ and שׁוֹלֵטָן are words used in connection with the Messiah,⁸⁴ but they are used in non-messianic texts as well (as in the Targum on Jer. 51:26). It should be noted, however, that David takes part in the antiphonal praise which may indicate that he was not the rejected youth. In the talmudic literature Ps. 118:22 was interpreted as referring to the word of Abraham,⁸⁵ Jacob,⁸⁶ Israel,⁸⁷ an anonymous

⁸¹S-B, I, 876.

⁸²Joachim Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus (London: SCM Press, 1966), p. 259 n. 1. Cf. his "λίθος, λίθινος," p. 273.

⁸³Bertil Gärtner, "אֵילִם als Messiasbezeichnung," SEA, XVIII-XIX (1953-54), 100.

⁸⁴Ibid., 101. Cf. the Targum on Micah 4:8.

⁸⁵PRE 24

⁸⁶MPs 118.20

⁸⁷EsR VII.10 and MPs 118.21.

individual,⁸⁸ and especially David.⁸⁹ The interpretation of the passage as referring to the Messiah is not attested before Rashi.⁹⁰ As the targum stands and on the basis of the rabbinic evidence, it is likely that the reference is to David.

The situation is more complex, however, than it appears on the surface. Very similar to the targum is the tradition recorded in b Pesahim 119a where Ps. 118:21-28 is recorded as sung antiphonally by David, his brothers, Jesse, and Samuel. In a similar antiphonal chant in MPs 118.22, Ps. 118:24 is interpreted as referring to the day of redemption which ends all enslavement, and vs. 25-29 are recorded as sung antiphonally by the men of Jerusalem who are inside the walls and the men of Judah who are outside. Jeremias understood the midrash as depicting the eschatological hour when the messianic king leads the pilgrims from Judea into Jerusalem.

The Jerusalemites and the arriving pilgrims greet one another by singing a hymn as an antiphonal choir, using the words from Ps. 118:25-28, until at the climax both groups unite in the praise of God in v. 29.⁹¹

From these similar passages, one may assume that the targum is based on early tradition. One should note that Ps. 118 particularly and the hallel as a whole were given an eschatological-messianic interpretation in late Judaism.⁹² The midrash on Ps. 118 is not dated, but the Gospels' use of

⁸⁸MPs 118.21

⁸⁹ExR XXXVII.1; MPs 118.21; and b Pes 119a.

⁹⁰On Micah 5:1.

⁹¹Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p. 258. (Italics his)

⁹²Ibid., 256-257. Jeremias listed the following:

Ps. 113:2 The praise of God in the world to come (MPs 113.4)

113:9 Zion in the end time (Pesik 141a)

115:1 The suffering of the messianic times and the war against Gog and Magog (b Pes 118a)

Ps. 118 in connection with the triumphal entry presupposes the common knowledge of Ps. 118:25f. as acclamations for the entrance of the Messiah into Jerusalem. On this basis it is fair to conclude that the eschatological interpretation of Ps. 118:24f. is pre-Christian.⁹³ Jeremias suggested further that the application of Ps. 118 to the anointing of David by the targum and b Pesahim 119a could be a secondary reinterpretation arising out of anti-Christian polemic.⁹⁴

If the targum is interpreted of the Messiah, which is a possibility, this eschatological understanding would represent a pre-Christian tradition since no interpretation that fits so well with Christian tradition would have arisen after the split between Judaism and Christianity.⁹⁵ Probably, however, the targum as it is preserved, refers to David. But with Jeremias, the present text of the targum appears to be a secondary

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- Ps. 116:1 The days of the Messiah (p Ber 2.4d.48f.)
 116:1f. Israel's prayer for redemption (b Pes 118b)
 116:4 Saving of the souls of the pious from Gehenna (b Pes 118a)
 116:9 Resurrection of the dead (b Pes 118a) and the eschatological meal (ExR XXV.10 on 16.4)
 116:13 David's table-blessing after the meal of the salvation time (b Pes 119b and ExR XXV.10)
 118:7 The last judgement (MPs 118.10)
 118:10-12 War against Gog and Magog (MPs 118:12)
 118:15 Beginning of the messianic times (Pesik 132a)
 118:24 The messianic redemption (MPs 118:22)
 118:25-29 Antiphonal choir at the parousia (*ibid.*)
 118:27a God the light of salvation time (MPs 36.6)
 118:27b The days of Gog and Magog (p Ber 2.4d.49)
 118:28 The future world (p Ber 2.4d.50)

⁹³ Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, pp. 256-259. Cf. Mt. 21:9; 23:39; Mk. 11:9; Lk. 13:35 and 19:38; and Jn. 12:13.

⁹⁴ Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p. 259 n. 1. "The fact that it is none the less related to David shows the influence of the older Messianic interpretation."

⁹⁵ Cf. Gärtner, p. 99, and Macho, p. 226.

reinterpretation necessitated by the Judaeo-Christian controversy. Even if the original tradition did refer to David, it would have been applicable for Christian usage (given the fact that the tradition was pre-Christian). For our purposes, we may conclude that the context of Ps. 118:22, if not this verse itself, had been given an eschatological understanding in pre-Christian Judaism.

A final observation that should be made on the Targum of Ps. 118 is that אֲלִיָּמ, which is used of the rejected youth in v. 22, is used of the sacrificial lamb in v. 27. The double meaning of אֲלִיָּמ ("boy, servant" or "lamb") has been offered as the explanation of ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ and παῖς θεοῦ in the NT,⁹⁶ and the targum would substantiate this. Gärtner pointed out that the rejection motif and the sacrificial motif together make the targum very much like the Ebed Yahweh tradition in Is. 53.⁹⁷ This is, of course, very significant if the targum is messianic and pre-Christian as he argued, but it is difficult to assess the significance of this play on אֲלִיָּמ on a different interpretation of the targum. If David was the one referred to, the tradition may represent a sacrifice given in place of the king.

Concluding Statement

There should be little question that within Judaism there was a tradition that regularly associated the OT stone texts with the Messiah. Significantly, each of the prophetic stone passages that concern us has

⁹⁶Gärtner, p. 98. Cf. C. F. Burney, The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), pp. 107-108; and McNamara, p. 94.

⁹⁷Gärtner, pp. 101f. Even apart from the targum tradition, others, as Sciascia, pp. 52f. and 89, have connected the stone and servant imagery.

been interpreted messianically at least once. This tradition, at least for Is. 28:16 and Dn. 2:34, ante-dates the Christian use of the image. It is difficult to assess the relevance of the rabbinic interpretation of Ps. 118:22, but the context, if not this verse itself, was given eschatological significance in pre-Christian Judaism.

THE STONE IMAGERY IN JOSEPHUS

The historical nature of Josephus' writings does not permit extensive use of the prophetic stone imagery, but there are a few passages that are significant for our study.

By the way of general comment, one should note that the distinction between "rock" and "stone" in the Semitic literature is not reflected in Josephus' use of λίθος and πέτρα. The semantic field of πέτρα in Greek literature is particularly large as it can mean "cliffs," "a mass of rock," "a boulder," or "stone as material."⁹⁸ The proximity of the meanings of λίθος and πέτρα can be seen in Josephus' Bell. V.174:

θαυμάσιον δὲ καὶ τῶν λίθων ἦν τὸ μέγεθος οὐ γὰρ ἐξ εἰκαίας
χερμάδος οὐδὲ φορητῶν ἀνθρώποις πετρῶν συνειστήκεσαν...

("Marvellous, too, were the dimensions of the stones; for these were not composed of ordinary blocks or boulders such as men might carry...")⁹⁹

As this passage would suggest, both πέτρα and λίθος were used by Josephus of building materials. In Antiq. XV.363 it is reported that in honor of

⁹⁸Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (9th ed. rev.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 1397.

⁹⁹Unless stated otherwise, the text and translation in each case are according to H. St. J. Thackeray and others (eds. and trans.), Josephus, The Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1926-65).

Caesar, Herod "...erected to him a very beautiful temple of white stone in the territory of Zenodorus" (...έν τη Ζενοδώρου περικαλλέστατον αὐτῷ ναὸν ἐγείρει πέτρας λευκῆς). In XV.392 the description of Herod's temple in Jerusalem states that "the temple was built from hard, white stones" (ἠικοδομήθη δὲ ὁ ναὸς ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν τέ καὶ κραταιῶν...). One should also compare Antiq. VIII.63 with Bell. V.189. The former describes the foundations of Solomon's temple as consisting of "strong stones" (^{ἰσχυρῶν} λίθων ἰσχυρῶς); the latter, as part of the description of Jerusalem, describes the magnitude of the "blocks of stones" (πέτραι) used in the foundations of the temple. The two words are closely connected as well in a description of war machines for throwing stones in Bell. V.269f. where the machines are called λιθόβολα and the stones thrown are called πέτραι.

The Wordplay Between יב and יבס

The most significant contribution that Josephus' writings make to our study is that they give us a certain example of the wordplay between יב and יבס. During the seige of Jerusalem, the Romans used war machines to toss large stones at the Jews on the walls. To counter the effect of this tactic, the Jews placed watchmen on the towers to shout a warning when the stone was in flight. Josephus describes this counter-tactic in Bell. V.272:

Watchmen were accordingly posted by them on the towers, who gave warning whenever the engine was fired and the stone in transit, by shouting in their native tongue, "The son is coming" [ὁ υἱὸς ἔρχεται]; whereupon those in the line of fire promptly made way and lay down, owing to which precautions the stone passed harmlessly through and fell in their rear.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰Thackeray paraphrased the clause "The son is coming" as "Sonny's coming."

The events being described are clear enough, but what ὁ ὑἰδς ἔρχεται stood for in the "native tongue" has prompted some discussion. The suggested emendation by Hudson of ὑἰδς to ἰός ("arrow")¹⁰¹ has rightly been rejected by nearly all.¹⁰² The word is not used elsewhere by Josephus and would not fit the context here. Naber's further suggestion of ἰού ("a loud cry expressive of sorrow, joy, or surprise") has even less in its favor.¹⁰³

There is virtual agreement that ὁ ὕιος should be retained, but not on how it should be explained. Thackeray, as Reland before him, assumed that יבן was corrupted to יב and compared the nicknames used for weaponry in World War One.¹⁰⁴ Michel and Bauernfeind, as Whiston before them,¹⁰⁵ objected that Aramaic rather than Hebrew was intended by τῆ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ ("in their native tongue," cf. I.3; V.361). Therefore, they explained that the cry must have been a wordplay on the different ideas of the Aramaic term בר: 1) "son;" 2) "clear" or "pure" (referring to the

¹⁰¹Joannis Hudsoni (ed.), *Flavii Iosephi Opera Omnia*, ed. Sigebertus Havercampus (Amstelaedami: R. & G. Wetstenios, 1726), II. 339.

¹⁰²Cf. Benedictus Niese (ed.), *De Bellico Iudaico*, Vol. VI: *Flavii Iosephi Opera* (Berolini: Apud Weidmannos, 1955), p. 471; *The Works of Flavius Iosephus*, trans. William Whiston (London: George Virtue, 1841), p. 789; Thackeray and others, III, 284-285; Otto Michel und Otto Bauernfeind, *De Bello Judaico: der jüdische Krieg* (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1963), Band II/1, 148. Samuel Adrianus Naber (ed.), *Flavii Iosephi Opera Omnia* (Lipsiae: B. G. Teubneri, 1896), VI, 35, was the only one to accept Hudson's emendation for his edition of the text. Michel and Bauernfeind, I/1, xxxiii, have commented on Naber's general tendency to give more room to conjecture.

¹⁰³Naber, VI, x.

¹⁰⁴Thackeray and others, III, 285.

¹⁰⁵Whiston, p. 789.

clear white stone); or 3) "outside."¹⁰⁶

The solution proposed by Thackeray is the only one that adequately explains the change from "stone" to "son," but the objection that Aramaic was the language used certainly has validity.

The phrase τῆ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ in itself does not answer the question of which language was meant.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, there are some who have suggested that Hebrew was the primary language in Palestine in the first century. According to Milik, "The copper rolls and the documents from the Second Revolt prove beyond reasonable doubt that Mishnaic [Hebrew] was the normal language of the Judean population in the Roman period."¹⁰⁸ Kutscher has suggested on the basis of the Bar Kokhba Letters that Hebrew was spoken in Judea while Aramaic was spoken in Galilee.¹⁰⁹ Of course, if it is accepted that Hebrew was the primary language, the explanation by Thackeray for the Josephus text will be accepted.

That first century Palestine was trilingual is beyond doubt, and recent archaeological discoveries demand that Hebrew and Greek be regarded as common vehicles of expression along side Aramaic.¹¹⁰ Most, however,

¹⁰⁶Michel and Bauernfeind, II/1, 261. They also compared nicknames for cannons in military units today.

¹⁰⁷Cf. Thackeray and others, II,4. He indicated that Aramaic was meant, but in the corrigenda to volumes II and III "Aramaic" is changed to "Aramaic or Hebrew." Cf. J. N. Sevenster, Do You Know Greek? (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), p. 71.

¹⁰⁸J. T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea, trans. J. Strugnell (London: SCM Press, 1959), p. 130.

¹⁰⁹Cf. the summary of Kutscher's article (Lishonenu, XXV, 1961, pp. 117-133; XXVI, 1962, pp. 8-22) in IEJ, XII (1962), pp. 72-73.

¹¹⁰See Y. Yadin, "The Expedition to the Judean Desert, 1960: Expedition D," IEJ, XI (1961) 40-50; Sevenster, pp. 130 and 176; Robert H.

would disagree with Milik and Kutscher and view Aramaic as the primary language of all Palestine.¹¹¹ That Josephus did mean "Aramaic" by τῆ πατριῶ γλώσση is substantiated by the fact that he sent his first edition to the countrymen beyond the Euphrates where Aramaic was spoken (Bell. I.6).

Granted that Josephus did mean "Aramaic," it is still possible to account for the occurrence of ὁ ἑὶς ἔρχεται. Particularly with the language situation as complex as it was in first century Palestine, one must ask what kind of Aramaic would have been used. According to the Letter of Aristeas, the Jews did not speak Syriac as supposed, but had a "peculiar dialect."¹¹² Black explained this "peculiar dialect" as the Jewish dialect of Western Aramaic which would have had a distinctive Hebrew script and a large proportion of borrowings from classical Hebrew.¹¹³ As Gundry

Gundry, "The Language Milieu of First-Century Palestine," JBL, LXXXIII (1964), 405; Milik, p. 131; and P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, (eds.), Les Grottes de Murabba'at, Vol. II, DJD (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 69f.; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A. D.," CBQ, XXXII (1970), 501-531; and Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (3d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 15f. On the use of Hebrew, cf. Max Wilcox, The Semitisms of Acts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 14. Gustaf Dalman, Jesus-Jeshua, trans. Paul P. Levertoff (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929, pp. 1-37, recognized that first century Palestine was trilingual, but he did not give the emphasis to Hebrew as a common vehicle of expression that recent discoveries demand.

¹¹¹Cf. Sevenster, p. 176; Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, p. 48; Benoit, Milik, and de Vaux, p. 69 (where Aramaic is admitted to have been the lingua franca); and Fitzmyer, pp. 518f.

¹¹²R. H. Charles (ed.), The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), II, 95. For the Greek text, cf. Henry Barclay Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), p. 520, lines 25f.

¹¹³Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts, p. 48.

pointed out, in bilingual or trilingual areas the languages tend to interpenetrate each other.¹¹⁴

It is not necessary to analyze the extent of interpenetration of the two languages. Given that Josephus meant Aramaic, all that must be determined is whether or not אבן would have been used of a stone and whether or not the populace would have understood "son" if אבן had been corrupted to בן. There is no question that אבן would have been used since it was an Aramaic word and particularly a word in use in the Aramaic of Judea.¹¹⁵ It was used, of course, in the Aramaic of Dn. (2:34f., 45; 5:4, 23; 6:18) and Ezra (5:8; 6:4). Concerning the other question, it is doubtful that any Aramaic speaking person in first century Palestine would have been unaware of the meaning of בן. In the plural forms, of course, the resh of בר changes to a nun. Even more important, the use of בן in proper names as בן כוסבא שמעון would have made the word so familiar that all would have known it. The name Simeon ben Kosiba also appears as Simeon bar Kosiba (שמעון בר כוסבא), usually depending on which language was being used at the time.¹¹⁶ At both Murabba'at and the Cave of Letters בר, however, occurs in Hebrew texts¹¹⁷ and בן in Aramaic texts.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴Gundry, p. 408.

¹¹⁵Charles F. Jean and Jacob Hoftijzer, Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), p. 2.

¹¹⁶Cf. Yadin, "The Expedition to the Judean Desert, 1960: Expedition D," pp. 40-48, where בר כוסבא is used in Hebrew and Aramaic documents and Benoit, Milik, and de Vaux, p. 131 (24) et al. where בן כוסבא is used.

¹¹⁷Yadin, "The Expedition to the Judean Desert, 1960: Expedition D," p. 47; cf. Benoit, Milik, and de Vaux, nos. 22, 29, 30, and 36.

¹¹⁸Y. Yadin, "The Expedition to the Judean Desert, 1961: Expedition D--The Cave of Letters," IEJ, XII (1962), 243. Cf. Benoit, Milik, and de Vaux, no. 23, verso 1 and no. 74, 3.

At times בר and בן stand beside each other in the same document.¹¹⁹

On this evidence, the cry ὁ ὕψις ἔρχεται may be explained. The watchman would have cried out his warning as quickly as possible. In doing so, the aleph of אבן would not have been given sufficient stress, and the people would have heard בן or something very similar. As has been suggested, בן probably became a nickname for the stones so that later there was no attempt to pronounce אבן.¹²⁰ Through repetition the cry was made so common that it was written down. Josephus has given us a certain example of the wordplay between בן and אבן in an Aramaic speaking milieu.

Josephus' Interpretation of Dn. 2

In Antiq. X.195f. Josephus gives his account of the incidents in Dn. 2. In X.210 his comments on the interpretation of the stone are instructive:

And Daniel also revealed to the king the meaning of the stone, but I have not thought it proper to relate this since I am expected to write of what is past and done and not of what is to be; if, however, there is anyone who has so keen a desire for exact information that he will not stop short of inquiring more closely but wishes to learn about the hidden things that are to come, let him take the trouble to read the Book of Daniel, which he will find among the sacred writings.

The stone has obviously been understood in accordance with the original context in an eschatological sense. That Josephus claimed

¹¹⁹Yadin, "The Expedition to the Judean Desert, 1961: Expedition D-- The Cave of Letters," p. 255: שותופתי עמך מן החכיר שתכרנו אני ואחא מן יהונתן בר מהנים פרנסו של שמעון בן כוסבא נשיא ישראל ("my share with you of the land that we leased, you and I, from Jonathan son of MHN̄NYM, the administrator of Simon ben Kosiba, Prince of Israel.") Cf. Benoit, Milik, and de Vaux, pp. 144-148 (30, 32-35).

¹²⁰Thackeray and others, III, 285; and Michel and Bauernfeind, II/1, 261.

prophetic inspiration is important (Bell. III.351f.; 399-408; Life, 208.). Bruce compared this form of prophetic inspiration with that of the Teacher of Righteousness from Qumran who was felt to have the ability to interpret accurately the prophetic oracles, especially with reference to the time of their fulfillment.¹²¹

The reason for Josephus passing over the significance of the stone with an "eloquently delicate touch" is evident. He understood the fourth kingdom in Dn. 2 to represent Rome, and he, as his contemporaries, interpreted the stone as referring to the reign of saints that would succeed the fourth kingdom.¹²² Rather than offend the Romans, he left the stone uninterpreted, but his instructions to those who "desire exact information" show the importance with which he regarded this text.

Jeremias understood that Josephus interpreted the stone directly of the Messiah as did several rabbinic writers,¹²³ but since Josephus' statement is somewhat ambiguous, it is better to understand the stone as designating the promised kingdom as a whole.

Thus Josephus' writings not only provide us with a certain instance of the traditional wordplay between בן and אבן, but they provide further evidence that Dn. 2:34 was given an eschatological interpretation in the first century.

¹²¹F. F. Bruce, "Josephus and Daniel," ASTI, IV (1964-65), 159.

¹²²Ibid., p. 160. Thackeray and others, VI, 275.

¹²³J. Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," p. 273.

EXCURSUS I

THE POSSIBILITY OF A PROSTHETIC ALEPH WITH בן

The assonance between בן and אבן is close indeed, but there is good reason to believe that the pronunciation of the two words was even closer than their spellings would indicate. It is a general rule that Semitic languages do not permit the presence of more than one consonant at the beginning of a word, but usually introduce a prosthetic vowel to break up such initial consonantal clusters.¹²⁴ There is the distinct possibility that בן occurred with a prosthetic aleph.

The prosthetic aleph did occur with בן in post NT times, particularly in proper names,¹²⁵ and it has usually been considered an Arabism.¹²⁶

There is evidence, however, that this phenomenon occurred much earlier. The use of a prosthetic aleph certainly antedates Arabic influence since it appears in the eighth century B. C. inscriptions of Hadad (אשם, lines 16 and 21), Panammu (אבם, line 5),¹²⁷ and Sefire (אשם, I C25 and II B7).¹²⁸ It occurs as well in biblical Aramaic in Ezra 4:23

¹²⁴Sabatino Moscati, Anton Spitaler, Edward Ullendorff, and Wolfram von Soden, An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, ed. Sabatino Moscati (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), pp. 59 and 64. The suggestion that בן may have occurred with the prosthetic aleph was made initially by Principal Black.

¹²⁵See Mark Lidzbarski, Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraph (Weimar: Verlag von Emil Felber, 1898), p. 206; and Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum (Paris: E. Reipublicae Typographeo, 1889), II, 470, 1310, 1328, and 2647. Cf. H. H. Rowley, The Aramaic of the Old Testament (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 17.

¹²⁶Rowley, p. 17.

¹²⁷Texts according to Lidzbarski, pp. 440f. On the early occurrence of the prosthetic aleph, see p. 389.

¹²⁸Joseph A. Fitzmyer, The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), pp. 20 and 80.

(אצבען) and Dn. 5:3,4 (אשתיו) and 5:5 (אדרע).

Of particular interest for our purposes is the suggestion of James Montgomery that בן with the prosthetic aleph occurs in line 7 of the Panammu inscription. Rather than translate the epithet for the usurper Panammu killed (אבן שחת)¹²⁹ as "stone of destruction," he suggested that אבן was a Hebraism for בן and that the phrase should be compared to the phrase בני בליעל.¹³⁰

The prosthetic aleph has been suggested for several Hebrew passages of the OT as well. This seems especially probable in Job 5:23 where אבני השדה should be parallel to חית הארץ ("the living of the earth") of 22b and חית השדה ("the living of the field") of 23b. The "stones of the field" does not fit the context, but "sons of the field" fits perfectly. בן is used often with a further qualifying word to designate animals (as בן-בקר -- "son of the herd"), and שדה is used frequently to designate a home for animals. Joseph Reider interpreted אבני השדה as בני השדה, but he understood it as "spirits of the field," i. e., the spirits appointed over the fields who were a type of jinn or genii by whom human

¹²⁹The probable reading. See Lidzbarski, p. 442; and G. A. Cooke, A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 172, but cf. his comments on p. 176.

¹³⁰James A. Montgomery, "Notes on Early Aramaic Inscriptions," JAOS, LIV (1934), 423. He suggested the prosthetic aleph as well for אברו in line 15 of the Hadad Inscription. Cf. Cooke, pp. 184f. for his comments on the affinity of the Zenjirli inscriptions to Hebrew and other Canaanite languages. Cf. H. A. Brongers and A. S. van der Woude, "Wat is de Betekenis van 'abnayim in Exodus 1:16?" Nederlandsch Theologisch Tijdschrift, XX (1966), 251. אבן שחת was viewed by van der Woude as a set phrase meaning "son of destruction" ("zoon des verderfs"). The importance of this text as a parallel to Is. 8:14 and its Immanuel context is evident.

beings were believed to be possessed.¹³¹ G. Beer followed Raschi and read אדני rather than אבני and interpreted the passage as Reider did.¹³² It is questionable whether Eliphaz would have argued that one's covenant would be with genii since he was describing a desirable relationship. The parallel terms in 22b and 23b indicate that animals were meant, and if אדני is taken as בני השדה (with prosthetic aleph), then the thought would be the same as in 23a, as one would expect.

A. S. van der Woude has suggested the occurrence of בן with the prosthetic aleph in several other passages. He suggested "fiery beings" for אש אבני in Ezra 28:14 and 16 and "children of the grave" for אבני בור in Is. 14:19.¹³³ More important is his suggestion that האבנים in Ex. 1:16 is an occurrence of the prosthetic aleph and means "children."¹³⁴ This would fit the context better than the usual rabbinic understanding of האבנים as the female sex organs.¹³⁵ (The meaning "birthstool," however, is not without merit.) Finally, van der Woude suggested that the prosthetic aleph occurs in Gen. 49:24b, a passage we have already

¹³¹Joseph Reider, "Contributions to the Scriptural Text," HUCA, XXIV (1952-53), 102. He pointed to Arabic ابن for Hebrew בן and Phoenician אבנשמש for אבנשמש. He drew corroboration for his interpretation from the Mishnah (Kil VIII.5) where אדני השדה is mentioned with the variant אבני השדה and is interpreted in the Palestinian Talmud (pKil 31c) as a mountain man, a sort of mythical animal, perhaps an orangoutang.

¹³²G. Beer, "Zu Hiob 5:23," ZAW, XXXV (1915), 63-64; and see the response by K. Albrecht, "Kil. VIII, 5," ZAW, XXXVI (1916), 64.

¹³³Brongers and van der Woude, pp. 251f.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 250.

¹³⁵Ibid., pp. 241f. Cf. Matitياهو Tsevat, "Some Biblical Notes," HUCA, XXIV (1952-53), 109-110. A. Cohen, "Studies in Hebrew Lexicography," AJSL, XL (1924), 156-159, suggested that אבני in this and other passages should be understood of the testes of the male.

considered. With the restoration of a yodh (omitted through haplography), the last phrase would be "sons of Israel" (אבני ישראל) and would be parallel to "Jacob."¹³⁶ (This would obviate the metrical problems in this verse as well.)

The presence of the prosthetic aleph at a later time is well attested. According to Dalman, its appearance in the Galilean dialect and in the Palestinian Targum is not rare.¹³⁷ Of the several examples he gave, אדמיה ("his blood") and אשתה ("six") are representative. In a similar list of examples of the prosthetic aleph in Aramaic, Brockelmann cited 'ebra ("son") from Mandaean.¹³⁸

The prosthetic aleph occurs in most manuscripts of the Targum on Prov. 23:28 where it is said that the harlot captures foolish sons (אבנא שברי). The text has been difficult for the scribes, for at least four variations of the verb are attested.¹³⁹ Jastrow reported and accepted the

¹³⁶See *supra*, pp. 17-18 and 71-72. Cf. also Paul de Lagarde, *Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Verlags Buchhandlung, 1889), pp. 75f., where he suggested that אבן occurs in some proper names for בן, as אבניר, but he was probably wrong.

¹³⁷Gustaf Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1905), pp. 94f.

¹³⁸Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1908), I, 216. Cf. Friedrich Schulthess, *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch*, ed. Enno Littmann (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), p. 43.

¹³⁹The Bomberg edition of the *Biblia Hebraea Rabbinica* has וצאיך; Walton's Polyglott has וצאד אבנא שברי; Manuscript Luzzatto has וצאדא בניא שברי (see the next note); and the recent Jerusalem publication of מקראות גדולות has וצאר אבנא שברי. Paulus de Lagarde (ed.), *Hagiographa Chaldaice* (Lipsiae: In Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1873), p. 137, emended the Bomberg reading to וצאידיא בניא שברי.

reading of Manuscript Luzzatto which does not have the prosthetic aleph.¹⁴⁰ Levy reported this reading, but apparently preferred a reading retaining the prosthetic aleph, and he also explained the occurrence of מליא ("youth") in the Targum on Ps. 118:22 for אבן as due to the prosthetic aleph.¹⁴¹

These examples indicate at least the possibility that בן occurred with the prosthetic aleph and may help one understand the change of אבן to בן in the incident reported by Josephus. In a correspondence regarding the prosthetic aleph, Prof. John Gibson of New College, Edinburgh, made the following observation:

The custom of providing an initial vowel must have been widespread particularly in Aramaic, where the action of the stress results in many words beginning with two consonants; perhaps in the majority of cases a Shewa was pronounced between, and this is usually there in vocalized orthographies, but in the spoken language with words run together, a connecting vowel before the two consonants must have been common.¹⁴²

This would indicate that the prosthetic aleph was even more prevalent in conversation than manuscripts would attest.

In dealing with subjects such as this, the results are not as conclusive as one would like, but it must be considered as a possibility that בן would have occurred with the prosthetic aleph in NT times or before. While this phenomenon occurs for the same reason in Aramaic as in Arabic, the Aramaic examples are not necessarily due to Arabic influence.

¹⁴⁰Jastrow, p. 7.

¹⁴¹Levy, Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim, p. 6. Cf. Johannes Buxtorfii, Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum, ed. Johanne Buxtorfio Filio (Basileae: Ludovici König, 1640), p. 319.

¹⁴²Letter from John C. L. Gibson, Lecturer in Hebrew and Semitic Languages, New College, University of Edinburgh, March 11, 1970. (Italics his)

CONCLUSIONS TO CHAPTER 3

Since the various bodies of Judaic literature show that the OT stone testimonia have been significantly developed in late Judaism, they help to provide the background upon which the NT use of these verses may be understood. The basic features of this background are:

1) The OT distinction between "rock" and "stone" is preserved in the LXX and targums and usually in the Qumran Scrolls, but it is blurred in the talmudic literature.

2) The Semitic wordplay between בן and אבן was frequently used in late Judaism and is either explicitly stated or assumed in interpretation in all branches of Jewish literature. The example of the wordplay recorded by Josephus shows how closely the words were related.

3) There was a widespread tradition that associated the stone testimonia with the Messiah and the messianic kingdom.¹⁴³ It is significant that each of the relevant OT passages was interpreted at least once of the Messiah. The messianic interpretation of Is. 28:16 and the reference of Dn. 2:34 to the messianic kingdom (if not to the Messiah) both ante-date the birth of Christianity. The importance of Is. 28:16 is evidenced by the interpretive alterations in the LXX and targum and by the fact that the Qumran community used the verse as a charter expression of its existence. The context of Ps. 118:22, if not this verse itself, was also associated with the messianic kingdom in pre-Christian Judaism.

¹⁴³See John Hall Elliott, The Elect and the Holy (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 26-28.

Chapter 4

THE USE OF THE STONE IMAGERY IN THE GOSPELS I

The distinction between סלע/צור and אבן that exists in the OT is reflected in the NT distinction between πέτρα and λίθος. The former is used of rock that is part of a natural rock formation, but λίθος is always used of rock matter that has been separated from a rock mass, whether of worked stones (as building stones, Mt. 24:2, and mill-stones, Lk. 17:2) or of unworked stones (as stones lying on the ground, Mt. 3:9, and a stone over the entrance to a tomb, Jn. 11:38). The distinction is best illustrated by Mt. 27:60 (// Mk. 15:46) where the narrative states that the tomb for Jesus had been hewn out in the rock (πέτρα) and that a large stone (λίθος) was rolled to the door of the tomb.

The wordplay between אבן and בן is, not surprisingly, also reflected in the NT. The occurrence of the words for "stone" and "son" in close proximity may be due to coincidence in some cases (Mt. 4:3//; 7:9//), but the wordplay probably lies behind Lk. 19:39-40 ("If these should keep silent, the stones would cry out") since the parallel account in Mt. 21:15 refers to the ones proclaiming Jesus in the temple as "children."¹ A more definite instance of the wordplay occurs in Mt. 3:9// in the saying

¹Alan Hugh M'Neile, The Gospel According to St. Matthew (London: Macmillan and Co., 1915), p. 301; and Philip Carrington, According to Mark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 249.

of John the Baptist that "God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham" (Mt. 3:9//).²

The explanations that the wordplay occurs in Mt. 3:9 and that a distinction exists between πέτρα and λίθος have both been challenged by J. Jeremias. He argued that the Aramaic equivalent of λίθος could be either אבנא or כּיפא since λίθος is used in Mt. 3:9 and Mk. 15:46 with the meaning "rock" and since the Syriac Gospels always have כּיפא (כּאפא) for λίθος. He therefore interpreted the saying of the Baptist as a reference to Is. 51:1-2 where Abraham is referred to as a rock from which Israelites were hewn.³ Jeremias' challenge, however, will not stand up under examination. It is doubtful that Is. 51:1-2 form the background of the NT saying. Both Mt. and Lk. have λίθων τούτων while the LXX has στερεὰν πέτραν, and the targum has טײנרײא instead of כּיפא. Even if the passage in Is. does underlie the NT saying in the sense that Abraham is a quarry from which stones, i. e., Israelites, were dug,⁴ the stones would be designated by אבניא rather than כּיפא. It is only in Syriac and sometimes the talmudic literature that כּיפא is used to designate stones detached from a natural rock formation. As we have seen, in the Hebrew OT, the targums, and the LXX a distinction was maintained between

²M'Neile, p. 28; Carrington, p. 249; and Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (3d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 145 and also pp. 12f. and 194, where mention is made of a possible wordplay between כּי and כּוּ in Mt. 23:31 and Lk. 11:48.

³J. Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος" TDNT, IV, 268-270. On the question of the meaning of the OT passage, see N. A. van Uchelen, "Abraham als Felsen (Jes. 51:1)," ZAW, LXXX (1968), 183-191; contra P. A. H. De Boer, "The Rock," Second-Isaiah's Message, Vol. II, Oudtestamentische Studiën (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1956), 58-67, who understood the rock as a reference to God.

⁴Cf. Yalkut Shimoni I,716 (S-B I, 733).

צור / סלע , שינרא / כיפא , and πέτρα on the one hand and אבן , אבנא , and λίθος on the other. λίθος was used in Mt. 3:9// and Mk. 15:46// in the normal way to designate stone detached from a natural rock formation, and its only Aramaic equivalent is אבנא . Accordingly, in the Targum on Josh. 4:3-4 אבניא is used of the stones along the Jordan (cf. Mt. 3:9), and in Dn. 6:18 the Aramaic אבנא is used to refer to the stone placed over the opening to the lion's den (cf. Mk. 15:46). Thus λίθος is not used with the meaning "rock."

Jeremias' main basis for arguing that כיפא is a possible equivalent of λίθος is that the Syriac NT regularly has כפר (כר פר) for λίθος, but this assumes that the Aramaic כיפא and the Syriac כפר are equivalents. A. F. J. Klijn has pointed out that one cannot use Syriac to reconstruct the Palestinian Aramaic in this instance since a semantic shift has taken place in Syriac.⁵ אבנא dropped out of use in Syriac and was replaced by כפר.⁶ The only Aramaic equivalent of λίθος is אבנא .

Although λίθος is not used with the meaning "rock," πέτρα is used sometimes for "stone," as for example by Josephus.⁷ In the NT πέτρα is used in parallelism with λίθος in the quotations of Is. 8:14 (Rm. 9:33 and I P 2:8), but the only occurrence of πέτρα where it appears to mean the

⁵A. F. J. Klijn, "Die Wörter 'Stein' und 'Felsen' in der syrischen Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments," ZNW, L (1959), pp. 99-105.

⁶כפר is used in the Syriac NT only at I P 2:8 (for πέτρα!) and in two manuscripts of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary at Mt. 21:42. כפר is used for πέτρα in a few passages in the NT and sometimes for צור / סלע in the Peshitta OT. כר is usually used for πέτρα in the Syriac NT. See Klijn, *passim*.

⁷See *supra*, pp. 87-88. O. Cullmann, "πέτρα," TDNT, VI, 95, said that πέτρα and λίθος were often used interchangeably, but the references he cited do not prove his point. Cf. L-S, 8th ed., p. 1207.

same as λίθος is I Cor. 10:4, the tradition of the rock that followed. Πέτρα is used, of course, because רֹצ and עֶבֶר were used in the OT and the rabbinic account of the rock that gave water even though the developed tradition gave the word the nuance of stone separated from a natural rock formation.⁸

THE PARABLE OF THE WICKED HUSBANDMEN

(Mt. 21:33-46; Mk. 12:1-12; Lk. 20:9-19; Thom. Log. 65-67)

The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen has been an enigma to modern interpretation. The approaches to the parable have been quite varied, and in some studies where one might expect it to be discussed, it has been ignored. In other cases the conclusions drawn have been unsatisfactory either because of presuppositions that are too rigid or that have been shown to be erroneous by recent discoveries. Any discussion of the parable is necessarily a complex one in that it involves the relation of the three Synoptic accounts, the Gospel of Thomas account,⁹ the meaning of παραβολή, the religious and economic background in Palestine, the self-designation of Jesus, and the theology of the early church. The significance of this parable for the stone imagery is evident, and one's reconstruction of the course of the stone testimonia is largely affected by his analysis of this parable.

Before analyzing the parable, a survey of the representative approaches to it will be helpful. No attempt will be made here to comment

⁸See infra, pp. 267-271.

⁹Hereafter Thom.

on the validity of the line of argument taken, but inconsistencies in the approach of an individual will be noted.

Basic Approaches to the Parable

A. Jülicher. Regardless of how one estimates the positive thrust of Jülicher's work, its importance for parable research is undeniable in that he pointed out the fallacy of allegorizing the parables. Jülicher discredited this type of parable exegesis by saying that Jesus' parables were not allegories and did not have allegorical traits. Instead they were simple comparisons which were self-evident and did not require interpretation. For him, with a parable there could be no question of several points of comparison between the imagery and the idea since a parable illustrates only one point of contact between the two. Where allegory or allegorical traits appear, the evangelists are to blame.¹⁰

Despite this delimiting of the concept of parable, Jülicher gave a full discussion of the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen because he felt that one could not prove that Jesus did not use unusual forms of speech on occasion.¹¹ Jülicher believed that the accounts of Mt. and Lk. are both modifications of that in Mk. and that for all three the story is an allegory of the sending of God's son to the leaders of his people. On his view the details of the story are unimportant and one can make sense of Mk. 12:1-9// only if he follows the spirit and not the letter. The owner of the vineyard and the tenants are both impossible creations since no one

¹⁰Die Gleichnisreden Jesu (Freiburg i. B.: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr, Vol. I, 1888; Vol. II, 1889), I, 65-85.

¹¹Ibid., II, 385-406.

would act as these did. There is nothing left of a story of everyday life; rather, the story has meaning only in the sphere of God and the history of Israel. Mk. 12:10 is a later addition to the parable which directs attention to another point, the restoration of the rejected son. Matthew has added v. 43 to give the basic thought of the parable in discourse but has not taken any consideration of the messianically interpreted citation. Due to the thought association with the messianic stone, Lk. has added v. 18 to bring out the threatening character of the parable. Thus the citation of Ps. 118:22 is out of place, secondary, and eliminated as a gloss although Jesus could have used the verse of his rejection on another occasion.

With these later additions out of the way, Jülicher admitted it is still possible that Mk. 12:1-9 contains actual words of Jesus. Although none of the elements (including the reference to Jesus as Son) is out of keeping with Jesus' own ministry, Jülicher still suspected that the parable is a product of the first Christian generation since it is the view of history of an average man who experienced the crucifixion and yet believed in the Son of God. It lacks any original feature, psychological motivation for the characters, and poetic freshness. Jülicher granted that it is possible that there was an original Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen by Jesus but felt it is impossible that it could be reconstructed since the Markan account is completely a product of early Christian theology.

To summarize, it is not so much any specific detail of the parable as its overall tone that convinced Jülicher that this parable is derived from the early Church. He did not appeal directly to the fact that this is an allegory except to the extent that this is implied in saying that it can only be understood spiritually and in references to the inferior

quality of the story.

The de-allegorizing approach. Several scholars have refused to reject the parable completely since they felt that a genuine parable lies beneath the external allegorical covering. C. H. Dodd¹² and J. Jeremias¹³ are the main proponents of this position. Both felt that in its main lines the story is natural and realistic in the political and economic situation in first century Palestine. It is the story of an absentee landlord who was to be paid in produce by his tenants. After his collecting agents were mistreated, the owner sent his son to deal with the seriousness of the situation, but rather than respect the son, the tenants killed him and seized the vineyard. Both Dodd and Jeremias, therefore, felt that the entrance of the son was demanded by logical rather than theological motivation.

Dodd was uncertain whether Mk. 12:9b is original, not because it is an unnatural conclusion or because it sounds like a vaticinium ex eventu, but because Jesus did not normally answer the questions his parables asked. Dodd had no doubt, however, that the stone quotations were later additions and that Mk. 12:5 should also be excluded since it invites allegorical interpretation.

Despite his de-allegorizing, Dodd still felt that the climax of iniquity in the story suggested a similar climax in the situation to which it is to be applied; i. e., the parable suggests "the impending climax of

¹²The Parables of the Kingdom (London: Nisbet & Co., 1936), pp. 124-132.

¹³The Parables of Jesus (London: SCM Press, 1963), 70-77.

the rebellion of Israel in a murderous assault upon the Successor of the prophets."¹⁴ The veiled allusions may have been understood by the hearers, and by implication the parable predicts the death of Jesus and the judgement on his slayers. Thus while Dodd has swept away all allegory with one hand, he has brought it back with the other. Matthew Black noticed this inconsistency in Dodd's approach and justly criticized Dodd of trying to run with the allegorical hare and still hunt with the Jülicher hounds.¹⁵

Jeremias' treatment is similar, but more detailed. In his view, the parable as it stands is pure allegory with every major factor from the "vineyard" (Israel) to the "other people" (the Gentiles, Mt. 21:43) accounted for, but a comparison of the various versions, especially Thom., shows that the following allegorical features in Mk. and Mt. are secondary:

1) The allusion to Is. 5, which is based on the LXX and which is omitted by Lk. and Thom.

2) The sending of the servants. There are no allegorical features in the simple account of Thom. and Lk. Mk. 12:5b is a reference to the fate of the prophets, and Mt. has a reference to the earlier and later prophets in his two missions.

3) The christological coloring of the sending of the son. The actual story as in Thom. closed with the murder of the son. Mt. and Lk. have the son killed outside the vineyard to correspond to Jesus' death outside the city. Mk. has begun the allegorizing with *οὐδὲν ἀγαπητόν* and the citation of Ps. 118:22. All christological interpretations are absent from Thom.

4) The final question of the Synoptist. It is missing from Thom., and the question refers to the LXX form of Is. 5 since the Hebrew text is not in the form of a question. If the question is secondary, obviously the answer is too.¹⁶

The original parable vindicates the offer of the gospel to the poor, as do

¹⁴Dodd, p. 130.

¹⁵"The Parables as Allegory," BJRL, XLII (1959-1960), 283.

¹⁶The Parables of Jesus, pp. 70-76.

so many other parables in Jeremias' opinion. The form of the story thought to be original is preserved in Thom. with Lk. being least allegorical of the Synoptists.

Like Dodd, Jeremias was also inconsistent in his attempts to do away with all allegory. With regard to the only son, Jeremias felt that we must distinguish between what Jesus meant and what the audience understood. For Jeremias there is no doubt that Jesus had himself in mind in the sending of the son, but the mass of hearers would not have equated the son with the Messiah.¹⁷ However, that Jesus and some of his hearers knew the identity of the son involves an "allegorical" interpretation. With regard to the original meaning of the parable, Jeremias took Mk. 12:9 as the key to the meaning, but earlier in his attempt to remove allegory, he had omitted this verse from the original story.¹⁸ Additional inconsistencies appear in Jeremias' treatment of Mk. 12:10// in other connections. Earlier he had given good reasons for accepting the authenticity of the OT citation at the end of the parable,¹⁹ and in a more recent study he at least implied the authenticity of the quotation.²⁰ Even in his study of the parables, he indicated that Jesus in his esoteric self-revelation often used metaphors such as the rejected and later exalted stone.²¹

¹⁷Ibid., 72f.

¹⁸Ibid., 74 and 76.

¹⁹Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," p. 274 n. 48.

²⁰The Eucharistic Words of Jesus (London: SCM Press, 1966), p. 259. This edition contains the author's revisions to 1964. The study of the parables was last revised in 1962.

²¹The Parables of Jesus, pp. 219f. He may have been thinking of the citation as an independent logion, but this is not expressed.

One other de-allegorizing approach should be mentioned. B. M. F. van Iersel argued that the unevenness between the allegory and the allegorized reality (indicated by non-allegorical details in the story) points to an Urform, and on this basis he reconstructed the original story line by line by selecting the words and phrases from each of the Synoptics that he considered original.²² He relied primarily on the account of Mk., Semitisms, rare occurrences, simplicity, and the lack of allegory. The theme of inheritance (Mk. 12:7) was retained as original since it is not allegorical, and it was seen as the key to understanding the parable. The mention of "inheritance" insures the presence of the son in the story, but he is only an incidental element. The message of the parable relates to the tenants. God has bestowed good on the leaders of Israel, but now must punish them and give the good to others. As Dodd and Jeremias, van Iersel was not consistent in his interpretation. Although he omitted all allegory, he interpreted the owner as God, the tenants as the leaders of Israel, and the son as an indirect and discreet self-designation by Jesus.

Werner Georg Kümmel. The leader of the opposition to the approach propagated by Dodd and Jeremias has been Kümmel.²³ Rather than the story of a thoroughly natural event, Kümmel thought the parable contains a series of improbabilities, especially in the repeated sending of servants and

²²"Der Sohn" in den Synoptischen Jesusworten (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), pp. 124-145.

²³"Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern (Mark. 12:1-9)," Aux Sources de la Tradition Chrétienne. Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé S. A., 1950), 120-131. Cf. Promise and Fulfilment (London: SCM Press, 1957), pp. 82-83.

the sending of the son when the previous emissaries had been mistreated. He felt that the image side of the parable has been constructed on the fact side, i. e., that this story is undeniably an allegory. The attempts to reproduce an Urform are methodologically warranted only if they proceed from concrete observations of the text and not just from the desire to produce an account free from allegory.

Because of the Semitisms that occur in all parts of the text except v. 5 and the occurrence of words that are not characteristic of Mk., Kümmel was fairly certain that the parable is a tradition that has been taken over by Mk. From his linguistic and stylistic studies, he concluded that no part of the text of Mk. is divergent in style or speech and, therefore, that any hypothesis of secondary expansion is not sufficiently established.

Kümmel also objected to the way that Dodd and Jeremias explained away the improbabilities of the hatred of the tenants, the patience of the owner, and the sending of the son. The first two were explained as due to the fact that the owner was a foreigner, but he objected that ἀπεδήμησεν is not sufficient to substantiate this. There is no hint of political conditions as justification for the tenants' behavior. Thus the concept that the parable is based on economically and politically tense times is insufficiently supported. The improbability of the sending of the son cannot be explained away on stylistic and logical grounds either. Such a sending of a son by a father is not likely human behavior. Furthermore, the designation υἱὸν ἀγαπητόν echoes the baptism and transfiguration. On this basis, Kümmel declared that it is impossible to find a convincing way that is free from methodological objections to trace the parable back to a simpler form or to deny its essentially allegorical character.

While Kümmel followed Jülicher's view of the parables, he admitted that Jesus' parables contain series of metaphors and occasional unlikely features and said that one should not reject this parable in its allegorical form on a priori grounds. He affirmed that Jesus attacked the Jews for their rejection of the prophets, anticipated his own destruction, and expected a space of time between his death and parousia. On the other hand, Kümmel found two overwhelming objections to the authenticity of this parable. The first is that the punishment of the tenants (Jews) and the transfer of the promise to others is depicted plainly as a direct result of the murder of the son. Jesus' other teachings do not indicate that his death should unleash this punishment; rather, this is an early Church idea. The second objection centers on the entrance of the son. The parable presupposes that the hearers recognize the son as the eschatological salvation bringer and that they equate the son with Jesus. The hearers could do this only if they knew the title "Son of God" as a messianic title, but there is no proof that "Son of God" was a current Jewish messianic title in pre-Christian or early tannaitic times. No Jew, when he heard of the sending and death of the son would have thought of the Messiah. If Jesus composed the parable, he made it hardly understandable by the introduction of the son. The title "Son of God" was an early Church designation of the resurrected Christ. Both these objections indicate for Kümmel that the origin of the parable is in the early Church.

Methodological Observations

There have been further contributions to the interpretation of Mk. 12:1-12// since the ones summarized above, but most are dependent on these and the summaries given should suffice to point out the complexity

of an attempt to analyze this parable.

One of the biggest problems is that of the form of the story. This, of course, involves the discussion of parable and allegory. Since the publication of Jülicher's study on the parables, the term "allegory" has engendered negative reactions. For example, Jeremias recognized that both apocalyptic and rabbinic literature use allegory²⁴ and that rabbinic parables contain traditional metaphorical elements,²⁵ but he found it necessary to remove all allegory from the Gospel parables. On what grounds does he deny to the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen the common metaphorical associations of the owner of the vineyard, the vineyard, and the servants--associations which he otherwise permits?²⁶ For van Iersel the justification for seeking an Urform of the parable lies in the non-allegorical details,²⁷ but this justification is valid only on the questionable assumptions that every detail of an allegory must have significance and that partial allegories or mixed forms do not occur.

The procedure that strips all allegorical features from the parable when determining its form but then revives the allegorical significance for interpretation cannot be permitted. However, it is difficult to interpret the parable without taking notice of the meaning of the allegorical (or better, metaphorical) features. This is easily seen when one reads

²⁴The Parables of Jesus, pp. 219f.

²⁵Ibid., 89.

²⁶Ibid., 70; cf. the comment of C. F. D. Moule, "Important and Influential Foreign Books: J. Jeremias' The Parables of Jesus and The Eucharistic Words of Jesus," ET, LXVI (1954-55), 48.

²⁷van Iersel, pp. 130f.

the account of Thom. where the significance of the features may be ignored and where a meaningful interpretation is then almost impossible.²⁸ But if one interprets the tenants of the parable as referring to the leaders of Israel or the owner as God, on what grounds does he deny the significance of the other major features?²⁹ If one attempts to distinguish what Jesus meant or had in mind from what the audience understood (as Jeremias), the result is still that Jesus intended the major features of the story to have metaphorical significance.

This, of course, lands us in the middle of the discussion of the nature of parable and allegory, and our analysis of Mk. 12:1-12// cannot proceed until some decision is reached regarding the relationship of parable and allegory.

EXCURSUS II

CAN A PARABLE BE AN ALLEGORY?

As is usually the case where there is continued controversy over an academic point, the absence of uniform definitions has created havoc. This is particularly the case with the word "allegory." The answer to

²⁸John Dominic Crossan, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen," JBL, XC (1971), 451-465, accepted the Thom. account as original and gave the unlikely interpretation that this is an example of prudent grasping of one's immoral chance as in the Parable of the Unjust Steward. See *infra*, pp. 151-153. Jane E. and Raymond R. Newell, "The Parable of the Wicked Tenants," NT, XIV (1972), 226-237, gave the equally unlikely suggestion that Jesus was showing his audience of Zealot sympathizers that violence would lead to self destruction. See *infra*, pp. 135-136.

²⁹Black, "The Parables as Allegory," p. 282. Cf. J. J. Vincent, "The Parables of Jesus as Self-Revelation," SE, I (1959), 85. Besides Dodd, Jeremias, and van Iersel, another who denied that the parable was allegorical and yet interpreted it allegorically was G. Quispel, Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 78 and 80.

our question depends largely on just what one means by "allegory."

Any discussion of parable and allegory must go back to Jülicher, and once again homage must be paid to him for freeing us from the imaginative hermeneutical approach of allegorizing the Gospel parables. Obviously, however, the question that concerns us is allegory itself and has no relation to allegorizing, the extreme practice of the post-apostolic Church whereby the elements in the parables could be interpreted as one saw fit (the practice against which Jülicher was reacting).³⁰

Jülicher combated this perversion by denying that Jesus used allegory or even allegorical traits. Where these are found, the evangelists are to blame. According to Jülicher, the parables are simple and straightforward comparisons that do not require interpretation. There can be no question of several points of comparison between the imagery and the idea, for parables illustrate only a single point of contact between the two. Allegory, in contrast to the authentic speech of the parable, is inauthentic speech in that it means other than the actual meaning of the words. The allegory is an artificial figure, and for this reason it is unlikely that Jesus used it. Rather than reveal, the allegory hides; it must be laboriously interpreted by the initiated so that every point of the imagery half has its correspondent in the thought being portrayed.³¹

It is not necessary to trace the history of research on the parables since Jülicher,³² but the crucial issue has been the question of the

³⁰See Dan Otto Via, Jr., The Parables (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), p. 14.

³¹Jülicher, I, 65, 70-73, 77-78, 84-86, 109 and 121.

³²This has been done by Geraint Vaughan Jones, The Art and Truth of the Parables (London: SPCK, 1964), pp. 3-54; and Jack Dean Kingsbury, "Major Trends in Parable Interpretation," CTM, XLII (1972), 579-596. See also Norman Perrin, "The Modern Interpretation of the Parables of Jesus and the Problem of Hermeneutics," Interp, XXV (1971), 131-148.

possibility of allegory and allegorical traits. There are some who are willing to accept Jülicher's distinctions as proposed, but Norman Perrin's statement that subsequent research has validated all of Jülicher's conclusions except that of a truth of the widest possible application is misleading to say the least.³³ There are, in fact, very few studies of the parables since Jülicher that do not modify his views to some extent either in theory or in practice.³⁴

The most important of the early objections to Jülicher's distinctions came from Paul Fiebig. He pointed out that Jülicher should have relied more on rabbinic parables and the Hebrew thought world instead of Aristotle and the Greek thought world.³⁵ Fiebig amassed numerous rabbinic parables to show that they were essentially the same as the Gospel parables in form and that they evidenced allegory and mixtures of parable and allegory.

The charge has been made against Fiebig that what he has called rabbinic allegories and mixed forms of parable and allegory are not allegories or mixed forms at all. From the German side, Rudolf Bultmann said

³³Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus (London: SCM Press, 1967), p. 257.

³⁴To mention only a few: A. T. Cadoux, The Parables of Jesus (London: James Clarke & Co., n. d.), pp. 50f.; Dodd, p. 21 and note his interpretation of Mk. 12:1-11, pp. 130f.; Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, pp. 18f. and his interpretation of Jesus' own mind in Mk. 12:1-11, pp. 72f.; B. T. D. Smith, The Parables of the Synoptic Gospels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), p. 24; Eta Linnemann, Parables of Jesus, trans. John Sturdy (London: SPCK, 1966), p. 8, who made the same generalization as Perrin, but cf. pp. 28f. The only certain allegory that she found is Mt. 22:1-14. This is to say nothing of those who directly oppose Jülicher.

³⁵Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1904); and Die Gleichnisreden Jesu (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1912).

that Fiebig's allegorical features in the rabbinic similitudes are nothing of the kind. Rather, they are examples of customary metaphors or may simply be cases where the correspondence between the image and the reality has been expressed in the primitive form of an identification.³⁶ From the British side, B. T. D. Smith admitted that at least two rabbinic allegories exist, but he discounted these two as "the exceptions which prove the rule that the rabbis did not compose allegories."³⁷ He explained Fiebig's mixed forms as being due to argument by analogy where different elements of the object illustrated must be represented in the parable. If the choice of figures to represent these elements was influenced by metaphorical associations, the result is not an allegorical parable. The reason for this is that the Jew can speak of identity when he means no more than correspondence.³⁸ Smith pointed to an extreme example of this principle in a rabbinic parable of a farmer, his steward, and the produce. The interpretation which is attached shows that God is the farmer, Moses is the steward, Israel is the wheat, and the other nations are the straw and the thorns. On these correspondences Smith commented:

We have here a true similitude, the point of which is that Israel is to God what wheat is to the farmer, the object of his special concern. The exposition is not an allegorical interpretation: it does

³⁶The History of the Synoptic Tradition, trans. John Marsh (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), p. 198. He virtually admitted, however, that allegorical features do occur in rabbinic similitudes when he left an avenue of escape by saying, "...and we could always ask whether the somewhat allegorical features of rabbinic similitudes were not secondary too."

³⁷Smith, pp. 24f. The two examples appear in Pirke Aboth II.19 and III.25.

³⁸Smith, p. 26.

but call attention to the aptness and Scriptural character of the details of the picture.³⁹

Fiebig's side of the argument has been taken up by several studies that point out that the Hebrew equivalent of παραβολή/ לַשָּׁנָה, in both the OT and the rabbinic writings is a term covering a broad range of ideas, one of which is allegory.⁴⁰

It should be clear from the little that has been said that what some scholars have called allegory is not allegory at all in the minds of others. Jülicher did draw his categories from the world of Greek rhetoric, primarily Aristotle, and it was necessary for Fiebig and many since to point to the wide range of ideas that could be conveyed by לַשָּׁנָה. As Bultmann⁴¹ and Linnemann⁴² have insisted, however, a clarity of concept

³⁹Ibid., 26-27. Shohar Tob Ps. 2:12; cf. Asher Feldman, The Parables and Similes of the Rabbis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924), p. 67. The parable reads:

Why is Israel compared to wheat? To tell thee that it is with him as with a farmer who has in his house a steward; when he comes to reckon with him, he does not say "How many baskets of straw, or how many bundles of stubble dost thou bring into the storehouse?" He gives him the thorns for fuel, and casts the straw to the wind. What is it that he does say? "Set your mind on how many kor of wheat thou bringest into the store, because that alone is the source of life to the world." The farmer is the Holy One, blessed is he, to whom the whole world belongs,.... The steward is Moses.... What saith the Holy One, blessed be he, to him? "Regard not the heathen, for they are like straw,".... And the nations are further likened unto thorns. But Israel is compared to wheat; and therefore the Lord spake unto Moses saying, "When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel."

Smith neglected that the other nations are likened to straw and thorns.

⁴⁰Friedrich Hauck, "παραβολή," TDNT, V, 747f.; Black, "The Parables as Allegory," pp. 275f.; Raymond E. Brown, "Parable and Allegory Reconsidered," NT, V (1962), 37f.; Maxime Hermaniuk, La parabole évangélique (Louvain: Bibliotheca Alfonsiana, 1947), pp. 62-189; J. Arthur Baird, The Justice of God in the Teaching of Jesus (London: SCM Press, 1963), pp. 26-28; and Jones, pp. 57-59 and 88-109.

⁴¹Bultmann, p. 198.

⁴²Linnemann, p. 131.

is needed. One's main concern should be that no violence is done to the material in classifying it. Jülicher's critics, on the other hand, maintained that he did great violence to the material by using too narrow a concept of parable.

The crux, of course, is how one defines allegory. To go back to Jülicher again, his formal definition is simple enough: "...derjenigen Redefigur, in welcher eine zusammenhängende Reihe von Begriffen (ein Satz oder Satzcomplex) dargestellt wird vermitteltst einer zusammenhängenden Reihe von ähnlichen Begriffen aus einem anderen Gebiete."⁴³ This is very close to the common definition of allegory as an extended metaphor or a series of related metaphors, but in practice Jülicher's definition is more complex than this. Besides this criterion of form, Jülicher limited allegory in terms of its purpose and effect by saying that it is inauthentic speech in that it means other than what it says. Thus allegory actually hides its meaning and must be laboriously interpreted.⁴⁴ The obscure and artificial character of the allegory are prime reasons for Jülicher's rejection of it as a speech form of Jesus. One should note that Jülicher did not deny the use of allegory in the Semitic world. He admitted that the vineyard parable of Is. 5 is an allegory, but he asserted that the prophet immediately dropped the allegory to speak as plainly as possible.⁴⁵ He also admitted the several correspondences between image and reality in the parable given by Nathan (II Sam. 12:1-7), but he made nothing of them.

⁴³Jülicher, I, 84.

⁴⁴Ibid., 65, 77f., and 121.

⁴⁵Ibid., 65f.

For him, the parables of Jesus are artistically and rhetorically higher than these two OT examples.⁴⁶ A discrepancy in Jülicher's approach is evident (Jesus' parables are too simple for the artificial allegory of rhetoricians but higher forms than OT allegory), but our main concern is with his definition of allegory. He defined an allegory according to form, but in actual practice his definition is limited to those forms that cause obscurity.

It is this confusion in the definition of allegory that has created trouble in research on the parables. Bultmann distinguished parable from allegory by saying that the former involves a transference of judgement from one sphere to the other while allegory is concerned with disguising some situation in secret or fantastic forms so as to serve prophetic and other purposes.⁴⁷ A common definition is that allegory is a description in code which must be interpreted point by point by the initiate.⁴⁸

The real question to be asked in defining allegory is whether obscurity is an essential element and if so, what degree of obscurity. Jülicher's insistence on the obscuring character of allegory was due to

⁴⁶Ibid., 109.

⁴⁷Bultmann, p. 198. On p. 199 he rejected Mk. 12:1-12 as almost entirely allegorical and therefore a late community product. By his own definition of parable, however, this passage is not allegorical because it involves the transference of judgement from one sphere to another.

⁴⁸Linnemann, pp. 6f. and Smith, p. 21. The latter claimed that it is the use of symbols rather than metaphors which is characteristic of an allegory. Exactly how he distinguished symbol and metaphor is not clear. Jones, pp. 108f., took the opposite approach by saying that the academic argument whether parables are allegories resulted from a failure to distinguish between symbolism and allegory. Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," p. 128, is an example of the lack of clarity in definition. He stated that Jesus did not use allegories but that his parables contain series of metaphors.

his distinction between simile and metaphor, the simple forms underlying parable and allegory respectively. He thought that the simile is a self-evident comparison that retains the original meaning of the word. The metaphor is substituted for the idea being compared and cannot retain its original meaning; therefore it is inauthentic speech. Rather than help the interpreter, the metaphor makes his task more difficult by its confidential character.⁴⁹

Hermaniuk, with the aid of the definitions of Quintilian, correctly pointed out that Jülicher's description of metaphor is extreme. The metaphor by its structure is less clear than the simile, but not all metaphors are obscure. A metaphor may be clear when the use of images and the disclosing of truths do not go beyond the average. A metaphor may be obscure when there is an absence of analogy between the image and the idea or when there is novelty in the image or thought.⁵⁰ There are many metaphors that are commonly used and whose meanings are quite clear. It is primarily with such metaphors that one is dealing in the rabbinic and Synoptic parables (God as king, Israel as a vineyard, etc.).

⁴⁹Jülicher, I, 55-59.

⁵⁰Hermaniuk, pp. 42f. Quintilian (Instit. Orat. VIII. VI. 4) said that the metaphor is so natural that it is often used unconsciously or by the uneducated. In contrast, Jülicher claimed that the metaphor is for the educated and mature. Quintilian said virtually the same about the use of allegory as he did of metaphor (cf. VIII. VI. 51). Amos N. Wilder, Early Christian Rhetoric (London: SCM Press, 1964), p. 80, spoke of the advantage of the metaphor in communication. On p. 92 he described the parables of Jesus as extended metaphor. He did not define his meaning of allegory. See p. 80 n. 2: "The parable of the sower, for example, is a developed image and a revealing metaphor, not an instructive simile or allegory."

If one accepts the general definition of allegory as a series of related metaphors, which is essentially Jülicher's technical definition, then it is at least possible to think of an allegory that is not obscure. On this definition one would have to admit that some of the rabbinic parables are allegories or have allegorical traits (i. e., only part of the description is a series of related metaphors). On the other hand, if one defines allegory as necessarily involving the element of obscurity, he introduces a large element of subjectivity into the attempt to determine which forms are allegories. It should be noted that modern NT scholarship is not the first to disagree over the element of obscurity in allegory. Quintilian reported that some denied that his examples were allegory for they argued that allegory involves an element of obscurity while in his examples the meaning is obvious.⁵¹

On the basis of what has been said, the term allegory is most profitably defined according to form rather than effect or purpose. It is the figurative treatment of one subject under the guise of another, thus a description by a series of related metaphors. It may or may not be obscure depending on the degree of analogy between image and idea and the amount of newness in the image.⁵² A good number of the images used by Jesus would have been completely obvious to his hearers because of the repeated associations they had. Some images might have been somewhat less clear due to the novelty of the teaching about the kingdom of God. It is hard to believe, however, that any Jew would have needed to decipher such

⁵¹Instit. Orat. VIII. VI. 58.

⁵²Hermaniuk, pp. 48f.

terms as "king" and "vineyard." It is true that an interpreter of an allegory must be familiar with what is represented,⁵³ but it does not follow that the allegory can only pass on hidden information to the initiates, if one means by that term "a small, esoteric group." In the Synoptic parables one is dealing with cases where everyone was at least a partial initiate.

It is a bigger problem to attempt to distinguish between parable and simple allegory. Most of what can be said about one is true to some extent of the other. Even if one limits the term allegory to those forms that involve obscurity, both parable and allegory are forms of comparison used not for their own sakes but to enlighten the subject at hand. (In the case of allegory involving obscurity, the enlightenment is to the initiates.) Both figures are secondary to and derive their forms from the idea being expressed. It must be admitted as well that there are mixed forms in both rabbinic and Synoptic parables, i. e., parables with allegorical elements or at least customary metaphors.⁵⁴ For these reasons, completely apart from the lack of a uniform definition for allegory, the distinction between parable and allegory is to some degree a relative

⁵³Linnemann, p. 7; and Via, p. 7

⁵⁴Fiebig, Die Gleichnisreden Jesu, p. 231; Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu, p. 98; Hermaniuk, pp. 169f., Jones, pp. 76f., 108f.; Hauck, pp. 750f.; Via, p. 13; Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, pp. 18f., and 88f.; Baird, p. 28; Dodd, p. 21; W. O. E. Oesterley, The Gospel Parables in the Light of their Jewish Backgrounds (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1936), p. 9; A. M. Hunter, Interpreting the Parables (London: SCM Press, 1964), p. 10; Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1934), pp. 255f.

one.⁵⁵

It is unfortunate that the term allegory has taken on a blackened character due to allegorizing and due to attempts to explain the term by appeals to such extreme examples as Pilgrim's Progress. A clarity of concept is needed, but it is doubtful that the term allegory can provide that clarity, at least in the present generation of NT scholarship, and it may well be better to avoid the use of the word altogether. A descriptive phrase such as "metaphorical parable" may provide an alternative.

Regardless of the terms used, however, one should recognize that the NT parables are practically identical in form to rabbinic parables. The message of the Synoptic parables differs from that of the rabbinic parables and the former usually are not exegetical as the latter tend to be, but it is virtually beyond debate that the Synoptic and rabbinic parables are alike in form.⁵⁶ It has even been suggested, and probably correctly, that there was a common fund of parables among the people from

⁵⁵Via, pp. 7, 14f.; Dodd, p. 21; Edwyn Hoskyns and Noel Davey, The Riddle of the New Testament (London: Faber & Faber, 1931), p. 181. Cf. Jones, p. 108; and Vincent, p. 81. According to the latter, "Some kind of allegory is scarcely avoidable in any kind of comparison."

⁵⁶Fiebig, Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu, passim; Die Gleichnisreden Jesu, passim; Oesterley, passim; Jones, pp. 64f.; Hauck, pp. 750f.; Hermaniuk, pp. 153f. and 264. It might be appropriate to add here that the Jewish scholars rarely react to the term allegory as some NT scholars do. J. Z. Lauterbach, "Parable," The Jewish Encyclopedia (1905), IX, 512, defined לשון/פאראבולא as "a short religious allegory;" cf. Feldman, pp. vii and 20f. Crossan, p. 461, applied the "principle of dissimilarity" to the form of Jesus' parables with respect to the "functional life-setting" and used G. Bornkamm's often cited statement [Jesus of Nazareth (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), p. 69] that Jesus' parables are the preaching and not secondary to the purpose of a lesson to show that Jesus' parables are unique. The distinction is not so precise, however. Both Jesus' and the rabbis' parables could be used in various ways. See Robert W. Funk, Language, Hermeneutic, and Word of God (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966), pp. 124 and 205f.

which both Jesus and the rabbis drew.⁵⁷

There has been more debate on the suggestion that there can be more than one point of correspondence between image and idea. The "shade of Jülicher" still haunts parable research. It is time that we realize that Jülicher's emphasis on only one point of comparison is not the necessary deterrent to allegorizing and is not directly related to that practice. One may agree that the parable usually was employed for one main purpose. This is evident from its use in a historical context and from its argumentative nature. It does not follow, however, that the major point is the only truth evident in the narrative. The Parable of the Good Samaritan was told to illustrate the proper attitude to one's fellow-man, regardless of who he may be, but it was also a scathing rebuke of the Jewish leaders.⁵⁸ The parable of Nathan (II Sm. 12:1f.) is a condemnation of David, but there are certainly connections between the rich man and David, the poor man and Uriah, and the ewe-lamb and Bathsheba.⁵⁹

That there can be more than one correspondence between image and idea is being recognized even by those who lay emphasis on the single point of comparison. Linnemann pointed out the necessity of these correspondences. She thought the original listeners would not and should not have noticed these elements but that they are essential to the later expositor.⁶⁰ She went so far as to say that the reason for the introduction

⁵⁷I. Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, First Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917), p. 91. Cf. Fiebig, Die Gleichnisreden Jesu, p. 268.

⁵⁸Black, "The Parables as Allegory," pp. 268f.

⁵⁹Cadoux, p. 51.

⁶⁰Linnemann, pp. 24-30. Cf. Via, p. 14.

of "unusual features" in some parables is the connection with the reality.⁶¹ If such correspondences exist, it is an error to deny their importance or to fail to make the inferences that common sense requires.⁶² That there may be several points of contact between image and reality can be easily seen in the rabbinic parables. For example:

1) To what may this be compared? To a human king who owned a beautiful orchard which contained splendid figs. Now, he appointed two watchmen therein, one lame and the other blind. [One day] the lame man said to the blind, "I see beautiful figs in the orchard. Come and take me upon thy shoulder, that we may procure and eat them." So the lame bestrode the blind, procured and ate them. Some time after, the owner came and inquired of them, "Where are those beautiful figs?" The lame man replied, "Have I then feet to walk with?" The blind man replied, "Have I then eyes to see with?" What did he do? He placed the lame upon the blind and judged them together. So will the Holy One, blessed be He, bring the soul, [re]place it in the body, and judge them together...⁶³

2) R. Simeon b. Halaftha said: Unto what may this be likened? Unto one man living in Galilee and possessing a vineyard in Judea, and another living in Judea and owning a vineyard in Galilee. He who dwelt in Galilee used to go to Judea to hoe his garden and the one from Judea went to Galilee to hoe his. On coming together they said unto each other: "Instead of thee coming to my domain, take charge of my garden which is situated within thy region, and I shall in return guard thy property which is within my confines." Even so when David said, "Keep me as the apple of the eye," the Holy One, blessed be He, said unto him, "Keep My commandments and live." Thus said the Holy One, blessed be He, unto Israel, "Keep ye My precepts, the precept of reading the Shema morning and evening, and I shall guard you," even as it is written "The Lord shall keep thee from all evil; He shall keep thy soul."⁶⁴

3) Because Egypt enslaved Israel, she was punished and justice was exacted both in Egypt and at the sea. They were like robbers who had broken into the king's vineyard and destroyed the vines. When the king

⁶¹Linnemann, pp. 28f.

⁶²Via, p. 25. See the apt comments of Cadoux, pp. 52-53.

⁶³b Sanh 91a and b. Jones, p. 66, classified this story as an allegory and commented on its similarity to Mk. 12:1-11.

⁶⁴Tanchuma קדושים (Buber, p. 38a, 57); see Feldman, p. 128.

discovered that his vineyards had been destroyed, he was filled with wrath, and descending upon the robbers, without help from anything or anyone, he cut them down and uprooted them as they had done to his vineyard.⁶⁵

4) For whose sake did God reveal Himself in Egypt? For the sake of Moses. R. Nissim illustrated by a parable of a priest who had an orchard of figs, in which there was an unclean field. When he wished to eat some of the figs, he told one of his men to go and say to the tenant: "The owner of the orchard bids you bring him two figs." He went and told him; whereupon the tenant replied: "Who is this owner of the orchard? Go back to your work." Then the priest said: "I will go myself to the orchard." His men said: "Will you go to an unclean place?" He replied: "Even if there be a hundred forms of uncleanness I will go, so that my messenger may not be put to shame." So when Israel was in Egypt, God said to Moses: "Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh" (Ex. 3:10), so he went and was asked: "Who is the Lord, that I should hearken unto His voice?...I know not the Lord (ib. v,2) get you unto your burdens (ib. 4)." Then God said: "I will Myself go to Egypt," as it is said: The burden of Egypt etc. (Isa. XIX,1). Whereupon His angels said: "Wilt thou go to an unclean place?" The reply was: "Yes, so that My messenger Moses may not be put to shame."⁶⁶

These examples could be multiplied easily, but these should suffice to show that it is an error to limit the Synoptic parables to one point of contact. One could even say of each case that the parable was molded on the reality.

It was necessary to enter into the discussion of the nature of parable and allegory because the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen has been held suspect on the basis of its form. The examples of rabbinic parables and the discussion above ought to show that one cannot simply reject the authenticity of this parable by deciding that it is allegory. The form of the parable, including its use of metaphorical images, is in keeping with the OT and rabbinic parables. Other aspects of this parable, such as the alleged improbability of the story, will have to be considered, but

⁶⁵ExR XXX.17.

⁶⁶ExR XV.19. For further examples, cf. Hunter, pp. 113f.; S-B, I, 653f. and 865f.; Fiebig, Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu, passim; Die Gleichnisreden Jesu, passim; and Hermaniuk, passim.

the basic form of the story offers no basis for its rejection. Whether one chooses to call the story "parable" or "allegory" or both is not really important,⁶⁷ but there is nothing in the story that is not in keeping with the essential nature of a parable.⁶⁸

The basic form of the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen then is very much like the rabbinic parables in that it includes metaphorical associations which would have been easily recognized by Jewish hearers. There are even two rabbinic forms of the parable:

1) Like a king who had a field which he entrusted to tenants. They began to take away and to steal. He took it from them and entrusted it to their children. They began to do worse. When a son was born to him, he said to them, "Depart from what is mine; you may no longer remain in it. Give me my part (settled in the rent agreement) that I may watch over it myself."⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Jones, pp. 96f., accepted the story as both parable and allegory; and Hunter, pp. 94 and 117, viewed it as an "allegorical parable."

⁶⁸ Funk, p. 133, listed four essential clues to the nature of a parable, and the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen is in keeping with all four: 1) the parable is a metaphor or simile which may...be expanded into a story; 2) the metaphor or simile is drawn from nature or common life; 3) the metaphor arrests the hearer by its vividness or strangeness; and 4) the application is left imprecise in order to tease the hearer into making his own application. The last does not mean that applications are not specified, but that they were not until the hearer was forced to pass judgement himself. After the hearer had been forced toward a conclusion, the application may have been nailed down with a "Thou art the man."

⁶⁹ SDt. 32,9 §312 (134^b); S-B I, 874. In the interpretation God is the king, Abraham is the first group of tenants, Isaac is the second group (these first two were rejected because the "objectionable," Ishmael and Esau, arose from them), and Jacob is the son (since none of his descendants were objectionable). On the fact that there is nothing questionable about the form of the parable, cf. D. E. Nineham, The Gospel of Mark (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968), pp. 309 and 313; and M.-J. Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Marc (6th ed.; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1942), p. 311.

2) Like a king who had a small son; also he had a possession. The king wished to move to a foreign land. He spoke to a tenant; he should guard the possession and enjoy its produce until his son should wish it to be delivered to him. When the son of the king was grown, he claimed the possession. Immediately the tenant began to cry woe! Evenso when the Israelites lived in Egypt, the Canaanites lived in the land of Israel and guarded it and ate its fruit; but when they heard that the Israelites had come out of Egypt they began to cry woe!⁷⁰

Exactly which features of Mk. 12:1-12// are metaphorical and to what degree one account is more "allegorical" than another will have to be determined after a complete investigation, but the basic form of the parable is no cause for suspicion.

Therefore, Kümmel was to some degree correct in saying that one cannot deny the essentially allegorical (or metaphorical) character of this parable.⁷¹ Was he also correct in saying that it is impossible to go back to a form of the parable that is more primitive than Mark? On methodological principles he was not justified in pronouncing this judgment since he dealt only with the Markan text. Before making such a statement, one should at least deal with the differences presented by the other three accounts.

Nevertheless, Kümmel was correct in laying down the principle that any attempt to reach an earlier form must be based on concrete observation of the text and not on the presupposition that allegorical features must be eliminated.⁷² The methods of Dodd, Jeremias, and especially van Iersel with regard to de-allegorizing the story must be called into question.

⁷⁰Tanch B בשלח 7 (29^a), S-B, I, 874f.

⁷¹"Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," pp. 125 and 127. His concept of allegory is too narrow however; see pp. 124 and 128. See Black, "The Parables as Allegory," p. 283.

⁷²"Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," p. 125. Cf. Jones, pp. 92f.

There is also an unacceptable tendency to see specific allegorical significance when it is questionable that any exists.⁷³

Other questions have been raised about the criteria usually employed to ascertain "authentic" elements in the Gospels. Morna Hooker⁷⁴ and D. G. A. Calvert⁷⁵ have both pointed out the shortcomings of the use of the principles of dissimilarity and coherence, and both have argued for a positive rather than a negative use of various criteria.

Another unwarranted assumption frequently employed is that the simpler account is the earlier.⁷⁶ If nothing else, the work of E. P. Sanders has shown that one must proceed with extreme caution when trying to ascertain relative antiquity on the basis of length or amount of detail.⁷⁷ The longer is not necessarily the later since the tradition

⁷³As M. D. Goulder in "Characteristics of the Parables in the Several Gospels," JTS ns, XIX (1968), 60, when he saw in the stoning of one servant (Mt. 21:35) a reference to the stoning of Zechariah. Hugh Montefiore, "A Comparison of the Parables of the Gospel According to Thomas and of the Synoptic Gospels," NTS, VII (1960-1961), 236, [this article was reprinted in H. E. W. Turner and Hugh Montefiore, Thomas and the Evangelists (London: SCM Press, 1962)] thought that since Thom. omits καίρος in Mk. 12:2//, the Synoptic writers possibly understood this word allegorically as the moment of salvation. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 77, accused Matthew of thinking of the covenant at Sinai with εξέδετο (21:33) despite the fact that both Mk. and Lk. have the same word in the same context, evidently without any allegorical meaning.

⁷⁴M. Hooker, "Christology and Methodology," NTS, XVII (1970-1971), 480-487, arguing against Perrin, Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus, pp. 39f.

⁷⁵D. G. A. Calvert, "An Examination of the Criteria for Distinguishing the Authentic Words of Jesus," NTS, XVIII (1971-1972), 209-219.

⁷⁶Montefiore, p. 237. This principle is used despite the fact that he recognized the tendency in Thom. to compress the parables, cf. p. 228. Cf. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 72; G. Quispel, "'The Gospel of Thomas' and the 'Gospel of the Hebrews'," NTS, XII (1965-1966), 379; and the discussions in E. P. Sanders, The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 46f. and 88f.

⁷⁷Sanders, pp. 82f. and 183f. and the whole of chapters two and three.

moved both ways partly due to the author's style and partly to what he considered needed explanation or was non-essential. If one assumes the priority of Mk., he may well see a de-allegorizing tendency in Lk. and Thom. in this parable as Martin Hengel did.⁷⁸ Rather than just saying Lk. and Thom. represent the original version since they are simpler, it must be granted as equally possible that they may have abbreviated a longer original.

Sanders' caution that a Semitism does not necessarily indicate antiquity should also be heeded.⁷⁹ It may be, however, that Sanders has gone too far in playing down the importance of Semitisms. Since Aramaic was at least one of the languages used by Christ and the Jewish Christians, one should expect the occurrence of Semitisms. The point is that caution should be used in assessing the importance of individual occurrences.

Finally, one should approach the various accounts of this parable without a presupposition as to which is earliest. If one assumes that a certain account is the earliest and attempts to explain the others from it, he may not give adequate attention to the accounts that he considers adaptations. Even apart from the fact that the question of Synoptic relationships has been reopened,⁸⁰ it has been too frequently overlooked that any one of the Gospels may preserve an older tradition in a given pericope.

From what has been said so far, it should be evident that a new

⁷⁸"Das Gleichnis von den Weingärtnern Mc 12:1-12 im Lichte der Zenonpapyri und der rabbinischen Gleichnisse," ZNW, LIX (1968), pp. 5-6.

⁷⁹Sanders, pp. 228f. and 249f.

⁸⁰William R. Farmer, The Synoptic Problem (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), passim; Sanders, pp. 276f.

analysis of the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen is needed. Since the stone quotations are so closely connected to this parable, a full inquiry is necessary. Any analysis of this parable must ascertain the validity of the criticism that has been lodged against the probability of the story, explain the relation of the various accounts, and determine its origin and meaning. It is particularly in the first two areas that some have thrown caution to the wind. We have already seen that in explaining the relation of the accounts inadequate procedures have been employed. In addition, quite a bit of the criticism which has been leveled against this parable has taken no account of the legal, cultural, and economic background in first century Palestine. It is against this background that one must evaluate such criticism.

The Palestinian Background

Some of the criticism raised against the parable results from sheer pedanticism and a woodenly literal reading of the text,⁸¹ but other points of criticism must be taken more seriously. To the twentieth century mind the following may appear questionable:

- 1) A man would not plant a vineyard and then leave it.
- 2) A vineyard would not be given out immediately after construction since the first fruits come after five years.
- 3) The behavior of the tenants is improbable.

⁸¹Alfred Loisy, L'Évangile selon Marc (Paris: Emile Nourry, Editeur, 1912), p. 335, thought it bizarre that a man who planted his own vineyard would go on a long trip, but, as Lagrange, p. 306, the owner would not have done more than supervise the initial endeavor. Ernst Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), p. 244 [and also "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern (Mark 12: 1-12)," ZST, XVIII (1941), 243], objected to the owner asking his rent in grapes, but "fruit of the vineyard" cannot be restricted to fresh grapes. He also objected to the word πύργος, but see Alex. Pallis, Notes on St. Mark and St. Matthew (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 41.

4) It is psychologically improbable that a man would repeatedly send slaves when they were repeatedly and progressively mistreated.

5) It is even more improbable that a man would send his only son.

6) There is no justification for the tenants' belief that they would inherit the vineyard.

7) It is questionable whether the owner could simply kill his tenants.

8) It is unlikely that the owner would give the vineyard to others; rather, he would look after it himself.⁸²

Fortunately, a good deal of material has been preserved in the rabbinic writings and elsewhere that helps to elucidate the background with which we are dealing. In addition to regulations in the Mishnah and Talmud which govern the leasing and possession of property, there are numerous rabbinic parables that deal with the owner of a vineyard (or garden) and his tenants. Also there are historical documents outside the rabbinic writings that report the leasing of land and the problems involved.

Objections 1 and 8, which are similar, are eliminated with even a cursory examination. The possession of vineyards in distant places (as well as near home) was a common feature in the life of Palestinian Jews.⁸³ It is unlikely that a man who was rich enough to own land would cultivate

⁸²For these objections see the following: 1) Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," pp. 122f.; 2) Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, pp. 244-247; 3) Smith, pp. 22 and 224; 4) Loisy, pp. 336f.; 5) Jones, p. 93; 6) Sherman E. Johnson, A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960), p. 195; 7) Josef Schmid, The Gospel According to Mark, trans. Kevin Condon (Staten Island: Alba House, 1968), pp. 215f.; 8) Erich Klostermann, Das Markusevangelium (Tübingen: Verlag J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1950), p. 122; 9) Walter Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Markus (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, n. d.), pp. 239f.; and 10) Ernst Haenchen, Der Weg Jesu (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1966), p. 399. See also the discussion by Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan & Co., 1952), pp. 472f.

⁸³Feldman, p. 128, and the whole chapter on viticulture. Cf. Tanch קדושים (Buber, p. 38a, 57); B. B. III.2; Song of Solomon 8:11f.; and II Chron. 26:10.

it himself. The normal procedure was that he would live in a city and reserve his time for more important and pleasant duties by leasing the land to tenants. This practice is reflected over and over in both Palestinian and non-Palestinian material.⁸⁴

Objection 2 is disposed of just as quickly. It is true that there would be no profit on a new vineyard before the fifth year, but it is not true that there would be no fruit (nor is the implication true that there would be no work to do). The fruit of the first three years, however much there might be, was forbidden as being the "fruit of uncircumcision." The fruit of the fourth year was set aside as holy, but could be redeemed, and the fruit of the fifth year could be enjoyed.⁸⁵ In addition to the work that the vines themselves would require, vegetables would have been planted between the vines to fray the expenses of the early years.⁸⁶

Objections 3-6 are of a more serious nature. These objections of psychological improbability are the primary reasons why it has been charged that the whole parable has been formed on the reality being portrayed. To a certain degree, the importance placed on these improbabilities is unjustified. As Linnemann pointed out, the narrative supports the unnatural

⁸⁴Particularly Pesiq 99^a, and see the discussions of S-B, I, 869-875; Feldman, pp. 39f., 84f., and 127f.; and Hengel, pp. 12-21. Note particularly the papyrus published by Hengel which illustrates a situation similar to that of the parable. See Victor Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews, trans. S. Applebaum (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), p. 336, for evidence of Jewish owners and Egyptian tenants in Egypt.

⁸⁵See Lev. 19:23f.; Herbert Danby (ed.), The Mishnah (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 795; LvR XXV.8; b BK 69b; J. Duncan M. Derrett, "Fresh Light on the Parable of the Wicked Vinedressers," Revue Internationale des Droits de L'Antiquité, 3^{me} série, X (1963), 15f.

⁸⁶Derrett, p. 22; S-B, I, 872.

features by including motivations that justify them. A listener would not see the problems.⁸⁷ But would the events of this parable have seemed improbable to a first century Palestinian listener?

Dodd and Jeremias have both reminded us of the politically and economically tense conditions prevalent in Palestine. One cannot ignore the evidence mentioned by Jeremias which shows that large parts of Palestine were controlled by foreign landlords.⁸⁸ The Zenon papyri show that as far back as 250 B. C. Baitianata in Galilee was a wine-growing area owned by Apollonius, one of the top officials under Ptolemy II (Philadelphos).⁸⁹ A papyrus which was recently published by Hengel gives the number of vines there and indicates that housing had been built for the tenants.⁹⁰ A large part of the better land in Palestine may have been owned by foreign landlords.

The same Zenon papyri show the reality of rebellion by the tenants. For example, Zenon sent an underagent, Straton, to collect a debt from Jeddus, presumably an elder of a Jewish village. Aid was requested from the local Ptolemaic forces, but the man who was to accompany Straton excused himself by an alleged sickness and sent a youth and a letter with

⁸⁷Linnemann, pp. 28f. Wilder, p. 85, pointed to the hyperbole in Jesus' parables, and J. Alexander Findlay, Jesus and His Parables (London: The Epworth Press, 1950), pp. 8f., stated that surprise is one of the main characteristics of the parables. See also Robert W. Funk, "The Parables: A Fragmentary Agenda," Jesus and Man's Hope II (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1971), p. 289.

⁸⁸The Parables of Jesus, pp. 74-75, and especially n. 97.

⁸⁹Ibid. [Pubblicazioni della Societa Italiana, Papiri Greci e Latini, 6, 1920, no. 594.]

⁹⁰Hengel, pp. 12f. The number of vines was 80,000, and Hengel estimated that twenty-five workers would have been needed to care for them.

Straton. The letter was ignored, and Straton and the youth were assaulted and driven out of the village.⁹¹ As Hengel pointed out, the terminology used for the violent action is similar to that in Lk.⁹²

It is possible that the events of the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen result from the fact that the owner is a foreign landlord, but there is nothing in the parable itself that demands this. Ἀπεδήμησεν does not necessarily mean "he went to a foreign country;" it may denote only absence.⁹³ Haenchen noted that the evangelist would not have depicted the good owner in such a way as to bring a foreigner to mind.⁹⁴ However, it is not really important whether the man was a foreigner or not. The least required is that he was not near enough to the vineyard for convenient direct supervision.⁹⁵ Even if both the owner and the tenants were Jews, the behavior of the tenants is understandable.

⁹¹C. C. Edgar (ed.), Catalogue General des Antiquites Egyptiennes du Musee du Caire: Zenon Papyri (Le Caire: Imprimerie de L'Institut Francais D'Archaeologie Orientale, 1925), I, 38, no. 59018. The incident is preserved in the letter from Alexandros, the officer who was to accompany Straton, to his overseer, Oryas:

When they returned, they told me that he had in no way regarded my letter; rather, he had taken them forcibly and had ejected them from the village. [αὐτοῖς δὲ [χρεῖρας] προσενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐγβαλ[ει]ν ἐκ τῆς κώμης.] I write to you. Farewell.
Cf. Hengel, pp. 14f. and 26f., who mentioned an incident involving a petition drawn up by tenants, and p. 27, an incident involving runaway slaves.

⁹²Hengel, pp. 26f.

⁹³A-G, p. 89; L-S, p. 196; M-M, p. 61; and Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," p. 122 n. 10.

⁹⁴Haenchen, p. 398 n. 8. Thus, the suggestion of Jane E. and Raymond R. Newell, pp. 234-237, that the parable is a warning against Zealot violence has no basis in the text. The suggestion also is completely out of keeping with the rabbinic use of the metaphors involved.

⁹⁵See Derrett, p. 16.

The conflict between landowner and tenant was more of an economic class struggle than rebellion against a foreign landlord. If the landowner were a foreigner, it would only have intensified the conflict. The problems caused by unreliable, greedy, and rebellious tenants hired by hard and merciless landowners are mentioned repeatedly in the rabbinic writings. Four parables have already been mentioned that illustrate some of these problems and there are others as well.⁹⁶ Similar to these tenant parables is a significant parable about an attempt to collect taxes from a province that was behind in payment:

This may be compared to the case of a province which owed tax arrears to the king who sent a collector of the [king's] treasury to collect [the debt]. What did the people of the province do?--They rose and mulcted him and hanged him. People said: Woe to us, should the king become aware of these things. That which the king's emissary sought to do to us, we did to him.⁹⁷

More important than the parables are the complex legal pronouncements of the Mishnah and Talmud that try to deal with the friction between landowner and tenant.⁹⁸ From this evidence one can only conclude that the behavior of the tenants in the Gospel parable would have seemed all too common to first century listeners.

⁹⁶ See *supra*, pp. 126-129; b Sanh 91a-b; ExR XV.19; SDt 32,9 § 312; and Tanch B בשלה 7(29^a). In addition the following are of interest: DtR VII.4--a garden was leased to two tenants; one did nothing, and the other planted trees but cut them down; LvR XXIII.3--an orchard was let out, but the tenants let it go to weeds; LvR V.8--this reflects the problems of a tenant borrowing from an owner. Cf. Ecc1R V.10.2. b Berakh 5b shows the attempts of an owner and a tenant to cheat each other out of the vine twigs. Cf. Hengel, pp. 24f., for further information on this class conflict.

⁹⁷ LvR XI.7.

⁹⁸ See the complexity of the regulations in BM V.8; VIII.6-X.5; BB X.4; Sheb. VII.8; b BM 103b-110b, 112b. Cf. Maimonides XIII.1.8 (pp. 27-31 of YJS); and Hengel, pp. 28f.

The owner's reluctance to use force is understandable in a first century milieu. Hengel has correctly reminded us of the legal system in first century Palestine.⁹⁹ The owner would have been at a distinct disadvantage if he had made a claim for legal aid. The local authorities would more likely favor the tenants than the owner who lived some distance away. As the NT reveals, the administration of justice often sought the way of least resistance (Mk. 15:6-15; Lk. 18:1-8; and Acts 24:26f.), and for the local authorities the maintenance of peace would have been more important than legal aid for an outsider. If force were used, the tenants would probably abandon the vineyard and cause even more trouble. The wisest course of action for the owner was to repeat his request in hope that the tenants would respond.¹⁰⁰ While this may account for the second or even the third sending of servants, it will not support the long series of sendings reported in Mk. 12:5. Whether this long series should be attributed to hyperbole or improbability, which some have felt are characteristic of Jesus' parables, will have to be determined later.¹⁰¹

The sending of the son and especially the justifying of this action by saying that the tenants would respect him seem to be particularly naive to the modern reader. Derrett has brought forth rabbinic evidence which shows that this would not have been the case with the first century listener.¹⁰² When someone had been wronged in early Palestine, his only

⁹⁹Hengel, pp. 26f.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 27. Note particularly the instance in the Zenon papyri (PCZ 50915) in which Zenon wrote five letters rather than use force to regain what was legally his.

¹⁰¹See n. 87.

¹⁰²Derrett, p. 31; and cf. Hengel, p. 30.

recourse was to make a formal protest before witnesses warning that legal action would be taken. Neither this protest nor the adjuring of witnesses could be made by servants.¹⁰³ Nor was it possible for one to deal through an agent; if he desired to do so, it was necessary to transfer his right (or part of it) to the representative.¹⁰⁴ For this reason it was necessary to send his son. (With typical parable conciseness, we are not told why the father could not come.) The father would probably have transferred a small portion of ownership to the son to make him a legal claimant.¹⁰⁵ Alternatively, but less likely, is Ernst Bammel's view that complete ownership was transferred to the son as a gift from his father.¹⁰⁶ At any rate, the expectation of the father that the son would be respected becomes understandable. His coming would indicate to the tenants that definite legal action was being taken to protest their seizure of the vineyard. There still may be questions that one would like to ask of the parable at this point, but the sending of the son is not artificial or incomprehensible.

The other feature which seems particularly naive to the modern reader is that the tenants assert that they would gain the inheritance if

¹⁰³Sheb. IV.12 (cf. RH I.8); b BB 38a-39a, particularly: "What constitutes protest?...If, however, he says: 'So and so is a robber who has seized my land wrongfully and tomorrow I am going to sue him,' this is a protest."

¹⁰⁴b BK 70a.

¹⁰⁵Derrett, p. 31; and Hengel, p. 30. Although there is nothing determinative in the text, Derrett is probably correct in saying that it is unlikely that the son would have made the trip unaccompanied.

¹⁰⁶"Das Gleichnis von den bösen Winzern (Mk. 12,1-9) und das jüdische Erbrecht," Revue Internationale des Droits de L'Antiquité, 3^{me} série, VI (1959), 13.

they killed the son. It is not necessary to resort to the regulations governing the claiming of proselyte and ownerless land.¹⁰⁷ It was a general rabbinic law that a person without title deeds could sustain a claim to rightful ownership if he could prove three years undisputed possession.¹⁰⁸ The extensive discussions relating to usucaption of land reveal how common it was for tenants to attempt to become owners. The Mishnah states explicitly that tenants cannot secure title by usucaption,¹⁰⁹ but the necessity of the statement and the Gemaras betray the reality of the attempts.¹¹⁰ There is an additional factor that may have influenced the thinking of the tenants. In rabbinic law if one abandoned hope of recovering lost or stolen property, he renounced his claim to ownership.¹¹¹ To this point the father had been unable to come to the vineyard, and the tenants must have felt that there was some chance the owner would give up. If the father did come and could not produce evidence, the stronger of the two parties could take possession.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷BB III.3; b BB 53a-55a; b Gitt 39a; and b Gerim 61a.

¹⁰⁸BB III.1-6; b BB 28a and 35b. See Bammel, p. 14; Derrett, p. 28; and Hengel, p. 28.

¹⁰⁹BB III.2-3. Cf. Maimonides XIII.IV.13 (pp. 241f. YJS).

¹¹⁰b BB 28a-36b; b BM 110a; p Bik I, 64^b, 55 (S-B, I, 872). Cf. Maimonides XIII.IV.11-16 (pp. 230-258 YJS).

¹¹¹b BM 21a-22a; b BK 66a-70a and 114a. Cf. Derrett, p. 32.

¹¹²b BB 34b. Derrett, pp. 11-42, postulated that the tenants' rejection of the servants was a claim that the owner owed them for their output in the initial lean years. Only at the coming of the son were they tempted to steal the vineyard. His reconstruction is too elaborate and without basis. The first three years were not valid for usucaption (b BB 36a) and *κενόσ* would not mean "stripped of their possessions" as he suggested. (Cf. LXX Gen. 31:42; Dt. 15:13; and Job 22:9.) In the Gospel account the tenants were guilty from the beginning.

The most important point derived from rabbinic writings is not so much how the tenants might gain possession but that the laws were ambiguous and that this type of land seizure went on. The tenants no doubt were not experts in rabbinic law, and there is question whether their possession would ever be legal possession.¹¹³ They were not concerned, however, with legal possession; they were interested in actual possession. At any rate, the tenants' statement, καὶ ἡμῶν ἔσται ἡ κληρονομία, may mean no more than "possession will be ours," for κληρονομία is not limited to the concept of inheritance. The OT usage of נָחַל and the LXX translation of this term by κληρονομία show repeatedly that the idea of inheritance is secondary to that of possession.¹¹⁴ Of particular interest is III Kings 20 (21): 15f. which uses κληρονομεῖν for Ahab's taking possession of Naboth's vineyard.¹¹⁵

The remaining feature of the parable that has been questioned is whether the owner could just kill the tenants. Some of the rabbinic parables involve killing or physical punishment as well,¹¹⁶ and b BK 27b states that a man is entitled to take the law into his own hands to protect his interests and that he may "break another's teeth" and tell him, "I am taking possession of what is mine." From the Greek papyri, one lease

¹¹³In b BB 47a it is stated that in some cases the grandson of a robber cannot secure title by usucaption (whereas he usually can), and it is explained that the kind of person meant is like those of a certain family who do not shrink from committing murder to extort money (and thus people are afraid to protect their occupation). Cf. Maimonides XIII.IV.13 (pp. 244-245 YJS).

¹¹⁴Werner Foerster and J. Herrmann, "κληρονόμος, συγκληρονόμος, κληρονομέω, κατακληρονομέω, κληρονομία," TDNT, III, 770, 774-775, 778.

¹¹⁵Vs. 3 and 6; cf. Neh. 9:24-25; Jd. 3:13.

¹¹⁶ExR XXX.17; LVR XI.7; XIII.5; and b Sanh 91a-b.

agreement states that if any of the conditions are infringed upon, the tenants will be liable to arrest and imprisonment.¹¹⁷ It is not necessary to justify legally the owner's punishment of the tenants. Under the circumstances probably no objection would or could be made if he did kill the tenants. Our concern is that this feature of the parable is in keeping with rabbinic parables and the inadequate administration of justice at that time.

Thus the claim that the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen is an artificial story whose features are not in keeping with everyday life cannot be substantiated. The rabbinic parables and regulations show that the events of the story were quite common and understandable in the early Palestinian culture. There is nothing objectionable about the basic features of the story.¹¹⁸

Analysis of the Various Accounts

It is to some extent true that the differences in the various accounts have been over-emphasized since the context, the basic form, and the meaning of the parable are the same for each of the three evangelists.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷Select Papyri (The Loeb Classical Library), trans. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar (London: William Heinemann, 1932), I, 125f., no. 41. This papyrus is important also for the statement that if the contract is broken the owner can evict them (ἐγ[βα]λλεῖν) and lease the land to others (ἐτέροις). See pp. 119f., no. 39.

¹¹⁸Cf. Hengel, p. 34; and Hans Dumbois, "Juristische Bemerkungen zum Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtern (Mk 12, 1-12)," Neue Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie, VIII (1966), 361-373. (The latter did not make use of the rabbinic evidence.)

¹¹⁹Jones, p. 91. Matthew included two other parables that Mark and Luke omitted or placed elsewhere, but the setting and sequence are the same otherwise.

At the same time, however, there are several differences that may be significant for determining one's approach to the parable. These differences should suggest an explanation of the movement of the tradition and should give some insight into the individual accounts.

An attempt such as van Iersel's to reconstruct an Urform from the various accounts is neither possible nor justified. Each of the Synoptic accounts reveals different Semitisms and stylistic features of the writer. It is obvious that we are dealing with three distinct Greek reconstructions of a Semitic parable (but the accounts are not necessarily independent of each other). For this reason, the analysis of the accounts will be limited to major features and differences in the story rather than in the wording of the story.

Survey of the accounts.

1. The context. All three Gospels place this parable in the context of the dispute with the Jewish leaders toward the end of Jesus' ministry and in connection with the question of his authority. The objection has been raised that the parable is too caustic to come in its present position since in the preceding and following events Jesus showed the greatest reserve in answering the questions of his opponents.¹²⁰ The proximity of the parable to the question of authority should not be overly stressed since Mt. records an additional parable between them,¹²¹ but the parable serves well as a veiled answer to that question and surely the Gospel

¹²⁰Loisy, p. 343; Klostermann, p. 120; and Creed, p. 238.

¹²¹See M.-J. Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Matthieu (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1941), p. 413.

writers intended this.¹²² One should realize that with their questions the Jewish leaders were attempting to trap Jesus into making a public statement that would serve to condemn him. His answers were not reserved out of great respect for his opponents, but so that they would have nothing with which to bring a charge against him. That he would then use a parable in a caustic way against the Jewish leaders is in keeping with his general attitude toward them.

One additional feature of the context should be mentioned. All three Synoptists assume the presence of the common people¹²³ and agree that the parable was directed against the Jewish leaders. Lk. reports that the parable was addressed to the people, and this is in keeping with the general tendency of this book to emphasize the common people.¹²⁴ Mt. and Mk. have the parable addressed to the Jewish leaders.

2. The setting (Mt. 21:33; Mk. 12:1; Lk. 20:9; Thom. Log. 65).

According to Mt. the owner of the vineyard was an οἰκοδεσπότης, which probably reflects the common rabbinic בעל הבית.¹²⁵ Thom. adds that he was

¹²²Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p. 244; and Grundmann, p. 238.

¹²³Mt. 21:23, 26, 46; Mk. 11:32; 12:12, 37; Lk. 20:1, 6, 9, 19.

¹²⁴H. Strathmann, "λαός," TDNT, IV, 50; Jerome Kodell, "Luke's Use of Laos, 'People,' Especially in the Jerusalem Narrative (Lk 19,28-24,53)," CBQ, XXXI (1969), 327-343; and see Hans Conzelmann, The Theology of St. Luke, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 164 n. 1.

¹²⁵Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, "οἰκοδεσπότης, οἰκοδεσποτέω," TDNT, II, 49; Hengel, p. 17. B. van Iersel noted the occurrences of the word in the Synoptics (7/1/4) and that it occurs only twice outside figurative language (Mk. 14:14 and Lk. 22:11) and concluded that Matthew has added the word in this parable as a typical parable expression! Just because the word is omitted by the other two accounts does not make it a Matthean addition. It may well have had a counterpart in the Semitic parable. The word is used more frequently in Mt. because of the author's interest in similitudes. Five of the seven occurrences of the word in Mt. are in material peculiar to this book.

a "good" man. Montefiore thought this description to be original,¹²⁶ but this is unlikely. It is not the kind of feature that would have been omitted, but it is the kind that would have been added to insure that it is understood that the owner did nothing to cause the tenants' rebellion.

The most important feature of the setting is the vineyard itself. Mt. and Mk. describe the planting and construction of the vineyard with words borrowed from the LXX account of Is. 5:2. There are slight divergencies between Mt. and Mk. and neither is in exact agreement with the LXX. It has often been said that this allusion is secondary in that the LXX is used and that it is omitted by Lk. and Thom.¹²⁷ That the LXX was used is no proof at all since this may reflect only an assimilation to the LXX in either the oral or written period,¹²⁸ nor is it strictly true to say that Lk. omits the allusion. From the features of the Is. account, Mt. and Mk. report the planting of the vineyard (as opposed to the singular ἀμπελος in Is. 5:2, but ἀμπελων is used in Is. 5:1b) and three deeds performed for the vineyard. Lk. reports the planting of the vineyard, but omits the improvements as superfluous details. The omission of the details in Lk. could be said to be an argument for their secondary insertion only if ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελωνα in Lk. 20:9 is neither dependent on the identical words in Mt. and

¹²⁶Montefiore, p. 226.

¹²⁷See particularly Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, pp. 70f.

¹²⁸Krister Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1954), p. 162; Robert Horton Gundry, The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 179-180; cf. pp. 150 and 161. Cf. Hengel, p. 19. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 71 n. 80, thought that the LXX incorrectly translates Is. 5:2 (ἰκπιγυῖ), but πγυ includes the idea of surrounding. Cf. BDB, 740; Jastrow, 1062; and the Aramaic כּפּיגּ ("clasp" or "ring").

Mk. nor goes back to ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον of Is. 5. Such a position is difficult to defend. It is even less likely that the other two accounts added the Is. 5 elements as a result of the Lukan phrasing. The claim that Lk. omitted the allusion to Is. 5 is therefore unfounded. It is much more likely that the tradition Luke used did have the allusion to Is. 5 and that he omitted the irrelevant details. Such an omission is in keeping with his proclivity for neatness and efficiency. Another indication that Lk. is not completely free from LXX influence is the soliloquy of the owner in 20:13. Τί ποιήσω may be characteristic of Lk.,¹²⁹ but it is also paralleled in the question of the vineyard owner in Is. 5:4.

The Thom. account states only that a good man had a vineyard. It is usually agreed that Thom. has no allusion to Is. 5, but Quispel thought that this statement in Thom. presupposes the Hebrew text of Is. 5:1 (לִּי הֵיאֵל) rather than the LXX.¹³⁰ However, this is rather slim evidence on which to base an allusion. Without prior knowledge that the parable alluded to Is. 5, the Thom. account would not cause one to look there. The significance one places on this omission depends on his estimation of the Thom. account, and this question will be dealt with later.

The account of the leasing of the land to tenants (אָרִיסִין)¹³¹ and the departure of the owner is virtually the same in all the Synoptics.

¹²⁹M.-J. Lagrange, Évangile selon Saint Luc (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1941), p. 508.

¹³⁰Quispel, Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle, p. 77. Cf. his "Das Thomasevangelium und das alte Testament," Neotestamentica et Patristica (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), 245.

¹³¹S-B, I, 871; Derrett, p. 16.

The only difference is the Lukan explanatory addition, χρόνους ἰκανοῦς.¹³² Thom. explains why the vineyard was given out (that the tenants might cultivate it and the owner might receive its fruits from them) and only assumes the owner's departure.¹³³

3. The attempt to collect the produce (Mt. 21:34-37; Mk. 12:2-6; Lk. 20:10-13). None of the accounts agrees on the details of the sending of the servants and the son. Mt. reports that the owner first sent three servants (presumably) and that one was beaten, one was killed, and one was stoned. Then the owner sent a larger number of servants, and they were treated the same way. Finally he sent his son. According to Mk. the owner sent one servant (who was beaten and sent away empty-handed), a second (who was beaten on the head and dishonored), a third (who was killed), and many others (some of whom were beaten and some of whom were killed). Then there was yet one remaining, an only son (ἕιδον ἀγαπητόν)¹³⁴ who was sent last (ἔσχατον). In the Lukan account the owner sent one servant (who was beaten and sent away empty-handed), a second (who was beaten, dishonored, and sent away empty-handed), and a third (who was wounded and cast out). After some deliberation the owner sent his only son (τὸν υἱὸν μου τὸν ἀγαπητόν). According to Thom. the owner sent one servant (who was seized, beaten almost to death, and who reported to his

¹³²Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Luc, p. 508. Cf. Lk. 8:27; 23:8; and Acts 8:11.

¹³³Montefiore, p. 236, attempted to see in the Gospel's emphasis on the owner's departure an allegorical reference to the invisible God, but this is surely going too far. The feature in the story does not correspond to OT reality and should not be pressed.

¹³⁴Ἀγαπητός should be understood as "only." See C. H. Turner, "Ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Αγαπητοῦ," JTS, XXVII (1926), 113-129.

master) and because the tenants may not have known him,¹³⁵ a second was sent (who was beaten as well). Then the owner sent his son, and the tenants seized and killed him.

The climax for each writer is the killing of the son, but each reveals a different progression. With Mt. there is an intensification of the importance of the envoys (three, more than at first, the son) although he does include a progression in the mistreatment of the first group of servants (beating, killing, stoning).¹³⁶ In Mk. there is an intensification of the treatment the servants receive, but it is of little significance because several servants are killed. His emphasis on the son is expressed in the description of the son. Lk. records a progression in the mistreatment by reserving death for the son. The progression in Thom. is in the revealing of the rebellion of the tenants to the owner.

We have already looked at the logic in the sending of the son. It should be added here that the attempts to omit the sending of the son are without foundation.¹³⁷ Apart from the sending of the son there is no real climax and no bridge from the patience of the owner to his anger.¹³⁸

One should observe several other features in this section. Each of the writers justifies the sending of the son by saying the tenants will

¹³⁵Literally, "Perhaps he did not know them."

¹³⁶Stoning would have been the punishment par excellence. The same order (killing...stoning) occurs in Mt. 23:37/Lk. 13:34. Cf. W. Michaelis, "λιθάζω, καταλιθάζω, λιθοβολέω," TDNT, IV, 267; Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Matthieu, p. 414; and Jülicher, II, 390. Cf. the similar order in Mt. 23:34 and Lk. 11:49-51.

¹³⁷Smith, p. 224; Nineham, p. 311.

¹³⁸Haenchen, p. 398 n. 8 and 399. As van Iersel, p. 143, the concept of inheritance would not have carried significance for the early Church, and its inclusion assumes the entrance of the son.

respect him, but Lk. and Thom. qualify the statement with "perhaps" (ἴσως). Mt. and Thom. have the possessive pronoun with the first envoy whereas Mk. and Lk. do not. The Markan paratactic style is evident as are several stylistic features of Lk.¹³⁹ Προσέθετο πέμψαι in Lk. may be a Semitism, but more likely it is a Lukan biblicism.¹⁴⁰ Lk. and Thom. also agree in the wording for the reason the first servant was sent (Lk. 20:10--δῶσουσιν αὐτῷ).

4. The rejection of the son (Mt. 21:38-39; Mk. 12:7-8; Lk. 20: 14-15a). Each of the Synoptics shows a recognition of the son by the tenants and the premeditation of the tenants to kill the son. Mt. and Mk. have δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν whereas Lk. has only ἀποκτείνωμεν. The former is a possible allusion to Gen. 37:20,¹⁴¹ but the similarity is probably only due to the analogous situation rather than the intention of the writer.

The other important difference in this section is that Mt. and Lk. report that the son was thrown out and then killed whereas Mk. reports the son was killed and then thrown out.

In this section Thom. abandons the standpoint of the owner and finishes the story from the standpoint of the narrator. The account explains that since the tenants knew the son was the heir, they seized and killed him.

¹³⁹Cf. Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 72 n. 84.

¹⁴⁰Προστίθεναι 2/1/7 and Acts 6 times. Πέμπειν 4/1/10 and Acts 32 times. Cf. Acts 12:3. See John Martin Creed, The Gospel According to St. Luke (London: Macmillan and Co., 1930), 245.

¹⁴¹Hengel, p. 18; Henry Barclay Swete, The Gospel According to Mark (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898), p. 254.

5. The ending (Mt. 21:40-44; Mk. 12:9-11; Lk. 20:15b-18).

According to Thom. the parable is over. It remains only to add "He who has ears, let him hear." The Synoptic writers have additional material to report. In each Jesus asks the listeners what the owner will do. According to Mk. and Lk. he answered his question by saying that the tenants would be destroyed and the vineyard given to others. Lk. adds that the listeners responded with μὴ γένοιτο. According to Mt. the listeners give the answer with the qualification that the new tenants will pay the fruits to the owner. With slight variations all three report that Jesus then asked his hearers if they had never read Ps. 118:22 (Mt. and Mk. include v. 23). Thom. records the quotation of Ps. 118:22 as the next logion (66), introduced by "Jesus said." (The same introduction is used for the next logion (67) which is almost certainly an interpretation of the OT quotation.) Mt. records Jesus' explanation of the parable and, according to most manuscripts, adds a further saying about the stone which is paralleled in Lk. All three Synoptics agree that the Jewish leaders understood that the parable was directed against them and wanted to seize Jesus then but could not for fear of the crowds.

The sequence of the story. As mentioned previously quite a few scholars have held the view that the version of Thom. is probably the closest to the original. On this view Lk. represents the least corrupt of the Synoptics while Mt. is farthest removed since his account is the most "allegorical." That Thom. does not have the allusion to Is. 5, the christological hints, or the final question, and that he has only the simple three-fold sending (which is common in folk stories) are the main reasons for this view. Dodd, with Jeremias following him, had suggested such a

reconstruction even before Thom. was found.¹⁴²

The question of the dependence or independence of Thom. cannot be answered satisfactorily with a simple solution.¹⁴³ The complexity of the problems raised by Thom. is beyond our scope, but the possibility must be granted that Thom. may present an independent account of some of the Gospel material. Indeed, some who are not convinced of the complete independence of Thom. think that his account of the parable under consideration is superior.¹⁴⁴

The most important objection to the view that Thom. represents an Urform of the parable has come from Wolfgang Schrage who argued from an analysis of the Coptic versions that Thom. is dependent on the canonical tradition.¹⁴⁵ Schrage's conclusions overall are not conclusive,¹⁴⁶ but he did show several points in this parable where Thom. appears to be dependent on the Synoptics. Of particular importance are the counterparts in Thom. to $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}$ in Lk. 20:10 and $\text{\textit{\textepsilon}}\omega\omega\varsigma$ in 20:13.¹⁴⁷ The latter

¹⁴²Dodd, pp. 126-130; Joachim Jeremias, Die Gleichnisse Jesu (2d Auflage; Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1952), pp. 54f.

¹⁴³On these problems see R. McL. Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1960); Gnosis and the New Testament (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), pp. 92f.

¹⁴⁴Besides Jeremias, cf. Montefiore, pp. 247f.; and Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 101f.

¹⁴⁵Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur Synoptischen Tradition und zu den koptischen Evangelienübersetzungen (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Topelmann, 1964).

¹⁴⁶See Wilson, Gnosis and the New Testament, pp. 96-97; and his review of Schrage's book in VC, XX (1966), 118-123.

¹⁴⁷Schrage, p. 140. See also William R. Schoedel, "Parables in the Gospel of Thomas: Oral Tradition or Gnostic Exegesis?" CTM, XLII (1972), 557-560.

is a hapax legomenon in the NT and is an amplification to prevent the misunderstanding that God made an error. This does not necessarily prove that Thom. is dependent on Lk., but at least it shows that Thom. is dependent on the same tradition as Lk. (The Coptic counterpart to $\tau\omega\omega\varsigma$ occurs earlier in the Thom. account in the statement of the owner, "Perhaps he did not know them.")

There is another point, however, that has been overlooked so far which must throw a cloud of suspicion on the Thom. account. Syr^S omits Mk. 12:4 so that only two servants precede the "many others" and the sending of the son. Likewise, syr^C, which is not extant for Mk., omits the sending of the third servant in Lk. 20:12. According to Burkitt, "the rest of v. 12 is lost in C through homoeoteleuton,"¹⁴⁸ but this is questionable. Syr^S does record the sending of the third servant in Lk., but it is evident that the text has been tampered with. It follows neither the Lukan style as the preceding verse nor the Lukan sequence.¹⁴⁹ Clearly, the Old Syriac texts of Mk. and Lk. represent a harmonizing tendency to bring their accounts into line with the two-fold sending in Mt. It seems evident that Thom., which probably has a Syrian provenance,¹⁵⁰ is dependent on this tradition.

¹⁴⁸F. Crawford Burkitt, Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), I, 383.

¹⁴⁹Syr^S at Lk. 20:11 has $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\epsilon$ following the Lukan style and records the events that parallel the third servant in Lk. In 20:12 the Lukan biblicalism is not present, and the treatment of the servant is not that reported in the Greek. Other features of the syr^S account show tampering. Note the re-introduction of the Is. 5 element (v. 9) and the changes in vs. 16 and 19. If 20:12 has been re-inserted into the text of S, the omission in C is not due to homoeoteleuton. It should be remembered that Mk. 12:4 is omitted in syr^S.

¹⁵⁰E. Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, ed. W. Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963), pp. 286f.; Turner and

The Old Syriac is probably dependent on the Diatessaron. One should not rule out the possibility of the dependence of Thom. on the Diatessaron too quickly, but it is likely that Thom. is dependent on a pre-Tatian harmonizing tradition.¹⁵¹ The two-fold sending of servants in Thom. then stems from a post-Synoptic rather than a pre-Synoptic stage of the parable. This has to cast doubt on the other claims that have been made for Thom. The lateness of the account makes it hard to doubt that the omission of the allusion to Is. 5 is due to a negative attitude to the OT.¹⁵² The omission of the final question and answer are probably due to a tendency to de-eschatologize.¹⁵³ In line with the late character of the account, the excuse for the tenants' behavior should be seen as a late addition to make the story more palpable.

Montefiore, pp. 44f.; G. Quispel, "'The Gospel of Thomas' and the 'Gospel of the Hebrews'," pp. 372f.; and Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 10f. Barbara Ehlers, "Kann das Thomasevangelium aus Edessa stammen? Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums in Edessa," NT, XII (1970), 283-317, argued against a Syrian provenance for Thom., but see the response by A. F. J. Klijn, "Christianity in Edessa and the Gospel of Thomas," NT, XIV (1972), 70-77.

¹⁵¹That the Old Syriac was dependent on Tatian, see Burkitt, II, 234. On harmonistic tendencies and the relation of Thom. and Tatian, see Quispel, Markarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle, p. 7 et passim; and his "L'Evangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron," VC, XIII (1959), 87-117; A. F. J. Klijn, A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts: Part II, 1949-1969 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), p. 8f., who mentioned the tendency of Thom. and the Diatessaron to harmonize Mt. and Lk. and the possibility of a curious text of the Gospels in Syria; Hennecke, p. 293; Turner and Montefiore, pp. 25f.; Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 126f.; and Gnosis and the New Testament, p. 95; Robert M. Grant with David Noel Freedman, The Secret Sayings of Jesus (London: Collins, 1960), p. 151; and Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, pp. 148f.

¹⁵²Schoedel, p. 559; see Montefiore, p. 228; and Bertil Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas, trans. Eric J. Sharpe (London: Collins, 1961), p. 150; cf. log. 52.

¹⁵³Bammel, p. 17; Haenchen, p. 404; and Schoedel, pp. 559f. The last argued that the differences in Thom. were due to Gnostic concerns.

If this is the case, we should confine our analysis to the Synoptic accounts. It has been argued that Lk. represents the earliest account despite the fact that several factors speak against this. Lk. does present a neat progression and climax, but the author's reconstruction reveals his stylistic and symmetrical preferences.¹⁵⁴ Evidence of the author's style does not necessarily cast suspicion on his report, but a comparison with the other two accounts shows several points where Luke has smoothed the story (v. 9--the omission of irrelevant details; v. 10-- $\delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$; the progression and preservation of the climax; v. 13--the deliberation of the owner; $\iota\acute{\omega}\omega\varsigma$; v. 17--the omission of Ps. 118:23).

It has been suggested that the sending of servants recorded by Mk. is original because his account is the least systematic.¹⁵⁵ Farmer has countered that the account of the sending in Mk. represents an attempt to conflate the Lukan three-fold sending with the Matthean parallel series, a suggestion that bears consideration.¹⁵⁶

If one wants to ascertain which is the earliest account, he should seek the one that most easily explains the shape of the other two. Despite the charges that have been leveled at the Matthean account, there is evidence that it represents the earliest version of this parable. There are several indications that this parable was in "Q" (or better, the double tradition). Of major significance are the agreement of Mt. and Lk. against

¹⁵⁴Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 72 n. 84, recognized this but still preferred the Lukan account to that in either Mt. or Mk. Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," p. 126, called his hand on this.

¹⁵⁵Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," p. 126; Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Marc, p. 308; and Jülicher, II, 389, thought the irregularity of 5b confirmed its accuracy.

¹⁵⁶Farmer, p. 249.

Mk. in the addition of the second stone saying, the expulsion of the son before death, and that the listeners responded to Jesus' question. Many have been quick to accuse Matthew of allegorizing the parable, but there is no real reason to detect more allegory in Mt. than in Mk. or Lk. It seems strange that the twofold sending of servants in Thom. has been judged non-allegorical while the twofold sending in Mt. represents the earlier and later prophets.¹⁵⁷ It is true that Mt. records that the owner sent more than one servant each time, but this is probably in keeping with reality. The owner would not send only one servant to bring back a large quantity of produce, even if it were all wine. More important, Matthew would not have limited the number in the first group of servants to three if he were trying to depict accurately a group of the prophets. Regardless of the significance of the servants, none of the accounts presents an accurate picture of God's sending the prophets. The sequence in Mt. and Lk. at least is determined primarily by the requirements of the story.

The Matthean account is also more understandable as a story. The owner sent three servants to collect his produce, and they were met with violent rebellion. He sent a larger number of servants to repeat his demands, but they were treated the same way. Then he sent his son to take legal action. While the Lukan account is feasible, the Markan account is improbable. It is possible that improbability and hyperbole are features of Jesus' parables, but they do not seem to be the reasons for the Markan

¹⁵⁷Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 72; and Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Marc, p. 308, understood the former and latter prophets according to the division of the canon; Ernst Lohmeyer and Werner Schmauch, Das Evangelium des Matthäus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), p. 313, understood the Matthean threefold sending to represent the periods of the history of the people as presented in the genealogy of Jesus in Mt. 1.

progression. Rather, it appears that Mark was trying to underline the meaning of the envoys.

If the Matthean account of the envoys is earliest, the other two may be accounted for. The Matthean account reports two groups and the son. The use of triads to assist the conveyance of traditional material is well-known,¹⁵⁸ but the story in Mt. presents a second triad in the treatment of the servants. This may have rendered the Matthean presentation too bulky for convenient reproduction. If so, the sending of three individual servants in Mk. and Lk. represents a simplification of Mt. in that they used only his first group. The addition of Mk. 12:5b was necessitated in that three servants did not do justice to the plurality presented in Mt. Luke, with his preference for symmetry, confined the number to three. It may be that the Markan account is a conflation of Mt. and Lk. as Farmer suggested,¹⁵⁹ but it is just as possible that Luke omitted Mk. 12:5b. The assumption of Markan priority leaves unexplained the complexity of Mk. 12:5b which is obviously cumbersome and an uncommon mode of progression. The Matthean triad is more customary and will account for the forms in Mk. and Lk.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸Bultmann, p. 188.

¹⁵⁹Farmer, p. 249. Redundancy (or duality) is a Markan characteristic. See F. Neiryck, "Duplicate Expressions in the Gospel of Mark," ETL, XLVIII (1972), 150-210.

¹⁶⁰The sending of servants in Mt. 22:3-4 uses words similar to 21:34-36, and it could be said that this is Matthew's style. However, again this is a situation where more than one servant would be sent (it would take one servant too long to call all the guests), and again the Lukan parallel (14:17f.) shows the style of Luke. If either of the Matthean parables has influenced the other, the Parable of the Marriage Feast has been the recipient of the influence. See Richard J. Dillon, "Towards a Tradition-History of the Parables of the True Israel (Matthew 21,33-22,14)," Bib, XLVII (1966), 6-7. Many rabbinic parables contain common features (as servants and their actions), and some are made on the same pattern as others. The similarities of the two parables may be due to rabbinic practice.

There are other reasons for believing that Mt. presents the earliest form of the parable, and one of the most important is his treatment of the son. Both Mk. and Lk. refer to the son as υἱὸς ἀγαπητός (meaning "only son") while Mt. uses simply υἱὸς. It is questionable that ἀγαπητός was strictly a christological title since it is used quite frequently throughout Acts and the Epistles as a designation for individual Christians. However, υἱὸς ἀγαπητός is used by all three Synoptists of Jesus in the accounts of the baptism and transfiguration. The only other time ἀγαπητός occurs in the Synoptics except for this parable is in the application of Is. 42:1 to Jesus (Mt. 12:18). If the tradition Matthew used for this parable had had ἀγαπητός, he certainly would not have omitted it. Both Mark and Luke have emphasized the son in other ways as well. Mark took pains to point out that this is the only son and that he was sent last. Luke emphasized the son by reserving death for him and by using the climactic three plus one formula. While Mark and Luke made certain of the identity of the son, no attempt to emphasize him was made by Matthew. Certainly neither Matthew nor any of the early Church wanted to play down christology. The only logical conclusion is that the Matthean tradition preceded those of Mark and Luke.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹Cf. Lohmeyer and Schmauch, pp. 312f., who noticed the lack of emphasis on the son in Mt. On p. 315, they pointed to certain features that suggest that Mt. is earlier than Mk. The points they mentioned against the account of Mt. will be taken up below. Wolfgang Trilling, Das wahre Israel (3d ed.; München: Kösel-Verlag, 1964), pp. 56-57, tried lamely to account for the omission of ἀγαπητός. Trilling thought the account in Mk. is earlier, but noted that the account in Mt. is the most self-contained. See his Christusverkündigung in den Synoptischen Evangelien (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1969), p. 168. Tim Schramm, Der Markus-stoff bei Lukas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 159-160, suggested that Matthew had a parallel tradition.

The one point that speaks most clearly against this is that Mt. and Lk. report that the son was thrown out of the vineyard and then killed whereas Mk. records that he was killed and then thrown out. It is usually accepted that Matthew and Luke have tried to bring the story into line with the events of Jesus' death outside the city.¹⁶² While this seems evident on the first analysis and is possible, it is not as convincing after further investigation. On this view the vineyard would have to be interpreted as the city of Jerusalem.¹⁶³ It may be that Mark was trying to heighten the offense of the murder for the sake of his Gentile readers by showing the desecration of the corpse. David Daube pointed out that leaving the body unburied as Mk. implies would be a flagrant case of niwwul (disgrace).¹⁶⁴ Another factor that should be considered is that the tenants would not have wanted to jeopardize their profits by rendering the vineyard unclean by killing someone within its boundaries.¹⁶⁵ It is for this reason that Derrett postulated an impossible reconstruction. On his view the son would have received the death blow in the tower away from the vines with the hope that the body could be carried to the wall before death.¹⁶⁶ If the tenants

¹⁶²Dodd, p. 130; Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 73; E. Earle Ellis, The Gospel of Luke (London: Nelson, 1966), p. 232; Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Luc, p. 510; van Iersel, p. 139; Hengel, p. 36; Montefiore, p. 237; Taylor, p. 475; Vincent, p. 86; and Julius Schniewind, Das Evangelium nach Markus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952), pp. 153f.

¹⁶³Alfred Plummer, Gospel According to S. Luke (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898), p. 461; and Sigfred Pedersen, "Zum Problem der vaticinia ex eventu (ein Analyse von Mt. 21,33-46 par; 22,1-10 par)," ST, XIX (1965), 171. Cf. Swete, p. 254.

¹⁶⁴The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: Athlone Press, 1956), p. 302.

¹⁶⁵Cadoux, p. 40.

¹⁶⁶Derrett, pp. 35f.

had been concerned about uncleanness, they would have thrown the son out before killing him. One should remember that it was a normal procedure to expel a person before killing him.¹⁶⁷ Thus once again there is good reason to believe that the Matthean account is the earliest.

With regard to the question and answer concerning what the owner will do, Jeremias has asserted that both are secondary since the question refers back to the LXX form of Is. 5:5 while the Hebrew text of Is. 5:5 does not involve a question.¹⁶⁸ Jeremias must have made a mistake, however, for there is not a question in the LXX at Is. 5:5. The allusion in the question is to Is. 5:4 where both the Hebrew and the LXX have a question. There are no grounds for excluding the question and some form of the answer although it may be difficult to decide who answered the question. It makes no real difference, but preference probably should be given to the Matthean account.¹⁶⁹ One reason is that the parable is more effective if the hearer pronounces his own judgement (as David in II Sm. 12:1f.). Secondly one should notice that the answer given in Mt. contains a formal legal pronouncement and a psalm allusion. Various theories have been produced to account for $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\kappa\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$, but the evidence presented by Lohmeyer and Schmauch shows conclusively that the first part of the answer was a common Greek legal expression which was also current in Palestine.¹⁷⁰ The second

¹⁶⁷III Kings 20 (21):13; Lk. 4:29; Acts 7:58; but not necessarily, cf. Jn. 8:59 and Acts 14:19.

¹⁶⁸Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 74.

¹⁶⁹Lohmeyer and Schmauch, p. 315; cf. Dodd, p. 127, who thought that Matthew has restored the more usual conclusion.

¹⁷⁰Lohmeyer and Schmauch, pp. 313f. Cf. Josephus, Antiq. VII.11.8 and XI.5.4.

part of the answer, that the vineyard would be given to others, has been unnecessarily allegorized by modern interpreters, but more likely reflects the wording of rental agreements.¹⁷¹ The final part of the answer is probably an allusion to Ps. 1:3. Lohmeyer and Schmauch thought that the legal pronouncement and the Ps. allusion fit the situation well since those who answered were plainly representatives of the highest Jewish tribunal and would have spoken both the language of law and that of religion.¹⁷²

The inclusion of the final question and the stone quotation of Ps. 118:22 as valid parts of the parable has been maintained by relatively few scholars even though the quotation follows the parable in Thom. The opinion of the majority has been that these are the additions of the early Church to supply the missing reference to the resurrection. The form of the quotation itself is not (or should not be) the cause for suspicion since Fiebig pointed out that it is common for rabbinic parables to end with a scripture citation.¹⁷³ Concerning the wording of the quotation, all three evangelists correspond in an exact reproduction of the LXX (which is in virtual agreement with the Hebrew), but this is of no significance since most formal quotations have been assimilated to the LXX.¹⁷⁴ The reasoning

¹⁷¹Cf. Select Papyri (Loeb Series), I, pp. 119-129, no. 39 and no. 41, where it is stated expressly that if the tenants do not fulfill the conditions the owner shall be at liberty to rent the land to others (ἐτέροις).

¹⁷²Lohmeyer and Schmauch, pp. 313f.

¹⁷³Die Gleichnisreden Jesu, pp. 78, 86, and 239. Cf. Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," p. 274 n. 49.

¹⁷⁴See n. 128. Gundry, p. 20, mentioned that the LXX presupposed a pointing of תפלג as a niph'al participle rather than the MT niph'al perfect. The omission in Lk. of Ps. 118:23 is again due to his proclivity to omit irrelevant parts, rather than to theological motivation as Traugott Holtz, Untersuchung über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968), p. 161.

behind the rejection of the quotation is that Ps. 118:22 was a favorite verse of the early Church and sounds like a reference to the resurrection, especially since there appears to be no logical connection to the parable itself.¹⁷⁵ The Synoptists hint in other passages that Jesus used this verse of himself (Mk. 8:31; Lk. 9:22; and 17:25)¹⁷⁶ although some have attributed this to the work of the early Palestinian Church.¹⁷⁷

Since Jülicher at least,¹⁷⁸ it has been strongly maintained that the addition of the quotation was not only illogical but also disruptive. It has always been recognized that the rejected stone represented the rejected son in the parable, but the reasoning behind this equation has not been explained. It is in the Hebrew/Aramaic form of this identification that the reason for the use of the quotation should be sought. The addition

¹⁷⁵Jülicher, II, 405; Loisy, p. 341; Allan Menzies, The Earliest Gospel (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901), p. 218; Oesterley, p. 121; Smith, p. 224; Dodd, p. 128; Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, pp. 73f.; Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p. 246; van Iersel, pp. 125f.; Klostermann, pp. 122f.; Hengel, p. 1; Alfred Suhl, Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen in Markusevangelium (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1965), pp. 141f.; Johannes Schreiber, Theologie des Vertrauens (Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1967), p. 42; and Eduard Schweizer, Das Evangelium nach Markus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), p. 136. Others have suggested that the quotation may have been an independent parable or quoted in another connection. See Alexander Balmain Bruce, The Parabolic Teaching of Christ (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1882), p. 458; Nineham, p. 313; and Morna D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant (London: SPCK, 1959), p. 98.

¹⁷⁶See Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," p. 274 n. 48; and C. E. B. Cranfield, The Gospel According to Saint Mark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 368.

¹⁷⁷H. E. Tödt, The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition (London: SCM Press, 1965), pp. 166f.; Reginald H. Fuller, The Foundations of New Testament Christology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), pp. 118 and 137; and Ferdinand Hahn, The Titles of Jesus in Christology (London: Lutterworth Press, 1969), pp. 40f.

¹⁷⁸Jülicher, II, 405.

of Ps. 118:22 is based on the Semitic wordplay between בן אבן and בן .¹⁷⁹ Paranomasia is, of course, frequent in both testaments and should occasion no surprise.¹⁸⁰ No Jew would have missed the connection since, as we have shown, this wordplay was common and since the difference in the pronunciation of בן אבן and בן would have been slight, particularly if בן sometimes occurred with the prosthetic aleph.¹⁸¹ It is obvious that there would have been no problem in understanding the wordplay if Hebrew were used to tell the parable, which is possible.¹⁸² If Aramaic were used, which is more likely since all three accounts indicate that the common people were present,¹⁸³ there still would be no problem. בן was a well-known word, even to those who spoke Aramaic, and Josephus' report of this wordplay at the time of the Roman siege of Jerusalem is a decisive parallel.¹⁸⁴ The wordplay would have been understood in Jerusalem regardless of which language was used. It is interesting that one of the accounts of this parable in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary records בן אבן in two manuscripts. In the Syriac NT בן אבן has been replaced by בן אבן almost completely. (בן אבן occurs in one other place.) It appears that בן אבן was retained in the lectionary

¹⁷⁹ Carrington, pp. 249-250 and 256, recognized the wordplay. Cf. also John Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, ed. Robert Gandell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1859), II, 435.

¹⁸⁰ See particularly Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, pp. 144f., 151f., 160f., 228f., and 276.

¹⁸¹ See *supra*, pp. 95-99.

¹⁸² Since this is reported to be a temple discourse and since some have thought that Hebrew was the spoken language in Judea at the time. See *supra*, p. 90. It is undeniable that Hebrew was a spoken language.

¹⁸³ See n. 123.

¹⁸⁴ See *supra*, pp. 88-93 (on *Bell.* V.272). Cf. the Targum of Ps. 118:22 which renders בן אבן as בן אבן .

for the wordplay.¹⁸⁵

When focus is placed on the Semitic background, the addition of the quotation is entirely understandable and in keeping with rabbinic practice. There is no basis for attempting to explain the quotation as a later addition and it is highly improbable that a proof text would have been added along these lines at a later date. Certainly no other NT quotation is made on this basis. The quotation should not be separated from the rest of the parable.¹⁸⁶

There are still two verses in the Matthean account, one of which is paralleled in Lk., which must be taken into consideration. The prevalent opinion concerning Mt. 21:43 is that it is a Matthean redaction to highlight the historical event of the transfer of the kingdom from the

¹⁸⁵ Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson (eds.), The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1899), pp. 152-154. Codex B and C have אבנא; Codex A has אבנא. The passage occurs in another lectionary where אבנא occurs in all manuscripts. אבנא occurs elsewhere in I P 2:8.

¹⁸⁶ See Stendahl, pp. 69 and 212; Taylor, p. 477; Swete, pp. 255f.; Cranfield, pp. 368f.; Gundry, p. 69; E. Earle Ellis, "Midrash, Targum and New Testament Quotations," Neotestamentica et Semitica, ed. E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969), p. 67; R. N. Longenecker, The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity (London: SCM Press, 1970), pp. 51-52 [cf. his "Some Distinctive Early Christological Motifs," NTS, XIV (1967-1968), 536-538]; Floyd Filson, A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960), p. 229; John Bowman, The Gospel of Mark (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), p. 223. On Jeremias' position see *supra*, p. 109. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p. 247, linked the stone saying to the servant concept and concluded that if the servant concept is traceable to the preaching of Jesus, the use of the stone quotation can scarcely be denied to him. The servant and stone imageries were also linked by Bertil Gärtner, "אבנא als Messiasbezeichnung," SEA, XVIII-XIX (1953-1954), pp. 101f. and Pius Sciascia, Lapis Reprobatus (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1959), pp. 52f.

Jews to the Church.¹⁸⁷ Mt. 21:44, however, is usually ignored as an interpolation from Lk. 20:18 which itself is considered a Lukan redaction as a further comment on the stone or as a floating tradition that was joined because of the common key word.¹⁸⁸

The suggestion that Mt. 21:43 is an explanation of the parable by Matthew, which has merit, has been most forcefully presented by Trilling. His main arguments were that the style is Matthean, that *δοθήσεται-άρθήσεται* has been influenced by Mt. 13:12// and 25:29// (particularly since *ἐκιδιδόναι* was used in v. 41), and that bearing fruit is a familiar theme in Mt. While he recognized that *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ* is not typical in Mt., he explained this by pointing to Matthew's flexibility in his use of kingdom phrases.¹⁸⁹ The decision is not nearly as clear cut as Trilling made it however. The only thing particularly Matthean in style is the introductory formula. The relation to the other passages with the

¹⁸⁷Trilling, Das wahre Israel, pp. 58-62; Filson, pp. 229f.; Lohmeyer and Schmauch, pp. 314-315; Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 77; Georg Strecker, Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), pp. 111 and 169; H. D. A. Major, T. W. Manson, and C. J. Wright, The Mission and Message of Jesus (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1937), p. 516; Kenzo Tagawa, "People and Community in the Gospel of Matthew," NTS, XVI (1969-1970), 161; Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 174; Gunther Bornkamm, Gerhard Barth, and Heinz Joachim Held, Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew (London: SCM Press, 1963), pp. 20 and 43.

¹⁸⁸Jülicher, II, 401; Dodd, p. 128; Lindars, pp. 174 and 183f.; Trilling, Das wahre Israel, p. 57 n. 15; Major, Manson, and Wright, pp. 516 and 614; Ellis, The Gospel of Luke, p. 232; Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Matthieu, p. 418; Creed, p. 246; Erich Klostermann, Das Matthäusevangelium (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1927), p. 173; Walter Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Lukas (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, [1964]), p. 372; and Martin Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas ([Gütersloh:] Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1969), p. 171.

¹⁸⁹Trilling, Das wahre Israel, pp. 58f.

δοθήσεται-ἀρθήσεται formula is open to question, and while it is true that one would have expected ἐκδιδόναι as in v. 41, one would also expect ἀποδιδόναι instead of ποιεῖν. That the wording of v. 43 is different from v. 41 is difficult to explain on any theory of the origin of v. 43.

Bearing fruit is a familiar theme in Mt., but appears to be a familiar theme of the sayings tradition as well and is common throughout the NT.¹⁹⁰

It is true too that Mt. shows some flexibility in the terminology for the kingdom, but one cannot accept with Trilling that βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ is not striking in Mt. Particularly on the evidence of βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, it has been denied that Matthew is responsible for this verse.¹⁹¹

If one lays aside v. 43 for the moment and looks at v. 44, he may receive some assistance in his analysis. The reasons that v. 44 is usually considered to be an interpolation from Lk. are that the verse is omitted by certain manuscripts and that it seems out of place in its present context since logically it should precede v. 43.¹⁹² This view is not justified. If it were an interpolation from Lk., one would have expected the scribe to follow the sequence in Lk. That the sequence seems illogical may be the reason for the omission.¹⁹³ As far as the external evidence

¹⁹⁰καρπός is used 19 times in Mt. and 12 in Lk. Seven of the occurrences in Mt. are in 7:16-20.

¹⁹¹Dillon, p. 17; and Rudolf Schnackenburg, God's Rule and Kingdom, trans. John Murray (London: Nelson, 1963), p. 241. Βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ occurs elsewhere in Mt. only at 6:33 (as a variant); 12:28; 19:24 (with variants); and 21:31.

¹⁹²Trilling, Das wahre Israel, p. 57 n. 15; and Major, Manson, and Wright, p. 516. Cf. Strecker, p. 111; and Julius Schniewind, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), p. 219, who retained the verse but commented on the order.

¹⁹³S. G. F. Brandon, The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church (London: SPCK, 1951), p. 244; and Gundry, pp. 84f.

goes, by far the majority of the witnesses are in favor of retaining the verse. While the Old Latin and the Church Fathers are divided on the question, only syr^S of the Syriac manuscripts and only D and 33 of the Greek manuscripts omit v. 44. One reason for the quick acceptance of the omission of v. 44 in spite of the preponderant external evidence in its favor is that the passage qualifies as a possible "Western non-interpolation" and for the authority accorded this category in the past. Westcott and Hort were not oblivious to the fact that D is not a very pure text, but felt that in the "non-interpolations" it preserved the genuine text.¹⁹⁴

Textual criticism has made significant advances since Westcott and Hort proposed their theory, and the increased number of manuscripts and the papyri have been the main reasons for these advances. In reporting on the significance of the papyri for textual criticism, Aland commented:

One of the important results of this change has been, for instance, that Westcott-Hort's so-called "Western non-interpolations" have been, so to speak, stripped of their original nimbus and that, although interesting, they are no longer regarded, or should no longer be regarded, as authoritative.¹⁹⁵

The basis for this statement is set out in a textual analysis of the Western non-interpolations in Lk. and Jn. (eighteen passages in all).¹⁹⁶ In most

¹⁹⁴ Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort (eds.), Introduction and Appendix, Vol. II: The New Testament in the Original Greek (London: Macmillan and Co., 1896), pp. 120f., 149, and 175f. Cf. Burkitt, II, 228f. and 232. For a full discussion of the subject, see my "Western Non-Interpolations," JBL, XCI (1972), 369-379.

¹⁹⁵ Kurt Aland, "The Significance of the Papyri for Progress in New Testament Research," The Bible in Modern Scholarship, ed. J. Philip Hyatt (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965), p. 334.

¹⁹⁶ Kurt Aland, "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri II," NTS, XII (1965-1966), 193-210. The same material may be found in his Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1967), pp. 155-172.

of the passages the situation is the same. The omission is supported by D, some of the Old Latin versions, usually part of the Syriac tradition, a few of the Church Fathers, and twice by the original hand of Sinaiticus. Significantly, in every passage but Jn. 3:31-32 where the textual tradition is divided, P⁷⁵ goes with the long text. Aland considered each passage on both internal and external grounds and concluded in every case except two (one being Jn. 3:31-32) that the evidence is decisively against the originality of the shorter Western reading. Jeremias had previously considered the internal evidence of the Western non-interpolations in Lk. and had reached the same conclusion.¹⁹⁷ The case against the non-interpolations appears to be decisive.¹⁹⁸

The problem of Mt. 21:44 is an exact parallel except that no papyri are extant which cover this section of Mt. That the Western non-interpolations have no claim to originality in Lk. and Jn. does not prove that the omission of Mt. 21:44 has no such claim, but it certainly prejudices the case against it. On external grounds there appears to be little doubt that v. 44 was part of the original text. On internal grounds there appears to be just as little that substantiates the interpolation theory. The illogical sequence has already been mentioned as the probable reason for the omission of the verse. One should also note that Mt. 21:44 and Lk. 20:18 do not correspond exactly. If Mt. 21:44 were an interpolation, surely the scribe would have followed the wording of Lk. more closely.

There is a further consideration which is important for this

¹⁹⁷ Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, pp. 145-159.

¹⁹⁸ See my "Western Non-Interpolations," 369-379.

discussion. It is commonly recognized that the first half of the saying in Mt. 21:44/Lk. 20:18 is an allusion to the stone in Is. 8:14-15 and that the second half is an allusion to the stone in Dn. 2:44-45 (λικμήσει appears in Theodotion's text of Dn. but does not occur in the NT outside this saying).¹⁹⁹ The allusion to Is. 8:14-15 is sometimes ignored but should not be. The thought is present in Is. 8:14, but the real allusion is to 8:15 ("Many among them shall stumble and fall and be broken...;" cf. the LXX, "...πολλοὶ καὶ πεσοῦνται καὶ συντριβήσονται..."). While the allusions in v. 44 have been recognized, only Swaeles has noticed the allusion in Mt. 21:43 to Dn. 2:44.²⁰⁰ The allusion is not verbal, but the thought connection seems clear enough. The δοθήσεται-άρθήσεται formula has a parallel in Mt. 13:11-12 where there is an allusion in v. 11 to the thought of Dn. 2 and 7.²⁰¹ In addition, the statement of v. 43 that the kingdom of God will be given to a nation is reminiscent of Dn. 2:44. With the reference to the stone provided by Mt. 21:44, the allusion to Dn. 2:44-45 is fairly well established. The author of Mt. 21:43-44 had in mind the fifth kingdom of Dn. 2 and was turning this imagery against the Jewish leaders.²⁰² If this suggestion is right, it removes

¹⁹⁹See G. Bornkamm, "λικμῶν," TDNT, IV, 281.

²⁰⁰R. Swaeles, "L'Arriere-fond scripturaire de Matt. XXI.43 et son lien avec Matt. XXI.44," NTS, VI (1959-1960), 310-313.

²⁰¹*Ibid.*, 311, following Cerfaux, "La connaissance des secrets du Royaume d'après Matt. XIII et parallèles," NTS, II (1955-1956), 244. See Dn. 7:12-14 where dominion is taken from the beasts and given to the Son of Man.

²⁰²Swaeles, 312. Cf. Dn. 7:13f., 27. Dillon's dismissal (p. 37 n. 5) of Swaeles' suggestion on the grounds that it requires the acceptance of the priority of Mt. is unfounded. As we have shown, there is every reason to believe that this is part of the double tradition. All that is required is that Matthew possibly preserved an earlier element.

all doubt that v. 44 belongs in the text.²⁰³

Swaeles pointed out that one problem with this view is that it is difficult to explain why ἔθνος is used in Mt. 21:43 instead of λαός which is used in Theodotion's text of Dn. 2:44.²⁰⁴ The LXX text of Dn. 2:44 has ἔθνος but does not have λικμᾶν. Swaeles did not want to explain ἔθνος and λαός as going back to the Aramaic ܡܘܢ (despite the fact that this is the word used in Dn.) since he thought that λικμᾶν directed one to the Greek Bible; therefore, he suggested that Matthew used ἔθνος in a sense of opposition to Theodotion's λαός, the people of the first alliance. This is possible, but it is not necessary to go this far. One should remember that the text of Theodotion which we know is based on a version in the second half of the second century A. D. of an Ur-Theodotion text which dates from the earlier part of the first century B. C.²⁰⁵ Whether ἔθνος or λαός was used in Ur-Theodotion is, of course, unknown. There probably is a dependence on Ur-Theodotion, but not necessarily since λικμᾶν is not that rare a word. At any rate, the presence of ἔθνος rather than λαός in Mt. 21:43 does not detract from the allusion to Dn. 2:44-45.

²⁰³See my "Western Non-Interpolations," p. 377. For the view that v. 44 should be in the text, besides Brandon, Gundry, and Swaeles, see Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, pp. 77 n. 7, and 108 n. 78; Strecker, p. 111; and Stendahl, p. 68. The verse is placed in the apparatus in Tischendorf's eighth edition, in single brackets in the editions of W-H, Vogels (1955), and Nestle-Aland (twenty-fifth), in double brackets in the UBS, and in the text without reserve in the editions of Merk and Bover.

²⁰⁴Swaeles, p. 312. ἔθνος and λαός can be used interchangeably. See Georg Bertram and Karl Ludwig Schmidt, "ἔθνος, ἔθνικός," TDNT, II, 369.

²⁰⁵Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 83 and 87-94. H. Oort, "Lucas 20:18b," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, XLIII (1909), 138-140, tried to date this saying if not the whole of Luke in the second century because he did not allow for Ur-Theodotion.

Some form of the saying about the destructive stone probably existed in rabbinic teaching prior to the NT usage. A rabbinic statement which is traceable to 200 A. D. is similar and is also connected to Dn. 2:45.²⁰⁶ The stone in this statement is Israel, and the ones being destroyed are the other nations. It is likely therefore that vs. 43-44 of Mt. not only use the Jewish understanding of Dn. 2 against the leaders, but also turn one of their proverbs back on them as well.

The importance of the allusion of both vs. 43 and 44 in the Matthean ending to Dn. 2:44-45 is that it explains the sequence. The order of the Matthean account has been taken over from Dn. 2 and appears illogical only if one does not see the allusion to the OT passage. Nor is there any longer a need to explain the addition of Lk. 20:18 as due to the key word λίθος. If we are correct in saying this parable was in the double tradition, then Luke has used only the stone saying and has omitted Mt. 21:43 as repetitious in that it really adds nothing to the conclusion of the parable given in Lk. 20:16. If Mark knew of the saying, he omitted both parts as anticlimactic and cumbersome.²⁰⁷

It is, of course, possible that Matthew has preserved the earliest account of the parable up through v. 42 and had added vs. 43-44 as his own comment. The introductory formula is Matthean, but it is unlikely that the rest of the saying is. Βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ is non-Matthean and cannot be explained away. Secondly, Matthew certainly knew to whom the kingdom

²⁰⁶EsR VII.10. Cf. S-B, I, 877, and see supra, pp. 74 and 82.

²⁰⁷That both Mt. 21:42 and 43 were convenient stopping places may be seen from the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary. See Lewis and Gibson, No. LXXVIII (which stops with v. 42) and No. CCLI (which stops with v. 43).

was given at the time of writing; if this were a Matthean redaction, surely he would have used the almost technical plural instead of the singular ἔθνος for the Church. It is more likely that some form of vs. 43-44 were connected to the parable in the tradition that Matthew knew. The changes of ἐκδιδόναι to δίδοναι and ἀποδιδόναι to ποιεῖν are difficult to explain on any theory. The former may have been due to the influence of the language in Dn. or both changes may be stylistic.

To summarize, there is every indication that Mt. preserves the earliest account of this parable at least up through the quotation of Ps. 118:22. Whatever one thinks of the two verses that follow, v. 44 should be considered as part of the Matthean text. This verse and the one preceding it are probably a double tradition ("Q") saying which contains an allusion to Dn. 2:44-45 and were either always connected to the parable or were taken over and added in the tradition used by Matthew as a fitting interpretation. Mark omitted the saying completely, which is not surprising, and Luke omitted what he considered the superfluous part.

The Origin and Meaning

Since the origin and meaning of the parable are closely connected, they will be considered together. Certain features of the parable have the same meaning regardless of the origin.

The owner and his vineyard. In the discussion above on the form of this parable, we concluded that there is no basis for denying the metaphorical significance of the basic features of the story and that this parable is in keeping with rabbinic parables.²⁰⁸ The OT and rabbinic

²⁰⁸See supra, pp. 113-129.

usage of a vineyard and its owner to depict Israel and her God is well-known,²⁰⁹ and the allusion to Is. 5:2 confirms that something similar is involved here. It is often pointed out that the interpretation of the vineyard as the nation Israel causes difficulties in understanding the parable. How is it that Israel can be taken away and given to others? This problem and the illogical sequence in the preparation of the vineyard caused Lohmeyer to suggest that the vineyard stood for the temple and the cultus.²¹⁰ There are points in favor of this suggestion, but they seem to stem from the fact that the cultus is to some degree the personification of the people. If any artificiality in the sequence of the preparation exists, it should not be pressed since the words were taken over from the LXX. Lohmeyer evidently abandoned this interpretation in his Meyer commentaries.²¹¹

While on first glance it appears that the vineyard in Is. 5 is the nation Israel, a closer look at the OT usage of the vineyard imagery may modify this conclusion. The terms "vine" and "vineyard" at times appear to refer to the nation as an entity (Jer. 2:21; 6:9; Hos. 10:1). The basic image, however, is to the people as the possession of God, and often this

²⁰⁹Feldman, pp. 129f.; Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 88.

²¹⁰Lohmeyer, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," pp. 247f. Cf. Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Markus, p. 241; Austin Farrer, A Study in St. Mark (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1951), p. 161; Lloyd Gaston, No Stone on Another (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), p. 237; Gundry, p. 44; and Carrington, p. 251, who thought that the tower refers to the temple. While there is evidence to support this equation, it does not seem to have been intended by the author. Derrett, pp. 37f. interpreted the vineyard as the world, the messengers as warnings from God, and the others as possibly another creation and referred the story to the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden!

²¹¹Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, pp. 244f.; and Lohmeyer and Schmauch, pp. 312f.

is limited to the remnant (Ps. 80:9-20;²¹² II Kings 19:30; Is. 3:14; 27:2f.; 37:31; Jer. 12:10; Hos. 14:6-9). The metaphorical vineyard in the OT does not designate the nation so much as the elect of God and all the privileges that go with this election.²¹³ That this is the meaning in Is. 5 is clear in the lavish care of the owner and the explanation in v. 7b that the man of Judah is God's pleasant plant.

It is often mentioned that the parable in Is. 5 is of an unfruitful vineyard while the NT parable is of tenants who withhold the fruit from the owner. One should notice that parallels to the thought of the NT parable appear in Is. 3:14-15 ("Yahweh will enter into judgement with the elders of his people and with their leaders. You have eaten the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses. Is it nothing to you that you crush my people...?") and Jer. 12:10 ("Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard...").

The distinction between the vineyard as the nation and the more basic image of the vineyard as the chosen possession of God is important for interpreting the NT parable, but there is still a problem in understanding how the people of God can be given to others. Logically it is

²¹²Ps. 80:9-20 is very interesting and may be more relevant for our parable than is apparent on the surface. In v. 16 the people are referred to as a shoot (כֹּנֶה) which God's right hand planted and then as the son (בֶּן) which he strengthened. In v. 18 they are the man (אִישׁ) of his right hand and the son of man (בֶּן-אָדָם) which he strengthened. The LXX uses ὁ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου in v. 16 for בֶּן. The targum interprets בֶּן of v. 16 as the King Messiah (מלכא משיחא). If this passage bears no direct relation to the parable, at least it gives important evidence for the understanding of christological titles. Cf. also Is. 5:7- "...and the man (אִישׁ) of Judah is his pleasant plant."

²¹³Schmid, p. 217; Schniewind, Das Evangelium nach Markus, p. 154; Pierre Bonnard, L'Évangile selon Saint Matthieu (Neuchâtel: Éditions Delachaux & Niestlé, 1963), p. 315; Baird, p. 68; Josef Blinzler, Der Prozess Jesu (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Prestet, 1955), p. 200; and Lagrange, Évangile selon Saint Marc, p. 311.

necessary to understand the vineyard as that which is entrusted to the people, i. e., the law, the promises, and the working of God in past and present, or as the vineyard is interpreted in Mt. 21:43, the kingdom of God.²¹⁴ That which is taken and given to others is the special relationship to God which results from being his elect, or in short, election itself. This delimitation of the vineyard concept to its essence would not have been evident until the judgement pronouncement at the end of the parable. For this reason it is necessary to add that the allusion to Is. 5:2 should not be pressed. Its purpose is only introductory to convey to the hearer that the parable is about the relation of God to his chosen people.²¹⁵

The tenants and the servants. Most scholars have agreed that the tenants represent the Jewish leaders since each Gospel writer indicates that these knew that the parable was directed against them.²¹⁶ That the religious leaders were intended seems obvious when one reads the parable with the knowledge of Jesus' conflict with the Jewish authorities and with the explanation of the Gospel writers, but while the story was being told, it would not have been clear who the tenants reflected. Especially if this story were a stock rabbinic parable, the hearers may have assumed that the

²¹⁴Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p. 248; Oesterley, p. 120; Strecker, p. 170 n. 168.

²¹⁵Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p. 244; cf. Klostermann, Das Markusevangelium, p. 121; Bonnard, p. 317; and Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Markus, pp. 239 and 241.

²¹⁶A few have thought that the tenants represent all of Israel since the prophets were sent to the whole nation and not just the hierarchy. See Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Luc, p. 508; Plummer, p. 458; Baird, p. 69; and C. G. Montefiore, The Synoptic Gospels (London: Macmillan and Co., n. d.), I, 275. However, the prophets often did direct their message against the leaders of the people (Is. 3:14; 28:14; Jer. 5:31; 12:10; 14:13f.; Ez. 11:2; 13:2f.; 22:23f.; 34:2f.).

tenants referred to the Canaanites (as in Tanch B בשלח 7)²¹⁷ or to the Romans who were the present day tenants of Israel. The intention of the parable would not have been clear until the quotation with its reference to "the builders" was given (which is an additional argument for the retention of the quotation).²¹⁸

While there is virtual agreement about the significance of the tenants from our hind-sight point of view, it has often been asserted that the servants have no real significance and are only the necessary machinery of the story.²¹⁹ If the owner and his vineyard would have brought to mind the relation of God and Israel, as they probably would have done even if the allusion to Is. 5:2 were omitted, it is improbable that the servants would not have caused a Jewish listener to think of the prophets or at least of some special representatives of God. In the OT the prophets are regularly referred to as servants of God,²²⁰ and regardless of which account one reads, a servant (or servants) sent by the vineyard owner to his vineyard would point to this identification.²²¹ The account in Mt. with its

²¹⁷See supra, p. 129.

²¹⁸Without the quotation the parable could be directed against foreign powers that God has permitted to "occupy Israel." Their rejection of the requests of his people and the killing of her leaders (as Judas Maccabaeus) would result in punishment for them.

²¹⁹Dodd, p. 129; Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 71; Taylor, p. 474; and van Iersel, pp. 144f.

²²⁰I Kings 14:18; 15:29; II Kings 9:7, 36; 10:10; 14:25; 17:13, 23; 21:10; 24:2; Ezra 9:11; Is. 20:3; 44:26; 50:10; Jer. 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4; Ezek. 38:17; Dn. 9:6 and 10; Amos 3:7; and Zech. 1:6. The title was not reserved for the prophets however.

²²¹Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p. 245; Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Marc, p. 307; Swete, p. 251; Black, "The Parables as Allegory," p. 282; Ellis, The Gospel of Luke, p. 233; Grundmann, Das Evangelium nach Markus, p. 239; Schniewind, Das Evangelium nach Markus, p. 153; Cranfield,

parallel to the lament over Jerusalem and that in Mk. with its long string of emissaries allude to the prophets more overtly than that in Lk., but the reference probably would have been recognized in the latter as well. At the same time it should be repeated that none of the accounts of the servants is formed on prophetic history, nor is one justified in attempting to see individual prophets represented in any of the accounts.²²² The account in Mk. may reflect the patience of God, but this feature is not present in Mt. or Lk.

The parable depicts the servants as having been persecuted and killed whereas the OT is reticent about the fate of the prophets. The only reported murders of prophets in the OT involve two relatively insignificant men, Zechariah the son of Jehoi^ada (II Chron. 24:20f.) and Uriah (Jer. 26:20), but the killing of the prophets is a frequent NT theme.²²³ Since this view of the prophets' fate was that of the early Church, it is sometimes suggested that this feature is an argument for the origin of the parable (or at least this part of it) in the early Church. This reasoning does not take into account that the view that the Jews killed their own prophets was widespread in pre-Christian Judaism. According to the apocryphal accounts of the prophets' lives, at least five of the more important prophets were killed,²²⁴ and in Jubilees I,12-13 there is a passage that

p. 367; Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," pp. 124 and 127; Suhl, p. 140; Trilling, Das wahre Israel, p. 64; Vincent, p. 87; Via, p. 134.

²²²Enoch 89 does depict individuals in the history of Israel with metaphorical language. Cf. Lagrange, Evangile selon Saint Marc, p. 307.

²²³Mt. 23:31f.//; Acts 7:52; Heb. 11:36-38; I Thess. 2:15.

²²⁴Amos, Micah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; according to later accounts Joel and Habakkuk were added to the list. Cf. Hans Joachim Schoeps, "Die jüdischen Prophetenmorde," Aus frühchristlicher Zeit (Tübingen: Verlag J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1950), pp. 126-143.

sounds very much like the parable. From every indication in the Gospels this view was that of Christ as well (Mt. 5:12; 23:29-37//), there is the probability that I Thess. 2:15-16 and the tradition from Mt. rely on a common source.²²⁵ It should be added that in the OT there are frequent hints that the whole story about the persecution of the prophets has not been told.²²⁶

So far in the parable then, we have been dealing with traditional metaphors and subject material used to describe the relation of God and his people. The focus is not on the people as a whole but on their leaders and the rejection of God's messengers. The meaning of the vineyard and the servants probably would have been clear, but the reference of the tenants would not have been until the end of the story. Theoretically these features could have arisen from Christ, the early Church, or a non-Christian Jew.

The son. With the entrance of the son into the parable we are apparently no longer dealing with a stock metaphor. The son of the vineyard owner does appear in rabbinic parables, but it is not a frequent designation. In the two instances quoted earlier, the son is Jacob in one parable and Israel as a whole in the second.²²⁷ If our parable has its

²²⁵Cf. I Thess. 2:14-16 and Mt. 23:31b-32. See R. Schippers, "The Pre-Synoptic Tradition in I Thessalonians II 13-16," Placita Pleiadia (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 230-233.

²²⁶I Kings 18:13; 19:10, 14; 22:27; II Chron. 16:10; 36:15; Neh. 9:26; Jer. 2:30; 37:15. Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p. 245, objected that the prophets were the bearers of God's message, and in the vineyard imagery the guardians of the vineyard. However, the prophets often denounced those who were supposed to be the guardians of the vineyard (see n. 217). That the servants in the parable were sent to collect the fruit is required by the story and should not be pressed.

²²⁷See supra, pp. 128-129.

origin in the early Church, the understanding of the son as the crucified Lord is obvious, even in the Matthean account where the meaning is not made explicit. If the parable is an authentic parable of Jesus, several questions are raised. First of all, especially if the entrance of the son in the story was motivated by legal considerations, is it possible that the son is just "part of the machinery" of the parable? B. van Iersel argued that the son is an incidental feature whose absence would cause no important change.²²⁸ Nearly all interpreters who have argued that the son is just a necessary part of the story have had to go on and make christological pronouncements about the self-consciousness of Jesus in their interpretation,²²⁹ but one theoretically could view the parable as a warning of judgement and attach no significance to the son. This interpretation is almost impossible if one holds that Jesus was aware of his filial relationship to the Father and is not very probable on any grounds. The son is the point on which the parable turns, and it is only natural that some emphasis is placed on this part of the story. None of the rabbinic parables ignores the significance of the climax of its plot. Even if the identity of the son was not immediately perceived, special importance would have to be accorded his coming.

This leads then to the question of the filial consciousness of Jesus. Full analysis of this subject is beyond our scope, but the NT

²²⁸van Iersel, p. 144.

²²⁹Ibid.; Dodd, pp. 130-131; Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, p. 72; and Trilling, Christusverkündigung in den synoptischen Evangelien, pp. 179-180. Fuller, p. 114, said that if the parable is accepted as authentic, the son must not be allegorized into a direct self-designation but rather "simply stands for God's final eschatological mission." However, this distinction is of little value, and Fuller went on to add that this attempt to eliminate the allegorical element is not very successful.

evidence indicates that Jesus did consider himself to be in a special Son--Father relationship to God. As Jeremias has shown,²³⁰ this is seen particularly in Jesus' use of אבא as his normal address to God. There is no evidence as yet in the extensive prayer-literature of Judaism of the use of this address. It was deliberately avoided since it expressed a familiarity that would have been disrespectful to a Jew if used for God. Jeremias concluded from his study of the prayers and sayings that Jesus' use of the title expressed intimacy, surrender, and a claim to revelation. While Jesus introduced his disciples into this special relationship with the Father, he did not align himself with them in praying or speaking of "our Father." This consistent distinction suggests a difference between Jesus' relationship to God and that of the disciples.²³¹ Apparently it is this evidence from the use of אבא that forced Hahn to make his artificial and unacceptable dichotomy between the titles "Son of God" and "Son."²³² According to Hahn the former is due to the work of the Church, but "the Son" points to Jesus' use of אבא and the juxtaposition of "the Father"--

²³⁰Joachim Jeremias, "Abba," The Prayers of Jesus (London: SCM Press, 1967), 11-65, and his New Testament Theology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), pp. 61-68; cf. I. Howard Marshall, "The Divine Sonship of Jesus," Interp., XXI (1967), 87-103; van Iersel, pp. 100-110; and Klaus Berger, "Zum Traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund christologischer Hoheitstitel," NTS, XVII (1970-1971), pp. 422-423.

²³¹"Abba," pp. 52-53 and 62-63; and Marshall, pp. 89-90.

²³²Hahn, pp. 279-333, particularly pp. 307-317. He felt that "Son of God" was originally applied by the Palestinian Church to Jesus' eschatological function and then by the Hellenistic Church to his earthly work, but that "the Son" came from an independent stratum of tradition and was only secondarily associated with the title "Son of God." That the dichotomy cannot be accepted, see Marshall, p. 88; and Longenecker, pp. 94-99.

"the Son" and indicates his unique status and authority. For much the same reason Fuller likewise accepted that Jesus was conscious of his unique Sonship.²³³ In addition to the use of אבא, certain passages of the Gospels which indicate Jesus' Sonship, as Mt. 11:27// and Mk. 13:32//, although much debated can be explained as secondary only with difficulty.²³⁴ Thus one may conclude that Jesus considered himself to be in a special Son--Father relationship with God. Evidently it was Jesus' conviction of his filial consciousness that served as the motivating factor for his ministry.²³⁵ One may conclude that the occurrence of "the son" in the parable refers to Jesus regardless of the origin of the parable. So far,

²³³ Fuller, pp. 115 and 136, n. 54. J. C. G. Greig, "Abba and Amen: Their Relevance to Christology," SE, V (1968), pp. 3-13, attempted to deny the validity of Jeremias' argument from אבא, but he did not deal with Jeremias' textual analysis, nor with the distinction preserved between Jesus and the disciples, nor did he give sufficient weight to the fact that the title is too familiar for and does not occur in Jewish prayer. In addition, he misrepresented Jeremias' position of אבא as a babbling sound to picture an infant innocence pointing to the intimacy of Jesus with God. Jeremias explained that the word was used by fully grown children for their fathers and for older men as everyday language of a family. See Jeremias, "Abba," pp. 60-63.

²³⁴ Jeremias, "Abba," pp. 45-52; and his New Testament Theology, pp. 56-61; van Iersel, pp. 117-122 and 146-184; Marshall, passim; A. M. Hunter, "Crux Criticorum--Matt. XI.25-30--A Re-Appraisal," NTS, VIII (1961-1962), 241-249; Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1963), pp. 186-288; Vincent, p. 522; A. Feuillet, "Jesus et la sagesse divine d'après les Evangiles synoptiques," RB, LXII (1955), 169-196; and Joachim Bieneck, Sohn Gottes als Christusbezeichnung der Synoptiker (Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1951), pp. 75-87. Fuller, pp. 114-115, took Mt. 11:27 as secondary but accepted that it provides an indirect witness to Jesus' self-understanding. [Cf. his The Mission and Achievement of Jesus (Chicago: Alec. R. Allenson, 1954), pp. 89-95.] See also Hahn, pp. 309-314; W. D. Davies, "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25-30," HTR, XLVI (1953), 113-139; Paul Winter, "Matthew XI 27 and Luke X 22 from the First to the Fifth Century," NT, I (1956), 112-148; and M. Jack Suggs, Wisdom, Christology, and Law in Matthew's Gospel (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, (1970), pp. 71-97.

²³⁵ Marshall, p. 93; and Longenecker, p. 96.

none of the features indicate that origin.

It is at this point that Kümmel's objections to the authenticity of the parable must be considered since both objections center on the son. His first objection was that the punishment of the Jews and the transfer of the promise is depicted as a direct result of the murder of the son whereas Jesus' other teachings do not present the thought that his death should unleash such punishment.²³⁶ Kümmel recognized that Jesus did teach that the punishment of the Jews and the transfer of the promise would follow the rejection of his own person (Mt. 8:11f.; 12:41-42; 19:28f.; 21:43; 23:29f. and 37f.), but found offense in the fact that his death is nowhere else mentioned. According to the picture the Gospels draw, the rejection of Jesus by the Jewish leaders was never just a rejection of his "person." Almost from the first they sought to destroy him. In Mt. 23:31-33 it is implied that the Jews' judgement will result from their duplicating their fathers' sin of killing the prophets. Also, one should not expect the definiteness that Kümmel required. As far as is known, Jesus spoke explicitly of his death only three or four times, and these announcements were always confined to the disciples. If they could not understand the significance of Jesus' death for their own circle, certainly they could not have understood the ramifications for the Jews. Therefore Kümmel's first objection is not valid.²³⁷

Kümmel's other objection was that the parable presupposes that the hearers will see in the son a reference to the eschatological bringer of

²³⁶Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," p. 129.

²³⁷See van Iersel, pp. 128-129; and Leonhard Goppelt, Christentum und Judentum (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1954), pp. 67-68.

salvation and that they could do this only if they knew the title "Son of God" as a messianic title. Against the claims that "Son of God" was a messianic title, he countered that no certain proof of the title from pre-Christian or early Tannaitic times exists and concluded that no Jew on hearing of the sending and death of the son in the parable would have thought of the Messiah.²³⁸

This charge that "Son of God" was not known as a messianic title in pre-Christian Judaism has been shown to be erroneous. Until recently the NT usage of "Son of God" as the logical implication of messiahship was without convincing attestation from external sources.²³⁹ Some were willing to accept that "Son of God" was sometimes transferred as a royal attribute to messiahship because of the connection between messianic expectation and the idea of a king.²⁴⁰ Others were content to withhold judgement.²⁴¹ The situation has been changed by the publication of the Qumran Scrolls as several studies have shown.²⁴² II Sam. 7:14 is quoted in 4Q Flor. ("I

²³⁸Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," pp. 129-131.

²³⁹Ethiopic Enoch 105:2 is an interpolation; in IV Ezra 7:28; 13:32, 37, 52; and 14:9, the Latin *filius meus* goes back to *παῖς θεοῦ*. Cf. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, p. 73. See Erminie Huntress, "'Son of God' in Jewish Writings Prior to the Christian Era," JBL, LIV (1935), 117-123. Ps. of Solomon 17:23-31 is apparently dependent on Ps. 2 even though the assertion of sonship is omitted.

²⁴⁰As Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, pp. 46-48; Cullmann, p. 274; and Evald Lövestam, *Son and Saviour* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1961), pp. 89-90. Lövestam did make use of the Qumran evidence.

²⁴¹Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. Kendrick Grobel (London: SCM Press, 1952), I, 50; and P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1934), p. 134.

²⁴²Lövestam, pp. 23 and 89-90; Marshall, p. 92; Fuller, p. 32; Hahn, pp. 282-284; Eduard Lohse, "ὁῖος, ὁιοθεσία," TDNT, VIII, 361; Longenecker,

will be to him as a father, and he will be to me as a son"), and it is explained that the "he" in question is the Branch (צמח) of David who will arise with the interpreter of the law in the last days. This is further explained by the quotation of Amos 9:11. It would appear from IQSa 2. 11-22 that Ps. 2:7 ("Thou art my son; this day I have begotten you") was also interpreted messianically by the Qumran community.²⁴³ Fuller concluded from this evidence that "Son of God was just coming into use as a messianic title in pre-Christian Judaism."²⁴⁴ The above evidence points only to the use of the concept "Son of God" expressed by OT citations and does not betray a titular use. Lohse suggested that this may be due to the fear that the term would be misunderstood as relating to physical Sonship.²⁴⁵ Hahn added to the Qumran and NT evidence part of the rabbinic material which indicates the divine sonship of the Messiah and concluded that it is extremely probable that the titular use of "Son of the Blessed" and similar terms had come to be common in pre-Christian Judaism.²⁴⁶ Hahn appeared to be running ahead of the evidence, but his opinion has been confirmed.

p. 95. Cf. Eduard Schweizer, "The Concept of the Davidic 'Son of God' in Acts and Its Old Testament Background," Studies in Luke-Acts, ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), 186-193.

²⁴³Lohse, p. 361; Matthew Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961), p. 149; Hahn, p. 283; Lövestam, p. 23. The eschatological relevance of Ps. 2 for the community can be seen in 4Q Flor. V. 7 may have been included, but the manuscript breaks off after v. 2.

²⁴⁴Fuller, p. 32. (Italics his)

²⁴⁵Lohse, p. 360.

²⁴⁶Hahn, pp. 283-284. See Mekh Ex 15.9 (48b) (S-B, III, 676) and the Targum of Ps. 80:16. (See n. 212, supra) Hahn did not include the evidence for the messianic interpretation of Ps. 2:7, but this too is significant. Cf. Lövestam, pp. 15-23.

Fitzmyer reported that an unpublished Aramaic text from Qumran refers to "the Son of God" and "the Son of the Most High" in phrases similar to Lk. 1:32 and 35.²⁴⁷ It may be uncertain how widespread the use of the title was and how many of the hearers would have understood to whom reference was made, but Kümmel's main objection to the authenticity of the parable has been proven wrong.²⁴⁸ Neither of Kümmel's objections are valid, and there is still no feature in the story that betrays its origin.

If one accepts the parable as authentic, it is difficult to know to what extent the reference to the son was comprehended by the hearers. As we have seen, the son of the vineyard owner appears in rabbinic parables with no messianic connotations, and although we now know that the concept "Son of God" was present in pre-Christian Judaism, we do not know how widespread its use was. At this point in the story it may not have been comprehended by many other than the disciples.

Whether the story was from Jesus or originated in the Church, the son designated the final emissary from God, one who was in a unique relationship with God and was to fulfill the OT promises. It is implied that he was on a different level than the prophets, but it does not imply the pre-existence of the Son as Fuller suggested²⁴⁹ any more than it implies

²⁴⁷Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A. D.," CBQ, XXXII (1970), 521.

²⁴⁸Both Hahn, pp. 304 and 329 n. 152; and Fuller, pp. 114 and 136 n. 52, followed Kümmel in rejecting the authenticity of the parable even though both argued against his main objection. Fuller listed three objections from Kümmel, but only one was actually an objection for Kümmel (that judgement came because of Jesus' death rather than the rejection of his message).

²⁴⁹Fuller, p. 194; see Ernest Best, The Temptation and the Passion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 129.

the pre-existence of the prophets. Nor is there any validity to Fuller's suggestion that $\tau\omicron\delta\varsigma$ in Mk. 12:6 represents an original עבד .²⁵⁰ Nothing in the parable would point in that direction, and the בן-בן wordplay rules it out completely. One should note with Lohmeyer that scarcely more is said of the death of the son than of the deaths of the prophets.²⁵¹

The judgement pronouncement. Basically there are two points that should be taken up here, and the first is the statement that the owner of the vineyard will come and destroy the tenants. Brandon saw in this a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem as divine retribution for the death of Jesus,²⁵² but this is difficult to substantiate. He thought that the Matthean account is at pains to underline the application to the events of 70 A. D., but it is quite evident in v. 43 that the decisive punishment is not destruction but the withdrawal of the kingdom.²⁵³ Also the statement about destruction is too vague and imperfectly fulfilled to be a vaticinium ex eventu.²⁵⁴ It is much more likely, as Lohmeyer suggested, that the parable at this point bends back toward the original story in Is. 5 as can

²⁵⁰Fuller, p. 172.

²⁵¹Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p. 248.

²⁵²S. G. F. Brandon, Jesus and the Zealots (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), pp. 250 and 304.

²⁵³Trilling, Das wahre Israel, p. 65.

²⁵⁴F. C. Burkitt, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen," Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), II, 323; M'Neile, p. 311; Cranfield, p. 366; Suhl, p. 140. Suhl and Gaston, p. 82, thought the parable looks forward to the Jewish war, but there is no basis for this either.

be seen in the question τὴ ποιήσῃ.²⁵⁵ The judgement on the tenants here is paralleled by the judgement on the vineyard there. The destruction of the sinful nation was always a common theme of the prophets (see II Chron. 36:16) and there are parallels to the thought expressed in the replacement of the tenants (Jer. 3:15; 23:1-4). This statement then is required by the story itself and signifies a general threat against the Jewish leaders.

The second feature to be taken up is the giving of the vineyard to others. It was explained above that it was the election of God and its privileges which were to be transferred to another people.²⁵⁶ It is easy to jump to the conclusion that the privileges of Israel were taken from her and given to the Church, or more particularly the Gentiles, and there is evidence in the Gospels that helps to make such a view plausible.²⁵⁷ This is not what the parable is saying however. In Mk. and Lk. there is no indication as to whom reference is made by "the others,"²⁵⁸ but the logical inference in all three Gospel accounts is that the vineyard is taken from the leaders of the Jews. When one sees in Mk. 12:9// a reference to the rejection of Israel as a whole, he must assume that the

²⁵⁵Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p. 246. Lohmeyer (and Taylor, p. 476) both pointed to the fundamentally Jewish idea of God himself coming in judgement.

²⁵⁶See supra, pp. 172-174. That Mt. 21:43 interprets this as the kingdom of God does not necessarily indicate that the kingdom was a reality already present in Israel. It may mean that those who were destined to receive the kingdom lose their opportunity because of their wickedness. The same thought is expressed in Mt. 8:12. Cf. Schnackenburg, p. 241; and Lohmeyer and Schmauch, p. 315.

²⁵⁷Mt. 8:11//; 10:18; 12:18, 21; 24:14; 26:13; Mk. 4:30//; 11:12f.//; 14:9. See Kümmel, Promise and Fulfilment, pp. 75-81; and N. A. Dahl, "The Parables of Growth," ST, V (1951), p. 166.

²⁵⁸Lohmeyer, Das Evangelium des Markus, p. 246; and Taylor, p. 476.

parable is not consistent in that the tenants are partly the people and partly the leaders.²⁵⁹ Some have attempted to see a difference in the Matthean account because of the addition of v. 43,²⁶⁰ but this verse says the same thing that Mk. 12:9 and Lk. 20:16 do. If ἔθνος in Mt. 21:43 designated the Gentiles, the "you" in the first part of the verse would mean the Jews as a whole, and the meaning of v. 43 would be different from v. 41b. This is virtually impossible. If the Gentiles had been intended, instead of the singular ἔθνος the almost technical plural form would have been used.²⁶¹ The "you" in v. 43 is the same group of people who responded

²⁵⁹As C. Montefiore did (I, 275). Blinzler, p. 200, had to conclude that the parable recognizes the joint guilt of the people.

²⁶⁰Douglas R. A. Hare, The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 151, thought that the vineyard in Mk. represents Israel and that only the religious leaders are indicted, but that since the kingdom of God is taken away in Mt. all the Jewish people are indicted. Against this see W. D. Davies, The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), pp. 328 and 331-332. Bornkamm, Barth, and Held, p. 43, thought that Mk. refers to the rejection of Israel as a past event but that in Mt. the giving over of the vineyard is translated into the future so that the disciples themselves are drawn into judgement to determine whether they are the nation that delivers the fruit (cf. p. 20). This is reading into the text a good deal that is not there. The thought expressed in Mt. 21:41b and 43 is only that the vineyard will be given to people who will deliver the fruits; i. e., to people who will be faithful to their agreement. The transfer of the vineyard is past from the standpoint of the writer, but future for Jesus. See Strecker, p. 169; Trilling, Das wahre Israel, p. 61; and Jack Dean Kingsbury, The Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13 (London: SPCK, 1969), p. 142. Dillon, pp. 20-42, placed the Matthean account in the context of baptismal instruction (primarily because of the fruit-bearing), but his assumptions are questionable, and the features of the story may be explained by a much less elaborate hypothesis. We might add here that Haenchen's interpretation (p. 402) of the fruit in Mk. as the recognition of Jesus as the son is unjustified since the fruit receives no emphasis in the Markan story and since the tenants recognize the son but reject him anyway.

²⁶¹Lohmeyer and Schmauch, p. 314; Tagawa, p. 161; Trilling, Das wahre Israel, p. 61. While Trilling made this observation, on p. 63 he reverted to the Israel-Church antithesis because he felt that the withdrawal of the

in v. 41, i. e., the religious leaders of Israel. Bonnard and Kümmel objected to the idea that the Jewish people have only to change leaders to become the recipients of the kingdom,²⁶² but this is not what the parable teaches. The purpose of the statement is to exclude the Jewish leaders rather than to point the way to participation in the kingdom. In this passage ἔθνος can only have a religious sense which is independent of a reference to a nation as a whole and should be understood as indicating the true people of God (as I P 2:9).²⁶³ Trilling was correct in saying that the new ἔθνος must be thought of as a counterpart to the old, but he was incorrect in finding this counterpart in the entire Church.²⁶⁴ That the "you" in the first half of the sentence refers to a section of the historical people indicates that the "new people" should be understood in a similar way. There is a perfectly analogous case in the preceding parable of the two sons (again using βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ). The same religious leaders were castigated for not believing John the Baptist who came in the way of righteousness, and were told that the publicans and harlots who did

kingdom from only the leaders is insufficient. However, neither the message of Christ nor that of the Church was against the whole nation. Christ preached against the corruption of the established religion, and the Church taught that only some of the Jews were set aside so that the Gentiles might become part of the true Israel (Acts 2:39f.; 3:17f.; 7:1-60; Rm. 9:6f.; 11:1-24; Eph. 2:11-22; I P 2:7).

²⁶²Bonnard, p. 317; Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," p. 127.

²⁶³Lohmeyer and Schmauch, p. 314; Trilling, Das wahre Israel, p. 61. Cf. Julius Schniewind, Das Evangelium nach Matthäus, P. 219; and Filson, pp. 229f.

²⁶⁴Trilling, Das wahre Israel, p. 63.

believe him would go into the kingdom of God before them.²⁶⁵ In a sense the Gospels do teach that the people should change leaders (but of course not in just an external alignment). Rather than follow the leaders of established Judaism in their hypocrisy and defilement of the cultus, they should have heeded the messages of John and Jesus and should live in true repentance a life properly oriented to God. The people who do are the true Israel and will replace those who are bound up in the hypocritical established religion and are Israel in name only. Matthew and his readers may well have understood that the "new people" made up the Church, but nothing in the text makes this explicit. The parable is a caustic attack on the established Jewish religion. If Swaeles was right in seeing an allusion to Dn. 2:44-45, v. 43 of the Matthean account is saying something like "You who believe you will make up the fifth and enduring kingdom will forfeit this privilege because of your sin, and the kingdom will be given to another people who will obey God." It has an emphasis similar to the saying of the Baptist that God can raise children to Abraham from the stones, but it goes much further by the addition of the transfer of the kingdom.

Despite their understanding that ἔθνος refers to a section of the historical people, Lohmeyer and Schmauch thought that the interpretation in v. 43 stems from a community which lives among the Jewish people and knows

²⁶⁵Lohmeyer and Schmauch, p. 314; Jülicher, II, 404. Cf. Gaston, p. 476. See EsR I.13 where the sovereignty of Israel is taken away because of her sin, and see Schnackenburg, pp. 240-241. This verse does not necessarily mean that the kingdom was a present reality; the imagery probably was required by the allusion to Dn. 2.

itself as the true eschatological Israel.²⁶⁶ This is possible, but one must ask whether this community would have been enemies only of the leaders of the people. The direction of the saying against the leaders and the positive attitude toward part of the Jews (particularly with the parallel to the positive attitude toward believing publicans and harlots) may indicate a dominical origin. The parable in all three accounts is an attack on and a threat of judgement to the Jewish religious authorities. It says nothing about the nation as a whole. As far as the origin of the parable is concerned then, there may be some indication in this feature. The extreme slant of the parable against the religious leaders is more characteristic of the ministry of Jesus than the teaching of the Church, but according to the early chapters of Acts, this attitude was present in the Church in the period just after Pentecost.

The stone. The significance of the stone has often been ignored since it has been considered a secondary addition to the parable,²⁶⁷ but we have shown that the stone quotation and the whole parable go back at least to the Aramaic speaking Church and that it is improbable that the parable ever existed without the OT quotation. The use of the stone image in the Gospels therefore deserves careful analysis.

²⁶⁶Lohmeyer and Schmauch, p. 315. Major, Manson, and Wright, p. 516, assumed that v. 43 is an editorial comment and that it renders v. 45 superfluous (which states that the priests and Pharisees knew that the parable was directed against them). It may have been superfluous from the standpoint of the Jewish leaders, but it is necessary for the reader as one can see if he attempts to read the passage without v. 45.

²⁶⁷It is still surprising that neither Hahn nor Fuller gave this title any consideration in their studies of christology and that Lindars and Gaston, who did discuss the stone imagery, paid little attention to the parable or to the occurrences of the stone image in the Gospels.

1. Mt. 21:42// (Ps. 118:22). The objection has often been made that the quotation of Ps. 118:22-23 changes the point of the parable,²⁶⁸ but it would be more accurate to say that the first part of the quotation (Ps. 118:22a) emphasizes the rejection of the son by the Jewish leaders, while the second part (vs. 22b-23) is an advancement on the thought of the parable.²⁶⁹ The first century listener probably would not have been distracted by the transition from the vineyard imagery to the building imagery since this transition appears to have been common.²⁷⁰ It is clear that the wordplay and the logical equation of the rejected son and the rejected stone tie the quotation and parable together, but one should not overlook that this connection is strengthened by the equation of the tenants and the builders. The term "builders" was a frequent and favorable rabbinic designation for the religious leaders of the people.²⁷¹ The intent of the parable to this point may have been ambiguous, but the quotation of Ps. 118:22a would have almost stated the meaning explicitly. The son, the special envoy from God to his people, was rejected by the religious authorities. It is not true then that the quotation disturbs the ending of the parable. The second part of the quotation is an advancement on the parable, but the first part serves as scriptural

²⁶⁸Jülicher, II, 405; Schmid, p. 218; Suhl, p. 141.

²⁶⁹Other parables that include an advancement of thought are the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the Rich Man and Lazarus, and in its present form the Marriage Feast of Mt. 22.

²⁷⁰It appears in Is. 5:7; 1QS 8.5; and I Cor. 3:9. There does not appear to be any relation between the quotation of Ps. 118:22 and the use of οἰκοδομεῖν in Mt. 21:33//.

²⁷¹b Shab 114a; b Berak 64a; SSR I.5.3 (ExR XXIII.10); and the Targum on Ps. 118:22-29 (S-B, I, 876). See *supra*, pp. 13-14, and J. Duncan M. Derrett, "The Stone that the Builders Rejected," SE, IV (1965), p. 184f.

attestation for the climax of the story.

Nearly everyone has agreed that the quotation refers to the son, but Suhl attempted to interpret the quotation of Ps. 118:22-23 in Mk. as free from christological connotations.²⁷² He suggested that Matthew and Luke both misunderstood Mark by interpreting the stone christologically. For Suhl, the psalm quotation was needlessly reproduced in Mt. since it serves no purpose and since it is ignored by the connection of v. 43 to v. 41. In Lk. the stone has been made a meaningful subject by the addition of v. 18 and as a result of seeing it in light of the resurrection. The original use in Mk. was not christological, however, but was an application of the psalm to the reversal of fortunes described in v. 9, which for Suhl expresses Mark's view of the Jewish War as judgement for the death of Jesus. The emphasis is on the change of circumstances brought about by God. (αὐτῆ of Ps. 118:23 was understood as referring to this event.)

There are several points which exclude this interpretation:

- 1) Suhl's placing of the parable in the context of the Jewish War has little or no basis in the parable itself.²⁷³
- 2) He is incorrect in saying that Mk. is least allegorical. The indications of the identity of the son and the prophets in Mk. are stronger than in Mt. and Lk.
- 3) The sequence in his interpretation is the opposite of that in the quotation which speaks of one who was rejected and then exalted (with v. 23 adding that this reversal of fortunes is from God and is pleasing to his people).²⁷⁴ The situation in Mk. 12:9 is of a group who have tried to exalt themselves and will be punished and rejected

²⁷²Suhl, pp. 140-142. Arthur Gray, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen," The Hibbert Journal, XIX (1920-1921), 42-52, interpreted the son as John the Baptist, but did so on the unlikely assumptions that neither "son," "heir," nor "beloved" had theological content.

²⁷³Cf. Hengel, pp. 33f.

²⁷⁴It is not impossible that the quotation was continued after the resurrection to include v. 23 as a Christian comment which Luke then omitted.

by God.

4) His interpretation emphasizes v. 23 to the neglect of. v. 22

5) The wordplay makes the application of the quotation to the son definite.

Since the quotation refers to the son, the implications of the parable and quotation are widespread. The Qumran evidence shows that the title "Son of God" was messianic in some circles at least. Our analysis of the stone testimonia in Judaism showed that they also carried messianic connotations.²⁷⁵ The stone in Dn. 2 was regularly associated with the messianic kingdom (if not the Messiah), and Ps. 118:22 was at least placed in this same context. The stone in Is. 28:16 had apparently been interpreted directly of the Messiah. The quotation, therefore, would not only have indicated against whom the parable was spoken, but would have suggested that the one who was rejected was the Messiah, the one who would usher in the kingdom. This would not have been an open claim to Messiahship. Rather, it would have been a veiled and indirect claim since the one intended by the son/stone probably would not have been understood by the majority of the listeners. Without assuming the authenticity of the parable, one may agree that the tantalizing nature of this discourse would have sent the Jewish leaders away wondering if Jesus was making a claim for himself and ultimately would have sparked the question of the high priest in Mk. 14:61.

The rejection theme of the psalm quotation has very similar parallels in the Synoptic accounts of Jesus' passion predictions (esp. Mk. 8:31// and 9:12//; but also 9:31//; and 10:33//), and one's assessment

²⁷⁵See *supra*, pp. 51-53; 60-68; 75-87; 93-94 and 100. The interpretation of Is. 28:16 in Qumran as describing the end-time community and Josephus' interpretation of the stone in Dn. 2:45 as relating to the promised kingdom definitely place this eschatological emphasis in the pre-Christian era.

of this theme is to some extent dependent on his evaluation of these earlier sayings. It is beyond our scope to go into a discussion of the passion predictions,²⁷⁶ but it should be said that even apart from them it is probable that Jesus did expect a violent death.²⁷⁷ The death of John the Baptist and the continued hostilities with the religious authorities would have indicated the result of his opposition to the established religion. The prediction of death in Mk. 8:31 has a special claim to validity in that the saying is inseparably bound to the context of the rebuke of Peter as Satan, a description which would hardly have been placed on the lips of Jesus later.²⁷⁸ The suggestion has frequently been made that the basis of these passion predictions is Is. 53,²⁷⁹ but recently it has been recognized that at least the sayings in Mk. and Lk. show dependence on Ps. 118:22.²⁸⁰ This may be a case of "both...and" rather than "either...or" since both OT passages may have influenced these sayings.²⁸¹ This is

²⁷⁶See especially Morna D. Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967), pp. 103-140; Frederick Houk Borsch, The Son of Man in Myth and History (London: SCM Press, 1967), pp. 329-353; Tödt, pp. 141-221; Georg Strecker, "The Passion- and Resurrection Predictions in Mark's Gospel," Interp, XXII (1968), 421-422; and Norman Perrin, "Towards an Interpretation of the Gospel of Mark," Christology and a Modern Pilgrimage, ed. Hans Dieter Betz (Claremont: New Testament Colloquium, 1971), pp. 14-30.

²⁷⁷Joachim Jeremias and Walther Zimmerli, "παῖς θεοῦ," TDNT, V, 713.

²⁷⁸Ibid., 715; and Hooker, p. 104; and Taylor, pp. 374-380.

²⁷⁹Ibid., passim. See the argument against this possibility in Morna D. Hooker's Jesus and the Servant (London: SPCK, 1959), pp. 92-97.

²⁸⁰Tödt, pp. 162-170; Fuller, p. 118; Hooker, The Son of Man in Mark, p. 114. The synonomous use of ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι in Mk. 8:31 and ἐξουδενηθῆναι in 9:12 is paralleled by the use of both words to translate דָּבַר in Ps. 118:22 (Lk. 20:17 and Acts 4:11).

²⁸¹Matthew Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings in the Gospel Tradition," ZNW, LX (1969), p. 4.

supported by the important place given by the Gospels and the early Church to these two OT texts and by the connections drawn by some between the stone and the servant imageries.²⁸² Certainly both contain the themes of rejection and exaltation.

The reason for the use of the psalm quotation with the parable is plain enough in that it emphasizes the climax of the parable, but no suggestion has been given to account for its use in the passion predictions and with the Son of Man concept.²⁸³ Without getting into the complex questions of the latter, it appears that the bridge between Ps. 118:22 and the Son of Man was the stone of Dn. 2, which corresponds to the Son of Man in the parallel chapter 7. Ps. 118 was frequently used in Jewish festivals, and if one had made the obvious identification of the two chapters in Dn., the adaptation of the language of Ps. 118:22 to speak of the Son of Man would have been easy.²⁸⁴ The discussion in scripture of the rejected stone provided the means for speaking of the rejection of the Son of Man and thus may help explain the use of δεῖ and γέγραπται with the

²⁸²See *supra*, p. 163 n. 186. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, p. 233; and Gärtner, "אֵלֵּי מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים als Messiasbezeichnung," pp. 101-108, used the Targum on Ps. 118:22-29, but even if this targum is understood as referring to David, it does offer a basis for the connection between the two images. Of special importance is Zech. 3:8-9 where the stone in question is physical proof that Yahweh's Servant the Branch (צֶמַח) would come. The targum interprets this as "my Servant the Messiah." See *supra*, p. 80. At least one must admit that the two imageries are parallel. See also Borsch, pp. 333-334.

²⁸³Gaston, p. 400, spoke of the great importance of Ps. 118:22 for the understanding of Jesus' death, but asserted that the verse has nothing to do with the Son of Man.

²⁸⁴Carrington, pp. 249-250, did note the connection between Dn. 2 and 7. With Hooker, *The Son of Man*, pp. 114f., Jesus did not derive the idea of rejection from the psalm since it was inherent in the "Son of Man" concept. On the connection of Dn. 2 and 7 in the ministry of Jesus, see R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament* (London: The Tyndale Press, 1971), pp. 98-99.

Son of Man.²⁸⁵ Quite apart from the passion predictions, if Jesus used the stone imagery of himself, the identification of the stone and the Son of Man in Dn. is probably the reason. The use of the proverb based on Dn. 2 in Mt. 21:44// provides a further confirmation of this connection. If this suggestion is correct, it shows how fundamentally important the stone of Ps. 118:22 was for Jesus and why it was used so frequently by the Church.

If Jesus anticipated his death, the fact that the parable speaks of the killing of the son (and the rejection of the stone) could have its origin in Jesus or in the Church. The second part of the quotation adds that God has made the rejected stone the head of the corner and that this is pleasing to his people. It is often said that this is the missing reference to the resurrection and that this feature has its origin in the Church. Two points should be mentioned. First of all, it is by no means clear that the resurrection is meant. All that the quotation says is that God will make (or has made) the rejected stone the most important part of the building. Nothing more may be meant than the rejection-exaltation theme which occurs frequently in both testaments to express God's vindication of the righteous oppressed.²⁸⁶ Certainly this is all that is explicit. Jeremias went so far as to interpret the exaltation of the stone as the parousia,²⁸⁷ but this has little basis. It is dependent on

²⁸⁵See Borsch, pp. 333f.; and cf. Tödt, pp. 187f. The latter traced the use of δεῖ to Dn. 2:28.

²⁸⁶See C. F. D. Moule, "From Defendant to Judge--and Deliverer: An Enquiry into the Use and Limitations of the Theme of Vindication in the New Testament," Bulletin of Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, III (1952), 40-53 [reprinted in his The Phenomenon of the New Testament (Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1967, pp. 82-99)].

²⁸⁷Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," pp. 274f. Is the building in this context the house of Israel in Is. 5:7? Derrett, "The Stone that the

his acceptance of the stone as the keystone and the building as the future temple, neither of which is certain. There is no indication that the position of the stone is of any relevance for the interpretation and may be ignored for now. It is true that the Church regarded this psalm quotation as pointing to the resurrection (Acts 4:11; I P 2:7), but that does not establish the meaning here. Secondly, it should not be excluded that Jesus spoke of his resurrection. Black mentioned that there may well be a pre-Easter "exaltation-resurrection" didache traceable to the mind of the Lord himself,²⁸⁸ and Hooker pointed out that it would be strange if Jesus spoke of his death without reference to resurrection since this would indicate the defeat of God's purposes.²⁸⁹ The Synoptists and their readers no doubt understood the quotation as referring to the resurrection, but

Builders Rejected," interpreted Mt. 21:42// as referring to the stone which binds the two walls of a house together, serves as an ornament, a shelter, and a part of the parapet which every house must have. To him this explains Mt. 21:44//. If one trips on the stone he would fall off the roof; if one leans on the stone (and it were too light) it would fall on passers-by. This interpretation is fanciful and has little in its favor: 1) it is by no means certain that κεφαλὴ γωνίας refers to a stone on top of the wall (see *infra*, pp. 290-300); 2) the OT texts adduced do not prove what is claimed for them (p. 181 n. 2)--in fact they militate against the view proposed; 3) the identification of the stone in Mt. 21:42// with that of 21:44// in the structural plan of a building is unwarranted; 4) the destruction caused by the stone in 21:44// cannot refer to one falling off a building or one pushing stones on passers-by.

²⁸⁸Black, "The 'Son of Man' Passion Sayings in the Gospel Tradition," pp. 4-8. He drew attention particularly to the Isaianic theme of the final triumph of the servant, the Targum of Hosea 6:1-2, and the Johannine "Son of Man" sayings. Jeremias and Zimmerli, p. 715, also thought that the core of the predictions of glorification are from a pre-Easter tradition. If ἐγενήθη is not simply due to the use of the LXX, it may be the equivalent of the prophetic perfect. [See Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," NTS, XVIII (1971-1972), 13 n. 3.]

²⁸⁹Hooker, The Son of Man, p. 115; see also Taylor, p. 378; and Borsch, pp. 350f.

regardless of whether the quotation was used first by Jesus or the Church, this meaning is only implicit in this context.

In our study thus far we have seen that none of the features of the parable indicates its origin, and this is true of the stone quotation as well. There are two slight considerations here that may show that the parable goes back to Jesus. If there is validity to the explanation of the connection between Ps. 118:22 and the Son of Man, the presumption is that this connection was made by Jesus. The other indication is that the introductory formula to the quotation (ἀνέγνωτε) occurs only on the lips of Jesus.²⁹⁰

2. Mt. 21:44//. Our discussion above showed that Mt. 21:44 is not an interpolation from Lk. The failure to include this verse in the text of Mt. leads to a misunderstanding of the Matthean account of the parable as can be seen in the studies of Trilling and Suhl where it was suggested that Matthew is not concerned with christology.²⁹¹ With the inclusion of this verse, the Matthean account of the parable turns on two directly related foci just as the accounts of Mk. and Lk. These two foci are the special envoy of God and the transfer of the kingdom, or stated differently, the parable indicates that the kingdom is transferred because of the rejection of God's special envoy. Mt. 21:43 emphasizes the transferral,

²⁹⁰Ellis, "Midrash, Targum, and New Testament Quotations," p. 67. Possibly this shows a rabbinic distinction between "reading" and "understanding." See Daube, pp. 432 and 435. The introductory formula is non-Markan (cf. Taylor, p. 476), and one can only wonder at Trilling's statement that it conforms to the literary style of Christian scribes (Christusverkündigung in den synoptischen Evangelien, p. 178).

²⁹¹Trilling, Christusverkündigung in den synoptischen Evangelien, pp. 181-182; Suhl, pp. 141-142.

and 21:44 emphasizes the importance of the rejected son/stone in that he will bring destruction on those who work against him.

Lindars proposed that the reference to the stone in Dn. 2 (which stands for the Jewish nation) suggests that Christian exegetes have transferred the image to the Church as the new people of God.²⁹² His basis for this theory is not at all clear since he did not include the verse in the Matthean account and in Lk. this saying follows the christological use of Ps. 118:22. Whether one follows the account of Mt. or Lk. makes little difference. If the author of either account intended that the second stone saying should be understood differently from the first, he gave no indication that would convey this to the reader.

The second stone saying is, therefore, a broader christological statement.²⁹³ It is not an interpretation of the quotation of Ps. 118:22,²⁹⁴ nor is it even primarily a change of emphasis.²⁹⁵ While Ps. 118:22 underscores the importance of the son/stone and the rejection by the builders, the proverb continues these thoughts by illustrating the fate

²⁹²Lindars, p. 184. The Jewish proverb in EsR VII,10 understands the stone as Israel too and is likely the origin of the saying, but there still is no reason to interpret the stone in the parable context as the Church.

²⁹³Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," p. 276. Jeremias' interpretation [Golgotha, Heft I, Angellos (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926), pp. 79-80] of this saying as an allusion to the "holy rock" imagery is without foundation. See infra, pp. 207-211. His further understandings of Lk. 20:18b as a stone that falls referred to in the Testament of Solomon and of Lk. 20:18a as an attack against the stone (πίπτειν ἐπί) are also without foundation and are the result of his forcing the meaning "keystone" upon these verses. See infra, pp. 290-300.

²⁹⁴Contra Holtz, p. 161.

²⁹⁵Contra Rese, p. 172. With Rese the proverb is part of the citation, but it does not evidence the freedom of Luke in the application of scripture as he suggested. His omission of Mt. 21:44 did not permit a proper analysis.

of those who are at odds with the son/stone. The messianic associations of Dn. 2 placed in this context would have altered the meaning of the rabbinic proverb. The latter spoke of the destruction that Israel will bring upon the other nations. In the NT the proverb still speaks of destruction for those who arrange themselves against God's chosen, but in this case the chosen one is the Messiah. While this is stated as a general maxim, the allusion to Dn. 2 probably indicates that the destruction envisaged is the final judgement.²⁹⁶ As the son in the parable and the stone in the quotation of Ps. 118:22, the stone in this saying occupies a position of unparalleled importance in the purposes of God. The implicit message of the parable and both quotations is that one's success depends on his response to the person intended by the son and stone images.

The parable as a unit. We have considered the individual features of the parable, but it remains to look at the parable as a whole. It is not accurate to describe the parable as a graphic presentation of the course of salvation-history since this would require a much fuller treatment similar to that in Acts 7. The content of the parable is basically a prophetic message. Attention is focused of the prophetic era, and the refusal of the leaders to respond to God's message is indicated.²⁹⁷

As several others have pointed out, the message of the parable is the same as that of the lament over Jerusalem (Mt. 23:37-38/Lk. 13:34-35).²⁹⁸ The context of the lament and the exact time meant when Jesus would be

²⁹⁶Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," p. 276.

²⁹⁷See supra, pp. 173 and 175-177.

²⁹⁸Dodd, p. 131; Baird, p. 68; and Jones, p. 95.

greeted with Ps. 118:26 are uncertain. It is also ambiguous as to who was meant by "Jerusalem," but the reference may have been to Jerusalem as the official seat of the Jewish hierarchy.²⁹⁹ The important features of the lament are clear however. The prophets have been rejected and killed, and now one with the authority to gather the "children" under his own keeping is being rejected as well. Judgement will follow (Jer. 12:7 and 22:5), and the rejected one will in some way be restored. This restoration is expressed through Ps. 118:26, a verse which had messianic connotations in pre-Christian Judaism.³⁰⁰ The parable says in pictorial form what the lament says more expressly. It seems that this similarity is intentional and that the lament and the parable both have the same origin.³⁰¹ The use of Ps. 118 at the end of both does not appear to have been due to coincidence; rather, it reflects the opinion that the last of Ps. 118 was associated with the end time.

As we have seen, no feature of the parable serves as the key which

²⁹⁹The speaker wished to gather the "children" of Jerusalem, but was prohibited.

³⁰⁰See *supra*, pp. 84-85. See also Daube, pp. 20-23; Gundry, pp. 40-43; and Eduard Lohse, "Hosiana," *NT*, VI (1963), 113-119. See Lindars, pp. 172-173. His attempted reconstruction of the use of Ps. 118 in Christian apologetic is subject to several questions. See *infra*, pp. 236-243 and 245-246. His interpretation of Lk. 13:35 is very doubtful. He assumed that ὁ ἐρχόμενος refers to someone other than the speaker because of the introduction to the psalm quotation (οὐ μὴ ἴδῃτέ με ἕως ἡξει ὅτε εἴπητε). This view requires that ἡξει be understood as referring to the coming of another, but every indication is that this is an impersonal designation of time (cf. A-G, p. 345). The parallel account in Mt. confirms this interpretation. Certainly this is what Luke intended since he considered that Jesus was referring to himself.

³⁰¹Trilling, *Das wahre Israel*, p. 56 n. 9, assumed that the wording of the lament has influenced the wording of the parable in Mt., but that the wording of the two passages is similar does not prove that one saying has been derived from the other.

designates the origin. The usual objections to the authenticity of the parable have lost their force. The rabbinic evidence has verified both the form and the details, and the Qumran evidence has obviated Kümmel's objection about the title "Son of God." One's evaluation of the authenticity of this parable depends to some extent on his whole approach to the Gospel tradition and particularly to the passion predictions and the lament over Jerusalem. If the passion predictions and the lament over Jerusalem are rejected, the parable probably will be too. If one does decide that the parable stems from the post-resurrection community, he must see it as going back at least to the primitive stages of the Palestinian Church. The wordplay, the Semitisms, the rabbinic parallels, and the whole tenor of the parable make this unquestionable.³⁰² The fact that the parable was taken over by Mark³⁰³ and the use of the stone image in Rm. 9:32-33 (which is obviously a secondary development of the tradition) make it very unlikely that the parable was formed from any thought of the Jewish War. Every indication of the parable and the Gospel tradition is that we are dealing with the very basic strata of Christianity. If this parable comes from the early Church, it comes from the very earliest days when the Church was condemning only the Jewish leaders.

One may read the parable as from the Sitz im Leben der Kirche, but it seems best to understand that this parable stems from the Sitz im Leben Jesu. As Lohmeyer indicated, the grounds for denying the parable to Jesus are insufficient.³⁰⁴ More important are the several factors

³⁰²Henry J. Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts (London: SPCK, 1961), p. 152; and Hengel, p. 34.

³⁰³Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern," p. 125.

³⁰⁴Das Evangelium des Markus, p. 249.

that point to Jesus as the author of the parable:³⁰⁵

1) The images of the son and judgement, particularly in the Matthean account, are too imprecise to be vaticinia ex eventu.

2) Even with the citation of Ps. 118:22, the all-important reference to the resurrection is missing. If this were an early Church product, the reference to the resurrection would have been explicit.³⁰⁶

3) The slant of the parable against the Jewish leaders rather than the nation as a whole (or the unbelieving element) is more in keeping with Jesus' message than that of the Church.

4) The Matthean ἐθνη in v. 43 seems particularly atypical as a Church self-designation.

5) Most important is that the message of the parable, the wordplay, and the connections with the passion predictions, the Son of Man, and the lament over Jerusalem are much too subtle and complex to be the work of the Church.

The message of the parable is the same in all three accounts.

It is first and foremost a judgement parable similar to the message of the OT prophets, but it has christological implications. One should not seek to find more in this christological element than is there, but he cannot neglect the implicit ἡνδς τοῦ θεοῦ christology, the rejection-exaltation theme, or the place of importance accorded the son and stone.³⁰⁷ The parable is an accusation and threat against the Jewish leaders, but at the same time it is a veiled claim to messiahship. More than likely

³⁰⁵Two general considerations that indicate the parable is from Jesus are not unimportant:

1) Anselm Schulz, Nachfolgen und Nachahmen (München: Kösel-Verlag 1962), p. 43; and Hengel, p. 36, mentioned that in the NT the method of teaching in parables is confined to the earthly Jesus. In the early Church the parabolic disguise was dropped and one spoke openly.

2) This story could hardly be the work of a group; it stems from an expert in the construction of parables. (Hengel, p. 55; and Burkitt, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen," p. 321.)

³⁰⁶Ellis, The Gospel of Luke, p. 232; Filson, p. 229; and Burkitt, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen," pp. 321f.

³⁰⁷Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," p. 13, suggested that the parable is more appropriately called the Parable of the Rejected Son than the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen.

the Jewish leaders knew to whom reference was made by the son and the stone, but a parable would hardly have served as grounds for a political charge.³⁰⁸

CONCLUSIONS

It has been necessary to go into a full discussion of the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen since in the past the occurrence of the stone imagery in the Gospels has been summarily dismissed both because of the supposed secondary addition of the stone quotation to the parable and because of the alleged difficulties in the parable. The objections to the parable fade, however, when one views it in light of the rabbinic information and parables. The stone quotation is closely bound to the parable and forms an integral part of it. The parable and stone quotation both go back at least to the Aramaic speaking Church and help provide the roots for a large part of her theology. It is probable that the parable goes beyond the Church to Jesus himself, but, regardless of the origin, this is one of the most important parables in the NT. It identifies Jesus as the final messenger of God and as the decisive Individual in the divine purposes. Our analysis of the parable has resulted in the following:

- 1) The parable conforms in outline and thought to what one finds in the rabbinic material.
- 2) The Gospel of Thomas account is dependent on a post-Synoptic tradition.
- 3) The Matthean account is probably the earliest.
- 4) The wordplay between בן and אבן shows the relation between the quotation and the parable and provides strong evidence that both belonged together originally.
- 5) Mt. 21:43-44 probably represent a double tradition ("Q") saying

³⁰⁸Farrer, p. 239.

which alludes to Dn. 2:44-45.

6) The parable repeats one of the basic messages of the prophets but adds the figure of the son.

7) The message of the parable revolves around two directly related foci--the importance of the son and the transfer of the kingdom.

8) The grounds for denying the parable to Jesus are insufficient.

9) The parable and stone sayings were a threat to the Jewish leaders and a veiled messianic claim by Jesus.

Chapter 5

THE USE OF THE STONE IMAGERY IN THE GOSPELS II

There are several passages in the Gospels that bear a possible relation to the stone testimonia and should therefore be considered. None of these passages uses the word "stone," and only one of them (Mt. 16:18-23) makes mention of a "rock." However, the suggestion has been made for each of these texts that the stone testimonia form the basis of the thought expressed.

MT. 16:18-23

The complexity of most of the issues involved in the exegesis and interpretation of Mt. 16:18-23 is beyond the scope of an analysis of the stone testimonia. It is crucial, however, that one determine the relationship and significance, if any, of the stone imagery to the messianic confession and response recorded in Mt. 16. What has been obvious to some regarding the relation of the stone testimonia to the confession and response has not even merited comment by others.¹ The question is made more complex by the possibility that the rabbinic אבן שתייה legend underlies the response to the confession. An analysis of the question posed here must determine whether or not Mt. 16:18 is based on the אבן שתייה

¹Note Barnabas Lindars' (New Testament Apologetic, London: SCM Press, 1961, p. 181 n. 2) rebuke of Cullmann's study of Peter (Peter, trans. Floyd V. Filson, London: SCM Press, 1962) for not mentioning the stone testimonia.

legend, whether or not the אבן שתייה legend is related to any of the stone testimonia, and whether or not Mt. 16:18-23 alludes to either Is. 8:14 or 28:16.

The classic explanation of the view that the אבן שתייה legend forms the background of Mt. 16:18 was put forth by Joachim Jeremias almost fifty years ago.² He presented an impressive array of evidence indicating that rabbinic legend knew of a stone that served in several important roles:

- 1) It was the highest and central point of the earth.
- 2) It was the beginning of creation.
- 3) It served as a foundation for the earth and held back the deep.
- 4) It provided access into both heaven and the underworld. (The apparent contradiction was explained by Jeremias from the Semitic cosmic view that the world is an arch under which the deep lies. The stone would have occupied the place at the top of the arch.)
- 5) It rested under the altar of burnt offering and was responsible for watering the earth. (Some traditions place it in the Holy of Holies.)³

²Golgotha, Heft I, Angellos (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1926), pp. 51-77.

³The following references are among the most important that make a contribution to our understanding of the legend: Enoch 17:2-18:2; PsJ Ex. 28:30; Targum on Ecc1. 3:11; PRE 10 and 35//Yalkut Gen 120 and MPs 91.7; Yoma V.2; LvR XX.4//Tanchuma אחר 3; SSR III.10.4//NmR XII.4; b Yoma 54b; b Sanh 26b; p Yoma 42c; p Pes 30d; T Yoma III.6; Bet ha-Midrash V.63.1; Tanchuma קדושים 10; MPs 11.2; and Yalkut Gen 145. These passages explicitly mention the אבן שתייה. Jeremias completed the picture given in these references with passages from Muslim sources, passages that speak generally of the "navel of the earth," passages that refer to the flowing of water at the Feast of Tabernacles, and passages that are similar to the stone legends. Among the latter see GnR LXVIII.12; LXX.8; ExR XV.7; b Hag 12a; b Suk 49a-b; 53a-b; p Sanh 29a; and Yalkut Shimon I.766. In addition to Jeremias' article, one should see Gustaf Dalman, Neue Petra-Forschungen und der Heilige Felsen von Jerusalem (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1912), pp. 133-145; D. Feuchtwang, "Das Wasseropfer und die damit verbundenen Zeremonien," Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums, LIV (1910), 535-552, 713-729, and LV (1911), 43-63; A. J. Wensinck, The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1916); Hans Schmidt, Der Heilige Fels in Jerusalem (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1933), pp. 3-6 and 94-102 et passim; Eric Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion," The Labyrinth, ed. Samuel Henry Hooke (London: Society for Propagation of Christian

Jeremias found the antiquity of this legend verified by the foundation stone in Is. 28:16 which is a shelter from the overflowing flood.⁴ Applying this legend to Mt. 16:18-19 he understood that Jesus referred to Peter as the cosmic rock who, as an administrator of the Church, would mediate access to the kingdom and defy the powers of the underworld.⁵

The evidence is not nearly as convincing as Jeremias would have us believe, however, and several objections must be raised. First of all, the methods used by Jeremias are questionable since he indiscriminately collected and combined material that is as old as Judges and as recent as Muslim literature. He and others with him used traditions about different stones to explain a supposedly monolithic אבן שתייה legend.⁶ While the legend may have been transferred from a stone under the altar to one in the Holy of Holies,⁷ it is questionable that one is justified in smoothing out

Knowledge, 1935), pp. 53-59; Raphael Patai, Man and Temple (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1967), pp. 55f., 85f., 126 and 131; and R. J. McKelvey, The New Temple (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 188-194. On the question of whether the Dome of the Rock is the place of the Holy of Holies or the altar of burnt offering, see also Th. A. Businck, Der Tempel von Jerusalem (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 12-20; and Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel, trans. John McHugh (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961), pp. 318-319.

⁴Jeremias, pp. 56 and 73. See also Cullmann, "πέτρα," TDNT, VI, 96.

⁵Jeremias, pp. 68-77. He also used the legend to interpret other NT passages.

⁶ExR XV.7 and parallels refer to צור and הצורים instead of אבן שתייה or even אבן; b Suk 53a-b and parallels refer to a sherd (עציץ). The identification of the sherd and the אבן שתייה does not appear to have been made explicitly before Yalkut Reubeni. It seems incorrect to use these and similar passages as illustrative of the אבן שתייה legend. See Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1947), V, 38-39. In addition one should remember that, as the logical inconsistencies show, these rabbinic stories were sometimes told to illustrate a point or belief and not to express a cosmological view.

⁷See Jeremias, p. 65, and cf. Dalman, p. 136.

contradictions in the rabbinic literature. Various traditions about different stones could and probably did exist simultaneously. More important still is the fact that the dating of the tradition appears to be late rather than early. One of the oldest pieces of evidence (Yoma V.2) is so contrary to Jeremias' reconstruction of the legend that he suggested it is a later addition to the text.⁸ There is, of course, early evidence that Jerusalem was considered the middle point of the earth⁹ and that the altar was associated with the supply of water to the land,¹⁰ but the developed אבן שתייה legends belong primarily to the later rabbinic writings.¹¹ One cannot help but be attracted by the suggestion of Hertzberg that the terminus a quo for the special position of the stone was after the destruction of the temple when the stone was not only openly visible but also very important as a sacred relic.¹² In addition, the heretofore assumed relation

⁸Jeremias, p. 66 n. 4.

⁹Josephus, Bell. III.52; Jubilees 8:19; Letter of Aristeas 83-84. It seems that places where one experienced the presence of the supernatural could be called the center of the earth and/or the door to heaven. Cf. Gen. 28:17; PRE 35; and Jeremias, pp. 43-45. The idea has Babylonian parallels and may have arisen as a polemic against Babylon. Cf. Burrows, pp. 46f.

¹⁰Taanith I.1; RH I.2; Mid II.6; and of course Jn. 7:37.

¹¹It appears in the targums only in PsJ Ex. 28:30 (not in Neofiti or the Fragment Targum) and the Targum on Eccl. 3:11. It appears that neither Philo nor Josephus was aware of the legend. Enoch 17:2f. was no doubt influential in the formation of the legend and evidences a belief in a cornerstone of the earth, but this idea is not nearly as developed as the later rabbinic legend. It should be mentioned that while chapters 17 and 18 do belong to the Enoch tradition, they are foreign to the rest of this section since they are full of Greek elements. See R. H. Charles (ed.), The Book of Enoch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), p. 87, or The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp. 168 and 199.

¹²H. W. Hertzberg, "Der Heilige Fels und das Alte Testament," JPOS, XII (1932), 43. Cf. J. Simons, Jerusalem in the Old Testament (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952), p. 354 n. 4; and Dalman, p. 145.

of the legend to Is. 28:16 is questionable.¹³ Certainly one cannot accept with Jeremias that the author of Is. 28:16 had the legend in mind simply because he referred to the stone as a refuge from the coming flood.¹⁴ The imagery denotes nothing more than a common metaphor for judgement¹⁵ and the place of refuge from that judgement.¹⁶ It should be remembered that the imagery of Is. 28:16f. is a development of 8:8 and 14 where it is almost impossible that the legend was in the writer's mind.¹⁷ Even in the rabbinic writings Is. 28:16 is only rarely connected to the אבן שתייה legend.¹⁸ It seems much more likely that the legend was associated with the cornerstone of Job 38:4-8 where creation is the subject under discussion.¹⁹ Finally and most important of all, one must ask if כיפא,

¹³It is of course uncertain that אבן שתייה means foundation stone (see Jeremias, pp. 56-57 and 65-66). It could mean "stone of drinking" or "stone of weaving" or, with Jeremias, "the stone of the (altar) pits." (See MPs 11.2) A further explanation which is well in keeping with Yoma V.2 is that אבן שתייה is the same as אבן אשתייה and should be understood as "fire-stone" or "meteor." On this understanding the tradition is based on II Sm. 24:16f. and I Chron. 21:26 according to which fire fell from heaven upon the altar. See Ginzberg, V, 15 and supra, p. 79.

¹⁴Jeremias, pp. 56 and 73.

¹⁵"Flooding waters" as a figure for judgement and distress occurs in Job 14:19; Ps. 32:6; 69:3, 16; 124:4-5; Is. 8:7-8; 10:22; 28:2, 15, 17, 18; 30:28; 43:2; Jer. 47:2; Ezek. 13:11f.; 38:22; Nahum 1:8; and Dn. 9:26; 11:10, 22, 40.

¹⁶See Hertzberg, p. 37.

¹⁷See supra, pp. 27-28 and 33-34. Contra Cullmann, "πέτρα," p. 96; and Lindars, p. 175.

¹⁸The only reference found is p Yoma 42c.

¹⁹See supra, pp. 78-79. Job 38:6 is quoted in b Yoma 54b and its parallel in Ya'kut 523 Job 38. The foundation stone is frequently connected to creation: cf. LVR XX.4; SSR III.10.4; PsJ Ex. 28:30; PRE 35; p Yoma 42c; Bet ha-Midrash V.63.1; Tanchuma קדושים 10; T Yoma III.6; and MPs 11.2. In MPs 91.7 אבן שתייה is understood as a "stone of weaving," i. e., a "spindle stone" from which the whole earth is stretched out as threads.

which almost certainly stood in any Aramaic form of the saying in Mt. 16:18,²⁰ would have been used to refer to the אבן שתייה. The relation of אבן שתייה and אבן סיף will be considered below, but the question must be raised here. Only once (LvR XX.4//Tanchuma אהרי 3) is a word for rock, and in this case it is סלע, brought into connection with the אבן שתייה legend.²¹ For these reasons it seems unwise to view Mt. 16:18 as alluding to the אבן שתייה mythology.²² Both with respect to date and linguistic usage, the evidence adduced appears irrelevant.²³

It is still possible that apart from the אבן שתייה legend Mt. 16:18 could allude to Is. 28:16, and Lindars attempted to show that not only is this the case but that Mt. 16:23 alludes to Is. 8:14 as well.²⁴ He admitted that the allusion to Is. 28:16 is not obvious but said that it is probable because of the allusion to Is. 8:14. He argued that since Is. 8:14 is always used elsewhere in the NT with 28:16 one is required to look for the latter here. (However, he saw an allusion to Is. 8:14 in Lk. 20:18 but not to Is. 28:16.) He considered the use of the Is. texts to be

²⁰See for example H. Clavier, "Πέτρος καὶ πέτρα," Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1957), pp. 101f.; and Cullmann, Peter, pp. 192f. Assuming of course that there was an Aramaic substratum. August Dell, "Matthäus 16,17-19," ZNW, XV (1914), 22, argued that Mt. 16:18 originated from Greek speaking Christians.

²¹ExR XV.7 uses צור and הצורים in a parable with reference to the founding of a city and interprets this as God's founding the world on the patriarchs, but צור does not refer to the אבן שתייה. On IQH VI.25f. and VII.7f., see *infra*, pp. 216-218.

²²See Rudolf Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, trans. John Marsh (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), p. 139 n. 2 and p. 140 n. 1.

²³One should mention that Jeremias has apparently dropped much of his emphasis on the legend. Cf. "λίθος, λίθινος," TDNT, IV, 268-280.

²⁴Lindars, pp. 181-183.

adaptations of the LXX and therefore from a Greek milieu.²⁵ Gaston, while rejecting the relevance of a possible allusion to Is. 8:14, assumed that there is an allusion to Is. 28:16. He argued further that Is. 28:16 was understood originally of the community and only secondarily of Jesus.²⁶ The parallel ideas of stumbling and founding of the Is. passages are implicit in the Matthean text, but it would be hazardous to conclude without further investigation that the response to Peter had the Is. passages in mind. The ascription of σκάνδαλον to Peter was playing on the idea that he was named "rock" (in this case one that causes stumbling),²⁷ but it is unlikely that this was an intentional allusion to Is. 8:14 by the author or that it would have been discerned by the listeners and readers. The point is that rather than being bedrock suitable for building, Peter had become a hindrance. An attempt to see an allusion to Is. 8:14 can shed no additional light on the meaning of the text. Σκάνδαλον and its synonyms appear frequently to designate an obstacle in one's way,²⁸ and it seems that this is all that is intended in Mt. 16:23. At most one could speak only of a borrowing of terms from Is. 8:14, but the metaphor was so common that it is unnecessary to attempt to determine its source.

²⁵Ibid. He thus considered ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω as a later development.

²⁶Lloyd Gaston, No Stone on Another (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 223-227. Gaston also accepted the πῆψ ἰβῆ legend as relevant for interpreting Mt. 16:18. His whole analysis of the stone testimonia is inadequate; see infra, pp. 301-306 and 333-335.

²⁷Gustav Stählin, "σκάνδαλον, σκανδαλίζω," TDNT, VII, 345 and 348.

²⁸Ibid., 341, 343, and 345. See Lev. 19:14; Ps. 48:13; 139:5-6; Judith 5:1; Wi. 14:11; I Mac. 5:4. Cf. Gustav Stählin, "προσκόπτω, πρόσκομμα, προσκοπή, ἀπρόσκοπος," TDNT, VI, 745f. and esp. 748f.

Concerning Is. 28:16, it is tempting to find an allusion in the idea of founding a building on a rock or stone which is common to both passages. The attempt to do so, however, does violence to the Palestinian use of the words involved. In order to see an allusion to Is. 28:16 in Mt. 16:18 one must assume that in Palestinian Aramaic כִּיפָא, which almost certainly stood in any Aramaic form of the saying, could mean the same as אֲבֹנָא and its Greek equivalent ὁ λίθος, the words used for Is. 28:16.²⁹ The basis of this assumption evidently is an article by August Dell which argued from the Syriac Gospels that כִּיפָא does not correspond to "rock" (πέτρα), but to "stone" (λίθος).³⁰ Dell was correct in his analysis of the Syriac Gospels, but he and his followers were in error in applying this evidence to Palestinian Aramaic. The Syriac ܟܦܝܐ/ܟܦܝܐ does correspond to λίθος and occasionally was used also for πέτρα and its Hebrew equivalents.³¹ This is not true of the Aramaic כִּיפָא, however, and one must recognize that a semantic shift has taken place in the Syriac use of the word. In the Peshitta OT ܟܦܝܐ is the normal translation of אֲבֹנָא and occasionally occurs for סֶלַע/צֹר. In the Syriac versions of the NT ܟܦܝܐ is used for λίθος, and ܟܦܝܐ is used for πέτρα. Most of the exceptions to this rule involve the use of ܟܦܝܐ for πέτρα. In Syriac ܟܦܝܐ is extremely rare. It is used in the Palestinian Syriac lectionary as a variant in the quotation recorded in Mk. 12:10, and it is used in I P 2:8 (for πέτρα). It

²⁹Cf. Cullmann, "πέτρα," p. 96; Lindars, p. 182; Gaston, p. 215; and Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος" p. 268.

³⁰Dell, pp. 1-49, esp. pp. 18-21. See *supra*, p. 211 n. 20.

³¹A. F. J. Klijn, "Die Wörter 'Stein' und 'Felsen' in der syrischen Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments," ZNW, L (1959), pp. 102 and 104-105. It is primarily in the Peshitta OT that ܟܦܝܐ appears for the idea "rock" as well.

is obvious that the Aramaic אבנא has been replaced in Syriac by כַּף, and כַּף has taken the place of the Aramaic כִּיפא. Consequently the evidence of the Syriac cannot be used to determine the meaning of the Aramaic כִּיפא.³² When the evidence of the targums and versions is considered, it is obvious that the Aramaic כִּיפא is not the equivalent of אבנא and λίθος.³³ The targums are consistent in their translation of the Hebrew אבן with אבנא. Apart from passages where a circumlocution is involved, the only exceptions are four occurrences of כִּיפא for אבן in the book of Prov.,³⁴ but these are not really exceptions. The Targum of Prov. exhibits many Syriac characteristics,³⁵ and these four occurrences of כִּיפא for אבן are obviously due to this tendency. The Greek versions are just as strict in their renderings. The Hebrew אבן is always translated by λίθος and never πέτρα, and סלע/צור are always rendered by πέτρα, never λίθος. Only in the talmudic literature does כִּיפא begin to be used for "stone," but even there the passages that would indicate that אבנא and כִּיפא are to any degree interchangeable are rare.³⁶ EsR VII.10 contains a collage of quotations showing that

³²Ibid., 105; and Johannes Ringger, "Das Felsenwort: zur Sinndeutung von Mt. 16,18, vor allem im Lichte der Symbolgeschichte," *Begegnung der Christen*, ed. Maximilian Roesle and Oscar Cullmann (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1960), pp. 274-277 and 312-316.

³³This is not to say that the semantic fields never overlap (cf. the analysis of the words in Qumran, *supra*, p. 54), but the borderline between the words is fairly clear. Nor is this to deny that the semantic fields of πέτρα, πέτρος, and λίθος overlap. The point is that in Aramaic כִּיפא and אבנא are not in the least synonymous or interchangeable.

³⁴Prov. 17:8; 24:31; 26:27; and 27:3.

³⁵See *supra*, p. 70.

³⁶Obviously אבנא and כִּיפא are parallel in the Targum on Is. 8:14, but that does not make them synonymous any more than צור and אבן in the Hebrew. See *supra*, pp. 10-11.

Israel is to be compared to rocks (צוריים) and stones (אבנים) and כִּיף occurs in a proverb which illustrates the comparison. Probably the desire to bring together all the material illustrative of the point has caused this exception. In LvR XX.4//Tanchuma 3 אחרִי סלע (from Job 39:27) is used with reference to God's dwelling in the temple and a discussion of the אבן שתיה follows. Apparently סלע and אבן were associated here, but it is clear that these two examples are exceptions to the rule. Certainly they are not sufficient to invalidate the strict distinction between the words maintained by the OT, all the targums, and the Greek versions of the OT. The overwhelming conclusion is that כִּיפא meant "rock" and did not double for "stone." If this is true, כִּיפא in the Aramaic form of Mt. 16:18 would not have alluded to אבן in Is. 28:16 or to the אבן שתיה legend (had it existed at the time).³⁷

There is an additional parallel to Mt. 16:18f. which should be included in this discussion.³⁸ Otto Betz has repeatedly drawn attention to the parallels between Mt. 16:18f. and 1QH VI.26-27 and VII.8-9.³⁹ The

³⁷ Ringger, pp. 279f., correctly saw the distinction between "stone" and "rock" in the Semitic languages, but still considered that כִּיפא in Mt. 16:18 alluded to the אבן שתיה legend.

³⁸ I have not considered J. Massingberd Ford's suggestion ("Thou Art 'Abraham' and upon this Rock...", HJ, VI, 1965, 289-301) that Peter is seen as the second Abraham because the primary source used, Yalkut Shimoni I.766, appears to be anti-Christian polemic. See Gerald Friedlander, Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics (London: P. Valentine and Son's, 1912), p. 249 n. 1.

³⁹ Otto Betz, "Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde," ZNW, XLVIII (1957), 49-77; Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1960), pp. 158-163; "Zungenreden und süßer Wein," Bibel und Qumran, ed. Siegfried Wagner (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibel-gesellschaft, 1968), 20-22. Betz went to extremes in attempting to find parallels; e. g., as when he saw a connection between כִּפִּיס and κηφῶς (Gal. 2:9). See Svend Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), p. 119.

Qumran passages and Mt. 16:18f. both speak of a community in the image of a building which is established on a firm foundation and which will be subject to an unsuccessful attack by the forces of evil. The passages from the Hodayot reveal a rather loose interpretation of Is. 28:16 and its context as descriptive of the community itself. We have previously tried to show the importance of Is. 28:16 for the community's understanding of themselves,⁴⁰ and it should be added here that the whole context of Is. 28 was important for them. The Qumran psalmist's use of the imagery of roaring waters to depict distress appears to have been borrowed, at least in part, from Is. 28,⁴¹ and it is probable that the description of the opponents of the psalmist is from the same source.⁴² This raises two questions:

- 1) Do these Qumran parallels to Mt. 16:18 indicate, as Betz suggested,⁴³ that the אבן שתייה legend was alluded to by the community?
- 2) Do they suggest that Mt. 16:18 may, after all, allude to Is. 28:16?

One could read the Qumran passages with the אבן שתייה legend in mind, but there is little in the texts that suggests it. The proof for Betz that the temple rock was in mind is that the foundation of the סוד in 1QH VI.26 is a rock while the סוד itself is conceived of as a

⁴⁰See supra, 60-68, and 1QH III.27 and VIII.21.

⁴¹Compare Is. 28:2, 15, and 17 with 1QH II.27 and VI.35. See also III.13f. and 29f.

⁴²Betz, Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte, p. 161 n. 3. Compare Is. 28:11 with 1QH IV.16.

⁴³Betz, "Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde," p. 59. It is noteworthy that no reference to the אבן שתייה legend occurs in the 11Q Targum on Job at 38:6.

temple in 1QS VIII.5f.⁴⁴ The passages are parallel, but such a conclusion is unwarranted. As Betz admitted,⁴⁵ the foundation for the sect is a spiritual foundation. Furthermore, the creation and mythical emphases given the stone in the legend are missing in the scrolls; in fact the rock in the scrolls receives no emphasis and is unimportant except as a firm foundation. This is evidenced by the use of על סלע in 1QH IV.3 to indicate a place of firm footing.⁴⁶ It is obvious that Betz too assumed that סלע, which the psalmist has inserted in the place of the chosen cornerstone (אבן בחן פנה) to emphasize the solidity of the building, can mean the same as אבן. A linguistic analysis of the words excludes this possibility. Unless one accepts that Is. 28:16 itself refers to the אבן שתיה legend, which has little in its favor, there is no reason to see an allusion to the legend in the scrolls.

Regarding the second question, it is true that the Qumran passages are at least an illustrative parallel to Mt. 16:18 in that the image of a group as a building founded on a rock is used in both. The allusion of the scrolls to Is. 28:15-17 is made explicit by several words and phrases, primarily by the reference to "chosen stones" (plural) which represent the members of the community,⁴⁷ but the text of Mt. 16:18f. possesses nothing

⁴⁴Ibid. On p. 70 Betz indicated that the "gates of death" of 1QH VI.24 refers to the aggressive forces of Belial and is a parallel to πύλαι αδου of Mt. 16:18, but it seems that the expression in 1QH VI.24 pictures the depths of the psalmist's despair rather than the forces opposing him.

⁴⁵Betz, "Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde," p. 59.

⁴⁶The line is fragmentary, but the context clearly indicates that this is the meaning.

⁴⁷The chosen stones are referred to as a chosen wall in 1QH VII.8f. and 1QS VIII.5f.

that would betray the influence of this OT passage. It is obvious that again we are dealing with a common metaphor. If nothing else, the parallel imagery from Mt. 7:24-27/Lk. 6:48-49 shows this. Despite the mention of storms and flooding rivers and a house built on a rock in this passage, it is doubtful that there is an allusion to Is. 28:16 or the אבן שתיה legend. The relations become hopelessly complex if one attempts to connect Is. 28:16 and/or the stone legend to both Mt. 7:24f. and 16:18f. or even to connect meaningfully the two sayings in Mt. It may be that Is. 28:15-17 was influential in making the use of the metaphor frequent, but if so this is not detectable from the NT texts. If a relation exists between these Matthean texts and the Is. passage, it is indirect and secondary. Both the Qumran and NT texts deal primarily with the popular metaphor of a firm foundation for theological correctness. Mt. 7:24f. shares with Qumran the metaphor of floods to depict distress, and Mt. 16:18 shares with Qumran the metaphor of a building as people. It is the use of popular metaphors that creates the parallels between the texts and not common dependence on an OT passage or a Jewish legend.

We have found it necessary on several grounds to reject the idea that Mt. 16:18-23 alludes to either the אבן שתיה legend or Is. 28:16. The primary basis for this rejection is the distinction between אבן and סלע or כיפה. Neither the Matthean text nor the rabbinic legend is directly relevant to an analysis of the stone testimonia. If this is correct, it is necessary to reject Lindars' suggestion that Mt. 16:18 is an adaptation of LXX Is. 28:16 in a Greek milieu,⁴⁸ for which there is no

⁴⁸Lindars, pp. 182-183.

evidence anyway. It is also necessary to reject Gaston's suggestion that Mt. 16:18 with its new temple outlook is the original early Church interpretation of Is. 28:16 while the christological application of the passage is secondary.⁴⁹ The hypothesis of Johannes Betz that in Mt. 16:18f. Christ placed Peter in a special relation to his own Fels function is also a misunderstanding of the use of the images.⁵⁰ While Mt. 16:18-23 uses images similar to that which interests us, it does not use the stone imagery and is not directly related to the christological stone testimonia.

JN. 7:37-39

The problems in this crux interpretum are notorious.⁵¹ Regardless of how the passage is punctuated, Jesus is seen as the source to which one should come to quench his thirst. The saying is given against the background of the water ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles. In connection with prayers for rain on seven days of the Feast, water was brought from the pool of Siloam and poured into silver vessels by the altar. These vessels had openings which permitted the water to flow out on the base of the altar and into the ground beneath it.⁵² Thus in a graphic description Jesus took

⁴⁹Gaston, pp. 223f. See infra, pp. 301-306 and 333-335.

⁵⁰"Christus--Petra--Petrus," Kirche und Überlieferung, ed. Johannes Betz and Heinrich Fries (Freiburg: Herder, 1960), pp. 1-21. Even though he made reference to the article by A. F. J. Klijn (see supra, p. 213 n. 31), he argued that there would not have been a distinction between the words for "stone" and "rock" in Aramaic and used the Targum on Prov. as evidence.

⁵¹See the discussions by Jeremias, Golgotha, 80-84; Raymond E. Brown, The Gospel According to John (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1966), I, 320-324; C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John (London: SPCK, 1967), pp. 269-272; and Rudolf Schnackenburg, Das Johannesevangelium (Freiburg: Herder, 1971), II, 211-218.

⁵²See S-B, II, 799-805; and Brown, I, 326-329.

the place of the source to which the Israelites were looking for the fulfillment of their needs. The relevance of this text for the stone testimonia depends upon the thought behind the water ritual to which the allusion is made.

As is well-known, the scripture quotation mentioned in 7:38b is insufficient to determine that thought since it cannot be identified. There have been several explanations offered to account for the words quoted,⁵³ but whatever source is intended, the thought behind the water ritual centers on either the rock in the wilderness which gave water to the Israelites (Ex. 17:6f. and Num. 20:8f.) or the eschatological temple from which the water of blessing will flow (Ezek. 47:1f.; Joel 4:18; Zech. 14:8). A good case may be made for both possibilities. The Feast of Tabernacles commemorated the wilderness journey, and one would naturally think of the water provided for the Israelites from the rock as the water ritual and prayers for rain were in progress. The water and manna from the wilderness journey were readily associated, and since John frequently used images from the Exodus narrative and had just presented Christ as the source of the heavenly manna in chapter 6, it is not surprising that he presented Christ as the source of living water in chapter 7.⁵⁴ At the same time,

⁵³ Summaries of the explanations were given by Pierre Grelot, "Jean, VII,38: eau du rocher ou source du temple?" RB, LXX (1963), 43-51; and Brown, I, 321-323.

⁵⁴ Brooke Foss Westcott, The Gospel According to St. John (new ed.: London: James Clark & Co., 1958), p. 123; T. Francis Glasson, Moses in the Fourth Gospel (Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1963), pp. 48f.; Jean Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality (London: Burns & Oates, 1960), p. 196; and Pierre Grelot, "De son ventre couleront des fleuves d'eau (Jo. VII.38)," RB, LXVI (1959), 369-374, who also connected the passage to the following well legend. One should note that the rock of the wilderness is connected to the Feast of Tabernacles in T Suk III.3-11 [see Glasson, pp. 58-59] and

however, one may argue just as convincingly that the picture of water flowing from the eschatological temple in Ezek. 47:1f. and Zech. 14:8 forms the thought behind the water ritual, especially since Zech. 14:16 explicitly refers to the Feast of Tabernacles.⁵⁵ In all probability this is not a case of "either...or;" rather both images were important for the Feast. Every indication is that the Feast was both a commemoration of the wilderness journey and an anticipation of the eschaton when the wilderness miracles would be repeated.⁵⁶

If this is the correct identification of the thought behind the water ritual and the Johannine saying, Jn. 7:37-39 should be seen as a parallel to I Cor. 10:4. There is nothing in the text of Jn. 7:37-39 that would suggest that this rock tradition derived from or was associated with the stone testimonia since the primary source for the saying was the Feast of Tabernacles.

As with some of the other stone passages, however, it has been

that it was the most frequently painted OT symbol in the catacombs [see F.-M. Braun, Jean le théologien (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1959-1966), I, 150-152]. If the reference of this passage is to the rock of the wilderness and if Jn. 19:34 should be connected to 7:37-39, it is possible that 19:34 is dependent on the rabbinic tradition that blood and water came from the rock when Moses struck it twice. See PsJ Num. 20:11 and Glasson, pp. 51-55.

⁵⁵J. Daniélou, "Joh. 7,38 et Ezech. 47,1-11," SE, II, ed. F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), 158-163; Gaston, p. 211; and A. Feuillet, "Les fleuves d'eau vive de Jo., VII, 38," Parole de Dieu et sacerdoce: Etudes présentées à S. Ex. Mgr. Weber (Paris: Tournai, 1962), 107-120. See Mid II.6.

⁵⁶Braun, II, 14 and 192; Grelot, "Jean, VII, 38: eau du rocher ou source du temple?" 46f.; Brown, I, 323; Schnackenburg, pp. 215-216; and Jean Daniélou, Etudes d'exégèse judéo-chrétienne (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1965), pp. 123-134. Cf. Jeremias, Golgotha, pp. 82-84. See EcclR on 1:9 and, generally on the Feast of Tabernacles, S-B, II, 774-812.

suggested that there is more here than meets the eye. Jeremias and several who have followed him believed that the אבן שתייה legend is also the basis for the Johannine saying.⁵⁷ Again it is necessary to raise several questions about the validity of interpreting the NT in the light of this legend. The questionable date of the legend and its very questionable applicability to the use of πέτρα in Mt. 16:18 have already been discussed. As far as Jn. 7:37 alludes to the rock of the wilderness, it is doubtful that the legend was in mind because of the same linguistic factors that make a reference to the legend in Mt. 16:18 doubtful. At least in Aramaic, Hebrew, and LXX Greek the distinction between אבן/λίθος and צור, סלע, סלע /πέτρα is strictly maintained. There is the additional factor in Jn. 7:37 of water flowing from the eschatological temple. Is it possible that these allusions to eschatological blessing from the temple (Ezek. 47:1f.; Joel 4:18; Zech. 14:8) refer to the אבן שתייה at least in NT times as Jeremias and his followers suggested? In support of the suggestion, both Jeremias and McKelvey pointed to aspects of the legend which connect the אבן שתייה with water and went so far as to call the stone the "stone of quenching."⁵⁸ However, in neither the OT nor the NT is there mention of a stone or anything else that would point to the legend, and Bultmann is justified in objecting to Jeremias' theory on this ground.⁵⁹ The

⁵⁷Jeremias, *Golgotha*, pp. 81-84; cf. "λίθος, λίθινος," 277-278; McKelvey, pp. 81 and 188-192; Gaston, pp. 211-214; Daniélou, *Etudes d'exégèse judéo-chrétienne*, pp. 122-134; and Schnackenburg, II, 216.

⁵⁸Jeremias, *Golgotha*, pp. 55-57, 63, 67, and 81f. and "λίθος, λίθινος," 278; and McKelvey, pp. 81 and 190f.

⁵⁹Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, trans. G. R. Beasley-Murray, R. W. N. Hoare and J. K. Riches (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971), p. 305 n. 1. He also questioned the date of the legend.

identification of the אבן שתיה as the "stone of quenching" is based on p Yoma 42c, but the translation used for this identification is subject to question. According to Jeremias in this text R. Johanan asks why the stone was called אבן שתיה and answers that on it the world was founded [and proceeded outward]; then R. Hija in answer to the same question states that from it the world was watered.⁶⁰ Since שתה can mean both "to drink" and "to lay the foundation of," the translation is grammatically possible, but it does not seem justified. The wording of R. Hija's answer is exactly the same as that of R. Johanan, and there is nothing to suggest that it should be understood differently.⁶¹ The scripture proof given (Ps. 50:1-2) is not in keeping with Jeremias' translation, and this explanation occurs nowhere else while the "stone of foundation" is frequent.⁶² Both Jeremias and McKelvey identified the legendary sherd which David dug up and which held back the deep with the foundation stone,⁶³ but this identification does not appear to have been made explicitly before the seventeenth century Ya'kut Reubeni.⁶⁴ The Muslim tradition may speak of water flowing from the rock of Jerusalem, but the rabbinic writings do not provide sufficient material to say that the אבן שתיה was the source of water.⁶⁵

⁶⁰Jeremias, Golgotha, p. 56.

⁶¹שממנה הושתה העולם Both Billerbeck (III, 182) and Schwab understood the two answers alike.

⁶²See S-B, III, 182, and b Yoma 54b; T Yoma III.6; LvR XX.4//; and Midrash Tanchuma קדושים 10 where the same scripture proof is used.

⁶³Jeremias, Golgotha, p. 56; McKelvey, p. 190.

⁶⁴On Gen. 1:1. See Raphael Patai, Man and Temple (2d ed.; New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1967), pp. 57-58.

⁶⁵Midrash Tanchuma קדושים 10 (S-B, III, 182f.) may provide some evidence in this direction, but its meaning is not certain. It speaks of

The legend reports that the אבן שתייה was thrown into the sea at the beginning of creation and, at least later, that it held back the deep, but the evidence that would indicate that the stone was the source of water and could be the background of Jn. 7:37-39 is insufficient. The temple itself as the dwelling place of God was believed to be the source of water,⁶⁶ and this is probably all that was meant by the water ritual (other than the remembrance of water from the wilderness rock, which also was taken as proof of God's presence or action). In Enoch 17:1-18:2 the sights seen by Enoch on his legendary journey into the depths are described. He reportedly saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep, the treasures of the wind, the firm foundations of the earth, and its cornerstone. It is significant that he saw the mouths of all the rivers and the mouth of the deep and the cornerstone, but he did not connect the latter with the source of water. This passage in Enoch affirms the belief in a cornerstone of the earth in NT times, but there is no trace of the developed legend until the later rabbinic writings.⁶⁷

Because the thought that the אבן שתייה was the source of water for the rest of the world is not explicit in the rabbinic material, it is

veins (or sinews) flowing from the stone to various parts of the world, but water is not mentioned. Is it veins of soil or veins of water that are meant? See Ecc1R on 2:5. b Hag 12a speaks of water proceeding from stones (pl.) in the deep.

⁶⁶Ezek. 47:1f.; Joel 4:18; Ps. 46:5; Rev. 22:1; Enoch 17:6f.; 26:1f.; Mid II.6; b Yoma 77b; GnR LXX.8; and the water ritual at the Feast of Tabernacles (see S-B, II, 799-805). It is significant that several interpretations of Gen. 29:1f. are given in GnR LXX.8, one of which is that it refers to Zion at the time of the three great Jewish festivals. Neither in this interpretation or in the others based on Jerusalem is the stone interpreted as the אבן שתייה.

⁶⁷See supra, pp. 208-211.

doubtful that one is justified in interpreting Jn. 7:37-39 against the background of this legend.

Daniélou sought confirmation for such an interpretation, however, in the patristic writings.⁶⁸ He pointed first of all to Barnabas XI.2-11 where several OT verses have been adapted to the course of the argument.

"...they have deserted me, the spring of life, and they have dug for themselves a cistern of death [Jer. 2:13]. Is my holy mountain Sinai a desert rock? [Is. 16:1]..." And again the Prophet says, "...and I will give thee treasures of darkness, secret, invisible, that they may know that I am the Lord God [Is. 45:2-3]." And, "Thou shalt dwell in a lofty cave of a strong rock." And, "His water is sure... [Is. 33:16-18]." And again he says in another Prophet, "And he who does these things shall be as the tree, which is planted at the partings of the waters...[Ps. 1:3-6]."

Two of these texts (Jer. 2:13 and Is. 16:1) were also adapted for use in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho (CXIV.5), but it should be noted that the mention of the rock in Is. 16:1 was omitted by Justin. These two verses constitute part of the charge against Trypho for refusing to understand the prophecies about Christ, one of which was that he was the "good rock" who gives living water to those who love the Father and are willing to drink. For Daniélou the use of Is. 16:1 and 33:16f. in the Epistle of Barnabas and the use of Is. 16:1 by Justin should be understood as references to the "rock of the temple." He granted that Justin's use of the rock could be an allusion to the rock of the Exodus, but preferred to connect it to Jerusalem. Further, he took the expression "the good rock" (καλῆ πέτρα) as an allusion to Is. 28:16, which he also understood as the "rock of the temple." Confirmation was found in the use of "the good

⁶⁸Daniélou, Études d'exégèse judéo-chrétienne, pp. 129f. He also suggested that the theme of the wilderness rock has been transferred to the rock of Jerusalem. See p. 123.

stone" (καλὸς λίθος) in the Sibylline Oracles (I.345), in the use of "established on the rock of truth" in the Odes of Solomon (XI.3), and in the use of the image of a tower built upon a rock in the Shepherd of Hermas (v. III.2.5f.; 3.5f.; s. IX.2.1f.).

The assumption that the use of "rock" or "stone" in these passages refers to the "rock of the temple" (which assumedly Daniélou would equate with the אבן שתייה) is unfounded. In none of these passages is such an identification explicit or suggested. The use of the passage in Barnabas is made difficult by the textual problem of the use of Sinai instead of Zion,⁶⁹ but even if the text had Zion, the holy mountain was being compared to a barren rock, not identified with it. The proximity of "water" and "rock" does not necessarily point to the legend; rather, as in the case of Is. 33:16f. and the Odes of Solomon XI.3, these words were often used as images for blessing and security.⁷⁰ Justin (Dial. CXIV. 5) omitted "rock" from his use of Is. 16:1 and gave nothing that would allude to the temple. As Daniélou granted is possible, it is likely that Justin's title "the good rock" refers to the rock of the Exodus. The use of "the good stone" which comes from Egypt (Sibylline Oracles I.345) should not be used as evidence here either. This is not an allusion to the rock of the Exodus, but a proclamation of Gospel history (including

⁶⁹Daniélou, Etudes d'exégèse judéo-chrétienne, p. 132, posited that Sinai may refer to the earthly Jerusalem in contrast to Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem as in Gal. 4:24-25. Robert A. Kraft, "Barnabas Isaiah Text and the 'Testimony Book' Hypothesis," JBL, LXXIX (1960), 348, suggested that Barnabas was painfully faithful to his source, which had somehow acquired this reading.

⁷⁰According to Kraft, Barnabas and the Didache, Vol. III, The Apostolic Fathers, ed. Robert M. Grant (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965), p. 115, Barnabas 11:4-5 is included because of "the allusion to a well-watered rock fortress, which contrasts with the 'desert rock' and 'pit of death' in 11:2-3." (*Italics mine*)

the death of John the Baptist and Christ's return from the flight to Egypt) in the terms of the stone imagery derived from Is. 8:14 and 28:16. Finally, the account in the Shepherd of Hermas of a tower built upon a rock is also insufficient proof of a reference to the rabbinic legend,⁷¹ but even if such a reference were implicit here, the description is too far removed from Jn. 7:37-39 to be of assistance in interpretation.

Therefore, again it seems preferable not to view Jn. 7:37-39 in the light of the rabbinic אבן שתייה legend. Besides the facts that the NT passage makes no mention of a stone and that the date of the legend is questionable, the theory that the אבן שתייה was seen as the source of water is insufficiently supported. Because of the connection to the Feast of Tabernacles, it is better to understand Jn. 7:37-39 as referring to both the water from the wilderness rock and the water that flows from the eschatological temple.

JN. 1:51

Again using as a basis the אבן שתייה legend, Jeremias interpreted Jn. 1:51 in connection with the stone imagery.⁷² In the rabbinic legend

⁷¹Contra not only Daniélou, but also Ringger, pp. 291-298, who as Jeremias used the rabbinic legend to interpret Mt. 16:18. There are at least three features that could connect Hermas' rock to the אבן שתייה : 1) the tower may be connected to Jerusalem [see Graydon F. Snyder (ed.), The Shepherd of Hermas, vol. 6 of The Apostolic Fathers, ed. Robert M. Grant (Camden, N. J.: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1968), pp. 43 and 129-130]; 2) the rock is able to contain the whole world (s. IX.2.1); and 3) the rock is older than creation (s. IX.12.2). At the same time, however, these and the other features of the rock may be accounted for from the NT, from Jewish traditions such as Enoch 24-32, and from the interpretation of the rock as the Son of God.

⁷²Joachim Jeremias, "Die Berufung des Nathanael (Jo 1,45-51)," Angelos, III (1930), 2-5. His theory was accepted by Vincent Taylor, The Names of Jesus (London: Macmillan & Co., 1959), p. 98.

the stone upon which Jacob slept was made the אבן שתייה,⁷³ and thus when Jesus is reported as using the tradition from Gen. 28:11f., Jeremias concluded that Jesus was designating himself as the "holy rock." Again it is unlikely that the legend formed the basis of any NT saying. Apart from the other objections, one should add here that the angels ascend and descend upon the ladder or, more likely for John, upon Jacob,⁷⁴ not upon the stone. It is preferable to understand the passage as an announcement that Jesus is the new Jacob, i. e., the new Israel.⁷⁵ If such is the case, the passage bears no relation to the stone testimonia.

LK. 2:34

The most plausible suggestion of an allusion to the stone imagery is in Simeon's pronouncement to Mary. It has frequently been suggested that the words Ἰδοὺ οὗτος κεῖται εἰς πῶσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ allude to Is. 8:14-15 or possibly to both Is. 8:14-15 and 28:16.⁷⁶

⁷³Yalkut Gen 120 (on 28:22) //PRE 35 and MPs 91.7 although the angels are not connected to the stone.

⁷⁴The Hebrew אבן would permit either. See Barrett, The Gospel of John, p. 156; and C. H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 245-246.

⁷⁵Dodd, pp. 245-246. Cf. Bultmann, The Gospel of John, pp. 105-106; and Brown, I, 89-91.

⁷⁶Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (3d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 154; René Laurentin, Structure et Théologie de Luc I-II (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1957), pp. 89-90; Paul Winter, "Some Observations on the Language in the Birth and Infancy Stories of the Third Gospel," NTS, I (1954-1955), 118-119; and Heinz Schürmann, Das Lukasevangelium (Freiburg: Herder, 1969), pp. 127-128.

There are several factors that support the suggestion:

- 1) Ἴδου ... κεῖται could be an actualization of יִהְיֶה יָסֵד of Is. 28:16 (Ἴδου τίθημι in the NT occurrences).
- 2) εἰς πᾶσιν... πολλῶν appears to be a reproduction of אֶבֶן נֶחֱדָה of 8:14 and וְכִשְׁלוּ בָם רַבִּים וְנִפְלוּ of 8:15.
- 3) ἀνάστασιν could be a summary of Is. 28:16. (One might add that εἰς σημεῖον of v. 34b could look back to לְאִתּוֹת of Is. 8:18.)

While the possibility of the allusion is freely admitted, objections have been raised. André Feuillet pointed out that the opposition between πᾶσις and ἀνάστασις appears frequently and that Luke does not mention a stone.⁷⁷ Lagrange added that it is not natural for a stone to be used in raising up.⁷⁸ The latter argument may be set aside, for if an allusion is made to Is. 28:16, the history of the interpretation of that verse could account for the use of ἀνάστασις. Under the circumstances of the context, it is not surprising either that the stone is not mentioned. The frequent occurrence of the contrast between πᾶσις and ἀνάστασις is not sufficient by itself to outweigh the verbal similarities of Lk. 2:34 with the Is. stone passages. Thus it is probable that there is an allusion to the testimonia here.

If this is so, there is a further observation that should be made. If Simeon's statement about the child is couched in language used for the stone imagery, is there an implicit wordplay between אֶבֶן and בֶּן at the base of the statement? Granted the assumption of the allusion, this seems

⁷⁷ André Feuillet, "L'épreuve prédite à Marie par le vieillard Siméon (Luc. II, 35a)," *A la rencontre de Dieu: Mémoires Albert Gelin* (Le Puy: Editions Xavier Mappus, 1961), pp. 245-246. His view was endorsed by Jacques Winandy [Le prophétie de Syméon (Lc, II, 34-35), RB, LXXII (1965), pp. 328-330] although Winandy still used the language of Is. 8:14 and 28:16 frequently.

⁷⁸ M.-J. Lagrange, *Evangile selon Saint Luc* (Paris: J. Gabalda, Editeur, 1927), p. 88. He did, however, make use of the connection to Is. 8:18.

likely.

In this verse, besides the wordplay, one should notice that as elsewhere Is. 8:14 and 28:16 are joined together and that these verses were given obvious messianic import. There is no new development in this verse, but it does serve as confirmation of what is more explicit elsewhere. The value that one places on these verses will depend on the value that he places on Lk. 1-2. If these chapters are dependent on a Semitic source, which is probable, the verse is obviously very important.⁷⁹

CONCLUSIONS

Of the verses in the Gospels considered as possible allusions to the stone testimonia,⁸⁰ only one, Lk. 2:34, is likely to be dependent on the OT use of the stone image. Jn. 7:37-39 alludes at least in part to the Exodus rock tradition, but this concept does not have a direct relation to the testimonia that concern us. It does constitute a parallel to I Cor. 10:4 which will have to be considered in its own context.⁸¹ The attempt to see the אבן שתייה legend as the background for some of the Gospels

⁷⁹Black, pp. 155-156; Winter, *passim*; Laurentin, pp. 12-20. Cf. F. F. Bruce, *This is That* (n. p.: Paternoster Press, 1968), pp. 77-78; William H. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament," NTS, III (1956-1957), 196; and Walter Grundmann, "Stehen und Fallen im qumranischen und neotestamentlichen Schriftum," *Qumran-Probleme*, ed. Hans Bardtke (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 155. See, however, Nigel Turner, "The Relation of Luke I and II to Hebraic Sources and to the Rest of Luke--Acts," NTS, II (1955-1956), 100-109.

⁸⁰Occasionally it has been suggested that Mk. 14:58 alludes to Is. 28:16, but this is doubtful. Is. 28:16 may be responsible for much of the development of the building imagery, but all the passages using building imagery cannot be traced directly to this OT verse.

⁸¹See *infra*, pp. 267-271.

passages is ill-founded. Similarly Mt. 16:18f. is not dependent on 1QH VI.26f. The use of popular images is the reason for the parallels between these texts rather than common dependence on the OT or a Jewish legend.

Chapter 6

THE USE OF THE STONE IMAGERY IN ACTS 4

In our attempt to trace the development of the stone imagery, the book of Acts provides the next stage. According to Acts 4:11, Ps. 118:22 was used from the earliest days as an explanation from scripture of the death and resurrection of Jesus. The citation occurs in the response of Peter to the question asked by the Jewish authorities concerning the power or name by which he had healed the lame man at the temple gate.¹ This is the first reported confrontation between the Jewish authorities and the

¹There is a certain amount of ambiguity about the intention of τοῦτο in v. 7. It probably refers to the miracle rather than the teaching, but it may refer to both. Cf. Werner de Boor, Die Apostelgeschichte (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1965), pp. 95f. It should be noted that there is a tension between 4:2 (where the fact that the disciples taught the people and proclaimed resurrection in Jesus is the reason for the authorities' concern) and 4:7 (where the miracle seems to be the main issue). Cf. Ernst Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971), p. 222; and Hans Conzelmann, Die Apostelgeschichte (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1963), p. 37. Both Haenchen (p. 223) and Conzelmann (p. 35) expressed doubts over the probability of the apostles' being seized on the basis of preaching the resurrection. If the proclamation of the resurrection (and evidently a general resurrection at that, cf. 4:2) would have carried eschatological overtones, the authorities may have felt that the issue was a political threat to their relationship with Rome. One should note that the proclamation of the resurrection was only part of the reason for seizure given in 4:2; the authorities were upset by the mere fact that these unauthorized men taught the people in the temple precinct. The commotion caused by the crowd in response to the miracle no doubt caused concern for the temple authorities since one of the duties of the στρατηγός was the maintenance of order. Cf. Philo, De Specialibus Legibus I.156; and Emil Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, trans. Sophia Taylor and Peter Christie (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885), II, 1, 226. See also de Boor, p. 93; Bo Reicke, Glaube und Leben der Urgemeinde (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1957), pp. 72 and 76f.; F. F. Bruce, Commentary on the Book of Acts (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1965), p. 95; and F. J. Foakes Jackson, The Acts of the Apostles (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1931), pp. 31-36.

disciples.

Any analysis of this passage forces one to inquire into the question of the composition of the speeches in Acts. That the form of this and the other speeches is Lukan few would wish to deny, but there has been considerable debate about the use of sources for these speeches.² While

²On the speeches see Henry J. Cadbury, "The Speeches in Acts," The Beginnings of Christianity, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan and Co., 1920-1933), V, 402-427 [hereafter these volumes will be abbreviated BC]; Martin Dibelius, "The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography," Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, ed. Heinrich Greeven (London: SCM Press, 1956), 138-185; Eduard Schweizer, "Concerning the Speeches in Acts," Studies in Luke-Acts, ed. Leander E. Keck and J. Louis Martyn (London: SPCK, 1968), 208-216 [hereafter the Keck-Martyn volume will be abbreviated SLA]; Ulrich Wilckens, Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins GMBH, 1963), *passim*; and the discussion of this book by Jacques Dupont, "Les discours missionnaires des Actes des Apôtres d'après un ouvrage récent," Etudes sur les Actes des Apôtres (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1967), 133-155 [hereafter the Dupont studies will be abbreviated EAA]; C. F. Evans, "'Speeches' in Acts," Mélanges Bibliques en hommage au R. P. Béda Rigaux, ed. Albert Descamp and André de Halleux (Gembloux: Duculot, 1970), 287-302 [hereafter the Rigaux festschrift will be abbreviated MBR]; Haenchen, pp. 81-90; Adolf Harnack, The Acts of the Apostles, trans. J. R. Wilkinson (London: Williams & Norgate, 1909), pp. 162-263; Alfred Wikenhauser, Die Apostelgeschichte und ihr Geschichtswert (Münster i. W.: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1921), p. 151; Lucien Cerfaux, "La composition de la première partie du Livre des Actes," Recueil Lucien Cerfaux (Gembloux: Editions J. Duculot, S. A., 1954), II, 63-91 [hereafter the Cerfaux collection will be abbreviated RLC]; F. F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles (London: The Tyndale Press, 1951), pp. 18f.; Bertil Gärtner, The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1955), pp. 7-36; S. S. Smalley, "The Christology of Acts," ET, LXXIII (1961-1962), 358-362; H. N. Ridderbos, The Speeches of Peter in the Acts of the Apostles (London: The Tyndale Press, 1962), *passim*; C. F. D. Moule, "The Christology of Acts," SLA, 159-185; Johannes Munck, The Acts of the Apostles, rev. William F. Albright and C. S. Mann (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1967), pp. xxxvi-xlv; I. Howard Marshall, Luke: Historian and Theologian (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1970), pp. 55f. and 72f.; T. Francis Glasson, "The Speeches in Acts and Thucydides," ET, LXXVI (1964-1965), 165; Matthew Black, "Second Thoughts: The Semitic Element in the New Testament," ET, LXXVII (1965-1966), pp. 20-23; J. W. Bowker, "Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form," NTS, XIV (1967-1968), 96-111; E. Earle Ellis, "Midrashic Features in the Speeches of Acts," MBR, 303-312. On the more basic question of sources, cf. Joachim Jeremias, "Untersuchungen zum Quellenproblem der Apostelgeschichte," ZNW,

recognizing that source-criticism involves a certain amount of guesswork,³ it seems that there are indications that Luke made use of a source for this section (4:5f.). The first indication is that the names of several members of the high priestly family are given (v. 6). The identity of Ἰωάννης is uncertain, and we possess no information at all about Ἀλέξανδρος. What motive would Luke have for making up and inserting two insignificant names?⁴ The second indication is the Semitic nature of the passage. This is not to deny that Luke has rewritten the account, for there are several expressions that are characteristic of his writing.⁵ Still, there seems reason to believe that Luke was dependent either directly or indirectly on a Semitic source. Wilcox pointed out some of the Semitisms (v. 10-γνωστὸν ἔστω, which is a characteristic introduction, v. 12-δοῦναι ἐν, and v. 13-ιδιώτης) and recognized that the variant form of the quotation of Ps. 118:22 may indicate a source, but he felt that "Luke has so written up the whole passage that it seems scarcely possible to

XXXVI (1937), 205-221; R. Bultmann, "Zur Frage nach den Quellen der Apostelgeschichte," New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, ed. A. J. B. Higgins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 68-80; Jacques Dupont, Les sources du Livre des Actes ([Bruges]: Desclée de Brouwer, 1960); C. K. Barrett, Luke the Historian in Recent Study (London: The Epworth Press, 1961), *passim*; Max Wilcox, The Semitisms in Acts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), *passim*; and R. A. Martin, "Syntactical Evidence of Aramaic Sources in Acts I-XV," NTS, XI (1964-1965), 38-59.

³Foakes Jackson, p. xv.

⁴Cf. Bultmann, pp. 74 and 78, who suggested that Haenchen dismissed the question of sources too quickly and thought that a list of names such as that in 6:5 may point to a source.

⁵Wilcox, p. 173 n. 2, listed ten Lukanisms in 4:8-13: πληθεις; πρὸς (speaking to); ἄρχοντες; τοῦ λαοῦ (i. e., Israel); γνωστὸν; παντὶ (with λαῶ); ἐνώπιον; ἡ σωτηρία (sed D om.); ἕτερον; τε.

reach finality."⁶ However, in discussing the rate of Semitization he could not help but draw attention to the fact that quite a "nest" of Semitic expressions occurs in 4:10-13.⁷ To the Semitisms mentioned by Wilcox should be added ἄνθρωπος in the sense of τις (v. 9) and the casus pendens in v. 10⁸ and de Zwaan's reference to "cruder expressions due to a dominant extraneous influence."⁹ It is possible to ignore these features as Lukan septuagintisms as Haenchen did,¹⁰ but this seems rather hasty. According to the syntactical analysis conducted by R. A. Martin, translation Greek frequencies occur repeatedly in various subsections of Acts 1-15. That these translation frequencies are found only in certain subsections and in different types of material makes it very unlikely that they are due to the natural style of Luke or to an attempt to imitate the style of the LXX. Martin concluded that in those sections where translation Greek frequencies are most evident (and 4:5-12 falls into this category) the

⁶Wilcox, pp. 172-173. Cf. pp. 90-92 and 101. Part of Wilcox's hesitation was due to the fact that he thought that the divergent text may be a reflection of Mk. 9:12. See infra, pp. 237-239.

⁷Wilcox, p. 111 n. 2.

⁸Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (3d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 107 and 53, recognizing, of course, that casus pendens is not necessarily Semitic, but it is confined in Acts to the speeches. See Black's comments on p. 55.

⁹J. de Zwaan, "The Use of the Greek Language in Acts," BC, II, 63. He mentioned σωτηρία ἐν τινί and ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς (4:12). Cf. the approval of C. H. Dodd in The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1967), p. 20 n. 1. On the general question of Semitisms in Acts, see D. F. Payne, "Semitisms in the Book of Acts," Apostolic History and the Gospel, ed. W. Ward Gasque and Ralph P. Martin (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 134-150.

¹⁰Haenchen, p. 282.

writer was either translating Semitic sources or was using with little modification Greek sources which were a translation of Semitic sources.¹¹ Since the section under consideration has both translation Greek frequencies and Lukanisms, it is tempting to suggest that Luke was himself translating a Semitic source. Whether that is true or not, one may be assured that despite the Lukan dress there is evidence that a Semitic substratum lies behind this report. Finally, the third and most important indication of an underlying source is the form of the scripture quotation. The use of Ps. 118:22 in Lk. 20:17 follows the LXX (and Mk.) verbatim, but in Acts 4:11 the only words that are identical to the earlier rendering are εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. It has frequently been suggested that the change of ἀπεδοκίμασαν of the LXX to ἐξουθενηθεῖς here is due to the influence of Is. 53:3 via Mk. 9:12,¹² but as will be shown when the quotation is

¹¹Martin, especially pp. 52-53. Wilckens, p. 62 n. 1, argued that the speech is a Lukan composition because of: 1) the clever literary use of "healing" for "salvation"; 2) the short summary in 4:10 of the kerygma of Jesus from the preceding sermon; and 3) the mention of the "Name" inside the kerygma of Jesus as in 3:16. The first point carries force only if one ignores the fact that salvation in the NT often involves both physical and spiritual healing. See Mk. 5:34; 10:52; Lk. 7:50; 17:19; Acts 14:9; James 5:15; and Werner Foerster, "σῶζω and σωτηρία in the New Testament," TDNT, VII, 990; A-G, p. 806; and Bruce, Commentary on the Book of Acts, p. 290. The other two points are hardly more than a statement of his presupposition. That the basic kerygma of death and resurrection is repeated should occasion no surprise, and the very nature of the case demands the reiteration of the miracle performed "in the Name." It should be noted, however, that the message here is not just a summary of the preceding. Not only is the scriptural explanation different, but the speech in chapter 4 develops explicitly the concept of an exclusive salvation which at most is only implicit in 3:23. Even if one should accept with Wilckens that the message in chapter 3 is largely a Lukan composition, it would not be precluded that a source underlying 4:5-12 is a primary basis of the report. On the use of the "Name," cf. Richard N. Longenecker, "Some Distinctive Early Christological Motifs," NTS, XIV (1967-1968), 533-536.

¹²See Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 170; Jacques Dupont, "L'interprétation des Psaumes dans les Actes des Apôtres," EAA, p. 301; Ellis, pp. 311-312; and cf. Lucien Cerfaux, "La première communauté chrétienne à Jérusalem," RLC, II, 140-141.

considered more fully, there is little basis for this suggestion. Since it is difficult to imagine Luke rewriting a scripture reference in this way, the most plausible solution is that he was influenced by some kind of source.¹³

The assessment of the use of Ps. 118:22 as rooted in the earliest days of the Church does not depend upon the recognition of a Semitic source behind Acts 4:5-12 however. Even those who consider the speech as a Lukan composition accept that with this verse Luke was relying on traditional material.¹⁴ At the risk of belaboring the point, one may verify the early use of this stone quotation by a comparison with Rm. 9:32-33. Here, in what is clearly a secondary stage in the development,¹⁵ Paul refers to the stone as if it were a well-known subject for his readers.

Since we are dealing with one of the earliest aspects of apostolic preaching, the variant form of the quotation already referred to takes on special significance. The attempt to explain the change of ἀπεδοκίμασαν to ἐξουθενηθεῖς as due to the influence of Is. 53:3 and Mk. 9:12 was

¹³Cf. Traugott Holtz, Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1968), p. 162; Martin Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1969), p. 115; and William Kemp Lowther Clarke, "The Use of the Septuagint in Acts," BC, II, 97-98.

¹⁴Wilckens, p. 142; Lindars, p. 170; Haenchen, p. 217; Henry J. Cadbury, The Book of Acts in History (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1955), p. 130 ["The sermons in Acts, though they may be no more than editorial compositions, are nevertheless excellent reflections of the probable use of scripture in the earliest period."]; Foakes Jackson, p. xvi; and C. S. C. Williams, A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1957), pp. 45-48. J. C. O'Neill, The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting (London: SPCK, 1961), p. 145, was one of the few who thought Luke was striving to give an archaic and scriptural ring to his account in chapters 3-5.

¹⁵The use of Ps. 118:22 as verification from scripture of Jesus' death and resurrection surely preceded the use in Rm. where the emphasis is on the reason the Jews did not believe and on salvation for those who do believe.

mentioned above.¹⁶ This view assumes that in Mk. 9:12 ἐξουδενηθῆ is a result of the influence of נִבַּח in Is. 53:3. It should be remembered, however, that ἠτιμάσθη is used by the LXX at Is. 53:3 and that ἐξουδενεῖν is found only in the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Even if one bypasses this hurdle,¹⁷ it is still unlikely that ἐξουδενηθῆ in Mk. 9:12 may be traced to Is. 53:3. The parallel saying in Mk. 8:31 has ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι and at least for this word and the phrase that follows is dependent on Ps. 118:22.¹⁸ Although Dupont attempted to do so,¹⁹ it is improbable that one can find either factual difference or different allusions in Mk. 8:31 and 9:12.²⁰ Both ἀποδοκιμάζειν and ἐξουδενεῖν/ἐξουθενεῖν are used frequently in the LXX to translate בָּשָׂר; in fact, the use of ἐξουδενεῖν/ἐξουθενεῖν is more widespread since ἀποδοκιμάζειν is used only three times outside the book of Jeremiah.²¹ It is this overlapping of semantic fields that has caused the variation in wording. Both these words in their respective contexts in Mk. go back to the use of בָּשָׂר in Ps. 118:22. The passion predictions probably do not rest solely on this verse; more likely

¹⁶See n. 12 and C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1952), p. 92 n. 2.

¹⁷Lindars, p. 81, did so by assuming an older Palestinian tradition; Dupont, "L'interprétation des Psaumes dans les Actes des Apôtres," p. 301, did so by assuming a Palestinian recension between the LXX and the later versions.

¹⁸H. E. Tödt, The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition (London: SCM Press, 1968), pp. 162 and 165f.

¹⁹Dupont, "L'interprétation des Psaumes dans les Actes des Apôtres," p. 301 n. 56.

²⁰Cf. Rese, p. 114.

²¹ψ 117:22; Wi. 9:4; Si. 20:20. It was used more frequently by Symmachus.

several verses or better the whole concept of the rejection of God's righteous (Ps. 22; 89; 118; Is. 53; Dn. 7; etc.) stands behind them, but the two words used to express the rejection of Jesus were both derived from Ps. 118:22. If it is doubtful that ἐξουθενεῖν in Mk. 9:12 goes back to Is. 53:3, it is even more doubtful that this is the case in Acts 4:11. Here there is no question of a wider reference to an OT concept; rather, this is the plain adaptation of a single verse, Ps. 118:22. Since ἐξουθενεῖν is normally used to translate דָּמָה, there is no reason to see in it an allusion to נִבְזָה of Is. 53:3.²² Certainly there is no indication that the readers would have caught such an allusion if it existed.

We are still left with a text form which is divergent both from the LXX and from the other occurrences of the verse in the NT and which is further removed from the MT than is the LXX. Cadbury suggested that this is a free paraphrase by Luke,²³ but this is unlikely.²⁴ Others have

²²Cf. Rese, p. 114; and Tödt, pp. 165 and 168f. Cerfaux, "La première communauté chrétienne à Jérusalem," p. 141 suggested that ἐξουθενεῖν may have resulted from the juxtaposition of Ps. 89:39 and Ps. 118:22 in a collection of citations, and Norman Perrin, Christology and a Modern Pilgrimage: A Discussion with Norman Perrin, ed. Hans Dieter Betz (Claremont: New Testament Colloquium, 1971), p. 24, suggested it is an allusion to Ps. 22:7. Such suggestions are superfluous. The attempt of Le Bas to see an allusion to the LXX of Zech. 4:10 is also unfounded. (Edwin E. Le Bas, "Zechariah's Climax to the Career of the Corner-Stone," PEQ, 1951, p. 144.)

²³Henry J. Cadbury, "The Titles of Jesus in Acts," BC, V, 373 (although he mentioned the testimony hypothesis and although the suggestion of an original translation was made in IV, 43. Richard F. Zehnle, Peter's Pentecost Discourse, Vol. 15 of the SBL Monograph Series (New York: Abingdon Press, 1971), p. 38, also argued that the divergent text is a Lukan paraphrase since two parallel participles modify the stone imitating the parallel structure of the Jesus-kerygma in 4:10. However, the parallelism of the quotation was present in the OT and not derived from 4:10.

²⁴Especially when Luke appears to be dependent on sources for other text forms that do not follow the MT. Cf. Wilcox, pp. 20-55.

suggested that Luke followed an independent translation,²⁵ and this may be but it does not suggest for us the ultimate source. Haenchen mentioned both the testimony hypothesis and the Greek targums.²⁶ It seems likely that some kind of testimonia or targum tradition lies behind this form of the citation, but it is impossible to be more precise without further evidence. But clearly it is from this realm of Jewish interpretation that our citation comes. Rather than being an encomium to a ruler,²⁷ the use of the Ps. quotation here is very similar to the midrashim from Qumran in that it is an actualization of an OT text to the circumstances of the present.²⁸ This can be seen in the introductory formula οὗτός ἐστιν and by the ὁφ' ὑμῶν which specifies the then present Jewish authorities as the

²⁵Clarke, p. 97; and Holtz, p. 162. Holtz added that it may be that Luke did not recognize the words in question as an OT citation and did not identify them with the quotation in Lk. 20:17. This is extremely unlikely.

²⁶Haenchen, p. 217 n. 4. On the Greek targums see Paul E. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza (2d ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), pp. 236, 247, and 251; and see Black's discussion ("Second Thoughts: The Semitic Element in the New Testament," p. 22) of alternate Greek versions, although he did not refer specifically to this verse. Wilcox, p. 182, raised the possibility of a Greek testimonia collection of messianic import, but again was not referring specifically to this verse.

²⁷As Rese, p. 114, ("Die Anspielung geschieht in der Form eines Enkomiums auf einen Herrscher, die hier in der für hellenistisch-jüdisches Denken charakteristischen Struktur vorliegt: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ + Partizip."); and Conzelmann, pp. 37 and 47, both following Eduard Norden, Agnostos Theos (Leipzig: Verlag B. G. Teubner, 1913), pp. 163f. and 223f.

²⁸Cf. Dupont, "L'interprétation des Psaumes dans les Actes des Apôtres," p. 305; F. F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts (London: The Tyndale Press, 1960), especially pp. 75-88; and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Jewish Christianity in Acts in Light of the Qumran Scrolls," SLA, p. 252.

guilty ones.²⁹

Ellis has suggested that the use of Ps. 118:22 here in Acts was preceded by its use in a midrash from the pre-resurrection ministry of Jesus.³⁰ Whether it is legitimate to call the Synoptic parable a midrash because of the scripture allusions is doubtful. The use of Ps. 118:22 there presupposes at most an "implicit midrash," and the allusions to Is. 8:14 and Dn. 2:34f. were made by way of a proverb. Ellis was attempting to argue that testimonia texts in the speeches of Acts may be drawn from

²⁹Cf. 4Q Flor. I.2, 11 and 14; 4QpIs II.10; and 1QpHb XII.3 See Fitzmyer, p. 252; and Ellis, p. 311. The Jewish authorities probably would have understood the reference to themselves apart from the ὑφ' ὑμῶν since "the builders" was a common rabbinic designation of the religious leadership. The ὑφ' ὑμῶν here answers the derogatory use of ὑμεῖς in the question put to the disciples (v. 7).

³⁰Ellis, pp. 309-312 and "Midrash, Targum and New Testament Quotations," *Neotestamentica et Semitica*, ed. E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969), pp. 67-68. Ellis has taken a step in the right direction in his analysis of the Synoptic parable, but his failure to see the wordplay between בן and אבן prohibited his seeing the true emphasis of the parable. He stated ("Midrashic Features in the Speeches of Acts," p. 310) that the point of the citation in the Gospels is not for the identity of the stone or its exaltation, but is rather that the rejected King and Ruler (targum) displaces the builders and becomes the keystone in God's temple, i. e., that the citation is an "eschatologisches Drohwort" (following Jeremias, TWNT, IV, 279). He concluded that the Synoptic midrash was on judgement and that the midrash underlying the testimonium in Acts is different as it refers to exaltation. Judgement is certainly implied in the Synoptic parable, but there is always judgement when God's chosen one is rejected, and the honoring of the stone in the psalm verifies that it possesses such a relationship to God. One cannot separate the themes of exaltation and judgement, nor can one ignore the identity of the stone. (It should be noted that Ellis did identify the stone as the King and Ruler of the targum.) Nor is it right to say that the stone displaces the builders; rather than taking their place, it takes the place they refused to grant it. In fairness it should be pointed out that Ellis granted that several other possibilities could account for the use of the stone testimonia (cf. "Midrash, Targum and New Testament Quotations," p. 69).

earlier midrashic material. The thesis itself is sound enough,³¹ but its relevance for Acts 4:11 is questionable. According to Ellis' interpretation, the midrashic use of Ps. 118:22 in the Synoptics suggests that the use of the same verse in Acts 4:11 is due to a Christian midrash (and because of his analysis of the Synoptic parable, this is a different midrash than the Synoptic one).³² Acts 4:11 may be called "implicit midrash" (using Ellis' definition: "interpretive paraphrase of the Old Testament text"³³), but it is unlikely that a separate midrash stands behind its use. Our analysis of the stone imagery so far has shown that this imagery was important in all Jewish thought and that it bore eschatological overtones. From the beginning it was related to the Davidic heir, and by NT times it appears to have been at least associated with the messianic kingdom.³⁴ The analysis of the Synoptic parable showed that Jesus used the quotation as a subtle indictment of the Jewish authorities and as a veiled self-reference. If this was traditional imagery and had been used so effectively by Jesus in his confrontation with the Jewish authorities, is it necessary to think that another step, i. e., Christian midrash, was

³¹Bowker, pp. 96-111; Jan Willem Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N. V., 1954), pp. 168-176; Ellis, "Midrashic Features in the Speeches of Acts," pp. 306-309.

³²See supra, p. 241 n. 30.

³³Ellis, "Midrash, Targum and New Testament Quotations," p. 62.

³⁴See supra, pp. 51-53; 60-68; 75-87; 93-94 and 100. In all probability we are dealing with at least a reworked primitive tradition in the Targum on Ps. 118, but one cannot be quite as certain as Ellis, "Midrashic Features in the Speeches of Acts," p. 310; Dupont, "L'interprétation des Psaumes dans les Acts des Apôtres," p. 301; and Bertil Gärtner, "The Habakkuk Commentary (DSH) and the Gospel of Matthew," ST, VIII (1954), 24; and "אֵלֶּיךָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ als Messiasbezeichnung," SEA, XVIII (1954), 98-108.

involved before the disciples adopted the verse for their confrontation with those same authorities? Rather than having its origin in Christian midrash, the use of this verse has its origin in the Sitz im Leben Jesu. Lindars noted that Ps. 118:22 became a classic passage for the theory of the rejection of the unbelieving Jews, though for him it hardly warrants it in itself.³⁵ The appeal of the verse can best be explained as resulting from its successful use first by Jesus and then by the disciples.

The actual meaning of Ps. 118:22 in Acts is clear. The stone in the psalm has been actualized and identified with the person in the passion events. The stone referred to in the psalm is Jesus,³⁶ the rejection of the stone by the builders is explained as the crucifixion of Jesus by the Jewish leaders, and the honoring of the stone is explained as the fact that God raised Jesus from the dead. Since the interpretation of the quotation is given in v. 10 as the death and resurrection of Jesus, it is not legitimate to argue further that εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας refers to the exaltation (although this may have been taken for granted).³⁷ In this sense the psalm may be understood as fulfilled by Jesus.³⁸ The miracle was the proof of the resurrection, and the citation of scripture served to verify the apostle's explanation of the events. Implicit in this

³⁵Lindars, p. 174.

³⁶How Lindars (Ibid., p. 180) can say that the passage in I P seems to be the first place where the stone is identified with the person of Christ is a mystery.

³⁷Contra Dupont, "L'interprétation des Psaumes dans les Actes des Apôtres," p. 301.

³⁸Contra Rese, p. 114. To speak of literal fulfillment as Lindars (p. 170) may not be precise unless one specifies that the interpretation was based on such principles as corporate personality and the recapitulation of the history of Israel in the life of the Anointed, etc.

quotation is a threat of judgement. If the Jewish authorities do not admit their mistake, they continue in opposition to God's purpose.³⁹

Although this is the first reported confrontation between Christians and the Jewish leaders and although judgement is implicit in the quotation, the passage is not anti-Jewish, for the promise of salvation is given. Here for the first time in the NT the stone imagery is brought into association with the concept of salvation. The basis of this seems to be the thought of Joel 3:5 which underlies the passage and explains the miracle,⁴⁰ but it should be remembered that Ps. 118:21 also speaks of salvation.⁴¹ If Joel 3:5 does underlie this passage, it is implicit that the one who is the stone not only brings salvation but is Lord. This identification is only implicit here but is made explicit in Paul's use of the stone imagery, and there is reason to believe that Paul was relying on tradition in making it explicit.⁴² The association of the stone image with the concept of salvation is also developed in other NT writings.⁴³

In summary then, in Acts 4:11 Luke recorded a primitive tradition

³⁹C. F. D. Moule, The Birth of the New Testament (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1962), p. 41.

⁴⁰Dupont, "L'interprétation des Psaumes dans les Actes des Apôtres," p. 302; and "L'utilisation apologétique de l'Ancien Testament dans les discours des Actes," EAA, pp. 255 and 270.

⁴¹Richard Belward Rackham, The Acts of the Apostles (London: Methuen & Co., 1912), p. 59. Is it here that one should see the workings of Christian midrash?

⁴²See infra, pp. 263-264, 308, 344. On the connection of salvation and the exaltation of Jesus and his Name, cf. Marshall, p. 169. In the OT salvation is associated with the name of Yahweh, and through his resurrection and exaltation Jesus is shown to be Lord. The conclusion must be that God has given to Jesus the title of Lord and with it his own sovereign prerogative to forgive sins and bestow salvation. (r)

⁴³See infra, pp. 261-265 and 345.

which involved the use of Ps. 118:22. Ἐξουθενηθεῖς is not due to the influence of Is. 53:3; rather the variant form of the quotation is the chief indication of an underlying source, probably some kind of testimonia or targum tradition. That tradition was either taken over by Jesus or had its origin in his teaching and was used by him as a self-reference. This christological actualization was even more clear after the resurrection and was repeated by the disciples in their explanation of the Christ event. This verse was one of the most important and explicit verifications of Jesus' death and resurrection in early Christian apologetic.

It remains to ask whether other traces of the influence of Ps. 118 may be found in Acts. It has often been claimed that 2:33 and 5:31 constitute allusions to the LXX versions of Ps. 118:16.⁴⁴ From the standpoint of grammar, τῇ δεξιᾷ could be either an instrumental or a locative dative. The former would be an allusion to Ps. 118:16; the latter would be an allusion to Ps. 16:11 and Ps. 110:1. In Acts 5:31 ὑπόω is active as in the psalm, but the subject is θεὸς rather than δεξιᾷ κυρίου, thus making it less likely that there is an allusion to Ps. 118:16.⁴⁵ Most important

⁴⁴Dupont, "L'interprétation des Psaumes dans les Actes des Apôtres," p. 302; Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 99; and Lindars, p. 171. The latter argued on pp. 43-44 that Acts 2:33 and 5:31 are dependent on the influence of Ps. 16:11 and Ps. 110:1 and that the direct influence of Ps. 118:16 is less likely. Still he preferred not to exclude the literary influence of Ps. 118:16 completely and rather included it by saying that Luke used established traditions of biblical exegesis and was no doubt familiar with the use of the whole psalm in connection with the resurrection victory. Dodd added that Ps. 118:17 ("I shall not die but live") would readily suggest the resurrection of Christ. While this appears logical, it seems rather treacherous to use this as evidence since there is no hint that the verse was so interpreted by the NT writers. The allusion of Jn. 10:24 to Ps. 118:10 seen by Dodd and Lindars is also questionable.

⁴⁵Lindars, pp. 43-44; Rese, p. 110.

is the fact that the context in both cases calls for a local interpretation. It is difficult to deny that τῆ δεξιᾷ...ὕψωθεις of 2:33 should be interpreted locally since it is preceded by an allusion to Ps. 16:10 (and 16:11 uses δεξιᾷ locally) and is followed by the quotation of Ps. 110:1 in 2:34 (which is undeniably local). In both 2:33 and 5:31 the argument is that the position given Jesus by God enables him to bestow gifts (the Spirit and remission of sins).⁴⁶ As far as the evidence takes us, there is no reason to see anything in Acts 2:33 and 5:31 other than the locative dative and with it an allusion to the position at God's right hand mentioned in Ps. 16:11 and Ps. 110:1.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Cf. in n. 41 Marshall's explanation of the connection of salvation and the exaltation of Jesus. Dupont's attempt to explain away the demands of the context are weak ("L'interprétation des Psaumes dans les Actes des Apôtres," p. 302 n. 63). He argued that one may not identify the meaning of 2:33 and 2:34 any more than he may identify the thrones of v. 30 and v. 34. Apart from the fact that a throne is only implied in v. 34, the speaker did identify the prophecy of II Sm. 7:12f. with that of Ps. 110:1 as referring to the same event.

⁴⁷B-D, p. 199; cf. Rese, p. 110; and Lindars, pp. 42-44 (but ignoring his attempt to bring in Ps. 118:16 too).

Chapter 7

THE USE OF THE STONE IMAGERY IN THE PAULINE LITERATURE I

The application of the stone image to the death and resurrection of Jesus, and with it the use of Ps. 118:22, does not play a part in the Pauline literature.¹ The Pauline use of the image is instead a developed theological formulation. A number of Paul's theological arguments found their undergirding in the scriptural authority of the Is. stone testimonia.

THE STONE IMAGERY IN ROMANS

An initial examination of the stone imagery in Rm. 9:32-33 reveals a fairly straightforward mixed citation which does not seem to be terribly important. In fact, some commentators have virtually ignored the whole section of Rm. 9:30-33. A closer analysis reveals, however, that there is much to be learned from this passage. As in recent years it has been recognized that Rm. 9-11 forms an integral part of the whole book (rather than being an ancillary note on Israel's election), it is being realized that Rm. 9:30-33 is vital for the understanding of these chapters. From an inquiry into these verses one should be able to ascertain the place of the imagery in Paul's argument and hopefully should be able to get some insight into the development of the imagery.

¹At most there is an implicit connection between the stone image and the resurrection in Rm. 10:9-11.

The Form of the Quotation

The quotation used by Paul is a conflation of Is. 8:14 and 28:16 in a non-LXX form. Mixed citations are frequent in the Pauline literature and are not unknown in the rest of the NT, but they are rarely found in the rabbinic literature.² The same two Is. passages are quoted separately with Ps. 118:22 inserted between them in I P 2:6-8 in nearly the same non-LXX form. The Is. passages in the three accounts are rendered:

Rm. 9:33-Ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνηθήσεται.
 I P 2:6-Ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνηθή.
 :8a-Καὶ λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου
 LXX Is. 8:14-Καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πεποιθὼς ἦς, ἔσται σοι εἰς ἀγίασμα, καὶ οὐχ ὡς λίθου προσκόμματος συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι.
 28:16-Διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως λέγει κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελεῖ ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνηθή.

There are several features of the various renderings of the Is. passages that require comment. Barnabas Lindars posited that in Is. 28:16 the change of verb and the omission of "the foundations" by the NT writers were due to the interpretative motive of not wanting to put the stone in the foundations but desiring to place it on ground level that it may be stumbled over.³ It is unlikely that figurative language would have been concerned with such exactness, but even apart from its architectural shortcomings, this supposition is not necessary. Τιθέναι may have been used

²E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), pp. 49-51, 86, and 186. Cf. O. Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1929), pp. 53 and 83-85; Joseph Bonsirven, Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1939), pp. 332-336; and Karlheinz Müller, Anstoss und Gericht (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1969), p. 71.

³New Testament Apologetic (London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 178.

because of the association with the imagery of Is. 8:14,⁴ or it may have resulted from the desire to emphasize the activity of God in placing the stone,⁵ but in neither case would its introduction have resulted from the desire to omit the reference to the foundations. More than likely the wording of the quotation results from the popular use of Is. 28:16 in pre-Christian Judaism. The reference to the foundations was probably dropped because it was too cumbersome for convenient usage. In the context of believing and not being ashamed, τιθέναι λίθον would have been understood as referring to a foundation stone, even without the mention of θεμέλια, since ἀκρογωνιαίος was used in close proximity in the original context (and is preserved in I P 2:6).⁶ Above all, one should note that the reference to the foundations (Hebrew יסוד יסוד) has been omitted in IQS VIII.7-8 where obviously the Is. 28:16 imagery is understood as referring to a foundation stone,⁷ and Is. 8:14 is not alluded to in the

⁴Τιθέναι σκάνδαλον is a frequent designation; cf. ψ 139:6; Hos. 4:17; and Rm. 14:13. Gustav Stählin, *Skandalon* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1930), p. 192, and Müller, p. 80, suggested that τιθέναι possibly comes from Is. 50:7, but this would necessitate accepting that Is. 50:7 was connected with 28:16 prior to Paul's use of the latter, which seems unlikely. Nothing else in the NT would suggest a use of Is. 50:7. Pending a full analysis of the imagery in Barnabas, it appears that Is. 50:7 was brought into connection with the NT stone imagery only by the argument of the second century epistle.

⁵Christian Maurer, "τίθημι," TDNT, VIII, 157. See also p. 154. In more than one-fourth of the LXX passages with τιθέναι, God is the subject of the verb.

⁶On the question of the meaning of ἀκρογωνιαίος and its bearing upon an understanding of the position of the stone in the building, see *infra*, pp. 290-300. τιθέναι is used frequently with θεμέλιος to indicate the laying of a foundation: Lk. 6:48; 14:29; and I Cor. 3:10-11. Cf. Maurer, pp. 152f. (Note especially the examples δῶμα τίθεμαι, "to build a house," τίθεμαι εὐσίαν, "to offer," and τίθεμαι γάμον, "to celebrate a wedding.")

⁷The allusions to Is. 28:16 in IQH VI.26-27 and VII.8-9 do contain references to the foundations, but the wording of the Is. passage has been changed significantly.

Qumran passage. Thus the omission of "the foundations" is not due to interpretative motive as Lindars suggested. In the parallel passage, 1QH VI.26, $\text{טִּבְּנֵי יְסוּדֵי}$ is used to express the idea of founding, to which $\text{τιθέναι λίθον ἀκρογωνιαῖον}$ could be a parallel (although ἐμβάλλειν would be appropriate). The Targum on Is. 28:16 provides another parallel to τιθέναι with בְּנִי . It seems likely then that the form of the NT quotation resulted from the frequent use of this OT verse as a popular expression in the Jewish world.

A comparison with the Hebrew of Is. 8:14 shows that the NT quotations are closer to the text rendered there than is the LXX. In Is. 8:14 the LXX negates the assertions of the Hebrew text and places a conditional sentence at the beginning of the verse. It also adds συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ and causes πρόσκομμα and πτῶμα to take the dominant role in the genitive constructions.

Concerning Is. 28:16, neither the NT nor the LXX is an exact reproduction of the Hebrew. The NT quotations follow the Hebrew with the words ἐν Σιών but make several alterations in the interest of convenience. Apart from the NT use of τιθέναι already discussed, the important feature here is the agreement of the NT and some manuscripts of the LXX against the Hebrew in the reading $\text{ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ}$. As indicated in the discussion on the LXX,⁸ it is conceivable that ἐπ' αὐτῷ was added to some manuscripts of the LXX because of the influence of the NT, but this suggestion is not satisfactory. In the Hebrew text the content and object of belief are not specified, and it appears that the ἐπ' αὐτῷ of the LXX was added to meet

⁸See supra, pp. 51-53.

this need. A similar remedy was effected in the targum by the addition of לְמַלְכֵּךְ which refers to the appointing and strengthening of a king. Further evidence that the ἐπ' αὐτῶ was not added under Christian influence is the presence of the same phrase in the LXX reconstruction of Is. 8:14 which was dependent on 28:16.⁹

Although there was precedent in Judaism for certain features of the NT wording of the quotations, the exact forms of Is. 8:14 and 28:16 in the NT are not paralleled in any other source. The other Greek versions do not follow the LXX in negating the assertions of Is. 8:14, but they do not conform to the NT tradition. There are two different renderings preserved of Symmachus' translation of Is. 8:14, one of which reads $\text{εἰς δὲ λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ εἰς πέτραν σκανδάλου}$, almost the same as the NT account.¹⁰ If one accepts this preservation as the correct one, he could accept with Stählin that this is evidence for a translation form that preceded Peter and Paul.¹¹ The tradition behind the NT authors remains to be considered, but the NT quotations cannot be fitted into the textual history of Is. as we know it.

It is usually considered that Is. 8:14 and 28:16 were brought

⁹Ibid. ἐπ' αὐτῶ could have appeared first in the interpretation of 8:14 and then been carried over to 28:16, but either way it is not a Christian addition.

¹⁰The text quoted is that preserved in the Theophany of Eusebius. That preserved by Procopius has πτώματος instead of σκανδάλου .

¹¹Stählin, p. 192. Symmachus is believed to have adapted current translations in certain passages. J. de Waard, A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), p. 61, preferred to think of an adaptation to Hebrew text traditions as in Aquila. On the opinion that there were at least two forms of the Greek OT in NT times, see supra, p. 52 n. 4.

together by Paul or the tradition behind him on the basis of the stichwort combination,¹² and care is usually taken to point out the diversity of the two Is. passages. The imagery in Is. 8:14 is different from that in Is. 28:16, but, as we have shown, it is not true that the connection of the two passages was first made by Christians.¹³ The verbal similarities between Is. 8:7-9 and 28:15 and 18 and between 8:15 and 28:13¹⁴ show that the two passages had been connected by their author. Obviously the connection of the verses by Paul was a legitimate one,¹⁵ but if, as Ziegler pointed out, the translator of the LXX who restructured Is. 8:14 was dependent on Is. 28:16,¹⁶ Paul was following Jewish tradition in connecting the two verses. Apparently the two verses were associated in the targum tradition as well.¹⁷

Granted that Paul was following Jewish tradition in connecting the two Is. passages, the parallel with I P 2 becomes less of an obstacle.

¹²Ellis, p. 50; Muller, pp. 75f.; Michel, p. 85; and Stählin, p. 191.

¹³Contra Ulrich Luz, Das Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1968), p. 97.

¹⁴See supra, pp. 27-28.

¹⁵Cf. Wilhelm Vischer, "Das Geheimnis Israels: Eine Erklärung der Kapitel 9-11 des Römerbriefs," Judaica, VI (1950), 104; and Ernst Gaugler, Der Römerbrief (Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1952), II, 87, who followed Vischer, but the reason given for the legitimacy of the combination is inadequate.

¹⁶Joseph Ziegler, Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias (Münster i. W.: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934), p. 95. See supra, pp. 52-53. Friedrich Adolph Philippi, Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, trans. J. S. Banks (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1879), II, 136, noted the connection between the two verses in the LXX, but interpreted it wrongly.

¹⁷See supra, p. 75.

Still, there are a number of parallels between Rm. and I P that cannot be lightly dismissed. In earlier days it was accepted that Peter borrowed from Paul,¹⁸ and a number of scholars would still accept some kind of influence of Rm. on I P,¹⁹ but many would prefer to think of a common tradition behind both authors.²⁰ Particularly Bigg, Wand, and Selwyn have argued that both writers were dependent on liturgical and catechetical teaching.²¹ Obviously, the parallels raise the much larger questions of the "testimony book" hypothesis and the relation of I P to the Pauline epistles in general. Both of these issues occupy the center of an analysis

¹⁸F. J. A. Hort, The First Epistle of St. Peter I.1-II.17 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898), p. 116: "It is morally certain that St. Peter borrowed from St. Paul..."; Michel, pp. 40f.; and William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895), pp. lxxiv-lxxvi, but cf. pp. 281f.

¹⁹For instance, Ernest Best, I Peter, New Century Bible (London: Oliphants, 1971), pp. 32-36, argued for the influence of Pauline theology via the Roman Church on the author of I P rather than direct dependence. Francis Wright Beare, The First Epistle of Peter (3d ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), p. 40, spoke of "such clear dependence upon the Epistles of St. Paul."

²⁰Cf. C. H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934), p. 164, and According to the Scriptures (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1952), p. 43; Ellis, p. 89; A. M. Hunter, Paul and his Predecessors (rev. ed.; London: SCM Press, 1961), pp. 61-63 and 87; Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Römer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), p. 220 (a change from his earlier position, see the previous note); F. F. Bruce, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (London: Tyndale Press, 1963), pp. 199f.; Christian Müller, Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Volk: Eine Untersuchung zu Römer 9-11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), pp. 33f., Luz, pp. 95f.; and Karlheinz Müller, pp. 74f.

²¹Charles Bigg, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901), pp. 15-24; W. C. Wand, The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude (London: Methuen & Co., 1934), pp. 19-20; and Edward Gordon Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan & Co., 1964), pp. 17-23 and 365-466. Selwyn's analysis extended to the catechetical material in all the NT epistles. J. /

of the Church's use of the stone testimonia and will also be considered in connection with other passages.²²

Of the parallels between Rm. and I P, the following should be mentioned:

- 1) Rm. 9:22-predestination to destruction//I P 2:8-predestination to stumbling
- 2) Rm. 9:25-non-LXX quotation of Hos. 2:25(23)//I P 2:10-non-LXX allusion to Hos. 2:25(23), but different from Rm.
- 3) Rm. 9:33-quotation of Is. 8:14 and 28:16 combined//I P 2:6-8-quotation of Is. 28:16 and 8:14 separately
- 4) Rm. 10:8-τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν (with reference to an OT passage)//I P 1:25-τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν εἰς ὑμᾶς (with reference to an OT passage)
- 5) Rm. 12:1-2-spiritual sacrifices (λογικός and συσχηματίζεσθαι)//I P 1:14 and 2:2-5-spiritual sacrifices (λογικός and συσχηματίζεσθαι)²³

Concerning these parallels, however, one should note that:

- 1) The predestination theme in I P does not use similar language to that in Rm. Moreover, the concept is used in connection with the stumbling stone in I P, but it is not in Rm.
- 2) Neither I P nor Rm. reproduces the LXX of Hos. 2:25, but I P obviously uses a different tradition than Rm. (ἐλεεῖσθαι vs. ἀγαπᾶσθαι).²⁴

²²See infra, pp. 311-314, 335-344, and 371-374.

²³Best, p. 33, pointed out that the two words are not used elsewhere in the NT. He also saw a dependence of I P on Pauline thought in I P 2:24b (cf. Rm. 6:11) with the concept of dying and living connected to the death and resurrection of Jesus, but this idea is at least implicit in the central idea of rebirth through the resurrection of Christ (I P 1:3, 20-23; 3:21). A further parallel mentioned by Best as showing the dependence of I P is that between Rm. 13:1-7 and I P 2:13-17. That both are dependent on catechetical material was rejected by Best because neither is there reference to this subject in any other genuine Pauline letter nor is there such mention in Eph. and Col. In addition, the style of Rm. 13:1-7 is Paul's normal style and was introduced into catechetical teaching by Paul and is the source for I P 2:13-17. This is the strongest point in favor of dependence by I P, but it is not completely convincing. There is little verbal similarity between the passages, and the more lengthy style may well be due to the need to explain why submission to the state was necessary. See Selwyn pp. 426f.

²⁴Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 75.

3) Although I P and Rm. agree against the LXX at several significant points, one cannot argue for the dependence of I P on Rm. from the stone citations. Dodd's words can hardly be improved upon: "That the author of I Peter borrowed from Romans could be maintained only on the rather unlikely assumption that he first disentangled the conflated passages, and then supplemented them with parts of Is. XXVIII. 16 which Paul had omitted, and yet that he did not supplement them out of the LXX, since his version does not entirely agree with the LXX even where there is no Pauline parallel."²⁵ In addition the two contexts are not the same.

4) The OT quotations containing ῥῆμα with which the respective writers identify the Christian message are different. While the correspondence here is hardly adequate to speak of dependence, it does show the tendency to identify Christian preaching with the message of the OT. (Cf. Rm. 10:17 where a similar connection of the Christian proclamation to an OT verse has been made.)

5) The idea of a Christian priesthood or Christians offering spiritual sacrifices by their deeds is not confined to these passages. (See Rm. 15:16; II Cor. 9:12; Phil. 2:17; 4:18; Heb. 12:28; 13:15-16; and Rev. 5:8.) A spiritualized cultus is rooted in the OT, frequent in Qumran, and probably was characteristic of a widespread movement against normative Judaism of which the Qumranites were only an extreme part.²⁶ If λογικός and συσχηματίζεσθαι occurred together in I P, their appearance would bear more weight. As it is, I P 1:14 warns against conforming to old desires which were characteristic of the time of ignorance while Rm. 12:2 warns against conforming to this age. Moreover, the use of λογικός in I P 2:2 is not used with reference to the Christian's service as in Rm. 12:1, but to the unadulterated nourishment of Christians. A very telling blow to the argument for the dependence of I P on Rm. is that C. Leslie Mitton found in I P 2:2-6 proof for the dependence of I P on Eph. 2:18-22.²⁷ A theory that will account for the dependence of I P 2:2-6 on both Rm. 12:1-2 and Eph. 2:18-22 would be too complex for acceptance, but there are obvious parallels with both passages. (The Eph. passage is dependent on Col. 2:19.)

The parallels mentioned above are inadequate for a theory of the dependence of I P on Rm. Whether all these parallels are due to a common

²⁵Ibid., p. 43. Cf. Karlheinz Müller, pp. 74f.; and Luz, p. 96.

²⁶See Bertil Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), passim and esp. pp. 71-72; R. J. McKelvey, The New Temple (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 43-57; and C. F. D. Moule, "Sanctuary and Sacrifice in the Church of the New Testament," JTS ns, I (1950), 29-41.

²⁷The Epistle to the Ephesians (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 186f.; and cf. his "The Relationship Between I Peter and Ephesians," JTS ns, I (1950), 70f. See infra, pp. 335-336.

tradition behind both writers (which seems preferable) or whether I P has been influenced by Pauline theology in a general way cannot be determined here. But particularly with the stone citations and the lo-ruhamah saying it seems that both writers were dependent on Christian tradition. This would mean that Paul in Rm. 9-11 drew from stock Christian material for his argument. The way in which he used the stone imagery verifies this. In writing to Roman Christians that he had not met, Paul referred to the stone of stumbling as a well-known subject and did not even bother to identify the stone.²⁸ This is all the more surprising since the verse plays such a crucial role in this part of Rm. One can only conclude that by 55-60 A. D. the stone imagery had developed from Ps. 118:22 to include Is. 8:14 and 28:16 and that it had become part and parcel of the Christian apologetic.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that some kind of testimony hypothesis most adequately accounts for the parallel stone passages in Rm. and I P. The inclusion of the lo-ruhamah saying from Hos. 2 in both epistles in close proximity to the Is. citations is further concrete evidence that cannot be lightly dismissed. The arguments of the respective epistles are original with the authors, but they were deduced from quotations taken from a collection.²⁹ Whether one should think of an oral or written collection and whether there were collections of various types of

²⁸Lindars, p. 177; and Luz, p. 97.

²⁹Cf. Rendel Harris, "St. Paul's Use of Testimonies in the Epistle to the Romans," Expositor, 8th series, XVII (1919), 411. The qualification by C. K. Barrett (A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1957, p. 194) that Paul was aware of what he was doing in using the composite citation must be admitted.

material (i. e., quotations, catechetical instructions, and par^anesis) is uncertain at this point in our investigation, but it does seem certain that both writers were dependent on a collection of proof texts for their use of the stone imagery.

The collection used for the Is. quotations may well have been an anthology of messianic proof texts. The evidence of the targum, the observations on the LXX ἐπ' αὐτῶ, and the evidence of the Qumran usage verify that Is. 28:16 was given a messianic import by Judaism before the birth of Christianity.³⁰ The use of the imagery as an anti-Judaic polemic would have had little force if this were not the case. What Paul has done in Rm. 9-11 is take the Jewish scriptures and traditions and turn them against the Jews to prove the legitimacy of the Christian view. This is evidenced by the frequent use of the OT in this section and by the use of the tradition in 10:6-8 which has its parallel in Targum Neofiti.³¹ At least in his treatment of the stone imagery he had Christian precedent for his method.

The Church's attraction to the Is. passages is easily understood. The use of Ps. 118:22 as verification of the death and resurrection of Jesus was clearly the first step in the use of the testimonia and would have directed attention to the other stone passages. The popular use of

³⁰As Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," TDNT, IV, 272f.; contra Gaston, p. 219.

³¹Neofiti on Dt. 30:12-14 (plate 432); cf. Martin McNamara, The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), pp. 70-78, but it would be better to understand Paul as referring to Christ as the New Torah rather than the New Moses. It appears that Paul was using the same tactic in I Cor. 10:4. The tradition on which Paul is dependent is certainly not a Hellenistic Christian Israel polemic as Christian Müller, p. 33, suggested.

Is. 28:16 with reference to the secure refuge in the day of judgement, and for some at least, to the Messiah, provided further verification and no doubt was brought into use quickly. Is. 28:16 could account for the use of Is. 8:14 as well since the two verses were connected in Jewish tradition,³² but it seems that one other factor should be included. The Church may have been attracted to Is. 8:14 by the proverb which concludes the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen in the "Q" version since it alludes to Is. 8:14.³³ This is important for an analysis of the proverb, for it would suggest that the proverb precedes the Christian use of Is. 8:14 since it is unlikely that the Church would abandon the witness of scripture for a proverb; rather, the converse is what one would expect.

Paul's personal attraction to the Is. stone passages was due to their theological usefulness, and the conflation of the two citations is probably due to his own hand.³⁴ Merged citations are frequent in the Pauline literature, and the quotation fits so succinctly into the Pauline argument that no part of the verse may be considered superfluous. Paul no doubt knew the complete stone tradition (as preserved in I P 2:6-8), but omitted the reference to Ps. 118:22 and the extraneous parts of Is. 28:16 because they were not germane to his discussion.

The Place of the Imagery in Paul's Argument

One of the serious problems of the early Church with which Paul

³²The messianic interpretation of Is. 8:14 in b Sanh 38a is probably late, but it should not be ignored.

³³The Synoptic evidence that Jesus used the σκάνδαλον imagery with reference to himself is not unimportant. See Mt. 11:6// and 26:31f.//.

³⁴Karlheinz Müller, p. 75; contra Lindars, p. 177.

had to deal was the unbelief of the Jews.³⁵ Rm. 9-11 represents Paul's concern with this problem and should be viewed as an integral part of Rm. and Paul's understanding of the whole Gospel (cf. 1:16-17 and 3:1-4). This section of Rm. presupposes and often reuses earlier arguments found in chapters 1-8,³⁶ but part of the answer to the dilemma and the framework of the discussion are provided by the stone citation in 9:33.

In Rm. 9:6f. Paul countered the possibility that Israel's unbelief was because of the failure of the Word of God by arguing as in 2:28-29 that not all who are from Israel are really Israel. In 9:14f. he countered the possibility that God is unrighteous by asserting that while the mercy of God is the only means of hope, God in his sovereignty has mercy on whom he wills. In 9:19f. he emphasized the sovereign freedom of God, and in 9:24f. he showed that the Gentiles partake of God's calling. In 9:27f., with even heavier reliance on the OT than previously, he proved that only a remnant of Israel will be saved. To this point Paul had not answered the question, but had only verified that God's actions are righteous and sovereign and that the Gentiles have been called while only a remnant of Israel has been so fortunate. In 9:30-31 he summarized the seemingly incredible result: Gentiles who were not pursuing righteousness attained the righteousness which results from faith, but Israel, who was pursuing

³⁵Johannes Munck, Christus und Israel: eine Auslegung von Rom. 9-11 (København: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1956), pp. 19-24 [English translation: Christ & Israel: An Interpretation of Romans 9-11, trans. Ingeborg Nixon (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), pp. 14-22], although reserving judgement with respect to his discussion of individual passages in the Gospels.

³⁶Ernst Käsemann, "Paul and Israel," New Testament Questions of Today (London: SCM Press, 1969), p. 186, went so far as to say that the argument of the whole letter is repeated in chapters 9-11.

a principle that would give righteousness, did not reach that principle.³⁷ Finally in 9:32-33 the answer to the problem of Israel's failure was given: her attempts were not on the basis of faith but as if (ὡς) her goal could be reached on the basis of works; she stumbled at the stone of stumbling about which the Is. passages speak.³⁸ The first part of the answer is based on the justification teaching of 3:20 and 28³⁹ and involves Israel's inadequate view of her own sin (3:10-19). The second part of the answer stated that she took offence at the act of God which was intended for her salvation. One should note that the running and attaining imagery fits in well with the stumbling motif and looks back to 9:16 (and possibly even to ἐκπίπτειν of 9:6). Further, the placing of the stone reflects the sovereign freedom of God as discussed in 9:19f.

³⁷It does not appear that Paul used νόμος in 9:31 in a negative way nor that he was referring to the legal system. Rather, his usage was general and should be understood as an ideal or principle that would result in righteousness. The Jewish goal was not wrong, but their methods were. Cf. Sanday and Headlam, p. 279; Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer, Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Romans, trans. John C. Moore and Edwin Johnson (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1879), II, p. 163; John Murray, The Epistle to the Romans (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965), II, 43; Michel, Der Brief an die Römer, p. 219 n. 4, while recognizing with the last that the precise intentions of δικαιοσύνη and νόμος are not clear.

³⁸λίθος προσκόμματος should be understood as a stone which leads to or causes stumbling. Cf. Stählin, "προσκόπτω, πρόσκομμα, προσκοπή, απρόσκοπος," TDNT, VI, 746f.; and Karlheinz Müller, p. 83.

³⁹Cf. Erich Dinkler, "The Historical and the Eschatological Israel in Romans Chapters 9-11: A Contribution to the Problem of Predestination and Individual Responsibility," The Journal of Religion, XXXVI (1956), pp. 112f. (who also noticed that this is true of chapter 8); Christian Müller, pp. 37 and 87; Murray, p. 43; Chr. Senft, "L'élection d'Israel et la justification (Romains 9 à 11)," L'évangile, hier et aujourd'hui: Mélanges offerts au Professeur Franz-J. Leenhardt (Genève: Editions Labor et Fides, 1968), 135. Senft's statement (p. 132) that Paul did not know in advance what he would say in chapters 9-11 is extremely doubtful.

The vital role that 9:30-33 plays is not exhausted with the answer to the dilemma. This short section resounds repeatedly in chapters 10 and 11, and one may even say that chapters 10 and 11 are to some extent an exposition of it.⁴⁰ Of special note is the fact that the latter part of the quotation in v. 33 is repeated in 10:11 and with the occurrence of πιστεύειν provides a stichwort for 10:1-17.⁴¹ The thought and wording of 9:30-33 which reappear in chapters 10 and 11 should be noted:

- 1) 9:32-33 is paralleled by 10:3-4 (9:32-προσέκοψαν//10:3-ἀγνοοῦντες...οὐχ ὑπετάγησαν; 9:33-"the one who believes will not be ashamed"//10:4-"righteousness to all who believe"; and an interpretation of τέλος as "goal" or "aim" would reflect the pursuit imagery of 9:30f.).⁴²
- 2) 9:31-32a is reflected in 10:2-3.
- 3) The pursuit imagery of 9:30f. is continued in 10:6-7.
- 4) 9:32a and 33b are reflected in 10:5-11, especially with the repetition of 9:33b in 10:11.
- 5) 9:32b is reflected in 10:16, 21; and 11:11.⁴³
- 6) 9:30 is verified by scripture in 10:20.
- 7) 9:30-33 is repeated and explained by scripture in 11:6-11.

⁴⁰Michel, Der Brief an die Römer, p. 218; Barrett, pp. 192 and 194; and Christian Müller, p. 37.

⁴¹Michel, Der Brief an die Römer, p. 220. For this reason it is not right to view Is. 28:16 as only a frame for 8:14 or in any way secondary in Paul's thought (as Karlheinz Müller, pp. 74 and 79; and Stählin, Skandalon, p. 191, appear to have done).

⁴²Christian Müller, p. 87 n. 64. He included the parallel between the negative effect of Christ as a stumbling stone and as the end of the law. Τέλος may include this idea, but it seems best to understand it primarily in a teleological sense (see Rm. 3:31 and Gal. 3:24). Cf. Andrew John Bandstra, The Law and the Elements of the World: An Exegetical Study in Aspects of Paul's Teaching (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1964), pp. 102 and 105; Ragnar Bring, Christus und das Gesetz (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), pp. 43 and 49; and Walter C. Kaiser, "Leviticus 18:5 and Paul: Do This and You Shall Live (Eternally?)," JETS, XIV (1971), p. 26. There is, of course, dissenting opinion: cf. Michel, Der Brief an die Römer, p. 224; Sanday and Headlam, pp. 284-285; and Andrea van Dulman, Die Theologie des Gesetzes bei Paulus (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1968), p. 126. The two views are not mutually exclusive: see Barrett, pp. 197-198.

⁴³The parallel is even closer if one understands the offence to include the proclamation of the message. See infra, p. 264.

The importance of this middle section of Rm. 9-11 is recognized by Munck, but his separation of 9:30-10:4 from 10:5-21 cannot be maintained. His view was that 9:30-10:4 refers to the unbelief of the Jews during the earthly life of Christ while 10:5-21 refers to the gospel after the resurrection and Paul's fruitless preaching to the Jews.⁴⁴ The main point in his favor is the apparent contradiction between 10:2-3 where the Jews are described as ignorant and 10:19 where it is said that they "know." However, the latter only indicates that the Jews should have known.⁴⁵ The parallels between the two sections, particularly the paraphrase of 9:30-33 in 11:6-11, prohibit such a dichotomy. The desire and empathy which Paul expressed for the Jews in 10:1-2 is not, as Munck suggested, brought about by a reference to the crucifixion. The expression by Paul that the Jews should come to salvation is a natural consequence of his having explained why they have not.

The point of Paul's argument is that the Jews, because they started from works rather than faith, stumbled at the goal to which the law was intended to bring them. This is at least the intent of 9:33 and is even clearer if 10:4 is taken teleologically. The twofold effect of the stone was part of the divine plan and was prophesied by Isaiah. Since Jewish tradition behind Paul understood Is. 28:16 as in some sense "messianic" and had connected it with Is. 8:14, the mixed citation serves as literal

⁴⁴Munck, pp. 61-66.

⁴⁵Sanday and Headlam, p. 299; Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, p. 170; M.-J. Lagrange, Saint Paul Epître aux Romains (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie Editeurs, 1950), p. 253; Michel, Der Brief an die Römer, p. 223. (Michel took 10:2-3 as referring to a false understanding rather than complete lack of knowledge. The wording of the two passages is different.)

fulfillment of the rejection of Christ by the Jews and as a further proof of salvation by faith.⁴⁶

The identity of the stone for Paul seems obvious; it refers to Christ so clearly that it can even be left unspecified. Lindars questioned the validity of this identification by suggesting that the stone is not a symbol for Christ but is a vivid poetic image. He thus interpreted the passage as saying:

The consequence of belief in Christ, or of unbelief, is like a precious stone in your way. If you see it and take hold of it, you have got something of real value. If you are blind, it trips you up.⁴⁷

This is not, however, what the passage says, although v. 32 could be interpreted this way if one took both halves of the verse as saying the same thing. If this interpretation is applied to v. 33, it is evident that it is not valid since it makes faith in faith the intent of v. 33b. One cannot escape the personal reference of ἐπ' αὐτῷ. This is verified by the occurrence of χριστὸς in the parallel expression of 10:4 and certainly by the personal reference the quotation of Is. 28:16b has in 10:11.

In connection with Acts 4:11f. the suggestion was made that Joel 3:5 may be the foundation of the narrative there. In Acts 4:11 the stone imagery is associated with salvation, and if there is an allusion to Joel 3:5, it is implicit that the one who is the stone is also Lord.⁴⁸ The use of Is. 28:16 in Rm. 9:33 and 10:11 is even more explicit in connecting the

⁴⁶Stählin, *Skandalon*, pp. 199f. As he pointed out, Paul found in the verse the three main elements of his meditation on the philosophy of history: 1) the (provisional) rejection of the Jews because of 2) the rejection of Jesus by them and 3) the grounding of the new community of God.

⁴⁷Lindars, p. 178. (*Italics his*)

⁴⁸See *supra*, p. 244.

stone and salvation. Faith in the one intended by the stone image results in salvation. The theme of lordship is also plainer in Rm. than in Acts. In Rm. 10:13, Joel 3:5 is quoted as a parallel to Is. 28:16 (Rm. 10:11--note the addition of πᾶς), and logically the one intended by ἐπ' αὐτῷ is κύριος. The identification of the stone and lordship themes appears elsewhere⁴⁹ and may have been part of the traditional stone didache.

The exact intention of λίθος προσκόμματος and its parallel in the Pauline argument is not clear. In the context of the passage, one can determine only that the offence of Christ (the stone) is in some way related to salvation by faith, i. e., had the Jews not stumbled they would have attained salvation by faith and the righteousness of God (10:3).⁵⁰ To learn more about the offence of Christ, one must resort to the more explicit statements in I Cor. 1:18-23 and Gal. 5:11. (The latter should be viewed in the light of Gal. 5:6.) These two passages make it clear that it is the crucified Christ that causes offence. To those who believe, it is the crucified Christ who makes salvation possible and who fulfills the law, but those who are offended in him are placed under the obligation and judgement of the law.⁵¹ The proclamation of the gospel and the one who proclaims it share in this twofold effect (I Cor. 1:18-25; II Cor. 2:15;

⁴⁹See *infra*, pp. 344.

⁵⁰Paul S. Minear, The Obedience of Faith: The Purposes of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans (London: SCM Press, 1971), p. 77, saw the stone of stumbling as Paul's stubborn insistence on the election of the Gentiles which eliminates any distinction for the Jews. Surely he was only using the imagery of 9:32b rather than interpreting it.

⁵¹On the relation of the law and the cross, cf. W. Gutbrod, "νόμος," TDNT, IV, pp. 1075-1076.

4:3).⁵² What is stated explicitly about the offence of the cross in the earlier epistles is presupposed by Rm. 9:32-33.⁵³

It is not unimportant to notice that the terminology of the stone is apparently applied to the individual Christian in Rm. 14:13 and 19-21. The relationship of one Christian to another is seen as having a similar double effect. One Christian may be an offence and hindrance to another, or he may serve to edify the other.

One final question should be asked. Granted that Paul is relying on Christian tradition in using the mixed citation, how deeply is his argument rooted in the tradition? Did he find this part of tradition suitable for the expression of an argument that he had already formulated, or did the tradition form the thesis from which the argument grew? The same kind of question may be asked concerning the relation of Rm. 9:33 and the earlier references to the offence of Christ in I Cor. 1:23 and Gal. 5:11. Does the Is. citation stand behind the earlier references or is it just a verse that fits in well with Pauline thought? Particularly because of the importance of Rm. 9:33 in chapters 9-11, it is tempting to suggest that the early Church's use of the Is. citations formed the basis of a good deal of Paul's thought, but one cannot reach certainty here. At any rate, the citations provide the answer to the problem of the unbelief of the Jews and form the basis for the expression of Paul's thought on that subject. In addition they verify salvation by faith in the crucified.

⁵²Stählin, Skandalon, pp. 200-201; and Christian Müller, p. 37, emphasized the negative effect, but the positive effect is present as well.

⁵³Karlheinz Müller, p. 107.

Conclusions on Rm.

The stone citations in Rm. provide several significant insights into the development of the imagery. There seems to be little doubt that, as previous evidence indicated, we are dealing with an early Christian tradition which was taken over from the Jews and used against them. Although this use of the stone imagery is secondary to the use of Ps. 118: 22, it must have been widespread and frequent in the early Church for Paul to have used it the way he did with readers he had not met. The use of Is. 8:14 may reflect the proverb in the "Q" form of the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen. At any rate, there can be little doubt that the Is. stone passages were used by the Church from its earliest days. The form and interpretation of the verses have roots in Judaism. The implicit connection between the stone and the themes of salvation and lordship in Acts 4:11-12 is developed explicitly here in Rm. Two points that are implicit in Rm., that Jews and Gentiles have a common foundation on the stone and that Christians partake of the character of the stone (Rm. 14: 13f.), will be developed explicitly elsewhere in the NT.

The importance of the imagery for Paul himself can hardly be over-estimated. It solved the serious problem of Israel's unbelief and served as a verification of salvation by faith. The twofold effect of the stone contains implicitly most of what the apostle wanted to say in chapters 10 and 11. The stone is his Lord in whom the Jews have been offended and consequently have not attained righteousness, but the ones who believe on this same Lord find in him the source of salvation.

I COR. 10:4

In a completely different vein but apparently using the same pre-supposition that the OT and Jewish tradition provided instruction concerning Christianity, Paul applied the Exodus rock tradition to Jesus. In the context of his warning against various sins, particularly idolatry, Paul used as an analogy the history of the Exodus Israelites, who enjoyed numerous spiritual blessings but were not pleasing to God. That Israel sinned despite her blessings was taken as an illustrative warning for Corinthian Christians. For Paul, Israel's passing through the sea and the provision of her food and water were counterparts of what the Corinthians experienced in baptism and the Lord's supper. The height of Israel's blessing and the warning to the Corinthians are intensified by the fact that the spiritual rock which followed Israel and from which she drank was Christ himself. There is little room for doubt that Paul assumed the pre-existence of Christ and his actual presence with Israel in the wilderness.⁵⁴ What is meant by the fact that the rock was "spiritual" may not be agreed upon by all,⁵⁵ but certainly it is meant that the rock and its water were more than the physical properties those terms connote. At least it means "that which comes from God and reveals him."⁵⁶

⁵⁴Hans Lietzmann, An die Korinther I.II (HNT), ed. Georg KümmeI (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1949), p. 45; E.-B. Allo, Saint Paul première épître aux Corinthiens (2d ed.; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1956), pp. 231-232; Anthony Tyrrell Hanson, Jesus Christ in the Old Testament (London: SPCK, 1965), pp. 10-23; C. K. Barrett, A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), p. 223; and Hans Conzelmann, Der erste Brief an die Korinther (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), p. 196.

⁵⁵See Hanson's discussion, pp. 10-23.

⁵⁶Barrett, p. 222 (following Schlatter).

That the rock followed Israel is, of course, not part of the OT tradition, but it is well-known that there is an extensive rabbinic legend about a well or stream which followed Israel on her journey. This legend is present in the various forms of the Targum on the Pentateuch, including the Fragment Targum and Neofiti, and is attested in the Mishna, Talmud, Tosephta, and various midrashim.⁵⁷ The origin of this "well legend" can be traced to the targumists' improper reading of the Hebrew in Num. 21:16f. Primarily because of an ellipsis of the Hebrew verb, but also because the place names on the itinerary were capable of being interpreted, the words following the song in Num. 21:17-18 were understood as referring to the well instead of the people of Israel.⁵⁸ Consequently the well was understood as traveling from place to place. The majority of commentators have accepted this legend as the background of Paul's statement, but Earle Ellis viewed the situation as more complex. For him the following stream tradition is older than that of the following well and is based on the LXX versions of Is. 48:21 and ψ 104:41. He then saw both Paul and the targums as dependent on the interpretation of these verses rather than being directly related to

⁵⁷See S-B, III, 406-408; and E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), pp. 66-68 [This section of his book appeared as "A Note on First Corinthians 10:4," JBL, LXXVI (1957), 53-56]; and Oscar Cullmann, "πέτρα," TDNT, VI, 97. The main references are the targums on Num. 21:16f. (plates 314-315 for Neofiti), T Suk III.11f.; GnR LXX.8; NmR I.2 and XIX.26.

⁵⁸S. R. Driver, "Notes on Three Passages in St. Paul's Epistles," The Expositor, third series, IX (1889), 15-18; Henry St. John Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought (London: Macmillan and Co., 1900), 204-210; J. W. Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp. N. V., 1954), pp. 110-111 (although he added unnecessarily that the similarity of Ex. 17:3 and Num. 20:2f. was the initial basis of the legend); and A. Diez Macho, "The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum: Its Antiquity and Relationship with the Other Targums," Vetus Testament Supplement, VII (1960), 231-232.

each other.⁵⁹ It is true that the rabbinic legend speaks of a well or stream rather than explicitly of a rock; but whether the various strands of the tradition can be neatly separated is questionable, and it is unlikely that the tradition was ever completely disassociated from the rock that gave water.⁶⁰ For our purposes it is sufficient to show that Paul was adapting a Jewish tradition as a means of expressing his belief that Christ himself was present with the Exodus Israelites to meet their needs.

At the same time it is likely that Paul made reference to the legend only with the word ἀκολουθούσης and that he made such a reference just to emphasize that Christ was continually present with the Israelites. That the rock and its water were spiritual and that the rock was capable of being hypostatized are apparently due to the influence of other factors in Judaism. There are several indications there that the giving of water in the wilderness was subject to a "spiritual" interpretation. Billerbeck offered evidence for identifying the rock with God himself.⁶¹ The Zadokite Document (CD VI.4) interprets the well of Num. 21:18 as the Torah. More important are chapters 10-11 of the Wisdom of Solomon where it is recorded that it was Wisdom who rescued and guided the Israelites, became a covering for them, and brought them through the Red Sea. In 11:4 Wisdom is connected

⁵⁹Ellis, pp. 66-68.

⁶⁰Despite the fact that it is stated that the well was given because of the merit of Miriam; as for example in PsJ Num. 20:2. Contra Driver, p. 117 n. 2, who said that the legend is unrelated to Ex. 17:5 or Num. 20:7-11.

⁶¹S-B, III, 408. The identification is implied in the Mekilta to Ex. 17:6 (60b) [See Jacob Z. Lauterbach, Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1949), p. 133]. Cf. Allo, p. 232.

with the water from the rock.⁶² In addition Philo explained the rock as the Wisdom of God, the highest and chiefest of his powers and from which he satisfies the thirsty souls of those who love him.⁶³ It is the indestructible Wisdom of God which feeds all who yearn for imperishable sustenance and is equated with manna, which is the divine Logos (λόγον θεϊόν).⁶⁴ On the basis of this background Paul has interpreted the rock christologically.⁶⁵

With the understanding that probably both the rabbinic legend and the figure of Wisdom stand behind the Pauline statement, it is now possible to ask if this interpretation of the rock is related to the stone testimonia proper. It is, of course, possible that Paul's knowledge of the stone testimonia, particularly the "rock of offence" (πέτρα σκανδάλου), assisted in such an interpretation, but there is no evidence available to us that would suggest this. Christ is called πέτρα only here and in the two NT quotations of Is. 8:14 (Rm. 9:33 and I P 2:8). In these two passages λίθος is the main idea and πέτρα is included only because of the parallelism in the OT verse. Daniélou, however, suggested a connection between the rock of the wilderness and the Is. stone texts. Without giving evidence he assumed that the rock of the Exodus, which for him is both a source of

⁶²Hanson, pp. 14-15, argued that in Wisdom of Solomon 11:2-7 God is addressed in the second person singular and that the one who gave the water was God himself rather than Wisdom, but such an interpretation violates the context in which the verses are found. See W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (rev. ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 152-153.

⁶³Leg. All. II.86 (with reference to Dt. 8:15).

⁶⁴Det. Pot. Ins. 115-118 (with reference to Dt. 32:13). Apparently Philo was not aware of the following well legend. See Thackeray, p. 210.

⁶⁵Davies, pp. 152-153; Barrett, p. 223; and Conzelmann, p. 232.

disaster and a source of life, was taken up by Isaiah, assumedly in 8:14.⁶⁶ He then connected the stone of Is. 28:16 to the rock of the Exodus because of Philo's interpretation of the rock as Wisdom, which is the angle of the summit in his diagram of Wisdom's relation to the divine powers. Because it is the angle of the summit, Daniélou connected it to the cornerstone of Is. 28:16.⁶⁷ Such a procedure is questionable, and Daniélou's attempts to connect the rock of the Exodus with the stone passages in Is. should be dismissed. There is nothing in either the OT or the NT that warrants such a connection.

Obviously, it is only natural that this passage be included in a discussion of the stone testimonia;⁶⁸ but there is nothing in the text that would indicate that Paul connected the two, nor is there any evidence that other writers of the NT did.

⁶⁶Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality, pp. 159, 164 and 213. His assumption that the stone of Ps. 91:12 (in the second temptation of Christ) is the rock of the desert is equally unfounded.

⁶⁷Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality, pp. 212-213. Philo's diagram (Leg. All. II.86) is reportedly based on ακροτομός of Dt. 8:15 which Daniélou connected to ακρογωνιαῖος.

⁶⁸So J. Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," TDNT, IV, 268-280.

Chapter 8

THE USE OF THE STONE IMAGERY IN THE PAULINE LITERATURE II

To this point in our analysis of the stone imagery, we have been dealing with OT quotations which were used to explain various aspects of salvation history, i. e., the rejection of Christ by the Jews, the resurrection/exaltation of Christ, the offer of salvation, and the failure of the Jews to accept Christ after the resurrection. Outside the quotation in Rm. 9:33, there are three other passages of interest in the Pauline literature¹ (I Cor. 3:10-11; Eph. 2:19-22; and II Tim. 2:19) which speak of the foundation of a building and which should be included in our analysis. These passages are different in three respects: they are not OT quotations (although they may be allusions); they do not use the word "stone;" and they do not explain aspects of salvation history.

I COR. 3:10-11

This is the first passage in which the metaphor of a building is used to describe the relation of Christ and Christians. In order to understand these verses it is necessary to see them in the context of vs. 5-17 and the actual problems of division and jealousy in the Corinthian Church with which Paul was dealing in 1:10-4:21. In 3:5-8 the image of a

¹The designation "Pauline literature" is used to refer to the thirteen epistles traditionally assigned to Paul and was adopted because in these epistles there is relevant material for a profitable analysis. Questions of authorship will not be discussed.

plant was used to show the unity of Paul and Apollos in their work at Corinth and to emphasize that God is ultimately responsible for the success of the Church. V. 9 is pivotal in that it summarizes vs. 5-8 and prepares for the building imagery of vs. 10-17. Then in vs. 10-11 Paul described his ministry as "laying a foundation" and that of those who minister after him as "building upon" and warned that they should be careful how they build. This warning is explained in vs. 12-15, and in vs. 16-17, with the introduction of the temple imagery, a further warning was given to any who would seek to destroy the temple of God.

In the two verses with which we are concerned Paul claimed that as a wise master-builder he laid the only possible foundation for the Corinthian Church and that others must build on his foundation. It is clear that Paul saw himself as occupying a unique place in the ministry of God to the Corinthians. Since he had made the initial proclamation which had brought them into a relationship with Christ, his work was unparalleled and unrepeatable. If the work of others was to be successful, it could be only as a continuation of his own. The special significance and uniqueness of Paul's work is conveyed as well by the planting metaphor of v.6 and by the claim to be the father who had begotten them of 4:14-16.

It has been suggested by T. W. Manson and C. K. Barrett that Paul used the foundation concept to counter a claim made by some in Corinth that Peter was the rock on which the Church was built (Mt. 16:18).² This

²T. W. Manson, "The Corinthian Correspondence (1)," Studies in the Gospels and Epistles, ed. Matthew Black (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962), p. 164; C. K. Barrett, "Cephas and Corinth," Abraham Unser Vater: Festschrift für Otto Michel, ed. Otto Betz, Martin Hengel, and Peter Schmidt (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), pp. 6-7; and his A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), p. 90.

is possible, but there are several considerations which make it unlikely.³ If Paul were directing his remarks against those who sought another foundation for the Church, surely he would have used sterner language.⁴ Also, the divisions that concerned Paul most appear to have resulted from the work of Apollos (3:6 and 4:6), and he made every attempt to show the continuity of Apollos' work with his own.

At the same time, however, Paul felt it necessary to defend his authority and the unique position he held with regard to the Corinthian Church. It was this need of an apologetic for his own ministry that caused the use of the foundation terms rather than theological motives, although theological assertions are implied. Paul emphasized the importance and soundness of his work by saying that as a wise master-builder he had laid the only possible foundation for the Church.⁵ In doing so he provided a basis for the warning he issued to those who build after him (vs. 10b and 12-15). Thus v. 11 is not parenthetical, but is the proof that Paul did his work well.⁶

There has been some uncertainty about Paul's intention with the reference to the foundation. Lietzmann interpreted it in accordance with

³Manson, p. 164, thought that vs. 10-17 alluded to someone other than Apollos and that this person was represented as building on Paul's foundation and that such a procedure was a "somewhat reprehensible practice." The context of vs. 10-15 would imply that others building on his foundation was necessary and that his practice of confining himself to the laying of foundations resulted from his special calling.

⁴Anton Fridrichsen, "Themelios, I Kor. 3,11," TZ, II (1946), 317.

⁵As Barrett, A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, p. 87, Paul did not mean that it would be impossible to construct a community on a different basis, but only that there is no other basis for the Church.

⁶Fridrichsen, p. 317; and Hans Lietzmann, An die Korinther I-II, ed. Georg Kümmer (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1949), p. 16.

the imagery that follows in vs. 12-15 and concluded that the foundation was the teaching about Christ rather than Christ himself.⁷ However, the imagery in vs. 12-15 constitutes a shift from that in vs. 10-11. When Paul said in v. 11 that the foundation is Jesus Christ, it is better to understand that he had in mind his description of the Corinthian community as a building (vs. 9 and 16). They are the building of which Christ is the foundation (cf. 2:2 and 3:23).⁸ Although Paul's purpose was to provide an apologetic for his own mission, one may conclude from v. 11 that Christ is the beginning and basis, the *raison d'être*, of the Church. Since it is within the context of Paul's argument against division that this verse appears, it seems fair to conclude as well that Christ is the basis of unity in the Church.

With this basic understanding of the passage one may ask whether or not this passage is related to the stone testimonia. The metaphors of "founding" and "building upon" were frequently used in the ancient world, and there are several passages highly reminiscent of the language before us.⁹ A. Fridrichsen suggested further in this direction that Paul has borrowed a technical building term with his use of ὁ κείμενος (θεμέλιος).¹⁰

⁷Lietzmann, p. 16.

⁸Ernest Best, One Body in Christ (London: SPCK, 1955), pp. 161-162; and R. J. McKelvey, The New Temple (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 99.

⁹Epictetus II.15.7-9; Philo Gig. 30; Rer. Div. Her. 116; Mut. Nom. 211; Som. II.8; and the Acts of Andrew 16 (Hennecke II, 414-415). See Philipp Vielhauer, Oikodome: das Bild vom Bau in der christlichen Literatur vom Neuen Testament bis Clemens Alexandrinus (Doctoral Dissertation, Heidelberg, 1939), pp. 25-33; and Hans Conzelmann, Der erste Brief an die Korinther (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), pp. 93-94.

¹⁰Fridrichsen, pp. 316-317.

Σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων appears in LXX Is. 3:3, but it also appears in Philo, Som. II.8 in a context of "founding" and "building upon" similar to that here in I Cor. Some have suggested an allusion to Is. 28:16, but there is little evidence for this in the text. The occurrence of the word θεμέλιος alone does not constitute such an allusion. It is fairly clear that there is no explicit allusion to the stone testimonia; rather Paul has taken his terms from the world of the Greek diatribe. It is more difficult to say whether or not the stone imagery is implied. If the Corinthians are a building and Christ is the foundation, is it implied that the individual members are stones in the building and that Christ is the foundation stone in the sense that early Christianity and Judaism understood these terms? Both the building imagery and the stone imagery go back to the earliest days of Christianity, and both have their roots in the OT.¹¹ The two images were combined in the OT (Is. 54:11) and the Qumran Scrolls (1QS VIII.5f.), but were not explicitly joined in the NT until Eph. 2:20 and I P 2:4-8. The passage in I Cor. does imply the same thing about the Corinthian Church that Eph. 2:20-22 and I P 2:4-8 say about the Church as a whole, i. e., that Christ is the beginning and basis of the Church. Because of the OT background and the Qumran parallels, it is doubtful that either image had an existence isolated from the other in the early Church. Although the language is that of the Greek diatribe, it is

¹¹On the building imagery, see Vielhauer, passim; Josef Pfammatter, Die Kirche als Bau (Rome: Libreria Editrice Dell' Università Gregoriana, 1960), passim; Pierre Bonnard, Jesus-Christ édifiant son eglise (Neuchatel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1948), passim; Otto Michel, "οικοδομῶ" and "οικοδομῆ," TDNT, V, 136-147; and K. L. Schmidt, "θεμέλιος, θεμέλιον, θεμελιόω," TDNT, III, 63-64. In v. 16 Paul assumed that the Corinthians were familiar with the teaching that the community is a temple.

likely that Paul was dependent on Christian tradition for his thought. In which case the application of the OT stone quotations to Christ is the background for the idea. At most the reference to the stone imagery is implied, however, and one should not read too much into the text.

One of the most perplexing facts about the whole argument presented in vs. 5-17 is that the imagery is not consistently carried through. It shifts from a plant to a building, then to the building process, then to judgement of materials by fire, and finally to the sanctity of the temple. Lloyd Gaston, in his attempt to deny that Jesus was originally associated with the imagery which describes the community as a temple,¹² argued that the temple image of vs. 16-17 in this passage is not a continuation of the building image of the preceding verses.¹³ While there is an abrupt shift in vs. 16-17, these verses must be understood in their context as part of the overall discussion of the relation of the Corinthian community to those who would attempt to lead and teach them. It is probable that Paul was anticipating the temple concept already in v. 9. The traditional joining of metaphors from the agricultural and architectural spheres appears to have alluded to the people of God in the OT,¹⁴ and at times was

¹²No Stone on Another (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 176-229. See *infra*, pp. 301-306 and 333-335.

¹³Ibid., 183-184; also Vielhauer, pp. 85-86.

¹⁴Ps. 144:12; Jer. 1:10; 12:14-16; 18:9; 24:6; 31:28; 45:4; Ezek. 17:1-8; Amos 9:11-15. The use of the metaphors separately to designate Israel is frequent. On the joining of the two images in other literature, see Eph. 3:17; Col. 2:7; Philo, Rer. Div. Her. 116; Vielhauer, pp. 12-13, 42, 45, and 49-50; and Pfammatter, pp. 19-20. [A. Fridrichsen's articles in Theologische Studien und Kritiken (1922, pp. 185f. and 1930, pp. 298f.) were not available to me.] See also the references in the next note.

used in connection with the temple.¹⁵ Regardless of whether θεοῦ οἰκοδομῆ means "God's building" or "the building God is erecting," it is hard to deny that the phrase would have carried connotations of a building that resulted in God's glory.¹⁶ In addition, there is a logical connection which gives a coherence to vs. 10-17 despite the shifts in imagery. After Paul defended his authority as the "foundation-layer," he issued a warning in vs. 12-15 to those who "build" after him and another warning in vs. 16-17 to those who would destroy. Evidently Paul had reservations about the value of some of the work being done in Corinth and also about the intentions of some present in Corinth and wanted to warn each group accordingly.¹⁷ Thus the building terms of vs. 9-15 are at least a preparation for the temple imagery of vs. 16-17 and cannot be completely divorced from it.¹⁸

Before leaving these verses one should note the similar language of Rm. 15:20. Here Paul stated his desire to preach "where Christ has not been named" so that he would not "build on another's foundation." This

¹⁵1QS VIII.4f.; XI.8; 1QH VI.15f. and 25f.; Philo, *Cher.* 99-102. Cf. CD III.19; and Bertil Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 28 and 58, but I do not think there is sufficient evidence to include the holy rock legend as he did.

¹⁶Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 90: "...it may be taken that the building erected on the one foundation of Jesus Christ is a meeting place for God and man, a setting in which man offers to God the glory due to him."

¹⁷Cf. Pfammatter, pp. 40-44, who suggested that vs. 10-15 deal with teachers who believe correctly while vs. 16-17 deal with those who do not build on the one foundation of v. 11. Barrett's view (*A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, pp. 90-91) is somewhat similar.

¹⁸In addition to Gärtner, Pfammatter, and Barrett (see notes 15 and 17), see M. Fraeyman, "La spiritualization de l'idée du temple dans les épîtres pauliniennes," *ETL*, XXIII (1947), 386-387; and McKelvey, p. 98.

verse contains the Pauline principle which necessitated that he warn those who build after him (I Cor. 3:10b). He considered it his special apostolic calling to preach the gospel where it had not been heard.¹⁹ The equation of εὐαγγελίζεσθαι with οἰκοδομεῖν (which includes both "founding" and "building upon") witnesses the traditional use of building terms for Christian work.²⁰ The implication is that Christian workers are "builders," and one cannot help but suspect that the Jewish designation of their leaders as "builders" is behind the image.

EPH. 2:19-22

These verses represent a more detailed explication of Christ's relation to the Church as described by the building imagery than does I Cor. 3:10-11. The use of ἀκρογωνιαίος as descriptive of Christ makes the passage particularly relevant for our study, but this word and the additional information, particularly in the context in which they occur, have raised several questions about how the text should be understood.

A cursory examination of the text reveals that vs. 19-22 serve as a conclusion to vs. 11-18 and that the subject under discussion is the acceptance of Gentiles on an equal basis with Jews as the people of God.

Background of the Passage

There has been considerable debate about the understanding of

¹⁹Note I Cor. 3:10a. See Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Römer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), p. 367; and Vielhauer, p. 86.

²⁰See Michel, "οἰκοδομέω," 140-144; and esp. Eph. 4:12. There is probably no thought of the community as a building in this verse, but it is easy to see how one could easily slip back and forth between the use of traditional language and the use of the actual image.

certain aspects of this text, and one of the main areas of disagreement has been the determination of the background of the passage. H. Schlier and P. Vielhauer argued that Eph. 2:19-22 has been influenced by the building allegory found in Gnosticism.²¹ More specifically they regarded it firmly established that the use of ἀκρογωνιαίος had been transferred by the Church to Christ from the "Jewish-Gnostic" use which applied the title to Adam.²² In the same vein they and others were convinced that 2:14-18 is a reinterpretation of a hymn borrowed from Gnosticism.²³ On this view

²¹Heinrich Schlier, Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1930) [Kraus Reprint, Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1966], pp. 49-68; and his Der Brief an die Epheser (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1965), pp. 140-145; Vielhauer, pp. 35-55, 129 and 152. However, Vielhauer (pp. 145f.) did not think that the parallel in I P 2 was based on a mythological background.

²²Schlier, Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief, p. 49 n. 1; Vielhauer, p. 152; and Petr Pokorný, Der Epheserbrief und die Gnosis (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1965), p. 116; and his "Epheserbrief und Gnostische Mysterien," ZNW, LIII (1962), pp. 183-184. Schlier did not make mention of this theory in his more recent commentary on Eph. The evidence at the base of this theory is a reference in the Preaching of the Naassenes recorded by Hippolytus in Elenchos V.2 [Migne Series Graeca XVI³, p. 3138 or R. Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder, Studien zum Antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1926), Naassenerpredigt 14].

²³Schlier, Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief, pp. 18-26; and Der Brief an die Epheser, pp. 124-132; Vielhauer, pp. 122-123; Gottfried Schille, Frühchristliche Hymnen (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1965), pp. 24-31; Ernst Käsemann, "Christus, das All und die Kirche," TLZ, LXXXI (1956), 588; Pokorný, Die Epheserbrief und die Gnosis, p. 114; and his "Epheserbrief und Gnostische Mysterien," pp. 182-183. Jack Sanders modified Schille's suggestion by saying that only vs. 14-16 belong to the hymn. He also excluded within these verses v. 15a, the reference to the cross, and the phrase "making peace." That these verses were originally a hymn is proved sufficiently for him by the participial predications, the parallelismus membrorum and the opening αὐτός ἐστιν. He admitted that his reconstruction of the strophic arrangement is minimal rather than definitive. Sanders based his theory on the work of Schlier and Schille, but granted that Schlier's attempts to connect this passage with pre-Christian Judaism were not very successful. (See Jack T. Sanders, The New Testament Christological Hymns, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971, pp. 14-15 and 88-92; and his "Hymnic Elements in Ephesians 1-3," ZNW, LVI, 1965, pp. 216-218.)

ἀμφοτέρα (v. 14, in contrast to ἀμφοτέρους of v. 16) refers to the Gnostic understanding of two spheres, the heavenly and the earthly, and τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ (v. 14) refers to the barrier between those two spheres. This separation of God and man is allegedly transferred in Eph. 2:15-16 to the separation between Jews and Gentiles.²⁴ As the Gnostic myths speak of a redeemer who breaks the barrier between God and man, so Eph. 2 speaks of Christ as breaking down the barriers between God and man and between man and man.

There are several objections that make it questionable that Gnostic elements have influenced Eph. 2:11-22. Concerning our main interest, the building terms of vs. 19-22, there is less to commend the suggestion than with vs. 14-18. Ernst Percy had objected earlier that vs. 19-22 deal with the Christian community in the world rather than with a building in the life to come as the Gnostic texts.²⁵ Others had objected that the building and temple images have their roots in the OT and were paralleled in other NT passages.²⁶ The Qumran Scrolls have now revealed an understanding of the community as a temple which is very similar to what is expressed in vs. 19-22,²⁷ and the many parallels between Eph. and the scrolls make it hard

²⁴Schille, p. 29 n. 32, however, thought that Jews and Gentiles were not intended since ἀμφοτέρους of v. 16 is parallel to ἀμφοτέρα of v. 14. He preferred to think of angels, demons, etc.

²⁵Die Probleme der Kolosser- und Epheserbriefe (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946), p. 329 n. 84.

²⁶Stig Hanson, The Unity of the Church in the New Testament (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksellia Boktryckeri, 1946) [reprinted by The American Theological Library Association, Lexington, Kentucky, 1963], pp. 129-130; and Franz Mussner, Christus, das All und die Kirche (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1955), pp. 111-113.

²⁷Particularly 1QS VIII.5-8.

to deny that both are dependent on the same tradition.²⁸ Schlier's further suggestion that ἀκρογυναιῖος was first applied to Adam by a Jewish-Gnostic sect and then was transferred to Christ by the Church is exceedingly unlikely.²⁹ As Wolfgang Nauck pointed out, the combination of Is. 28:16 and Ps. 118:22 is very suspect.³⁰ There is no evidence of the linking of these two verses prior to the Christian era, and the first explicit occurrence is that recorded in I P 2:4-8. When one notes the allusions in 1QS VIII.5-8 to Is. 28:16, which in the LXX has the only occurrence of ἀκρογυναιῖος, it seems obvious that the author of Eph. 2:19-22 is dependent on the same Palestinian tradition as the author of 1QS.

The debate over the possibility of Gnostic elements behind vs. 14-18 is somewhat more complex. Käsemann granted that Eph. is in many points related to the material from Qumran, but he still insisted that Gnosticism made its contribution as well, particularly in 2:14f. and 4:8f. with the idea of the cosmic Anthropos who unites heaven and earth.³¹ It is clear

²⁸Franz Mussner, "Beiträge aus Qumran zum Verständnis des Epheserbriefes," Praesentia Salutis (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1967), pp. 203-207 and 211; and K. G. Kuhn, "Der Epheserbrief im Lichte der Qumrantexte," NTS, VII (1960-1961), 334-346 (p. 335: "Heute kann man nun nicht mehr davon reden, wie Schlier S. 19 doch recht vage sagt, die Sprache des Epheserbriefes stehe unter dem Einfluß der judenchristlichen 'Gnosis'. Angesichts der umfangreichen Texte von Qumran muß man nun sagen, daß die Sprache des Epheserbriefes unter dem Einfluß dieses Schrifttums steht." (Italics his) [Both these articles have been published in English in Paul and Qumran, ed. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor (Chicago: The Priory Press, 1968).]

²⁹See supra, p. 280.

³⁰"Eph. 2, 19-22--ein Tauflied?" Evangelische Theologie, XIII (1953), 363.

³¹E. Käsemann, "Epheserbrief," Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Kurt Gallig (3d ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1957-1965), II, 518. Similarly N. A. Dahl, Das Volk Gottes (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), 258-260, granted the OT background, but said that this does not exclude the Gnostic background.

that vs. 14-18 are an explanation of v. 13, but it is far from proven that these verses are a reinterpreted hymn.³² Nor has it been proven that the Gnostic redeemer myth was used or was even available for use at the time of the writing of Eph.³³ The barrier in question, rather than being the Gnostic barrier between the heavenly spheres, is more likely the balustrade that prohibited the entry of Gentiles into the inner precincts of the temple.³⁴ The entities separated by the barrier can only be the Jews and Gentiles in this context, and there is no indication that they are only representative of some other division.³⁵ Nor is it necessary to explain

³²The "we-style" is not necessarily hymnic or confessional (*contra* Schille, p. 25). In vs. 11-13 and 19-22 the Gentiles are addressed with the second person plural to state specifically that they have been fully accepted by God. The first person plural is used in vs. 14-18 because these verses deal with events that involved the Jews (and thus the writer) as well as Gentiles. Sanders' suggestion (pp. 14-15) of limiting the hymn to parts of vs. 14-16 is more reasonable, but as Reinhard Deichgraber, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), pp. 165-167, has shown, there is no reason to view this section as hymnic. On the contrary, the passage is prosaic in style. The theory of an underlying hymn is particularly damaged by the inability to show a convincing strophic arrangement.

³³Mussner, *Christus, das All und die Kirche*, pp. 88-91; Percy, p. 285 n. 38; and R. McL. Wilson, *Gnosis and the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), p. 57.

³⁴J. Armitage Robinson, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (London: James Clarke & Co., n. d.), pp. 59-60 and 160-161; Hanson, p. 143; Gaston, p. 191; although McKelvey, pp. 109-110, may have been correct in saying that the temple balustrade and the law both should be included in the interpretation of the barrier. Cf. Best, p. 152 n. 2. References to the balustrade may be found in Josephus *Bell.* V.193f.; VI.124-126 and 310; *Antiq.* XV.417; and Philo *Leg. Gaj.* 212. As Robinson (p. 161) one should remember that it was an Ephesian, Trophimus, that Paul was charged with bringing into the temple (Acts 21:29). It should be added that Schlier's references to rabbinic and apocalyptic Judaism are insufficient to prove the Jewish Gnosis he attempted to find behind this passage.

³⁵As Käsemann, "Christus, das All und die Kirche," p. 588, (following Schille); and Schlier, *Die Brief an die Epheser*, p. 124f. Schille saw, however, that it is difficult to maintain that ἀμφοτέρα in v. 14 and ἀμφοτέρους

the twofold effect of Christ's work (making peace between God and man and between Jew and Gentile) from the view that the Gnostic separation of God and man has been carried over to human relations. The writer's main concern is the unity between the Jews and Gentiles in Christ, but he was well aware that both groups needed to be reconciled to God and anticipated this need in 2:3 and 11.³⁶ Rather than postulate a Gnostic background, it seems much easier to explain the background of the whole passage on the basis of the OT and what is known of the first century Palestinian milieu.³⁷

In a somewhat different direction it has been suggested by J. C. Kirby that Jewish thought about proselytes and proselyte baptism is the background for vs. 11-22.³⁸ (NmR VIII.4 uses Is. 57:19, the verse quoted in Eph. 2:17, with reference to proselytes.) If there would have been no thought that the Gentiles were in any way inferior, it would be possible that the author of Eph. has taken a tradition about proselytes and has

in v. 16 refer to different groups. See supra, p. 281 n. 24. Probably ἀμφοτέρω is an ellipsis of γέννη or something similar (Best, p. 152), but it is possibly an instance of the neuter being used of persons in a general sense (T. K. Abbott, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897, p. 60).

³⁶One may well suspect that the twofold barrier broken down by Christ has reference to the twofold barrier in the temple. The first balustrade prohibited the entry of Gentiles into the court of the Israelites, but there was a second barrier prohibiting the entry of all who were not priests into the inner court. See I Kings 6:36; Josephus Antiq. VIII.95-96; and Bell. V.226. There was a curtain prohibiting further entry into the Holy of Holies, but the two external barriers would have been openly visible.

³⁷This does not exclude the possibility that many elements of a later developed Gnosticism may have been present in the first century, but at most one can speak of a "pre-Gnosis" and not of a Jewish Gnosticism. See Wilson, pp. 23 and 39. With him (p. 82) Gnostic adaptation of passages which are claimed to have been the subject of Gnostic influence must surely weaken that proposal. The more obvious explanation is that Gnostics were using the NT.

³⁸J. C. Kirby, Ephesians: Baptism and Pentecost (London: SPCK, 1968), pp. 156-159.

applied it to the Gentiles' acceptance in the Church.³⁹ At the same time, however, the evidence for this proposal is rather scanty and of questionable date.⁴⁰ Kirby suggested that on an analogy with the sacrificial ideas connected to proselyte circumcision, Eph. sees the sacrifice of Christ as having brought the Gentiles near. From this possible connection with proselytes, Kirby thought it is legitimate to ask further if Jewish thoughts on proselyte baptism are present as well. An indirect reference to baptism is allegedly seen in the enumeration of Christian privileges in vs. 18-22.⁴¹ Even if one does grant the questionable connection to proselytes, there is no justification for interpreting the death of Christ in connection with proselyte circumcision. (It should be remembered that his death provided access for both Jews and Gentiles.) With regard to the possible connection to baptism, W. Nauck suggested that vs. 19-22 are a baptismal hymn.⁴² He, like Kirby, based this suggestion partly on the context which speaks of the change in the position of the Gentiles, but he concluded this also from parallels in I P 2:4-10 and Col. 1:12-20, both of which he assumed to be

³⁹Attitudes toward proselytes ranged from contempt to full acceptance among individual rabbis. See Karl Georg Kuhn, "προσηλυτος," TDNT, VI, 737-738. Cf. 4Q Flor. 1.4 where it is said that בני נכר ונר are forbidden to enter the House of the last days.

⁴⁰There is one quotation (p. 221 of the Soncino Edition) and one allusion (pp. 215-216) to the passage in connection with proselytes. While these uses of the verse may reflect an older tradition, NmR itself is very late (see the introduction, p. vii). The Jews are called the "near ones" also in DtR II.15; VIII.7; EsR IV.2; and VII.13, but this thought is based on Ps. 148:14.

⁴¹Kirby, pp. 157-159.

⁴²Nauck, pp. 362-371.

baptismal hymns.⁴³ The enumeration of Christian privileges, however, or even reference to conversion, does not necessarily constitute an allusion to baptism. It is doubtful that the parallel passages are baptismal hymns,⁴⁴ but even if that were the case, it would not make Eph. 2:19-22 a baptismal hymn. There is nothing in the context to suggest baptism, and the passage is not hymnic in style.⁴⁵

It is best then to understand that the background of the passage is that of a first century Palestinian Jew. The author viewed the Gentiles without Christ through Jewish eyes and their newly acquired position in Christ as a fulfillment of OT prophecy. The union of Jews and Gentiles and the access of both races in Christ to God are described in cultic terms. Several of the ideas are paralleled in the Qumran Scrolls.⁴⁶ Finally it

⁴³Basing his conclusions primarily on Selwyn's analysis of I P 2:4-10 [Edward Gordon Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan & Co., 1964), pp. 268-277] and Käsemann's analysis of Col. 1:12-20 [E. Käsemann, "Eine urchristliche Tauf liturgie," Festschrift: Rudolf Bultmann zum 65 Geburtstag überreicht (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1949), pp. 133-148; this article appeared in English in Essays on New Testament Themes (London: SCM Press, 1964), pp. 149-168]. Some of Nauck's parallels between Eph. 2:19-22 and Col. 1:12-20 are not as convincing as others.

⁴⁴Selwyn's theory of a Christian hymn in I P 2:4-10 (actually vs. 6-8) has found little acceptance. It is likely that there is a hymn about Christ in Col. 1:15-20, but the actual form of the hymn and its Sitz im Leben are debated. See Deichgraber, pp. 143-155.

⁴⁵Käsemann stated that it is stylistically unproveable and actually improper to see a baptismal hymn in these verses as Nauck did. For him these verses are the history of the Church which is founded on the preaching of Christ and the witness of the apostles and prophets. See his "Epheser 2, 17-22," Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen, erster Band (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), p. 282.

⁴⁶Noteably the temple concept of 1QS VIII.5-8; IX.5f.; and XI.7f.; the exclusion of strangers and foreigners (opposite to Eph.) in 4Q Flor. I.4; and the themes of re-creation, making nigh, and unitedness. On these and generally see Mussner, "Beiträge aus Qumran zum Verständnis des Epheserbriefes," pp. 164-178; and Kuhn, "Der Epheserbrief im Lichte der Qumran-texte," passim.

should be added that much of the language in this section was common in the Christian tradition.

The Structure of the Passage

Several comments about the structure of this passage have already been made, but the subject requires further discussion since there have been two independent suggestions that vs. 11-22 form a large chiasmus. G. Giavini viewed vs. 11-14a and 17-22 as a chiasmus deposited around vs. 14b-16 which in turn are made up of a parallel set of four elements deposited around the central section, v. 15a.⁴⁷ Kirby viewed the passage as one long chiasmus divided between v. 15a and b.⁴⁸ The passage is quite pleonastic and does make use of words and ideas previously used, but it appears that both suggestions of chiasmus have forced a pattern on the text.⁴⁹ At the same time, however, there is a loose chiastic arrangement to the passage. The wording of v. 12 is obviously taken up again in v. 19; the language of v. 13 anticipates the quotation in v. 17; and v. 14 is explained in vs. 15-16 (but not in the same order in which the material was given). The remaining verses (vs. 11, 18, and 20-22) do not fit in the chiastic arrangement: v. 11 is introductory; v. 18 summarizes vs. 14-17 (which are themselves an explanation of v. 13); and vs. 20-22 with v. 19 give a

⁴⁷Giovanni Giavini, "La structure litteraire d'Eph II.11-22," NTS, XVI (1969-1970), 209-211.

⁴⁸Kirby, pp. 156-157. Despite their near agreement on the central point of the section, the two suggestions differ greatly.

⁴⁹Giavini admitted that the correspondences are sometimes verbal and sometimes conceptual and that not all the correspondences are clear (p. 210). He also took vs. 11-12, vs. 17b-18 and vs. 19-22 as each comprising one element. In Kirby's analysis A and B do not relate to B' and A', and G and H are the opposite order of G' and H'.

summarizing conclusion to vs. 11-18, but use a different image in doing so.

Analysis of the Passage

With obvious reference to v. 12, v. 19 contrasts the position of Gentiles in Christ with their previous position apart from him. The last phrase of v. 19 (οἰκεῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ) is the only part of this verse that requires comment for our analysis.

In v. 19 the Gentiles are called "fellow citizens and members of God's household," but in v. 20 they are no longer residents in the building but actually the material that makes up the building. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the transition was facilitated by the occurrence of οἰκεῖοι and its proximity to οἶκος which can mean both "family" and "house."⁵⁰ This suggestion is legitimate but there is a further element that has been overlooked. If the Semitic expression for οἰκεῖοι were בני בית,⁵¹ the

⁵⁰Mussner, Christus, das All und die Kirche, p. 107; Best, p. 152; and Pfammatter, p. 78.

⁵¹Gaston, p. 192. There is some question as to the meaning of בני בית. Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (New York: Jastrow Publishers, 1967), p. 168a, translated the phrase as "inmate, attendant;" and Jacob Levy, Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim, ed. Lazarus Goldsmith (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), I, 239a, translated it as "Hausgenosse, zum Hause gehorig." At times the expression is used of servants (GnR LXX.13). The problem is clear in the note in the Soncino Press edition of the Babylonian Talmud on Aboth I.5. The text ("Let the needy be members of your household") could mean "either treat the poor as members of your family or employ poor men (rather than slaves) as servants." Οἰκεῖος was also originally connected to the household slave (see Otto Michel, "οἰκεῖος," TDNT, V, 134; and his article on "οἰκονόμος," TDNT, V, 149). Here in Eph. there is no thought of servitude, but only of belonging to the house. In Gen. 15:3 בני בית is used of a chief servant who is also heir, and in p Sanh. 28d, 10 it is used of a child of the house. On οἰκεῖος see also G. H. Whitaker, "'Of the Household': Is the Rendering Correct?" The Expositor, eighth series, XXIII (1922), 76-79.

equivalence between בן and אבן may be at the base of the transition. The author referred to the Gentiles first as בני בית and meant that they were part of the family of God. Through the connection of בן and אבן, which caused the sons of a family to be designated as stones in a house (אבני בית), he went on to speak of them as having been founded on a firm foundation.

After summarizing his previous argument that the Gentiles have been accepted on an equal basis with the Jews, the author further substantiated that position with the building allegory. It is frequently assumed that his statement that the Gentiles have been built upon a foundation implies that the building is understood as complete.⁵² This cannot be concluded from ἐποικοδομηθέντες alone. This word only views as a completed event the insertion of the Gentile addressees into the building at their conversion. Their position in the building has been secured, but unless ἀκρογωνιαίος is understood as the final stone,⁵³ there is no indication that the building is viewed as complete.⁵⁴

The identification of the foundation upon which the converts are built is debated. The consensus agreement that "prophets" refers to NT prophets is probably correct,⁵⁵ and there is little doubt that the foundation

⁵² Vielhauer, p. 125; Best, p. 166; and Pfammatter, p. 78. This understanding is often, though not necessarily, coupled with an understanding of ἀκρογωνιαίος as the final stone.

⁵³ See *infra*, pp. 290-300.

⁵⁴ Abbott, p. 69; Percy, p. 331; McKelvey, pp. 116-117; and Paul S. Minear, *Images of the Church in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), p. 97.

⁵⁵ *Contra* Mussner, *Christus, das All und die Kirche*, p. 108.

consists of the apostles and prophets themselves rather than being the foundation they laid or on which they rest. But whether "apostles and prophets" should be understood as one group or two and exactly which individuals were in mind is uncertain.⁵⁶ Certainly the designation included the twelve and Paul. Whether Christ was also seen as forming part of the foundation depends on whether one understands ἀκρογωνιαίος as the first stone of the foundation or as the final stone which crowns the building. To this question we now turn our attention.

EXCURSUS III

THE POSITION OCCUPIED BY THE CORNERSTONE

So far in our analysis of the stone testimonia, an attempt has been made to avoid the controversy over the position of the building intended by references to the cornerstone. This question has received much more attention than it warrants since it is not of primary importance for understanding most of the NT passages. In Eph. 2:20 the position of the stone is more relevant than previously, but even here it is not as crucial as the debate over the question would indicate.

It is common knowledge that particularly in Eph. 2:20 many exegetes have abandoned the traditional understanding of a stone in the foundations in favor of the view advocated so vigorously by Joachim Jeremias that the stone referred to is the final or coping stone at the top of the building.⁵⁷

⁵⁶The best discussion of the phrase is given by Pfammatter, pp. 80-96.

⁵⁷"Der Eckstein," *Angellos*, I (1925), 65-70; "Κεφαλὴ γωνίας -- Ἀκρογωνιαίος," *ZNW*, XXIX (1930), 264-280; "Eckstein -- Schlußstein," *ZNW*, XXXVI (1937), 154-157; "ἀκρογωνιαίος," *TDNT*, I, 792; "κεφαλὴ γωνίας," *TDNT*, I, 792-793; "λίθος, λίθινος," *TDNT*, IV, 274-275; ["Die 'Zinne' des Temple

In the past Jeremias' view has received wide acceptance despite objections raised by those favoring the traditional interpretation,⁵⁸ but recently there has been increasing doubt about the applicability of Jeremias' findings to the NT passages.⁵⁹

It is unnecessary here to trace the discussion on this problem or to list the ancient and modern advocates for each view since this has been done by both McKelvey and Schäfer.⁶⁰ It may prove beneficial, however, to look again at the evidence from some of the ancient sources and at the context of Eph. 2:20.

Jeremias found proof for his theory already present in the OT. Except for Is. 28:16 where the foundations are obviously in view, he felt that the following passages in the OT refer to the stone at the top of the building:⁶¹

(Mt. 4:5; Lk. 4:9)," Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, LIX (1936), 195-208; and Jesus als Weltvollender (1930), p. 80]. See also Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Eckstein," Speculum, XIV (1939), 66-72.

⁵⁸Gerhart B. Ladner, "The Symbolism of the Biblical Corner Stone in the Medieval West," Medieval Studies, IV (1942), 43-60; Percy, pp. 330-332 and 485-487; and S. Lyonnet, "De Christo summo angulari secundum Eph 2,20," Verbum Domini, XXVII (1949), 74-83.

⁵⁹Pfammatter, pp. 97-99 and 144-150; McKelvey, pp. 195-204; and Karl Th. Schäfer, "Zur Deutung von ἀκρογωνιαίος Eph 2,20," Neutestamentliche Aufsätze: Festschrift für Prof. Josef Schmid, ed. J. Blinzler, O. Kuss, and F. Mussner (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1963), 218-224 [see also his "Lapis summus angularis: Der Mensch und die Künste," in the Festschrift for Heinrich Lützel (Düsseldorf, 1962), pp. 9-23, which was not available to me].

⁶⁰McKelvey, pp. 195-197; Schäfer, pp. 218-222; and see also Ladner, pp. 43-60.

⁶¹See especially "Der Eckstein," passim. It should be noted that in this article Jeremias suggested that even Is. 28:16 referred to the final stone (p. 66), but in his subsequent articles he admitted that it refers to the foundation stone. Note also in "Κεφαλὴ γωνίας -- Ἀκρογωνιαίος," p. 278, that he suggested that ἀκρογωνιαίος in Is. 28:16 may reflect an older usage in which ἀκρο- was originally only an intensification of γωνιαίος.

1) Jer. 51:26: "And they will not take from you a stone for a corner or a stone for foundations...." It is obvious that Jeremias understood לפנה ואבן and למוסדות אבן as antithetically parallel since he took the former as a top stone. This is unlikely in the context. Both terms were understood synonymously for a leader of the people in the targum on this passage (מלך למלכו ושלטן לשלטנו). The OT context probably indicates literal stones, but still should be understood synonymously.

2) Job 38:6: "On what were its [the earth's] pedestals sunk? Or who set [literally: "threw"] its cornerstone?" Jeremias tried to show on the basis of the LXX that v. 6b refers to a later stage of building than v. 6a and thus refers to the final stone because of the angelic jubilation that follows. Again, however, he has forced his meaning upon the text. The passages cited as proof for a celebration at the insertion of the final stone relate to the dedication of a completed building and make no mention of a final stone. Both vs. 5 and 7 consist of two synonymously parallel members, and one would expect the same for v. 6. Finally, the whole context of Job 38:4-11 deals with the initial stages of creation. In the LXX the angelic praise of v. 7 occurs when the stars were made, and unless one wishes to see a reference to the completion of the "building" (of creation) here, even in the LXX v. 6a and 6b refer to the foundation of the earth.

3) Ps. 118:22: "The stone the builders rejected has become the head of the corner." Here Jeremias assumed that the building is in process and that a previously rejected stone is given a place of prominence, which would exclude an interpretation of a stone in the foundations. It is not certain, however, that the actual construction had begun or that the stone was used in the same building.⁶² The context of this passage gives no clue as to the position of the stone and one can go no further unless he can establish a parallel between this verse and one of the other stone passages.⁶³

4) Zech. 4:7: "...and he will bring forth the chief stone with shoutings of 'Grace, grace' to it." Although the word "cornerstone" does not appear in this verse, האבן הראשה is relevant for this study. It is usually understood that this phrase refers to a crowning stone at the top of a building,⁶⁴ but recently this has been proven to be wrong. As Petitjean and Beuken have shown, the Zech. stone passages refer to foundation laying ceremonies at the restoration of the temple.⁶⁵

Jeremias' main proof for his theory did not come from the OT, however,

⁶²McKelvey, p. 199 n. 3.

⁶³See supra, pp. 44f.

⁶⁴McKelvey, p. 199; and Jeremias, "Der Eckstein," p. 65 n. 7.

⁶⁵Albert Petitjean, Les oracles du proto-Zacharie (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1969), pp. 184-193; and W. A. M. Beuken, Haggai-Sacharja 1-8 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967), pp. 285-289. See supra, pp. 37f.

but from post-apostolic sources. The following may be cited as certain evidence for Jeremias' position:

1) Testament of Solomon 22:7-23:4: "...And there was a great cornerstone (λίθος ἀκρογωνιαίος) which I wished to put at the head of the corner (εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας) crowning the temple of God. And all the tradesmen and all the spirits who laboured on it came together to bring the stone and set it on the pinnacle of the temple but they could not shift it.... I [Solomon] replied to him [the spirit], 'Then, if you are able, lift this stone and set it at the point of the corner of the temple.' [The spirit] obeyed, crawled under the stone, lifted it, and went up the steps, carrying the stone, and placed it at the summit of the entrance to the temple...." Here both ἀκρογωνιαίος and κεφαλὴ γωνίας are used with reference to the stone at the top corner of the temple.

2) Symmachus used ἀκρογωνιαίος in II Kings 25:17 for כתר, the word used for the "capital" or crowning section on top of a pillar, and for פנה ראש of Ps. 118:22.⁶⁶

3) Tertullian understood the cornerstone imagery as referring to the top part of the temple and used it as illustrative of Christ's exaltation.⁶⁷

4) The Peshitta renders פנה ראש of Ps. 118:22 as ܩܘܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ, "the head of the building." (For Is. 28:16 the Peshitta has ܩܘܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ, "the head of the wall of foundation." What was meant is uncertain, but it is clear that some part of the foundations was in mind.)

To these should be added the evidence of the Coptic Apocalypse of James 61: 20-25 mentioned by McKelvey:⁶⁸ "They found him [James] standing on the battlement of the temple on the solid cornerstone. They consented to cast him down from the height...."⁶⁹

⁶⁶Fridericus Field, Origenis Hexaplorum (Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1875), I, 699.

⁶⁷A. M. III.7: "Now these signs of degradation quite suite His first coming, just as the tokens of His majesty do His second advent, when He shall no longer remain 'a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence,' but after His rejection become 'the chief corner-stone,' accepted and elevated to the top place of the temple,...." [Translation according to Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (eds.), The Ante-Nicene Fathers (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), III, 326. Cf. Migne, Series Latina II, 357.] A parallel to this statement appears in A. J. XIV.

⁶⁸McKelvey, p. 197.

⁶⁹Alexander Böhlig and Pahor Labib (eds.), Koptisch-Gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi (Halle-Wittenberg: Martin-Luther-

Additional references were cited by Jeremias as proof for his theory, but most of them are at least questionable if not completely uncertain as to their meaning.⁷⁰ One should remember as well that there is a good deal of post-apostolic evidence in favor of the traditional interpretation.⁷¹

Thus while all of the OT cornerstone passages except Ps. 118:22 (where the context does not permit a decision) refer to the foundations, the post-apostolic material contains evidence for both positions. The

Universität, 1963), pp. 83f.; and see A. Böhlig, "Zum Martyrium des Jacobs," *NT*, V (1962), 210. Possibly one should include 2Q 23 6 if the reading פונה [הרוחו] [אבן פונה] is correct and if it refers to the type/capital of punishment described in II Chron. 25:12 as the editors suggested. [See M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux (eds.), *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân*, Vol. III, DJD (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 83.] On the other hand the clause may mean that the accused will be expelled from the community since 1QS VIII.7 refers to the community as a פונה יקר which will not be shaken. Cf. 1QH VI.25-26 and VII.8-9. All three of these passages are based on Is. 28:16.

⁷⁰The understanding of the Naassenes on the position of the cornerstone as recorded by Hippolytus (Elenchos V.2, Migne, *Series Graeca*, XVI³, 3138) is unclear, particularly because of the allegory involved and the insertion of the rock (Adam) into the foundations of Zion. The testimony of Aphrahat [De Fide 1-9 (R. Graffin, *Patrologia Syriaca*, Paris: Firmin-Didot et Socii, 1894), pp. 5-22] is actually contrary to Jeremias' theory. Aphrahat's main thesis is that Christ is the foundation of the believing. He only mentioned the exaltation of Christ to explain the apparent contradiction between "head of the wall" and "foundations," both from Is. 28:16. The "head of the building" of the Peshitta on Ps. 118:22 is explained as referring to Christ in that it [the Stone] ascended over the building of the Gentiles and on it all their building ascends. Although exalted over the building of the Gentiles, he is still the foundation of their building. On Jeremias' use of references from Prudentius and the Keroba, see Percy, pp. 485-487. PRE 24 says nothing of cornerstones at the top of a building; it only states that the best stones were used at the corners. On the uncertain nature of much of this evidence, see Pfammatter, p. 146.

⁷¹See McKelvey, p. 195 n. 2; Schäfer, pp. 218-219; and Ladner, pp. 49f. Of particular importance is Irenaeus A. H. IV.25.1 (Migne, *Series Graeca*, VII, 1050).

question before us is which position the NT stone passages had in mind and particularly which was in mind at Eph. 2:20 where a cogent argument may be presented for the position at the top of the building.

There are two points in favor of Jeremias' understanding of Eph. 2:20. First, it allows 2:20-22 to be an exact parallel to 4:11-16. In the latter Christ is the head of the body which is "built up" (εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σώματος), which increases (αὔξησιν), and which is fitted together (συναρμολογούμενον). In 2:20-22 Christ would be the top (or head) of the building (οἰκοδομῆ) which increases (αὔξει) and which is fitted together (συναρμολογούμενη). Second, it allows one to see a contrast between Christ and the apostles in 2:20 so that Christ is given a unique position and function in the building. Rather than being on the same level as the apostles and prophets, Christ is exalted above all others so that his importance is emphasized.

However deserving this theory is of careful scrutiny, there are several points which seem fatal to its acceptance. Jeremias admitted that Is. 28:16 and passages dependent on it refer to a stone in the foundations,⁷² but it is difficult to deny that Eph. 2:20 is dependent on this OT passage. Ἀκρογωνιαῖος does not occur in any of our sources outside Is. 28:16 and verses dependent on it until the third century A. D. When a word as rare as ἀκρογωνιαῖος occurs in conjunction with θεμέλιος as at Eph. 2:20, it is safe to conclude that the passage is dependent on Is. 28:16 where the same

⁷²Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," p. 275 n. 64. Cf. Richard N. Longenecker, The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity (London: SCM Press, 1970), pp. 51-52. Best, pp. 165-166, granted that Eph. 2:20 is dependent on Is. 28:16, but still concluded that the top stone was in view. Apparently he assumed that the top stone was meant in Is., but this is excluded by the context.

two ideas occur together.⁷³ It would be hazardous to suggest that Eph. 2:20 with its use of ἀκρογωνιαίος is independent of the remaining stone testimonia, particularly the traditional material recorded in I P 2:4-8 where Christ is called a "living stone" and the concept of the spiritual temple is parallel to the subject at hand in Eph., but Is. 28:16 is quoted in I P 2:6 and alluded to in I P 2:4. (See also Rm. 9:33 and 10:11.) Furthermore, the many parallels between Eph. and the Qumran Scrolls have already been mentioned.⁷⁴ Of obvious importance is the parallel idea of the community as a spiritual temple built on an unshakable foundation. The concept is expressed with terms from Is. 28:16.⁷⁵ If Eph. stands in connection to the same tradition as Qumran, it is not surprising to see in the epistle an allusion to Is. 28:16, however differently used, particularly when the wording of Eph. is similar to that of Is.⁷⁶

At this point closer examination should be given to the two points in favor of the top stone interpretation. The relation between Eph. 2:20-22 and 4:11-16 is close, but this does not mean that the two passages are exactly parallel. There is a mixing of the building and body images in 4:11-16 to some extent, but οἰκοδομῆ in 4:12 and 16 may have lost its metaphorical associations and may mean nothing more than "edification."⁷⁷ In

⁷³McKelvey, p. 201; Schäfer, pp. 222-224; Pfammatter, p. 148; Lyonnet, pp. 78-80; and Percy, p. 330.

⁷⁴See supra, pp. 281-282 and 286.

⁷⁵See especially IQS VIII.5f.; and cf. 1QH VI.25f. and VII.8f.

⁷⁶McKelvey, pp. 201-202; and Mussner, Christus, das All und die Kirche, pp. 203-207.

⁷⁷Contra Schlier, Der Brief an die Epheser, pp. 205-208. Cf. Pfammatter, pp. 109-113.

2:20-22 there appears to be no mixing of images at all since αὕξειν can represent any kind of growth.⁷⁸ Certainly the images of the building and the body are related and are used to describe the same reality, but they are oriented differently in these two passages. In 2:20-22 the subject is the addition of Gentile Christians into the Church, the building which is still in the process of being built. In 4:11-16 the subject is the unity of Christians and the contribution that Christ and each member make to that unity.⁷⁹ The use of συναρμολογεῖσθαι in both passages stresses the unity of Christians, but it does not necessarily mean "fitted together from above" as Jeremias concluded⁸⁰ since the word does not appear outside these two passages. Thus while the passages are closely related, the proximity of their thoughts does not exclude the possibility that the foundation stone was meant in 2:20.

It is true that the understanding of the stone at the top of the building emphasizes the importance of Christ to some extent, but the

⁷⁸Pfammatter, pp. 102-103. It is used of the word (Acts 6:7; 12:24; 19:20); faith (II Cor. 10:15); the gospel (Col. 1:6); knowledge (Col. 1:10); a kingdom (Num. 24:7; I Chron. 14:2); righteousness (Jd. 5:11); the sunlight (see A-G); the wind (Herodotus 7.188); and a city (Plato R. 371 e). Αὕξεισις is also adapted for use in connection with a temple. [See L. Mitteis und U. Wilcken (eds.), Grundzuge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912), I, no. 70, line 12; and M-M p. 92.] Bruce M. Metzger's suggestion ("Paul's Vision of the Church: A Study of the Ephesian Letter," Theology Today, VI, 1949-1950, 58-59) that the usage here is Semitic in origin in that בונה can be used of an actual house or of a dynasty is relevant as well. Nor can one deny the relevance of the traditional use of the planting and building images together. Is it a coincidence that αὕξειν occurs in I Cor. 3:7 as C. Leslie Mitton suggested (The Epistle to the Ephesians, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951, p. 125)?

⁷⁹Percy, p. 331.

⁸⁰Jeremias, "Κεφαλὴ γωνίας -- Ἀκρογωνιαῖος," p. 279; cf. Pfammatter, p. 150.

traditional interpretation achieves the same end. The separate clause and word order underscore what is already emphasized in the compound ἀκρογωνιαίος and in the allusion to Is. 28:16. The stone in this OT passage occupied a unique and important place in the building as the adjectives בִּחֵן and קִרְיָה and the fact that it is worthy of belief indicate. If, as concluded above, there is an allusion to Is. 28:16 in Eph. 2:20, the same emphasis must be accorded the stone in the NT passage. If it is correct to understand this as the first foundation stone (which would have been laid at the corner), its importance is understandable in that it marks the initiation of construction and that it determines the way other stones in the building lie.⁸¹

There are other points which militate against the understanding of a reference to the top stone. Foremost is the fact that this understanding is illogical. It assumes that Christ already occupies the final position in the building although the building is still in the process of being built.⁸² Secondly, it must be asked how the understanding of a final stone fits the context. Unless one understands that the building is an arch, which is extremely unlikely,⁸³ it cannot be said that the final stone holds the building together or that it has any relation to the increase of the

⁸¹See McKelvey, pp. 198-199; Schäfer, p. 226; Pfammatter, p. 149; Robinson, p. 69; Hugo Greßmann, "Der Eckstein," Palästina-Jahrbuch VI (1910), 38-45; W. Watkiss Lloyd, "Eph. II.20-22," The Classical Review, III (1889), p. 419a; and G. H. Whitaker, "The Chief Corner-Stone," The Expositor, eighth series, XXII (1921), 470-472. If the first foundation cornerstone were not laid accurately, the entire building would be "out of square."

⁸²McKelvey, p. 204. Vielhauer, p. 125, admitted that this is an architecturally impossible image, but still accepted the final stone interpretation.

⁸³McKelvey, pp. 197-198.

building. One may even question the alleged importance of the final stone. It may be important for decorative purposes or as a mark of the completion of the building, but functionally it is not of great importance.⁸⁴

Therefore, because of the allusion to Is. 28:16 and the way the foundation stone interpretation fits the context while the top stone interpretation does not fit the context and is illogical, it is better to reject the latter in favor of the traditional understanding of a stone in the foundations. One can only conclude as Pfammatter and Percy that the meaning of ἀκρογωνιαίος was no longer understood by some in the third century and that they reinterpreted the word as the top stone because of the preformative ἄκρο -. ⁸⁵

McKelvey took the argument for the foundation stone a step further by seeing a reference in Eph. 2:20 to the אבן שתייה legend.⁸⁶ He thought that the dynamic overtones that depict the ἀκρογωνιαίος as the vital principle of life which causes the increase of the building are influenced by the idea of the foundation stone as the navel of the earth which is the source and sustenance of life. One may question, however, the applicability of this legend to Eph. 2:20. There is sufficient reason to doubt that the legend was developed enough in the first century to influence the NT writings, but it is particularly questionable that this suggestion is in keeping with the context. It seems improbable that the foundation stone of creation was in mind when the building metaphor is so fully developed

⁸⁴For what it is worth, the allegorical building described in the Shepherd of Hermas (s. IX.4.2; 12.1) depicts Christ as a great rock on which the rest of the building is built.

⁸⁵Pfammatter, p. 147; and Percy, p. 332.

⁸⁶McKelvey, p. 203.

and when the background of the passage is Is. 28:16 and the tradition paralleled in IQS VIII.5-9 which connects the OT passage with the thought of a spiritual temple. Unless one can verify the influence of the

legend on Is. 28:16 or IQS VIII.5-9, for which there is not sufficient evidence, it is doubtful that this legend has influenced Eph. 2:20.⁸⁷

With regard to the rest of the NT stone passages, there is little in favor of understanding a stone at the top of the building. In I P 2:4-8 and Rm. 9:33 the quotation of Is. 28:16 and the understanding that the same stone is a stone of stumbling prohibit the top stone interpretation. In the quotation of Ps. 118:22 in the Gospels and Acts, there is no indication as to the position intended, but in light of the understanding of I P and Rm. it is likely that a foundation stone was meant. At the same time it should be repeated that the position of the stone is of little concern in the Gospels and Acts where the subject is the common theme of the rejection and later exaltation of the servant of God.

Thus in Eph. 2:20 Christ is seen as the first stone in the foundation of the building. Because of the allusion to Is. 28:16 and the use of this verse by the Church, there would have been implications of the trustworthy character of this beginning of God's building. In accordance with the directives which result from the laying of this stone, the remaining parts of the foundation are laid, and the building is built.

It has been objected against this passage that it does not do

⁸⁷See supra, pp. 207-211, although the suggestion here does not encounter the linguistic difficulties of the earlier passages.

justice to the person of Christ. Lloyd Gaston went so far as to call the designation of Christ here "a most awkward conception."⁸⁸ He argued that Jesus has been added to an image in which originally he had no place.⁸⁹ For him, regardless of whether ἀκρογωνιαίος refers to the most important stone of the foundation or to the coping stone, Jesus is still only one stone among others. He found indications that the designation is secondary in the use of the genitive absolute and in the change of the image in v. 21 where Christ has a different role. On his view, the original figure involved only the apostles as the foundation as in Rev. 21:14.

Gaston's understanding of this passage must be seen in connection with his broader treatment of the temple and stone imagery. His theory will be discussed again in connection with I P 2:4-8, but certain criticisms must be made here in connection with his discussion of Eph. 2:20.

One of the biggest objections to his analysis is that he has repeatedly isolated verses from their context. As indicated earlier, his discussion of I Cor. 3:16-17 does not do justice to the context of vs. 9-15.⁹⁰ He refused to see any reference to the temple in Ps. 118:22,⁹¹ but there are several allusions to the temple in the psalm, and the psalm may have even been composed in some connection with the temple.⁹² Similarly

⁸⁸Gaston, p. 223. Käsemann ("Epheser 2, 17-22," p. 281) thought that Christ is camouflaged in these verses, but he understood the corner-stone to be the "Schlußstein."

⁸⁹Gaston, 190-194 and generally 176-229.

⁹⁰See supra, pp. 277-278.

⁹¹Gaston, p. 216.

⁹²Ps. 118:19, 26-27. See supra, pp. 44-47.

he denied the significance of the temple for all the stone tradition (except Eph. 2:20 and I P 2:4-8 where the connection of the two was seen as a secondary development).⁹³ He overlooked, however, that Is. 8:12-13 is used in I P 3:14-15, and it is very unlikely that the author did not associate this reference with his earlier use of Is. 8:14. In connection with this it should be pointed out that Rev. 21:14, Gaston's model for the "original understanding" has nothing to do with the temple concept. Rather it deals with the holy city, and v. 22 states that there is no temple there since God and the Lamb are its temple.

Gaston has also been led astray by his isolation of the temple concept from broader themes such as the people of God or the new Israel. The stone testimonia are used nearly always in connection with the theme of the people of God (Mt. 21:41//, 43; Rm. 9:25f.; Eph. 2:20; I P 2:4-10; and implicitly Acts 4:11-12). With Fraeyman, while the testimonia are not connected explicitly with the temple imagery (except for Eph. 2:20 and I P 2:4-5), it is not surprising that these metaphors have been transferred and applied to the spiritual temple of which Christ is equally the foundation.⁹⁴

Gaston, of course, had to reject that the messianic interpretation of Is. 28:16 (and the stone of other passages as well) is pre-Christian,⁹⁵ but this is contrary to every indication that the sources give us. It is partly this refusal to see the stone tradition as a pre-Christian development that makes ἀκρογωνιαίος seem to him an awkward conception, but if

⁹³Gaston, pp. 221-222.

⁹⁴Fraeyman, p. 410.

⁹⁵Gaston, p. 219.

one takes account of the use of Is. 28:16 within the Christian tradition, this alone should prohibit him from thinking its use here is out of place.

Gaston's attempt to force the NT understanding of Is. 28:16 into the mold of Qumran is equally questionable. He believed that originally this verse was understood by the Church as referring to the community as a temple, just as Qumran had interpreted the verse (1QS VIII.5f.; 1QH VI.25f.; and VII.8-9), and was later applied to Christ because of the other occurrences of the stone testimonia. The proof for this theory he found in Jesus' response to Peter's confession (Mt. 16:17-19), which to him is an allusion to Is. 28:16.⁹⁶ We have already discussed this possibility and have given reasons that make such an allusion doubtful.⁹⁷ It is true that the Qumran community used Is. 28:16 at least as a partial basis for its theory of the community as a temple. It is, therefore, conceivable that Christianity has borrowed the verse from Qumran and has reinterpreted it of Christ, but in such a case the christological element would hardly be a secondary development within Christianity. There is no evidence in the NT that the verse was ever understood of anyone (or anything) other than Christ, and it is precisely the christological element which is the distinguishing factor between the scrolls and the NT.⁹⁸ Such a mere

⁹⁶Ibid., 223-227.

⁹⁷See supra, pp. 206-219.

⁹⁸F. F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts (London: The Tyndale Press, 1960), pp. 77 and 87 (Bruce pointed out that the Qumran interpretation is primarily corporate, although it may be understood corporately of certain individuals. The NT interpretation, however, is primarily an individual one while in the secondary interpretation the people of Christ are associated with their Lord.); Krister Stendahl, "The Scrolls and the New Testament: An Introduction and a Perspective," The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper & Brothers

borrowing of the verse by Christianity from Qumran is, however, a rather simplistic view. Is. 28:16 may have been an impetus to the initial development of the idea of the community as a temple because of the implication that the believing are built upon a sure foundation, but the original intention of the verse was to declare that there was indeed a foundation that was worthy of being built upon. The Qumranites assumed that their community was the foundation, but they were willing to neglect the primary intention of Is. 28:16 in order to use its words as a self-description. They saw themselves as founded on truth (1QS V.5; VIII.5), but instead of using Is. 28:16 to describe this foundation, they used it to describe themselves as a tested, choice, and unshakable wall (or individually as stones in that wall). That the precious corner could be at the same time the tested wall and could have foundations (1QS VIII.8) is not in keeping with the understanding of the precious corner in the OT where it was the foundation itself. At any rate, it is obvious that Is. 28:16 has been modified in the scrolls so that it would be applicable to the community. In addition to the several indications that Is. 28:16 was connected with the Messiah in pre-Christian Judaism, there is the possibility, if not the probability, that the Qumran community was dependent on the messianic interpretation in the targum.⁹⁹ The evidence would indicate that there was a tradition which understood Is. 28:16 of the Messiah and possibly more generally of the messianic age and that the Qumran community adapted the verse to its needs.

Publishers, 1957), pp. 14-17; Frank Moore Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1961), pp. 242-243; and Matthew Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 268.

⁹⁹See supra, pp. 77f.

The Church shared with Qumran the tradition that the community was a temple, but that tradition for her was not based explicitly on Is. 28:16. Rather, this verse was always understood individually of her Messiah and Lord.¹⁰⁰

More specifically on Eph. 2:20, Gaston's analysis is invalid. He expressed concern that Christ should be reduced to "only one stone among others," but surely this is one of the basic statements of the NT. Christ condescended to identify with man that man might identify with him. Christ is the first-born among many brothers (Rm. 8:29; and Heb. 2:10-17), the first fruits of the resurrection (I Cor. 15:20), and the head of the body (Col. 1:18; 2:19; and Eph. 4:15). The statement in Eph. 2:20 is similar: Christ is pre-eminent in dignity and time, but he is also closely related to his Church.¹⁰¹ That Jesus is introduced into the passage in a genitive absolute construction is not proof for a secondary insertion nor for a decrease in the importance of Christ. The word order emphasizes the unique position he occupies, particularly if one takes αὐτοῦ as reflexive.¹⁰² Christ's place in the image is fully appropriate if one remembers the allusion to Is. 28:16 and the importance of the cornerstone both in the building imagery and in the Jewish tradition. The superiority of Christ is maintained as well by the rather pleonastic comments in vs. 21-22 which show that apart from Christ the Church has no existence.

¹⁰⁰ A similar adaptation of messianic references by the Qumran community appears to have been made with regard to Gen. 49:10; II Sm. 7:14; and Amos 9:11.

¹⁰¹ McKelvey, p. 181.

¹⁰² The word could refer to either θεμελίω or Christ Jesus unless one takes ἀκρογωνιαίος as the final stone which would exclude the possibility of a reference to the foundations. See Schäfer, pp. 221-222; and Pfammatter, pp. 98-99.

Therefore, Gaston's suggestion that the reference to Jesus as the cornerstone is a secondary insertion in Eph. 2:20 is unfounded. If one is aware of the background of the passage, the thought is fully appropriate. One may compare Col. 2:7 where the Colossians are exhorted to walk in Christ, rooted and built on him, and established in their faith.

Thus in Eph. 2:20 the Church is seen as founded on the apostles and prophets while Jesus is the most important part of the building, i. e., the initial cornerstone of the foundation. This allusion to Is. 28:16 designates Christ as the beginning of the Church and the stone that controls the lines of the rest of the building. One can conclude from the allusion that the foundation is unshakable. The context and the parallel with 1QS VIII.5-8 would have designated the building as the temple of the last days.

In vs. 21-22 there are several features that require comment. It is clear that the occurrence of ἐν ᾧ at the beginning of each of these verses refers to Christ Jesus of v. 20, but the intention of ἐν κυρίῳ and ἐν πνεύματι at the end of vs. 21 and 22 respectively is uncertain. Because Christ was referred to at the beginning of v. 21 with ἐν ᾧ, it has been suggested that ἐν κυρίῳ means "in God" rather than "in Christ."¹⁰³ This is possible, but there are several reasons for preferring that κύριος refers to Christ: 1) the use of the title κύριος throughout Eph. with reference to Christ; 2) the emphasis of vs. 11-22 and chapters 1-3 on being "in Christ;" and 3) the tendency of the writer to pleonasm. In a different vein it has been suggested that ἐν πνεύματι of v. 22 means "spiritual" rather than "in

¹⁰³Mussner, Christus, das All und die Kirche, p. 110; and McKelvey, p. 117. It is possible but less likely that ἐν ᾧ refers to ἀκρογωνιαίος.

(the) Spirit,"¹⁰⁴ but this is not in keeping with the emphasis on the Spirit in Eph. and especially not with the other occurrences of ἐν πνεύματι (2:18; 3:5; 5:18; and 6:18).

It is not immediately clear how the unity and increase of the Church are related to the statement that Christ is the cornerstone. McKelvey's suggestion that the rabbinic concept of the foundation stone as the navel of the earth lies behind the passage has already been mentioned, and reasons were given that make this hypothesis doubtful.¹⁰⁵ We should add here only that nowhere else in this legend is there any thought of a building growing on the mythological foundation stone. Percy suggested that the author only used ἀκρογωνιαίος as a traditional term and then dropped the image because it did not express all that the author wanted to say about the significance of Christ.¹⁰⁶ Pfammatter posited that there are three variations of the image in vs. 20-22,¹⁰⁷ but his acceptance that the building is seen as complete in v. 20 would require one of these shifts. As long as one understands ἐν ᾧ as "in Christ," he is forced to accept that the image has been changed or dropped. There has been an alternative presented that may provide a better understanding. Karl Schäfer suggested that in keeping with the building imagery one should translate ἐν ᾧ as "on him" and thereby maintain the unity of the image in vs. 20-22.¹⁰⁸ There is no grammatical

¹⁰⁴Mussner, Christus, das All und die Kirche, p. 111; Pfammatter, pp. 104-105; and Hanson, p. 134. The use of πνευματικός in I P 2:5 is seen as parallel.

¹⁰⁵See supra, pp. 299-300.

¹⁰⁶Percy, p. 331.

¹⁰⁷Pfammatter, p. 102, although he admitted that if ἐποικοδομηθέντες is seen as an ingressive aorist there is a unity of image.

¹⁰⁸Schäfer, pp. 222 and 224.

objection to this understanding, and it appears to be supported by the parallel in Col. 2:7 (ἐποικοδομούμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ).¹⁰⁹ If this is the correct understanding, it may also account for the seemingly pleonastic ἐν κυρίῳ. The ἐν ᾧ would indicate that the Gentiles are built on Christ, but it would be insufficient to explain how all the building¹¹⁰ is bound together and increases. The ἐν κυρίῳ would have been added to explain that it is "in the Lord" that Jews and Gentiles are bound together and grow into a holy temple. Even with Schäfer's suggestion it is necessary to see that there has been a shift from speaking of the Gentile converts (v. 20) to discussing both Jews and Gentiles (vs. 21-22). As a result of this shift there is also a change from the description of the Gentiles' position by the aorist (v. 20: "builded upon") to the description using the present (v. 22: "are being built with"). Schäfer's suggestion seems preferable, but the passage does not permit enough certainty so that one may exclude Percy's suggestion that the cornerstone image has been dropped.

The use of the stone testimonia in Acts and Rm. alerted us to the possibility of a connection between λίθος and κύριος. It may be that the use of κύριος in 2:21 was facilitated by this identification.

II TIM. 2:19

The occurrence of the foundation concept in this verse is neither prepared for by the preceding context nor is it explained in the following

¹⁰⁹ Although it is possible that the use of ἐν in Col. 2:7 may be partly due to the occurrence of ἐρριζωμένοι.

¹¹⁰ Rather than "every building." See Martin Dibelius, *An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon*, ed. H. Heinrich Greeven (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1953), p. 72; Vielhauer, p. 128; and Pfammatter, pp. 100-101.

verses. This text is different from the previous texts dealing with the foundation in that its relevance to this study is questionable. It is not certain that the text contains either a christological reference or an allusion to one of the stone testimonia. The most detailed argument that both are present here has been presented by Anthony Tyrrell Hanson.¹¹¹ He argued that the author of II Tim. is dependent on Rm. 9:14-33 because of the parallel between Rm. 9:21 and II Tim. 2:20 (both speak of vessels for noble and ignoble use) and because both have the same theme (human destiny in light of God's providence). Accordingly the figure of a firm foundation bearing a seal is allegedly drawn from the quotation of Is. 28:16 in Rm. 9:33.¹¹² Hanson argued as well that behind I Tim. 3:15 lies an early Christian midrash which was originally christological in intention, but which has been used ecclesiologically by the author of the Pastorals.¹¹³ II Tim. 2:19 is then seen as similar to both this passage and Eph. 2:20. Pfammatter likewise thought that Is. 28:16 lies behind II Tim. 2:19. In his view Paul brought the ideas of θεμέλιος and ἀκρογωνιαῖος so close together that they were identical for him. He interpreted the passage with reference to Eph. 2:20 so that both Christ and the apostles are in view.¹¹⁴ Gaston, though accepting that II Tim. 2:19 is an unconscious

¹¹¹Studies in the Pastoral Epistles (London: SPCK, 1968), pp. 29-41.

¹¹²He went so far as to suggest (p. 34) that στερεός may be an echo of Is. 8:14 because of the occurrence of στερεά πέτρα in Aquila's rendering of the latter. Despite his affirming that the seal in question is drawn from Is. 28:16, he suggested further that this image points to baptism (p. 32).

¹¹³A. Hanson, Studies in the Pastoral Epistles, pp. 5-20. The Vulgate is used as proof that behind this passage there is a midrash on I Kings 8:10-13.

¹¹⁴Pfammatter, pp. 134 and 177.

reflection of Is. 28:16, interpreted the foundation as the Church and used this verse as proof that the Pastorals are witnesses of an earlier image of the community as a temple.¹¹⁵

Usually the basis for seeing an allusion to Is. 28:16 is the mention of a foundation and the inscription it bears, but it is not certain that the stone of Is. 28:16 should be understood as bearing an inscription. Certainly there is nothing explicit concerning this in the OT text, and there is no indication in the scrolls that the Qumran community understood that the stone bore an inscription. Hanson's basis for the allusion is the parallel with Rm. 9:14-33, but in actuality the only parallel between the two texts is the mention of vessels of honor and vessels of dishonor. The theme of these two passages is not the same. In Rm. 9 the vessels are made according to the will of the potter, but in II Tim. the vessels control their own fate. The theme of II Tim. 2:14f. is not human destiny in light of God's providence, but proper Christian conduct. The only basis that remains for seeing an allusion to Is. 28:16 is the occurrence of θεμέλιος, but this is insufficient evidence. As we have already seen, θεμέλιος was frequently used in the early Church and in her world without any reference to Is. 28:16.

If it is unlikely that there is an allusion to Is. 28:16, it is even more unlikely that there is a christological reference in II Tim. 2:19. Hanson based his suggestion that there is a christological reference on his analysis of I Tim. 3:15, but he cannot claim to have proved his case that the latter was making use of an originally christological midrash.

¹¹⁵Gaston, pp. 197-198. His interpretation is dictated by his desire to prove that Is. 28:16 was used originally of the community as a temple. It is unclear on what grounds he later used this verse as proof that the apostles are the foundation (p. 214).

He and others have also pointed to Eph. 2:20 for support in interpreting II Tim. 2:19 at least partially of Christ, but the mention of a foundation is not sufficient ground for seeing a parallel to Eph. 2:20. If one limits himself to the context, it is more likely that the Church, or at least a part of it (as the genuine Christians at Ephesus), was intended.¹¹⁶

It seems best, therefore, to view II Tim. 2:19 as making neither allusion to, nor contribution to a study of, the christological stone testimonia.

THE RELATION OF THE FOUNDATION PASSAGES

The relationship of passages using the foundation imagery remains to be discussed. Our primary interest is the relation of Eph. 2:20 and I Cor. 3:10-11, but the possible relation of other passages will be included. The relation of Eph. 2:20 to I P 2:4-8 will be reserved for the analysis of the Petrine passage.

Obviously it is difficult to harmonize the statement in I Cor. 3:10-11 that no other foundation than Christ can be laid with the description in Eph. 2:20 of the Church built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets with Christ as the cornerstone. This contradiction provided evidence for Goodspeed that Paul did not write Eph.¹¹⁷ The tension is even greater between I Cor. 3:10-11 and Mt. 16:18 where it is said that Peter is the rock on which the Church will be built and Rev. 21:14 where it is said

¹¹⁶J. N. D. Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1963), p. 186; and C. Spicq, Les Epitres Pastorales (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1947), p. 356.

¹¹⁷Edgar J. Goodspeed, The Key to Ephesians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. v.

that the twelve apostles are the twelve foundations for the wall of the holy city. As mentioned earlier, Manson and Barrett suggested for I Cor. 3:10-11 that Paul was arguing against the wrong use of the tradition that Peter was the rock of the Church.¹¹⁸ This is unlikely, but even apart from this, it could be argued that Eph. 2:20 is an attempt to reduce the tension between I Cor. 3:10-11 and the Petrine tradition.¹¹⁹

It is doubtful, however, that it is legitimate to attempt to harmonize the various passages. In each the image is different. In Mt. 16:18 Christ is the builder and Peter is the rocky ground upon which the building will be built. In I Cor. 3:10-11 Paul and other preachers are the builders who "build" people on Christ. In Rev. 21:14 the twelve apostles are given a place of distinction in the holy city in which God and the Lamb dwell. In Eph. 2:20 God is the builder and Christ and all Christians make up the building just as Christ and all Christians make up the body (Eph. 4:11-16). These passages and others (such as Eph. 3:17; Col. 1:23; 2:7; I Tim. 6:19; II Tim. 2:19; and Heb. 6:1) make it clear that the building imagery was not so fixed that it could not be varied to meet the needs of a particular subject.¹²⁰ I Cor. 3:10-11 was written in the context of Paul's attempt to minister to a divided group. Eph. 2:20 is an image of the unity of Gentiles with Jews in Christianity. In I Cor. 3:10-11 the foundation metaphor is used to validate the importance and accuracy of Paul's ministry.

¹¹⁸See supra, pp. 273-274.

¹¹⁹John Tillman Holland (The Rock-Stone Symbolism in the New Testament, unpublished Th. D. dissertation: Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1958, pp. 274f.) made this suggestion, but he also assumed the validity of the Tübingen hypothesis with its acceptance of an intense conflict between Peter and Paul.

¹²⁰S. Hanson, p. 130; and Pfammatter, p. 177.

In Eph. 2:20 it is used to show that both Jews and Gentiles are based on the "bedrock of historic Christianity," i. e., the work of Christ and the proclamation of the gospel by the apostles.¹²¹ Mt. 16:18 is an assertion of the important place that Peter was to play in the growth of the Church. It is not necessary to view Mt. 16:18 as an identification of Peter with Christ ("the real πέτρα") or even as an incorporation of Peter's sending in the sending of Christ.¹²² In each of these passages, the author has adapted the building metaphor to express his own point, and there is little justification for drawing conclusions from a comparison of, or a schematic arrangement of, the passages.¹²³

At the same time, Eph. 2:20 did not emerge from a vacuum. This verse appears to be the result of logical reflection on the building imagery. Certainly the author has borrowed the use of ἀκρογωνιαίος and the building concept itself from the Christian tradition. It is not

¹²¹McKelvey, pp. 112-113. There is no other access to Christ than through the apostles and prophets. Through their preaching they have become part of the foundation. See Schlier, Der Brief an die Epheser, p. 142; and Pfammatter, pp. 178-179.

¹²²As Pfammatter, p. 176; Johannes Betz, "Christus--Petra--Petrus," Kirche und Überlieferung, ed. Johannes Betz and Heinrich Fries (Freiburg: Herder, 1960), pp. 1-21; and Jürgen Roloff, Apostolat-Verkündigung-Kirche (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1965), p. 108. Christ is not viewed in the NT as the πέτρα on which the Church is built. The use of this word for Christ is limited to the stumbling-rock motif and the rock that gave water.

¹²³The words of Käsemann ("Unity and Multiplicity in the New Testament Doctrine of the Church," New Testament Questions of Today, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969, p. 252) may be used appropriately here: "All New Testament statements about the Church have their particular historical location. They are therefore subject to continual change, they are compressed into various key images and mark stages and new developments within primitive Christianity." As a parallel, one could easily doubt that the metaphor of the father of Christians could ever be used of anyone other than God, but Paul applied the metaphor to himself (I Cor. 4:15).

impossible that this verse is a development of I Cor. 3:10-11¹²⁴ or is a more precise definition of the latter,¹²⁵ but it is more likely that there is no direct relation between the verses. Probably Eph. 2:20 owes its origin to Col. 2:7 and an attempt by the author to make the building image a more complete picture of the Church. The parallel in Col. 2:7 states that the Colossians are rooted and founded on Christ and are established on (or by) the faith just as they were taught.¹²⁶ All that the author did in Eph. 2:20 was personalize "faith" (i. e., the tradition) by changing it to "apostles and prophets" (those who delivered the tradition) so that all parts of the building are represented by persons. Eph. 2:20 is more explicit but says little more than Col. 2:7.

CONCLUSIONS

There are two passages in the Pauline literature, then, that represent a derived use of the christological stone testimonia. Eph. 2:20 is a certain allusion to the testimonia, and it is likely that I Cor. 3:10-11 is based on the thought of the same tradition, although there is no explicit allusion to Is. 28:16. The stone testimonia themselves were used as prophetic explanations of the events of salvation history, and apart from I P 2:4-8 were not linked explicitly with the image of a building.

¹²⁴McKelvey, p. 120.

¹²⁵Schäfer, p. 223.

¹²⁶Similarly in Col. 1:23 it is said that they should remain founded and established on (or by) the faith. Schlier, Der Brief an die Epheser, p. 143, argued that Col. 2:7 shows that I Cor. 3 and Eph. 2:20 belong together because it speaks of "built upon...as you were taught." It is more likely that "as you were taught" should refer to "faith" rather than all that precedes, but even if not, the reference would not likely be to I Cor. 3.

In the derived use, however, the interest has shifted entirely to the relation of Christ and Christians, and this relationship is explained by the building imagery. Although I Cor. 3:10-11 deals with the problems of a particular church while Eph. 2:20 is a picture of the universal Church, both passages have several points in common. They both emphasize the centrality of Christ and the essential role that he plays in the building. The implication of both passages is that access to the building is based on one's relationship to Christ. (This is in accord with the salvific emphasis connected with the stone testimonia in Rm. 9:32-33 and Acts 4:11.) In both passages the building is at least by implication a temple in which God dwells. While both passages emphasize the uniqueness of Christ, they also point to the identification of Christ with Christians similar to the statement that he is the first born among many brothers. It is significant that both passages base the unity of the Church on the fact that Christ is its foundation (or foundation cornerstone). Both figures designate Christ as the initiation of God's work and as the determinant by which the rest of the building is built. Both figures also stress the firm and sure basis on which the Church rests.

Despite its importance and the uses to which it was put, the foundation (or cornerstone) figure had several built in limitations. It was applicable to Christ only in relation to the Church and was not descriptive of his universal lordship although λίθος and κύριος were frequently identified. Even with reference to the Church, it could not adequately express his lordship or his activity within the community. This is the probable reason for the insertion of the pleonastic ἐν κυρίῳ in Eph. 2:21.

Eph. 2:20 represents the most advanced stage in the development of the stone imagery in the NT. The same stage is revealed more explicitly in

I P 2:4-8, but what is said explicitly there is implied here in Eph. 2:20.¹²⁷

¹²⁷Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," p. 272, suggested that I Tim. 1:16 alludes to Is. 28:16 since πιστεύειν with επί and the dative occurs in the NT only here and in quotations of Is. 28:16. The suggestion has merit, but there is not sufficient evidence to attain certainty. If there is an allusion to Is. 28:16 in this verse, it shows how great an influence this verse had on Christian teaching.

Chapter 9

THE USE OF THE STONE IMAGERY IN I PETER

With the application and accumulation of OT stone quotations in I P 2:4-8, the apex of our analysis is reached. To a certain extent the other NT passages would be incomplete without the statements preserved in this epistle. With due respect to the second century Christian literature, what is recorded there on our subject is anticlimactic and at times misguided. In I P, however, the image is fully developed and potently applied.

Before analyzing 2:4-8, it is necessary to comment on the basic character of the epistle. Since the early part of the twentieth century, it has been frequently suggested that I P is a baptismal liturgy or homily or even more specifically a Paschal liturgy.¹ That the epistle uses baptismal language is undeniable, but this "proves no more than that the early Church writers continually had the 'pattern' of baptism in mind, and often cast the Gospel into that dramatic form."² In recent years this theory that I P is some type of baptismal liturgy has undergone severe

¹Apparently the suggestion was originally made by R. Perdelwitz, Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des I Petrusbriefes (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1911), pp. 17-28. For the suggestion that it is a baptismal homily, see W. Bornemann, "Der erste Petrusbrief--eine Taufrede des Silvanus?" ZNW, XIX (1920), 143-165; that it is a baptismal liturgy, see Hans Windisch, Die katholischen Briefe, ed. by Herbert Preisker (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1951), pp. 55f. and 156-162; and that it is a Paschal liturgy, see F. L. Cross, I Peter, A Paschal Liturgy (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1954); and A. R. C. Leaney, "I Peter and the Passover: An Interpretation," NTS, X (1963-1964), 238-251.

²C. F. D. Moule, "The Nature and Purpose of I Peter," NTS, III (1956-1957), 4.

criticism and appears to be an inadequate assessment of the writing.³

It is preferable to understand that I P is truly an epistle and that it uses liturgical and ^eparanetic material to exhort and comfort Christians in a time of persecution. Such a procedure will at least prevent one from forcing the epistle into a mold that he has created for it.

One feature of the epistle which is extremely significant is its dependence on the OT. In proportion to length the frequency of use of the OT in I P is about the same as that of Heb. and in comparison to other NT books is second only to Rev.⁴ Most of the allusions and citations of the OT are dependent upon the LXX, but the frequent claim that all the citations and allusions are from the LXX is incorrect.⁵ It is possible that the writer has received some of his OT language through a Christian medium, but it is probable that his knowledge of the OT is a direct

³Besides Moule's article (*ibid.*), see W. C. van Unnik, "Christianity According to I Peter," *ET*, LXVIII (1956), 79-80; T. C. G. Thornton, "I Peter, A Paschal Liturgy?" *JTS ns*, XII (1961), 14-26; Werner Georg Kummel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, founded by Paul Feine and Johannes Behm, trans., A. J. Matill, Jr. (London: SCM Press, 1965), pp. 295-296; William Joseph Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), pp. 62-71; and Ernest Best, *I Peter*, *New Century Bible* (London: Oliphants, 1971), pp. 20-28.

⁴Ernest Best, "I Peter II 4-10 -- A Reconsideration," *NT*, XI (1969), 273.

⁵Neither of the Is. stone quotations is dependent on the LXX, and one may question the dependence on the LXX at I P 2:9 (ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε); 2:10; and 2:22. I P 4:8b does not conform to the LXX of Prov. 10:12, but Best, *I Peter*, *New Century Bible*, p. 159, thought that the form in I P passed into Christian usage as a detached maxim and is not an instance of reliance upon a non-LXX form. He pointed to James 5:20 (although the word "love" is omitted); I Clem. 49:5; and II Clem. 16:4.

literary knowledge.⁶ This is particularly the case with his use of ψ 33 to which reference will be made later.

One should note the attitude of the writer toward the relevance of the OT as it is expressed in 1:10-12. The "this is that" theme evidenced in 1QpH is operative for the writer of I P. It is clear that he understood that the prophets not only wrote about Christ but that they also wrote to minister to Christians. His statements in these verses provide an important background for understanding the frequency and use of the OT in the epistle. OT statements are used to express much of the writer's christology, his understanding of the Church as the people of God, and much of his exhortation to his readers.

Obviously I P is addressed to Christians who were about to be or were being persecuted. The purpose of the epistle is to remind the readers that they are the elect of God and that they have been brought into a special relationship with God by the death and resurrection of Christ. Because of this relationship they should be holy, regardless of the circumstances, since God will deliver and vindicate them and will be glorified in the end.⁷

This message of consolation and exhortation is conveyed by a series

⁶Francis Wright Beare, The First Epistle of Peter (3d ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), pp. 45-46; and Frederick W. Danker, "I Peter 1:24-2:17--A Consolatory Pericope," ZNW, LVIII (1967), 102, but rejecting the conclusion of both that this fact proves pseudonymous authorship. (See J. N. D. Kelly, A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969, p. 31.) The question of authorship is not germane to our analysis, but the name "Peter" will be used with reference to the writer for convenience sake.

⁷See I P 1:3-7 and 5:10-11. Cf. John Hall Elliott, The Elect and the Holy (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 199-218.

of imperatives based on indicatives which begins at 1:13 and continues to the end of the epistle. 2:4-10 stands at the close of one section as the most important indicative in the book. It provides substantiation for the earlier descriptions of Christians and the exhortations given to them. Indeed, this passage may justly be seen as the climax of the entire epistle. It is not only the substantiation of all that precedes, but it is also the basis of the para^enetic material that follows.⁸

Because of the means chosen to convey the message, the epistle is very easily divided into sections. 1:3-12 sets forth the privileged position of the believer in Christ. 1:13-25 is a call to holiness and love with theological justifications for that call. 2:1-10 continues the call to righteousness and maturity and again bases the call on the believer's relation to Christ. 2:11-3:12 is made up of specific ethical instructions, and 3:13-5:11 deals with the problem of persecution.⁹

2:4-8

I P 2:1-10 is one of the most intriguing passages in the scriptures. Its background, literary affinities, swift transitions, and meaning all present numerous problems.¹⁰ Obviously, here it is possible only to deal

⁸Elliott, pp. 200f., 215-217. He called this section "the fundamental indicative for the entire epistle."

⁹Most commentators accept these divisions with no more than minor adjustments. Cf. Dalton, pp. 72-86, but his suggestions that 2:1-6 is exhortation and that 2:7-10 concerns the new Christian priesthood are to be rejected. Somewhat similar to Dalton's analysis is that of Max-Alain Chevallier, "1 Pierre 1/1 à 2/10: structure littéraire et conséquences exégétiques," Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses, LI (1971), 129-142.

¹⁰See particularly Elliott; and Best, "I Peter II 4-10 -- A Reconsideration."

with aspects of the passage that are related to the stone imagery, but it must be emphasized that this imagery cannot be isolated from the context in which it appears. Although the images change swiftly, the whole section is woven into a compact unit. For the sake of convenience a translation is given:

Therefore, put away all malice and all deceit and hypocrisy and envy and all slander. As a new born baby long for the pure spiritual milk that you may grow by it to salvation since you have tasted that the Lord is gracious. You are coming to him, a living stone which has been rejected by men but with God is elect and valuable, and you yourselves as living stones are built a spiritual house for a holy priesthood to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. For it is contained in scripture: "Behold, I place in Zion a stone, an elect and valuable cornerstone, and the one who believes on it will not be ashamed." Therefore, there is honor to you who believe, but to the unbelieving--"The stone which the builders rejected, this has become the head of the corner" and "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence." For they stumble at the word being disobedient, to which also they were appointed. But you are an elect race, a kingdom of priests, a holy nation, a people for a possession that you may proclaim the excellencies of the one who called you from darkness into his marvelous light. The ones who once were not a people are now the people of God; the ones who had not received mercy have now received mercy.

Peter's exhortation to his readers in 2:1-2 is based on his previous comments in 1:13-25 concerning redemption, rebirth, and love for others. His instruction is that having put away all that is contrary to love, they should desire the pure spiritual milk that they may increase unto salvation. In the usual Petrine style of an indicative substantiating a preceding imperative, vs. 3-10 provide further support for the exhortation. As previously mentioned, however, these verses provide verification for all that has preceded and is the basis of the para^enetic material that follows.

The initial part of this indicative is based on ψ 33:9. The imperative γεύσασθε of the psalm has been changed to the indicative in I P and καὶ ἴδετε of the psalm has been omitted. (The latter is not in keeping

with the thought of drinking milk.) The change of the imperative to the indicative was necessitated by the desire to make reference to the readers' previous experience with Christ. The introductory εἰ should be understood as assuming that the statement that follows is actually true.¹¹ Thus the exhortations to love and holiness are based partly on the fact that previously the readers have experienced (tasted) that the Lord is good.

There are several features about the use of ψ 33 that should be mentioned. The use of the quotation in I P 2:3 is of significant christological interest. The reference of the psalm to Yahweh as κύριος is understood in I P of Christ as is evident from the context. Through their identification with Christ, the readers of the epistle may expect the same comfort and deliverance that the psalmist received from Yahweh. In addition, the use of this quotation involves a wordplay between χρηστὸς and χριστὸς¹² and would have caused the reader or hearers to think of the phrase χριστὸς ὁ κύριος, probably a primitive homologia.¹³ One should note that several manuscripts, including P⁷², have the abbreviation for χριστὸς rather than the word χρηστὸς.¹⁴

¹¹Kelly, p. 86; and Edward Gordon Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan & Co., 1964), p. 157.

¹²Beare, p. 116; and Best, I Peter, New Century Bible, p. 99. Cf. Justin Martyr's Apology I.4.

¹³Vernon H. Neufield, The Earliest Christian Confessions (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), p. 138, suggested that the underlying homologia in I P is "Jesus is the Christ." His recognition of Peter's preference for χριστὸς is valid, but he did not give sufficient weight to the use of κύριος, particularly in 2:3.

¹⁴See Michel Testuz (ed.), Papyrus Bodmer VII-IX (Cologny-Geneve: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959), p. 41; and F. W. Beare, "Some Remarks on the Text of I Peter in the Bodmer Papyrus (P⁷²)," SE, III, ed. F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), p. 264. Note also the addition of εἰσπετεύσατε in P⁷².

The importance of ψ 33 in I P goes far beyond this quotation. In fact, it has been suggested that the whole epistle is a homily based on this psalm.¹⁵ While this may be going a bit too far, it is necessary to recognize that a good deal of the thought and language in I P is taken from, or at least paralleled by, ψ 33. In addition to the use of v. 9 in I P 2:3, the following should be compared: 1) 33:5 with I P 1:17; 2) 33:6 with 2:4 and 9; 3) possibly 33:10 with 1:15-17; 4) 33:13-14 with 2:1; and 5) 33:13-17a with 3:10-12 (a complete quotation). Certain themes of the psalm are repeated in I P, such as the deliverance of the righteous from trouble, the fear of the Lord, and righteous judgement.¹⁶ It is possible also that ψ 33 is responsible for the use of some of the other OT passages in I P. Subjects and phrases from ψ 33 appear in other OT passages from which Peter has drawn material (the fear of the Lord in Is. 8:13; deceit in Is. 53:9, compare Is. 28:15; and οὐ μὴ καταισχυθῆ of ψ 33:6 and Is. 28:16¹⁷). It is difficult to decide whether the use of other OT passages is derived from parallels like these to ψ 33 or whether all the citations result from a thematic study of the OT. Since several themes not present in ψ 33 are contained in two or more OT passages quoted in I P (such as the passages referring to the stone, the people of God, vanity, and election), it is more likely that a thematic study has produced the use of all OT citations in I P. The significance of ψ 33 cannot be neglected, however, and especially in the context that concerns us. 2:1-10 shows

¹⁵Bornemann, pp. 143-165.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 146-151; Selwyn, p. 157; and Kelly, p. 87.

¹⁷Danker, pp. 94-95, assigned Is. 28 a dominant role in the construction of I P and suggested that the "milk" metaphor may have been drawn from 28:9.

more points of contact with ψ 33 than any other portion of the book.

From the image of tasting in v. 3 a swift transition is made to the stone imagery in v. 4. The Lord who tastes good in v. 3, to whom the readers are coming, is called a living stone (λίθον ζῶντα). Several attempts have been made to explain this seemingly illogical transition, but none of them is completely satisfactory.¹⁸ No doubt the writer's thought process is difficult to trace, but at least a partial impetus for this transition is his use of ψ 33. Apparently προσέρχεσθαι was taken from ψ 33:6, and it may be that the occurrence of οὐ μὴ καταισχυθῆ in the same verse directed him to Is. 28:16 and the stone image. If this were the case, the author was probably already familiar with Is. 28:16.

It is somewhat surprising that the present προσερχόμενοι was used instead of the aorist προσελθόντες which would be more in keeping with ἐγεύσασθε and ψ 33:6. Apparently the present was used to stress the need of continuing in the relationship with Christ.¹⁹ Προσέρχεσθαι is frequently

¹⁸Beare, The First Epistle of Peter, p. 121, adapting Perdelwitz's attempts to find a connection between the two images in the mystery cults, made the unlikely suggestion that a meteorite image in the temple of Ephesus and the multiple-breasted goddess of that temple provide the background for the transition. He admitted that the interpretation is not convincing. Ceslas Spicq, Les Epitres de Saint Pierre (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1966), p. 81, pointed to I Cor. 3:1-4 and 9-17 where both images are used (although "milk" is used differently by Paul) and then to Mt. 16:18f. which he connected partly to the thirst quenching rock of the Exodus (Ex. 17:6; I Cor. 10:4; and Jn. 7:38). Danker, p. 94, thought the transition is from "vanity" (I P 1:24) to the living stone which he found paralleled in IQH IX.28-X.4 where God is the rock (γλδ) of strength and transitory man is contrasted with those under God's care. This suggestion is doubtful for several reasons, not the least of which is the equation of "rock" and "stone." N. Hillyer, "Spiritual Milk...Spiritual House," TB, XX (1969), 126, more logically traced the transition to the Semitic connection between "children" (babes) and "house."

¹⁹F. J. A. Hort, The First Epistle of St. Peter: 1:1-2:17 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898), p. 105; Beare, The First Epistle of Peter, p. 119; and Spicq, p. 82.

used in the sense of coming before God, and its use here bears these cultic overtones.²⁰ Neither the use of the participle in this verse nor οἰκοδομεῖσθε in v. 5 is to be taken as an imperative.²¹

That the Lord is called a living stone is a new development. It is possible that the use of the adjective is to be traced to a Jewish conceptual background as with "living water" or "living bread" (Jn. 4:10f.; and 6:51),²² but more likely the use is derived from Peter's emphasis on the resurrection of Christ and the life that he communicates to those who believe on him (1:3, 20, 24; and 3:21).²³ No doubt the apologetic use of Ps. 118:22 as proof of the resurrection was instrumental as well.

In the rest of v. 4 Peter used phrases from Ps. 118:22 and Is. 28:16 to contrast the rejection of Christ by man on the one hand with his election by God on the other. In keeping with his emphasis on the imitation of Christ, in v. 5 his readers are described as living stones who are built into a spiritual house for a holy priesthood in order to offer spiritual offerings through Jesus Christ. It is noteworthy that Christ alone is

²⁰Johannes Schneider, "προσέρχομαι," TDNT, II, 683-684. This word may have been used in connection with proselytes. See Karl Georg Kuhn, "προσήλυτος," TDNT, VI, 732; and Danker, p. 95 n. 11. Προσέρχεσθαι πρὸς occurs nowhere else in the NT, but it is not uncommon in the LXX.

²¹Selwyn, p. 159; Beare, The First Epistle of Peter, p. 119; Best, I Peter, New Century Bible, pp. 99-100; Kelly, p. 89; and Elliott, p. 16.

²²Bertil Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 75.

²³Elliott, p. 34; Selwyn, pp. 158-159. Cf. ψ 33:13. R. J. McKelvey, The New Temple (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 127, suggested that "the rock or stone in Zion was traditionally a living stone" [apparently he was referring to the אבן שהיה legend] and that our author would easily apply the idea to Christ. The suggestion is not adequately founded.

called λίθοι; the Christians are only described as λίθοι.²⁴ Then in vs. 6-10 several scripture verses are given to verify and complete the thought of vs. 4-5. Is. 28:16; Ps. 118:22; and Is. 8:14 are used in connection with v. 4, and Is. 43:20-21; Ex. 19:5-6; and Hos. 2:25(23) are used in connection with v. 5.

There has been some discussion about the exact relation of vs. 4-5 to vs. 6-10. The issues at stake are more pertinent for the interpretation of vs. 5 and 9-10, but it should be mentioned in our analysis. Elliott understood vs. 4-5 as a secondary reformulation and interpretation of the OT passages in vs. 6-10. The latter were not added to vs. 4-5 for substantiation, but rather provided the terminology and thought for vs. 4-5. The midrashic comments in vs. 6-10 and all of vs. 4-5 are attributable to the author as opposed to the use of the OT in vs. 6-10 which are, in part, pre-Petrine in origin. Vs. 4-5 then are an interpretation of the OT passages in vs. 6-7 and 9.²⁵ Best countered, however, that in vs. 4-5 Peter used imagery common to early tradition to explain the nature of the Church and to contrast the Church with the OT people of God. Vs. 6-7a are given as confirmation while vs. 7b-8 and vs. 9-10 are used to carry the argument further.²⁶ As both men would agree, the relationship of vs. 4-5

²⁴Selwyn, p. 159; but see Elliott, p. 36. Elliott's observation in n. 2 on the use of ὡς in I P is correct, but to identify the hearers from a certain point of view with ὡς is different from saying that Christ is a stone (with reference to the prophetic use).

²⁵See Elliott, pp. 17-23, and 33-49; and also Philip Vielhauer, Oikodome: Das Bild vom Bau in der christlicher Literature vom Neuen Testament bis Clemens Alexandrinus (Doctoral Dissertation, Heidelberg, 1939), p. 145.

²⁶Best, "I Peter II 4-10 -- A Reconsideration," pp. 271-278. Best was not correct in suggesting that the form of Is. 8:14 in v. 8 is typical of the way Peter alters phrases from scripture to advance his argument

to vs. 6-10 is more complex than the juxtaposition of these two alternatives would indicate.²⁷ Certainly Peter did use OT phrases in this passage to further his argument, but surely vs. 6-7 bear a closer relation to v. 4 than that of mere proof texts. The quotations of Is. 28:16 and Ps. 118:22 provided the terminology for v. 4; thus the words in v.4 are at least the "results of a previous midrash (written or mental)."²⁸ With v. 5 and vs. 9-10 the relation is not as evident although the occurrence of εἰς ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον in v. 5 and βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον in v. 9 cannot be ignored. For our purpose it is sufficient to say that v. 4 is an application of Peter's understanding of Is. 28:16 and Ps. 118:22 and that in vs. 6-7 the OT quotations are provided to substantiate and illustrate the earlier comment.

The alteration of words in v. 4 taken from the quotations that follow ^{is} ~~are~~ primarily required by the syntax of the sentence, but the change of οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες of Ps. 118:22 to ἀνθρώπων suggests that the use of this verse as an indictment against the Jewish authorities for rejecting Christ has been broadened to apply to all men who do not believe.²⁹

(p. 276). Peter changed the case of λίθος and πέτρα from the accusative to the nominative, but the genitival constructions are paralleled in Rm. 9:33 and are not his own alterations of the LXX.

²⁷See Best, "I Peter II 4-10 -- A Reconsideration," p. 271, and note that Elliott, pp. 37-38 and 48, granted that vs. 8 and 10 do take the argument further. See also Addison G. Wright, The Literary Genre Midrash (Staten Island: Abba House, Division of the Society of St. Paul, 1967), p. 113: "Thus, behind every use of Scripture there lies interpretation, reflection, and the perception of relevancy." [This work was published earlier in CBQ, XXVIII (1966), 105-138 and 417-457.]

²⁸Wright, p. 114 (but not with direct reference to I P 2:4-10).

²⁹Elliott, p. 34 n. 7.

The order in which the allusions and quotations are given is significant. In I P antitheses are nearly always presented with the positive factor following the negative and thereby receiving the emphasis.³⁰ Ps. 118:22a is used in v. 4 to set up an antithesis whereby the election of the stone may be emphasized. This order also pictures the sequence of events in the life of Christ (rejection/death--resurrection). In vs. 6-7 Is. 28:16 is quoted before Ps. 118:22 thereby again placing emphasis on God's election of the stone. The whole context is geared toward the development of this theme. Peter's encouragement to his readers is a description of the privileges that they, the elect community, possess because of their relation with Christ, the elect stone.³¹

After describing the readers and their service in terms of a spiritualized cultus, Peter used Is. 28:16, Ps. 118:22, and Is. 8:14 with interspersed midrashic comments to support, illustrate, and advance his argument. The quotation of Is. 28:16 is preceded by a rather unusual introductory formula. The omission of the article before γραφή is uncommon and has been taken as proof that Peter is quoting from a documentary source other than the text of scripture.³² There is the possibility that Peter has used a source other than the OT for this catena of quotations, but it is incorrect to base such a theory on the omission of the article.³³ Ἐν γραφῇ then merely means "in scripture." While the introductory formula is

³⁰Ibid., 35. An exception is 2:7a where the positive factor precedes the negative and the latter is emphasized.

³¹Elliott, pp. 35, 39, 141f., and 146f.

³²Selwyn, p. 163.

³³Cf. Best, I Peter, New Century Bible, p. 105. The article is also omitted before γραφή in Rm. 1:2; 16:26; and Test. of Zeb. 9:5.

primarily with reference to Is. 28:16, presumably it extends over the midrashic comments to include at least vs. 7 and 8 and probably vs. 9-10 as well although they do not bear the close material unity with vs. 5 that vs. 6-8 do with v. 4.³⁴

The form of the quotations has already been discussed in connection with the analysis of Rm. 9:32f., but several comments should be added here. Ps. 118:22, except for the change of the accusative λίθον to the nominative λίθος, is quoted according to the LXX just as in the Synoptics. Neither of the Is. quotations is given according to the LXX. As Paul, Peter has Ἴδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον for the LXX Ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον, but Peter did not conflate the two Is. texts as Paul. Both agree on the form of the last line of Is. 28:16 with the minor exceptions that Paul has οὐ and the future while Peter has οὐ μὴ and the subjunctive for the negated clause. Both have ἐπ' αὐτῷ as do some manuscripts of the LXX.³⁵ Paul did not include any other part of Is. 28:16. Peter omitted the LXX πολυτελῆ and the repetitive εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς, but did include as the LXX ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον. Neither NT writer actually quoted Is. 8:14, but it is evident that their text was closer to the Hebrew than, and quite different from, the LXX. They agree against the LXX in the use of σκανδάλου, in the use of the genitive to qualify both λίθος and πέτρα instead of the dative, and in the affirmation that Christ is a stone of stumbling and rock of offense. (The LXX found it necessary

³⁴Best, "I Peter II 4-10 -- A Reconsideration," p. 277, did not include vs. 9-10 under the governing of the introductory formula. It should at least include vs. 7-8 since the two cannot be separated and since v. 7 was anticipated in v. 4.

³⁵See supra, pp. 51-53 and 248-251.

to negate the threat enunciated in the Hebrew.) The form of these Is. quotations recorded by Peter and Paul is not paralleled elsewhere.

Through the midrashic comments in vs. 7-8 Peter drew out explicitly the basis of his encouragement and exhortation. A contrast between believers and unbelievers is set up which is parallel to the contrast in v. 4 between men who reject and God who elects and considers honorable. The litotes in the last clause of the quotation of Is. 28:16 is expressed affirmatively in v. 7, and through this affirmation Peter suggested that the believing share in Christ's honor. Those who identify with the λίθον ἔντιμον through faith receive τιμῆ. Ps. 118:22 is used to express that those who do not believe have rejected what God has exalted. The words of Is. 8:14 carry the indictment against unbelievers further by adding that the most important aspect of what God is doing is an offense and a hindrance to them. On a grammatically literal reading, the way in which Peter recorded Ps. 118:22 and Is. 8:14 seems to suggest that "to the unbelieving the rejected stone has become κεφαλὴν γωνίας καὶ λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου" as if all three phrases connected by καὶ were synonymous rather than just the last two. Some have in fact understood that Ps. 118:22 refers to the destructive aspect of the stone,³⁶ but this is doubtful. Apparently the familiarity of the verses made it possible to construct the statement as if to say: "This is what scripture says about those who do not believe on the stone."³⁷ Peter's point is

³⁶Gustav Stählin, "προσκόπτω, πρόσκομμα, προσκοπή, ἀπρόσκοπος," TDNT, VI, 754-755; and Joachim Jeremias, "λίθος, λίθινος," TDNT, IV, 277.

³⁷Kelly, p. 93, stated that evidently the writer expected his readers to be familiar with the exegesis of the stone passages.

that the unbelieving are as those who reject the stone which God has exalted and that it becomes an offense and a hindrance to them. His statements further contrast the believers, who are on God's side and will be vindicated, with unbelievers, who have set themselves against God and will be punished. Thus v. 8a is parallel to λίθος ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν, and οὗτος...γωνίας of v. 7 looks back to v. 6.³⁸

In v. 8b the near identification of Christ and the λόγος (the message about him) is evident as it is in 1:23f. Hort theorized that a non-LXX version of Is. 28:13 may have suggested the idea of stumbling at the word.³⁹ An equally plausible suggestion is that the Targum of Is. 8:14 is responsible for the thought. The passage reads: וַיְהִי מִימְרֵיהּ בְּכֹון לְפֹרְעַן וּלְאַבְן מִהִי וּלְכִיף מִתְקַל ("...and his [Yahweh's] word will be among you for a vengeance and for a stone of smitting and for a rock of offense").

The retribution of unbelievers⁴⁰ is conveyed by ἐτέθησαν which contrasts them with Christ, the stone which God has placed (τίθημι) in Sion, and with believers, the elect race of God.

Selwyn argued that the primary element in the combination of these three verses in I P was Ps. 118:22. He was not aware of the connection between Is. 8:14 and 28:16, but he did regard Ps. 118:22 "as one of the

³⁸Cf. Hort, p. 119 and 121; Beare, The First Epistle of Peter, p. 125; and Kelly, p. 93.

³⁹Hort, p. 122. The passage could be translated "they stumble, disobeying the word" (Beare, The First Epistle of Peter, pp. 118 and 125), but with Hort τῷ λόγῳ probably belongs to both verbal forms. In any case, at least the "word" is closely associated with the cause of stumbling.

⁴⁰Their stumbling is ordained, not their disobedience.

sheet anchors of early Christian teaching." Support was found for his case in 2:4 "which reads like a 'midrash' on Ps. 118:22."⁴¹ If one is speaking of the development of the imagery in the NT, no doubt Ps. 118:22 was the primary element, but the emphasis in I P seems to be on Is. 28:16.⁴² It does not seem valid, however, to attempt to say that one of the verses is a "prime mover." Rather Peter received the verses already connected as part of the early tradition and adapted them to express his message.

On the supposition that Is. 28:16 is a comment on the last part of the quotation of Ps. 118:22, Lindars reasoned that the catchword between the two verses is not λίθος but ἀκρογωνιαίος. He stated that such a connection is possible only if the stone is above ground and concluded that it was therefore essential for the idea of the foundations to be omitted from the quotation.⁴³ Is. 28:16 and Ps. 118:22b undoubtedly are understood of the same person and event (Christ and his resurrection), but ἀκρογωνιαίος does not occur in Ps. 118:22 and is not the connecting link between the two verses. Nor is the γωνίας concept the catchword. The obvious attraction of the verses is λίθος, and this is verified by the inclusion of Is. 8:14. The omission of the foundations idea cannot be explained as due to the interpretive motives of the writer. It is exactly these words that are also omitted in the use of Is. 28:16 in IQS VIII.7-8. As suggested previously, it is probable that the expression of the foundations idea

⁴¹Selwyn, pp. 268-269.

⁴²Danker, p. 94 n. 8; and Elliott, pp. 35f. and 49.

⁴³Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 180. He had suggested earlier (p. 178) that the foundations idea had been omitted so that the stone is placed on the ground where it could be seen and avoided, or if unseen, be stumbled over.

was dropped due to its being cumbersome, and it is also likely that $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$ $\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\omicron\gamma\omega\nu\iota\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ adequately expressed the foundation idea.⁴⁴

Lloyd Gaston seized upon the fact that the foundations are omitted in I P as evidence for his attempt to show that the application of the stone image to Christ in connection with the new temple imagery is a secondary application. He argued that since the foundations idea is omitted it is incorrect to say that I P 2 presents Jesus as the new temple. He made the following statements:

- 1) The interest in Is. 28:16 is confined to the "inscription" on the cornerstone that the one who believes will not be put to shame.
- 2) Jesus is identified with the cornerstone only to provide an antecedent for $\acute{\epsilon}\pi' \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega$.
- 3) The primary scriptural reference was Ps. 118:22 to which Is. 8:14 was added and then later Is. 28:16 was added.
- 4) None of the stone texts with the exception of Is. 28:16 has anything to do with the temple.
- 5) The source for I P 2:5 was the Qumran understanding in which the community is the temple [which is partly expressed by Is. 28:16].
- 6) The assumption is that I P knew two interpretations of Is. 28:16; one in which it was connected to the stone imagery, and one in which it designated the community.
- 7) I P was forced to speak of Jesus as a living stone because of the Stichwort association of Is. 28 and Ps. 118, but he has no thought of Jesus as the foundation of the temple.⁴⁵

We have already shown that Gaston's analysis of the stone imagery is deficient in several respects. He has not given due consideration to context or to the theme of the "people of God" in determining the relation of the stone passages to the temple concept, nor has he given adequate attention to all of the evidence.⁴⁶ With regard to his treatment of I P 2,

⁴⁴See supra, pp. 248-250.

⁴⁵Lloyd Gaston, No Stone on Another (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 219-222, but see the whole section, pp. 161-243.

⁴⁶See supra, pp. 301-306.

hardly any of his above statements are justifiable:

1) The interest in Is. 28:16 is primarily on the adjectives "elect" and "honorable,"⁴⁷ although Peter does point out that honor is given to those who believe.

2) Jesus is identified with the cornerstone because he is the elect stone and the one who fulfills the OT promise.

3) The primary scripture in the forming of the tradition was Ps. 118:22, but Is. 8:14 and 28:16 were joined in pre-Christian Judaism and were probably attached to Ps. 118:22 at the same time.

4) Ps. 118:22 and Is. 8:14 in their original contexts were connected with the temple, and Peter was aware of the connection of the latter (cf. I P 3:14-15). The NT usage of the imagery is frequently in connection with the "people of God" concept.⁴⁸

5) The source behind I P 2:5 was a widespread tradition shared by Qumran which emphasized a spiritualized cultus.

6) It is more likely that Qumran has modified a text understood messianically in Judaism and has adapted it to express their belief about the community.

7) Evidently Peter was more than glad to speak of Jesus as a living stone. The idea of foundations would be conveyed by $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota\ \lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\omicron\nu\ \alpha\kappa\rho\omicron\gamma\omega\nu\iota\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ and fits logically with the statement that Christians come to the living stone and as stones are built into a spiritual house.

Gaston admitted that Is. 28:16 was part of the stone testimonia, but he thought that first it was used of the community as a temple. There is not any evidence of this in the NT. I P 2:5 shows no connection with Is. 28:16, and we have shown that Is. 28:16 does not form the background for Mt. 16:18.⁴⁹ Gaston's error is that he placed too much emphasis on the Qumran use of Is. 28:16 and has tried to make the NT use conform to it. One might add that there is hardly enough time for the development Gaston suggested. It is quite evident in Rm. 9 and 10 that Paul understood Is. 28:16 as an important christological statement and that there is nothing that would betray a communal interpretation. Again it is necessary to reject Gaston's analysis. Rather, what we have in this passage is the

⁴⁷See Elliott, pp. 35f. and 49.

⁴⁸Cf. McKelvey, p. 132.

⁴⁹See supra, pp. 211-215.

secondary application to Christians of a term used originally for Christ, and with McKelvey we may suspect that the temple imagery was never too far removed from the stone image.⁵⁰

Thus in vs. 4-8 the stone imagery is used to explain the events of salvation history and the relation of all mankind to Christ. Peter's emphasis is on the relation of Christians to their Lord, but also uses the stone quotations and his midrashic comments to hold up the unbelieving as an example of the condition of those who do not believe. Every point that he makes in this "fundamental indicative of his epistle" is drawn from the scriptural authority of the stone testimonia.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF I P 2:4-10 TO OTHER LITERATURE

With this descriptive analysis we may now inquire into the relation of I P 2:4-10 to other passages. We have already dealt with the relationship between this passage and Rm. 9:25-33 and have shown that dependence of one writer on the other is difficult to support.

Besides the parallels between I P and Rm., the parallels between I P and Eph. have attracted the most attention. Mitton concluded from these parallels that the author of I P was sufficiently cognizant of Eph. for its phrasing and thought to be used in his own epistle. The lynch-pin in his argument is that in passages where I P and Eph. are parallel, Eph. is obviously dependent on Col. In the passage of interest to us he points to several ideas common to Eph. 2:14f. and I P 2:1f.: 1) access to God through Christ; 2) the result of a fuller experience in the Christian's

⁵⁰McKelvey, p. 132.

life (αὐξάνω); 3) the figure of a house under construction which is to be a holy temple and in which Christ is the cornerstone (ἀκρογωνιαίος). The Eph. passage is obviously, however, a development of Col. 2:7 and 19, and Mitton concluded that the simplest explanation is that I P is dependent on Eph.⁵¹ The parallel that is remarkable is that of the figure of the new temple of which Christ and the Christians are the building material.⁵² Certainly the two passages show the same understanding and application of Is. 28:16, but to conclude that I P is dependent on Eph. is too simple an explanation. Any theory of dependence must adequately account for the parallels with not only Eph., but also Rm. 9:25-33, and 12:1-2, and it must account for the fact that there appears to be a literary connection to ψ 33. A theory that would explain I P 2:4-10 as dependent on all of these would be too complex for acceptance. To attempt to explain the NT parallels as due to general Pauline influence runs the difficulty of being unable to explain such phenomena as the different text tradition for Hos. 2:25(23) and the different way the stone quotations are given.⁵³ Since Peter is known to have drawn upon liturgical and paraenetic material, it seems much preferable to understand that in 2:4-10 he was drawing on Church tradition.⁵⁴

⁵¹C. L. Mitton, "The Relationship Between I Peter and Ephesians," JTS ns, I (1950), 67-73, esp. 70-71; and his The Epistle to the Ephesians (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), pp. 186-188 and 195.

⁵²The Christian's access in I P is primarily access to Christ instead of to the Father, and the use of αὐξάνω in I P is in connection with the "pure milk," not with the temple as in Eph.

⁵³See C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1952), pp. 43 and 75.

⁵⁴See Philip Carrington, The Primitive Christian Catechism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), passim; and Selwyn, pp. 363-466. (These analyses should be modified at certain points.)

Is it possible that other NT passages bear some relation to I P 2:4-10? Occasionally it has been suggested that λίθον ζῶντα (v. 4) should be connected with the rock (πέτρα) which followed in I Cor. 10:4 and with the ὕδατος ζῶντος of Jn. 7:38 which has reference to the wilderness rock. The suggestion has also been made that there is a connection between this passage and the πέτρα of Mt. 16:18. There does not appear to be any basis for these connections. We have shown that a distinction between "stone" and "rock" was maintained in the Semitic world, and nothing in the context of I P would justify interpreting it in the light of one of the other passages or vice versa.⁵⁵ Is it possible that with I P 2:4-8 Peter was thinking on his own name?⁵⁶ It appears that this is unlikely although it is possible that he was attracted to the imagery because of his name (despite the separation between "stone" and "rock"). Such a suggestion is confined to the realm of possibility, of course, and does not materially affect the interpretation of the passage. One's view on the authorship of the book will determine his reception of the suggestion, but it should be remembered that Acts 4:11 records Peter as having used Ps. 118:22 against the Jewish leaders.

We are left then with parallels between I P 2:4-10 and Rm. 9:25-33; 12:1-2; and Eph. 2:20-22. With the material in all these verses we are

⁵⁵Mt. 16:18f. and I P 2:4-10 are related in that both speak of the new community in terms of a building, but there the similarity ends. In Mt. the subject is Christ's building an invincible Church on Peter. In I P the subject is God's (or the Spirit's) building the Church in relation to Christ and the service of the Church to God.

⁵⁶This has been suggested by Spicq, p. 81; and C. F. D. Moule, "Some Reflections on the 'Stone Testimonia' in Relation to the Name Peter," NTS, II (1955-1956), 56-58. Somewhat similar is Tertullian's suggestion in A. M. IV.13.

dealing with concepts that were popular in both Christianity and Judaism (i. e., a spiritualized temple and a spiritualized cultus), and it is clear that these themes were common stock in the early Church teaching.⁵⁷ At various points in our study we have mentioned the possibility of a testimonia collection as an explanation of the use of the OT quotations in I P 2:4-10 and Rm. 9:25-33. Particularly in connection with analyses of I P 2:4-10, other options have been presented. Selwyn proposed in his classic commentary that a primitive Christian hymn provided the background for vs. 6-10.⁵⁸ The hymnic characteristics that one would expect to find in these verses are lacking, however, and it is not surprising that the theory has not been well accepted.⁵⁹ Elliott granted that much of the material in vs. 6-10 belonged to a stratum^{um} of common oral catechetical or liturgical tradition, but rejected the idea that the structure or content of these verses was derived from a pre-Petrine pattern or source. On his view the author has adapted and arranged his material around the theme of election.⁶⁰ Elliott was correct in emphasizing the election theme, but in his rejection of Rendel Harris' view of a "Testimony Book" he has seemingly rejected the possibility of any type^{of} testimonia collection, whether written or oral, whether Jewish or Christian.⁶¹ He granted that there was a "λίθος

⁵⁷See McKelvey, passim; and Gärtner, passim.

⁵⁸Selwyn, pp. 163 and 268-281.

⁵⁹See Elliott, pp. 133-138; and J. de Waard, A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), p. 58 n. 3.

⁶⁰Elliott, pp. 141-145.

⁶¹Note that Dodd, p. 126, said that the composition of "testimony books" was the result, not the presupposition, of the work of early Christian biblical scholars. While this is true part of the time, it is also true that much of the exegesis of OT texts, including Is. 8:14 and 28:16, was taken over from Judaism.

tradition,"⁶² but in the latter part of his book he did not do justice to this fact in explaining the form of the passage. J. de Waard spoke in terms of "an already existing testimony," but he rejected the idea that there was a collection of testimonia "because the quotation of Is. 28:16 occurs without exception in the LXX form in the patres."⁶³ He preferred to think of a midrash concerning the stone based on a verbum Christi similar to the midrash in 1QS VIII.7f. The use of the term "midrash" is somewhat confusing, however, and while the application of the OT verses assumes a previous midrash, I P 2:4-10 is not itself a midrash.⁶⁴ It is, of course, possible to speak of a testimonia source without accepting the theory proposed by Rendel Harris. Dodd spoke of the verses that concern us as testimonia, but rejected the idea of a primitive anthology of isolated proof texts.⁶⁵ With Elliott the arrangement and selection of the material in I P 2:4-10 to emphasize the election theme is Petrine, but this does not preclude the previous use of some of this material as "testimonies" to the Messiah and his people. We have shown evidence that Is. 8:14 and 28:16 were connected and understood eschatologically in pre-Christian Judaism. Since both these verses and Ps. 118:22 were used in the Church prior to I P, it is unlikely that the writing of this epistle was the first occasion on which the Ps. and Is. quotations were joined. It is particularly

⁶²Elliott, pp. 26-33. The position I have taken is not that far from Elliott's, but it seems that he has overstated his case for the election theme to the exclusion of the author's having drawn material from a testimonia collection.

⁶³de Waard, p. 58.

⁶⁴See Wright, pp. 113-114 and 143-145.

⁶⁵Dodd, pp. 23-27, 36, 43, 75, and 126.

arresting that Hos. 2:25(23) is used in close proximity to the stone imagery by both Peter and Paul. It seems most likely that some type of testimonia source provided the background of both NT passages.⁶⁶ This "source" seems to have been a deposit of texts, either written or oral, that identified and authenticated the Messiah and his followers. The collection of texts in 4Q Flor. and 4Q Test. provide evidence for such a deposit. Both Peter and Paul adapted and shaped portions of this collection and probably augmented it with other verses of their own choosing.

The literary affinities of I P 2:4-10 are not confined to NT parallels however. In an analysis of themes common to the NT and Qumran, David Flusser argued that a whole body of ideas could have come into Christianity only from the Qumran sect, although probably these ideas were mediated through several groups and movements. He found a literary connection between Qumran and Christianity in the parallels between I P 2:5-6 and IQS VIII.4-10. He listed the following:

οἶκος πνευματικῶς	בית קודש לישראל (VIII.5; cf. V.6; IX.6)
ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον	בית אמת וחמים בישראל (VIII.9)
	מעון קודש קודשים לאהרון (VIII.8)
	זיסוד קודש קודשים לאהרון (VIII.5-6; cf. V.6; IX.6)
ἀνεύγκαι πνευματικῶς θυσίας	ולקריב ריח ניהוח (VIII.9)
εὐπροσδέκτους θεῷ	והיו לרצון (VIII.10)
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ	ובחירי רצון (VIII.6)
Ἴδου τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον ἐκλεκτὸν	היאה חמות הבחן (VIII.7)
ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον	פנת יקר (VIII.7)
καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ	בל יזעזעו יסודותיהו (VIII.8)
οὐ μὴ καταισχυθη	ובל יחישו ממקומם

Because both texts combine Is. 28:16 with the images of "holy priesthood" and "spiritual sacrifices," Flusser was convinced that there is some literary dependence of I P on a Hebrew prototype which resembled IQS

⁶⁶Karl Hermann Schelkle, Die Petrusbriefe, Der Judasbrief (Freiburg: Herder, 1961), p. 62; and Kelly, p. 95.

VIII.4-10.⁶⁷ J. de Waard accepted as proven Flusser's suggestion of a literary connection but preferred to explain the connection on the grounds that the midrash of Is. 28:16 in 1QS was known and used by the author of I P.⁶⁸

There are several flaws in Flusser's argument. Not all of the correspondences that he drew are really parallel. בית קודש לישראל ("a holy house for Israel") is not the same as οἶκος πνευματικῶς ("a spiritual house"), and מעון קודש קודשים לאהרון ("a dwelling of holy of holies for Aaron") is not identical to ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον ("a holy priesthood"). Dependence would suggest a similarity of word order, but such is not the case as is evident by Flusser's rearranging of the order of 1QS. The idea of priesthood in the two passages does not coincide either. I P 2:5 draws upon Ex. 19:6, but 1QS reveals only the conflict between the community and the Jerusalem temple practices.⁶⁹ Thus one could hardly speak of a literary connection between the two passages.

At the same time, however, it is particularly arresting that both passages use Is. 28:16 and speak of a spiritualized temple and cultus. It was this similarity that led Gaston to his untenable hypothesis. It is not particularly surprising that the Qumranites reinterpreted Is. 28:16 of themselves. The targum and LXX give evidence of a messianic interpretation of Is. 28:16, and it appears that the use made of this verse in

⁶⁷David Flusser, "The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity," Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin, Vol. IV, Scripta Hierosolymitana (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1965), 233-235.

⁶⁸de Waard, pp. 59-60.

⁶⁹Cf. Elliott, p. 211. He also pointed out that Flusser's treatment of the text of Is. 28:16 is inadequate. In general, Flusser's suggestion has not been well-received.

1QS VIII.7-8 is dependent on the targum.⁷⁰ The modifications made in 1QS on the text of Is. 28:16, particularly the use of the article with בְּחֵן, provide further evidence that the use of this verse in an eschatological context did not originate in Qumran.⁷¹ The evidence suggests that this is another place where an OT verse which was understood messianically has been reinterpreted by the community with reference to itself.⁷² Nor is it surprising that both writings speak of a spiritual temple and a spiritualized cultus. The roots of these concepts go back to the prophetic era.⁷³ It is to be expected that groups such as Qumran would have spiritualized the temple and its cultus because of their opposition to the Jerusalem temple and priests, but it would be a mistake to think that such opposition was rare. Rather, there was "a widespread and vigorous Jewish sectarianism, a kind of Jewish non-conformity, opposed to the official (predominately Pharisaic) Judaism of Jerusalem, centered on the Temple and the Jerusalem Sanhedrin."⁷⁴ This opposition was present in both the North and South of Palestine as well as in Diaspora Judaism and exerted a large amount of influence on the religious life of the period.⁷⁵ The view of both Qumran and Christianity

⁷⁰See supra, pp. 77f. and 304.

⁷¹p. Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1957), p. 124, suggested on the basis of the clumsy syntax that 1QS VIII.5f. may be a hymn or fragments of one. He also stated that the use of the article with בְּחֵן is due to the audience's familiarity with the text.

⁷²Gärtner, p. 134. It is important to note that Gaston, pp. 164-168, recognized Qumran's practice of applying messianic texts to themselves in his discussion of II Sm. 7:14 and Amos 9:11.

⁷³See McKelvey, pp. 9-57.

⁷⁴Matthew Black, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins," The Scrolls and Christianity, ed. Matthew Black (London: SPCK, 1969), p. 97.

⁷⁵Ibid., 97-98.

that they had replaced the Jerusalem temple does not show dependence of the latter upon the former either. This too is probably part of a widespread movement, but for both groups it is no more than the logical conclusion to their presuppositions. The Qumranites were forced to this position because of their opposition to the Jerusalem temple and their belief that God had come to dwell with them. These same two factors were relevant for Jesus and the Church, but the sacrificial death of Christ and the giving of the Spirit after the resurrection were added reasons for the Church's rejection of the temple.⁷⁶ As Wilcox has stated, in explaining the relationship of 1QS VIII.4-10 and I P 2:4-6, it is risky to support mutual dependence; the most that the facts require is that both passages stand in a common stream of interpretation.⁷⁷

Should not one still be suspicious in that Is. 28:16 and the idea of a spiritualized temple are connected in both documents? The spiritualized temple image could be the logical explanation of the result that would come from God's laying the sure foundation, but more likely we should recognize that Is. 28:16 was always connected with the correction of temple malpractice. In the original context the priests and the prophets (v. 7) and the rulers of the people in Jerusalem who had made a covenant with Sheol (vs. 14-15) were the ones to whom the oracle was given. The Targum on Is. 28 refers to "the wicked one of the sanctuary of his praise" (לרשיעא דבית מקדשא תושבחה תיה vs. 1 and 4) and serves as an indictment

⁷⁶On the comparison of the temple in Qumran and in the NT, see Gärtner, *passim*.

⁷⁷Max Wilcox, "Dualism, Gnosticism, and Other Elements in the Pre-Pauline Tradition," *The Scrolls and Christianity*, ed. Matthew Black (London: SPCK, 1969), 94. Cf. H. H. Rowley, "The Qumran Sect and Christian Origins," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XLIV (1961-1962), 150-151.

to Israel⁷⁸ because God's sanctuary and his Shekinah were a small thing in their eyes" (vs. 10, 12, 13; cf. v. 21).⁷⁸ The implication of the targum and the OT is that the fulfillment of God's promise will do away with corruption in the temple. The emphasis on the security of the one who believes (or as the targum, "the righteous who have believed") suggests a remnant theology. The presence of these ideas in the targum is sufficient to account for the common material in I P and IQS. Rather than literary dependence, the parallels are due to a common heritage and similar pre-suppositions.

THE THEOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF I P 2:4-8

In Acts 4:11 and Eph. 2.20-22 possibly, but surely in Rm. 10:11 the one who is λίθος is also κύριος. The identification of κύριος as λίθος is even more explicit in I P 2:3-4, but it is just as unexplained. Since the equation of the two terms appeared early and in Paul, one would not be justified in attempting to account for it by referring to ψ 33. The most appealing explanation is that the association of the two terms resulted from their proximity in Is. 8:14 where it is said that Yahweh (LXX-κύριος) becomes a stone of stumbling. It is clear that Peter understood the whole context with reference to Christ. I P 3:14-15 adapts the words of Is. 8:12-13 and makes it explicit that Christians should sanctify the Lord Christ in their hearts. If this were the explanation, it would require a similar exegesis on Paul's part. The important point is that one not overlook that the Lordship of Christ is closely connected with the λίθος title.

⁷⁸One should note that "priests" are associated with Is. 28:16 in DJD, V 163, 12.

More than any other passage, I P 2:4-8 displays the usefulness of the stone imagery to the Church in explaining her theology. Most of these ideas are expressed elsewhere in the NT, but this is the only time that they are brought together. In addition to the Lordship of Christ, the passage expresses his resurrection and exaltation through the terms ζῶντα, ἐκλεκτὸν, ἔντιμον, and ἀκρογωνιαῖον. Salvation through Christ is expressed by πρὸς ὃν προσερχόμενοι (v. 4), by the description of the Church (v. 5), by the promise that the believing will not be ashamed, but will receive honor (vs. 6d-7a), and by the implication throughout the passage that the believing are on God's side. The Church's ecclesiology is expressed through her members' identification with Christ as stones in a building, the new temple in which God dwells and through which he is served (v. 5). Judgement for unbelievers is implied through their opposition to God's efforts (vs. 4 and 7) and is expressed by the stumbling stone image from Is. 8:14 (v. 8). It is clear that Christ is the watershed of humanity. Either one identifies with him through believing and thus has him as a foundation for life, or one rejects him and is tripped up. There is no middle ground.⁷⁹

In this passage Peter has attempted to show his readers the privileged position that they occupy through their belief in Christ as opposed to those who have not obeyed the gospel. It is to some extent the climax of the epistle. That Peter chose to substantiate his message of exhortation and comfort with the various aspects of the stone quotations emphasizes the value that he placed upon this imagery. It graphically verified his Lord and the demand for decision with which he confronts mankind.

⁷⁹Beare, The First Epistle of Peter, p. 125.

CONCLUSIONS

1) I P 2:3-10 draws upon ψ 33 and some type of Christian testimonia complex. This complex included at least the three λίθος quotations and probably Hos. 2:25(23). Its roots, at least for Is. 8:14 and 28:16, go back to pre-Christian Judaism.

2) Peter adapted this complex and augmented it with other quotations and possibly traditional material to form the climax of his epistle.

3) This section of I P bears no literary connection with any other part of the NT or with the Qumran Scrolls. The same testimonia complex has been used by Paul, and in its pre-Christian stage, by the Qumranites. The spiritual temple and cultus motif appears to have derived from a widespread opposition to the Jerusalem temple and its practices.

4) The λίθος image was graphically adapted by the Church to explain the most important points of her theology. With regard to her christology, it is important to note that the λίθος image is connected to the κύριος terms, that it expresses the resurrection, election, and exaltation of Christ, that salvation results from belief in him, and that judgement awaits all who do not believe.

5) The λίθος image was secondarily applied to Christians as stones in a building built on Christ the foundation.

Chapter 10

THE USE OF THE STONE IMAGERY IN THE PATRISTIC WRITINGS

Just as it would be impossible for one to understand the NT stone imagery apart from its OT and Judaic background, it is impossible for one to appreciate the impact this imagery had on the Church's thinking without looking at its use in the patristic material. Our attempt to trace the development of the imagery also requires a survey of the post-apostolic material since the NT application is modified and expanded there almost without restraint. The frequency of occurrence of the stone concept prohibits an exhaustive analysis within the confines of this study, but it is necessary to survey the occurrence and application of the stone image during the early centuries of the Christian Church.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS

Barnabas VI.2-4 commands our attention first because of its early date (before 135 A. D.) and because of its multiple citation of OT stone texts. It is not surprising that the context in which this passage is found is anti-Jewish. The writer presented Christ as a strong stone for crushing ($\omega\varsigma$ λίθος ἰσχυρὸς ἐτέθη εἰς συντριβήν) and attributed this description to the "prophet." The first part of the statement has been adapted from LXX Is. 50:7 which the writer quoted in V.14 (ἔθηκα ὡς στερεὰν πέτραν), and the latter part of the statement is probably dependent

on Is. 8:15 (συντριβήσονται).¹ With the addition of Is. 50:7 to the stone testimonia, the writer began a practice that resulted in the indiscriminate application of OT passages containing the word "stone" or "rock" to Christ.² The quotations of the stone passages that follow are not entirely in keeping with the anti-Jewish bias of the context since they explain the stone as the basis of hope for the Christian. (That these passages do not adhere to the context points to an underlying collection of texts.) Contrary to the NT, Is. 28:16a is given according to the LXX, and then in keeping with the writer's tendency to vary the closing words of citations,³ a paraphrase of Is. 28:16b is given. Prigent explained this paraphrase as dependent on

¹Robert A. Kraft, "Barnabas' Isaiah Text and the 'Testimony Book' Hypothesis," JBL, LXXIX (1960), p. 345 n. 77, found the evidence for identifying traces of Is. 8:14 [and 15] inconclusive, but εἰς συντριβὴν certainly appears to point to συντριβήσονται of 8:15. If the writer did not have this verse in mind, he is without scriptural authority for this part of his statement, but he claims to have derived his authority for the description from the "prophet." It is doubtful that the allusion is to Dn. 2:34 since τῖθέναι is more in keeping with the concept of a stumbling stone than with a stone that smashes into something. The occurrence of συντριβεῖν in Dn. 2:42 has nothing to do with the stone. Cf. Pierre Prigent, Les testimonia dans le christianisme primitif: l'Épître de Barnabé I-XVI et ses sources (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1961), p. 171; and L. W. Barnard, "The Use of Testimonies in the Early Church and in the Epistle of Barnabas," Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Background (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), p. 120. [The relevant portions of this article were printed earlier as "The Testimonium Concerning the Stone in the New Testament and in the Epistle of Barnabas," SE, III, ed. F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), pp. 306-313.]

²The use of Is. 50:7 may not be quite as indiscriminate as one would think. By the techniques of midrashic exegesis, the use of οὐ μὴ αἰσχυνθῶ in Is. 50:7 may have been equated with οὐ μὴ καταίσχυθη of Is. 28:16, although the writer has replaced this phrase in his quotation of Is. 28:16b. If the writer were familiar with the NT stone tradition, he may have found a further parallel between the stone imagery and Is. 50:7 in their common use of τῖθημι.

³Kraft, p. 341.

Gen. 3:22 because of the use of ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα in IX.2 and XI.10-11, the latter of which he connected to Gen. 3:22.⁴ He did not take into consideration that the whole clause reappears in VIII.5b, and his suggestion makes no attempt to account for the change of ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ to ὃς ἐλπίζει ἐπ' αὐτὸν. (The latter is probably evidence for a text reading ἐπ' αὐτῷ.) It is intriguing that one finds ὃς ἐλπίζει ἐπ' αὐτόν in the last part of ψ 33:9, the first part of which is quoted in I P 2:3 just prior to the use of the stone testimonia. There is the possibility that the writer of Barn. was attracted to ψ 33 by the Petrine tradition or, less likely, that the stone testimonia were associated with ψ 33 in the tradition from which both writers drew.⁵ (It should be noted that ψ 33:13 is alluded to in Barn. IX.2; cf. I P 3:10.) The writer used the dialogue form that is frequently found in the apologetic writings to explain Is. 28:16 in terms of the incarnation⁶ and to emphasize the strength of the incarnated Christ. This is reinforced by the repetition of Is. 50:7. Then ψ 117:22 is quoted which brings the writer back to his subject of the Jews' rejection of Christ, and finally a conflated form of ψ 117:23-24 is given which coupled with v. 22b serves as a reference to the resurrection.

There are several facts that may be learned from this account. Evidently the writer was not using a written testimony book or quoting directly from the NT since he shows a different text tradition and since he has added verses not used in the NT.⁷ It is clear, however, that he

⁴Prigent, p. 172.

⁵This is less likely since ψ 33 had such an extensive influence on I P.

⁶Prigent, p. 172, took the quotation of Is. 28:16 as a reference to the resurrection, but the writer seems to point to the incarnation.

⁷Barnard, p. 121.

was drawing on traditional testimonia material. He may have been influenced by I P, but he has used the LXX for the stone quotations. He has felt free to adapt, arrange, and supplement this material for the needs of his argument (although it must be admitted that the stone complex is rather clumsily grafted into the context). The multiple theological use of this image in the NT is repeated in this passage, but it is clear that πέτρα and λίθος have now become interchangeable. Thus the distinction between "rock" and "stone" in the Semitic world did not survive in the post-apostolic Church.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

Sibylline Oracles I.344-347 (c. 150 A. D.) is frequently neglected, but it is significant for our study.⁸ The writer reported the coming of John the Baptist and Christ, but he mentioned neither explicitly (except for lines 324 and 331 where Christ is referred to as the Son of God). John the Baptist is alluded to as a "voice from a desert place," and a summary of his preaching and the events surrounding his death are given. The coming of Jesus is related in terms of a protected, good stone

⁸The Shepherd of Hermas (c. 140 A. D.) does not make reference to the stone testimonia. The writer did refer to Christ as a great rock upon which a tower is built. The tower is the Church, and the stones in the building are individuals (v. III.2.4f.; s. IX.2.1f. and 12.1f.; cf. Ignatius, Eph. 9). The picture is reminiscent of Eph. 2:20 and I P 2:4-5, but while the NT passages may have influenced the conception, the author of Hermas is not noticeably or primarily indebted to the NT figure or to the OT stone quotations. His image appears to be derived from Jewish and Jewish-Christian apocalyptic and cosmic speculation. See Graydon F. Snyder (ed.), The Shepherd of Hermas, Vol. VI, The Apostolic Fathers, ed. Robert M. Grant (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1968), pp. 42-44 and 129-130; Martin Dibelius, Der Hirt des Hermas, Vol. IV, Die Apostolischen Väter, ed. Hans Lietzmann (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1923), pp. 604-605; and see supra, pp. 226-227.

(πεφυλαγμένος...καλῶς λίθος) which comes from Egypt and on which the Hebrew people stumble (προσκόψει) and the Gentiles gather. Καλῶς λίθος is probably an adaptation of λίθον...ἔντιμον of Is. 28:16, and προσκόψει alludes to Is. 8:14. The passage emphasizes the popularity of the title "stone" for Jesus since no explanation of the title was required.

A second reference to the stone image occurs in VIII.253-255 (c. 180 A. D.). There is probably an allusion to Is. 8:14 in line 246 with the mention of a stumbling block (πρόσκομμα) for the world,⁹ but the use of Is. 28:16 in lines 253-255 is beyond doubt. According to the context Moses was a type of Christ when he extended his arms in the victory over Amalek.¹⁰ This was done that the people might know that the staff of David and the promised stone are elect and precious (ἐκλεκτὸν...τίμιον) with the Father. The last line of Is. 28:16 is alluded to in the statement that the one who believes on the stone will have eternal life (ζωὴν αἰώνιον, similar to Barnabas VI.3). Both of these passages in the Sibyllines underscore the importance of the stone concept and of the Is. quotations.

JUSTIN MARTYR

In the writings of Justin Martyr (before 165 A. D.) the stone image is frequently and variously applied. It is unfortunate that Justin does no more in three passages of his Dialogue with Trypho than say that he has proved Christ to be a stone and a rock from all the scriptures (Dial. 34, 100, and 126). It is frequently pointed out, however, that Trypho made

⁹Possibly I Cor. 10:4 is alluded to as well in the phrase "With its waters enlightening the elect in twelve springs."

¹⁰Cf. Justin, Dial. 90.

no objection to the statement and apparently accepted the messianic interpretation of the OT stone texts.¹¹ Justin did not quote or allude to the stone testimonia in the way one would expect. Surely he was familiar with the primary testimonia that are found in the NT, but the only one that he mentioned explicitly is Dn. 2:34 (Dial. 70 and 76).¹² He understood the "stone cut out without hands" of this verse to be a proof for the virgin birth. Justin was probably not original in this interpretation since it was present in various quarters. It is explicit in the Acts of Peter 24;¹³ Irenaeus, A. H. III.21.7; V.26.1-2; Dialogue Between Athanasius and Zacchaeus 113-114; Cyril of Jerusalem XII.18 and XV.28; and Ps. Gregory of Nyssa, Testimonies against the Jews III; and is implicit in Cyprian, Testimonies II.17; Hippolytus, Treatise on Christ and Antichrist 26; and Tertullian A. J. III and XIV. There is a good chance, as Carrington suggested,¹⁴ that this interpretation is based on the wordplay between אבן and בן. Justin did not know Hebrew or Aramaic, but it is likely

¹¹R. P. C. Hanson, Allegory and Event (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1959), p. 23; and Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 185. Several scholars have pointed to Midrash Tanchuma תולדות 20 and NmR VII.13 where Dn. 2:34 is taken messianically and connected to Dn. 7:14. Tanchuma תולדות 20 takes the stone of Gen. 28 messianically as did Justin and Cyprian. See A. Lukyn Williams, Justin Martyr: The Dialogue with Trypho (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), p. 159 n. 2; and Willis A. Shotwell, The Biblical Exegesis of Justin Martyr (London: SPCK, 1965), p. 77.

¹²L. W. Barnard, Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 73.

¹³As in Tanchuma תולדות 20 and NmR VII.13, Dn. 2:34 is connected to Dn. 7:14 in Dial. 76, Acts of Peter 24; Tertullian, A. J. XIV; A. M. III.7; and Hippolytus, Treatise on Christ and Antichrist 26.

¹⁴Philip Carrington, According to Mark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 150 n. 1.

that he was using traditional material here (as he did frequently in other passages).

The use of Dn. 2:34 to prove the virgin birth is not the only development that we meet for the first time in Justin's writings. In Dial. 24, 113, and 114 he has brought Josh. 5:2 and spiritual circumcision into connection with the stone imagery.¹⁵ Joshua's circumcising the Israelites with knives of stone (μαχαίραις πετρίναις) is taken as a parallel to Christ's circumcising Christians from idols by knives of stone, i. e., the words of the Lord. This interpretation is based on the premise that Christ has been shown to be proclaimed in the prophets as a stone and rock. In Dial. 114 the Christian's spiritual circumcision is said to be achieved by "sharp stones" (λίθων ἀκροτόμων, apparently adapted from πέτρας ἀκροτόμου of LXX Josh. 5:2), i. e., the words which are from the apostles of the cornerstone cut out without hands (ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου, καὶ τοῦ ἄνευ χειρῶν τμηθέντος). The descriptive phrase contains allusions to Is. 28:16 and Dn. 2:34. Again Justin was not alone in his interpretation. A similar view is at least alluded to by Cyprian, Testimonies I.8; Tertullian, A. J. IX ["...circumcision with 'a knife of rock' (that is with Christ's precepts, for Christ is in many ways and figures predicted as a rock)"]; A. M. III.16; Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus 125; and Aphrahat 11.¹⁶

¹⁵Cf. Dial. 75. The theme of these two passages is the same: Joshua is a type of Jesus. Justin has made recourse to the same tradition in both these passages. See Pierre Prigent, Justin et L'Ancien Testament (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1964), pp. 134-138.

¹⁶A. Lukyn Williams, Adversus Judaeos: A Birds-eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), pp. 38, 59, and 97; Barnard, Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought, pp. 72-73; and Jacob Neusner, Aphrahat and Judaism: The Christian-Jewish Argument in Fourth-Century Iran (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), pp. 29-30.

In this same section (Dial. 114) Justin apparently drew upon I Cor. 10:4 and/or Jn. 7:37-38. He referred to Christ as the good rock (καλῆς πέτρας) who gives living water (ζῶν ὕδωρ) to those who love the Father.¹⁷ Goodenough viewed all of Justin's references to the "stone" or "rock" as a preservation of Philonic exegesis,¹⁸ but this is unlikely since the OT and the popular use of the stone testimonia seem to have been the direct source for Justin.¹⁹ It is interesting, however, that both Philo and Justin referred to those who drink from the rock that gives water as those who love God.²⁰ In this instance both were probably drawing upon traditional language.

Justin gave further evidence that the stone testimonia were being rapidly developed in the second century. In Dial. 86 the stone upon which Jacob slept (Gen. 28:11f.) is understood of Christ, and in Dial. 90 the same interpretation is applied to the stone upon which Moses sat during the battle with Amalek (Ex. 17:12; cf. Sibylline Oracles VIII.251). As Barnabas VI.2-3, Justin also used Is. 50:7 with reference to Christ (Apology I.38).

With Justin's writings the use of the stone image is almost in full flower. As the writer of the Epistle of Barnabas, he equated the terms

¹⁷See Dial. 13 where there is a possibility that an allusion is made to the tradition of the rock that followed.

¹⁸Erwin R. Goodenough, The Theology of Justin Martyr (Jena: Verlag Frommannsche Buchhandlung, Walter Bredermann, 1923), p. 168.

¹⁹Barnard, Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought, pp. 93-94. It is possible that Philo joined the rock of the wilderness with the stone of Dn. 2:34 because of his use of ἔτεμεν (Leg. All. II.86; cf. ἐτιμήθη of Dn. 2:34) in connection with the rock that gave water.

²⁰Philo has φιλοθέους; Justin has ἀγαπησάντων τὸν Πατέρα.

"rock" and "stone" and felt free to see any OT text using these words as a reference to Christ.²¹ Although Justin mentioned only one of the primary testimonia explicitly (Dn. 2:34) and alluded only to one other (Is. 28:16), his writings show the importance of the image, and when seen alongside other patristic passages, they provide illumination for understanding the development of the testimonia. Part of that development may have included the use of the adjective "good" to describe the stone since Justin spoke of the καλῆς πέτρας (Dial. 114) and the Sibylline Oracles (I.345) referred to the καλὸς λίθος.

ACTS OF PETER

We have already mentioned that Acts of Peter 24 (c. 180 A. D.) understands Dn. 2:34 as proof for the virgin birth, but it is necessary to add that Ps. 118:22 is quoted and Is. 28:16 is alluded to although neither is pertinent to the context of the virgin birth. After a reference to Dn. 7:14 the writer made a statement about the understanding of prophetic scriptures and things told in secret about the kingdom of God which is reminiscent of Josephus' comment in Antiq. X.210.²²

IRENÆUS

Reference has also been made to the writings of Irenaeus (c. 185 A. D.) in connection with Dn. 2:34 understood of the virgin birth, but again other references must be included. In A. H. IV.25.1 Christ is referred to as the chief cornerstone who sustains all things (Is. 28:16)

²¹Oscar Cullmann, πέτρα, TDNT, VI, 99.

²²See supra, p. 93.

and beside whom the sons of Abraham that God has raised up from the stones take a place. In IV.33.1 the Jews are castigated for not recognizing that the prophets announced two advents. The first advent is described partly by an allusion to Ps. 118:22a, but the relevant stone passages are omitted from the description of the second advent. It should be added that III.21.7, which explains the virgin birth by Dn. 2:34, speaks of the stone as deriving existence from the power and wisdom of God (ex virtute et arte).²³ Is. 28:16 is given as proof and the conclusion is drawn that his advent in human nature was by the will of God. In Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus XLI and LII,²⁴ Christ is referred to as the rock from which the Israelites drank.

TERTULLIAN

The writings of Tertullian (c. 210 A. D.) make reference to the stone imagery almost as frequently as do Justin's. Their use of the image in connection with the virgin birth and spiritual circumcision has been mentioned. Irenaeus had argued that both advents of Christ were prophesied in scripture and had used Ps. 118:22a as a description of the first, but had omitted reference to the stone in describing the second. The writings of Tertullian complete that picture. In A. J. XIV and A. M. III.7 the "stumbling stone" of Is. 8:14 is used as descriptive of the first advent,²⁵

²³If sapientiae were used instead of ars the statement would sound very much like Philo, Leg. All. II.86.

²⁴The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. ed., Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), I, 575 and 576. The former may be found in Migne, Series Graeca, VII, 1239.

²⁵He also said concerning the mystery of the passions that the more incredible the mystery the more likely it would be a stumbling stone (A. J. X).

but now Christ in his second advent is described as the highest cornerstone (Is. 28:16)²⁶ which after rejection on earth is exalted (Ps. 118:22). This stone, said Tertullian, is that spoken of by Daniel that will crush the secular kingdoms (Dn. 2:34). (Cf. A. M. IV.35 where Ps. 118:22 alone is presented as proof of his twofold advent.)

Tertullian used the stone imagery to good advantage in his refutation of Marcion. In A. M. V.5 he referred to Christ as a stumbling block for the Jews and quoted "Isaiah" as a prophecy concerning him. (The quotation given is actually the conflated form found in Rm. 9:33a.) The meaning of the words that follow are uncertain ("Etiam Marcion servat"), but apparently Tertullian felt that in some sense Christ was still a stumbling block for Marcion. In A. M. V.7 he declared that Marcion in his blindness stumbled at the rock from which the fathers drank in the wilderness, and he explained that the rock was Christ. Apparently Marcion expunged any reference to the stone from his canon.²⁷ Tertullian also made reference to Is. 28:16 in A. M. V.6 as a prophecy of Paul's laying the only foundation, Christ (I Cor. 3:10-11), and in A. M. IV.13 he suggested that Peter's name was given to him because of the prophecy of Christ as a stone.

CYPRIAN

Cyprian's Testimonies against the Jews (probably a good deal

²⁶It is possible that an allusion to Is. 28:16 is not intended since Tertullian traced the cornerstone image to Ps. 118:22 in his discussion of Eph. 2:20 (A. M. V.17).

²⁷See The Ante-Nicene Fathers, III, 439 n. 20. In Epiphanius, A. H. XLII.55 it is reported that Marcion omitted the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen and the stone quotation that follows it.

earlier than 250 A. D.),²⁸ one of the major proofs in Rendel Harris' "Testimony Book" hypothesis, cannot be omitted from an analysis of the patristic use of the stone. The heading for II.16 is "That he [Christ] also is called a stone" ("Quod idem et lapis dictus sit"), and the whole section is a list of OT passages which mention a stone and which have been applied to Christ. The following are included:

- 1) Is. 28:16 (Is. 8:14 is omitted.)
- 2) Ps. 118:22-26a
- 3) Zech. 3:8-9
- 4) Dt. 27:8 (the stone upon which the law was written)
- 5) Josh. 21:26-27 (the stone Joshua set up for a testimony)
- 6) Acts 4:8-12
- 7) Gen. 28:11f. (the stone slept upon and anointed by Jacob)
- 8) Ex. 17:12 (the stone upon which Moses sat in the battle with Amalek)
- 9) I Sm. 6:14 (the stone upon which offering was made when the ark was returned from the Philistines)
- 10) I Sm. 17:49 (the stone that killed Goliath)
- 11) I Sm. 7:12 (the stone "Ebenezer" that Samuel set up as a memorial)

Section 17 adapts Dn. 2:34 and explains that the stone would become a mountain and fill the whole earth.²⁹

APHRAHAT

In order to include a witness from the Syriac speaking Church, it is necessary to go to the Demonstrations of Aphrahat (c. 337 A. D.). Although later in time than what we have been considering, this is an important witness since it derives from the Syriac speaking Church and

²⁸It is probable that Cyprian was relying upon a written source. See R. P. C. Hanson, Tradition in the Early Church (London: SCM Press, 1962), 261-264.

²⁹Cyprian used Is. 50:5-7 with reference to Christ (Testimonies II. 13), but did not use the portion of the verse used in the Epistle of Barnabas VI.4. He also quoted Ps. 118:22 in attempting to verify the fact that Christ is called "Day."

since the first Demonstration is devoted to showing how Christ as the true stone is the foundation of our faith (§ 2-19). Aphrahat went to great length to make his point, and he supported his thesis with both OT and NT quotations. Reference was made to Ps. 118:22, and the rejection of Christ was illustrated from the trial (§ 6). Is. 28:16 was quoted and then Mt. 21:44, which was also attributed to Isaiah, was added (§ 6). (Aphrahat may have thought he was quoting Is. 8:14 which is not otherwise used by him.) Dn. 2:34 is quoted and the phrase "the whole earth was filled with it" is interpreted as the gospel going into all the earth (§ 8). Zech. 3:9 and 4:7 were also understood with reference to Christ (§ 8-9).

CONCLUSIONS

The stone testimonia were used by various other patristic writers,³⁰

³⁰ Rendel Harris (with the assistance of Vacher Burch), Testimonies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916-1920), II, 60-61, listed quite a few patristic references to the stone imagery, but his list is certainly not exhaustive. Jean Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality (London: Burns and Oates, 1960), pp. 193-201, gave references that refer to Christ as the wilderness rock, which yielded water, but these references are fairly late. See also Daniélou's article "Fels" in Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, ed. by Theodor Klauser (Stuttgart: Anton Hierseman, 1950-19--), VII, 726-731; and G. W. H. Lampe (ed.), A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 802-803 and 1079. Besides the references considered in the above discussion, the following are worthy of mention:

- 1) The Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus 109-114
- 2) Cyril of Jerusalem X.3; XII.18; XIII.35; and XV.28
- 3) Ephraim Syrus, The Pearl IV.2 and 4
- 4) Eusebius, D. E. I.7 and E. P. III.42
- 5) Origen, Com. on Jn. I.23.41 and Com. on Rm. VII.19
- 6) Methodius, Oration Concerning Simeon and Anna VI
- 7) Ps. Gregory of Nyssa, Testimonies against the Jews III and VIII
- 8) Celsus, De Judaica Incredulitate, ad Vigilium Episcopum V
- 9) Gregory Nazianzen, On the Great Athanasius VII; On Pentecost VII
- 10) Pseudo-Ephraim, Rhythm against the Jews Delivered on Palm Sunday
- 11) Firmicus Maternus, Liber de Errore Profanarum Religionum XXI
- 12) St. Ambrose, The Prayer of Job and David Book IV

but this should be sufficient to illustrate the popularity, use, and development of the image. From the passages we have included, several facts should be observed. The distinction between "rock" and "stone" which was maintained in the Semitic languages did not survive in the post-apostolic literature. The testimonia used most frequently in the NT (Is. 8:14; 28:16; and Ps. 118:22) continue to be of major importance, but much more emphasis is placed on Dn. 2:34 by the patristic writers than by the NT. The patristic writers adapted the testimonia to their own purposes and felt free to understand any OT passage of Christ that mentions the word "stone" or "rock." At least some of these additions also became "traditional" (Gen. 28:11 and Josh. 5:2). The interpretations of Is. 28:16 are not always the same; with some writers it is taken as referring to the incarnation or first coming of Christ (Barn. VI.2-3; Sibylline Oracles I. 345; Irenaeus A. H. III.21.7) while others understand it as referring to the resurrection or second coming (Tertullian, A. J. XIV; A. M. III.7; Ps. Gregory of Nyssa VIII). The theological application of the image is even more varied than in the NT. It is obvious that at least the primary stone quotations were circulated together as part of the traditional teaching on Christ, but the various text traditions and the variety of applications of the image make it unlikely that our writers were dependent on a single documentary source. The apostolic Church found that the stone imagery could be profitably used to explain various aspects of theology, and surely early Christian preachers and teachers made repeated reference to the figure as they instructed the Church and tried to win converts. As part of the general Christian tradition the image was available for the frequent and varied use that one finds in the patristic material.

Chapter 11

CONCLUSIONS

The stone image at first glance appears to the modern mind to be a curious and unnatural metaphor, but the OT and Judaic background of this term made it a completely logical title for the early Church to apply to her Lord. Despite the inanimate quality inherent in a stone, this image was one of the most important means by which the Church explained the person and work of Christ. From our inquiry into the meaning and development of the stone testimonia, the following conclusions are among the most significant.

First, the borderline between the meanings of the biblical words for "rock" and "stone" is not nearly as fluid as some have maintained.

סלע, כיפא, and πέτρα do at times encroach upon the semantic field of אבן and λίθος in non-biblical literature, but in the biblical text, the Greek translations of the OT, and the targums אבן, אבנא, and λίθος are distinguished from צור/סלע, כיפא / טינרא, and πέτρα in that the former refer to stone, whether worked or unworked, that is not part of a natural rock formation while the latter refer to rock that is part of such a formation. The frequent claim that כיפא, in addition to אבנא, is an Aramaic equivalent of λίθος has been proven wrong. This claim was based primarily on the Syriac use of כפר without realizing that a semantic shift had taken place in Syriac which had resulted in a change of meaning for this word. The real result of all this is that one has very little basis for drawing parallels between verses that speak of a "stone" and those that

speak of a "rock." It is doubtful that the OT passages that speak of God as a rock bear any relation to the stone testimonia,¹ especially since the LXX and targums nearly always replace the title with a circumlocution. The attempt to view such verses as Mt. 7:24-27 and 16:18 as allusions to either Is. 28:16 or to the אבן שתייה legend has little justification either. How can one bridge the gap between the πέτρα/כִּיפֶּא of the passages in Mt. and the λίθος/אבן of Is. 28:16 and אבן of the legend? That πέτρα and כִּיפֶּא are used occasionally in non-biblical literature of rock that is not part of a natural formation is hardly sufficient basis for saying that they are equivalent to λίθος and אבן. The strict boundaries between the words maintained in the LXX and the targums would indicate that neither Mt. 7:24-27 nor 16:18 bears any relation to the stone testimonia. It should be mentioned that the distinction between the semantic fields of these words has been noticed by others,² but the conclusions were not applied to Mt. 16:18 and the אבן שתייה legend. Other than Is. 8:14 the only passage using the word "rock" which possibly may be related to the stone testimonia is I Cor. 10:4 where the rock that gave water is understood of Christ. One probably can assume that Paul's familiarity with Is. 8:14 (πέτρα σκανδάλου) helped make the identification possible, but even so the relation is indirect.

Second, in pre-Christian Judaism the stone image in general bore

¹The only relation possible is that Is. 8:14 may have been drawing upon familiar images to shock the Israelites with a message of judgement. See supra, pp. 24-26.

²A. F. J. Klijn, "Die Wörter 'Stein' und 'Felsen' in der syrischen Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments," ZNW, L (1959), 99-105; and Johannes Ringger, "Das Felsenwort: zur Sinndeutung von Mt 16,18, vor allem im Lichte der Symbolgeschichte," Begegnung der Christen, ed. Maximilian Roesle and Oscar Cullmann (Stuttgart: Evangelische Verlagswerk, 1960), pp. 273-279.

eschatological overtones. Is. 8:14 and 28:16 had already been connected prior to their NT use and had been understood in an eschatological and probably messianic sense. That identical phrases appear in the two contexts shows that the original author saw the latter as a development of the former. With these passages Isaiah was trying to convince his readers that they could obtain security by placing their faith in God's promise which centered on the Davidic heir, but that they would be destroyed if they did not. The LXX and probably the targum connected the two passages, and both of these in their reproduction of Is. 28:16 reveal a messianic interpretation. In the Qumran Scrolls Is. 28:16 is eschatologically applied to the community itself, and it is probable that 1QS VIII.7-8 is dependent on the targum tradition.

The references to the stone in Zech. and Dn. are not related to the Is. passages even though they are concerned with the promise of God's continuing to work with his people and with the ultimate victory of Israel. The passages in Zech. are based upon Near Eastern customs for the reconstruction of temples. The targum interprets both stone passages in Zech. messianically as do some of the rabbinic writings. The stone in Dn. was originally given eschatological significance in that it was a symbol for the kingdom of God. Josephus' writings witness the importance of this symbol for the messianic kingdom, and in the rabbinic material the stone of Dn. 2 is interpreted specifically of the Messiah.

It is difficult to determine both the occasion of Ps. 118 and the way that v. 22 was interpreted in Judaism. It appears likely that the psalm was composed in connection with or shortly after the rebuilding of the second temple, possibly with reference to Ezra 3:8-13. The stone in the psalm would then be understood with reference to the beginning of the second

temple insofar as that beginning was a symbol of God's purpose for his people. It is possible that Ps. 118:23 may reflect Is. 28:29, and if so, the psalm would stand in an indirect relation to both the Is. and Zech. stone passages. The targum understands Ps. 118:22 of David, but this could be an anti-Christian polemic. It is possible that this verse was understood messianically prior to its Christian use, but the lack of concrete evidence does not permit one to draw any conclusions. It is clear, however, that this psalm particularly and all of the hallel were given an eschatological interpretation in Judaism which the Gospels presuppose in their use of Ps. 118 in other connections.

The stone image then was pregnant with eschatological and messianic connotations and was readily available for adaptation within a Christian context.

Third, the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen should not be slighted in any analysis of the stone testimonia. The quotation of Ps. 118:22 is inextricably bound to the parable by the Semitic wordplay between בן and בנים . The existence of this wordplay is beyond doubt in both testaments and in various portions of Judaic literature, and its occurrence in Josephus' account of the Jewish War is particularly instructive. This wordplay explains the correlation between the rejected son of the parable and the rejected stone of the quotation, and on any reckoning, takes us back at least to the Aramaic speaking Church. Since it is less likely that the quotation would have been added at a later date on the basis of the wordplay, it is probable that the quotation was connected with the parable from its inception. Although questions have been raised about the parable, neither its form nor its sequence of thought offers any grounds for suspicion when they are viewed in connection with the parables and customs

from the same period.

The attempt to view the Synoptic accounts of the parable as developments from the simple account in the Gospel of Thomas is invalid since the evidence indicates that Thomas' simple account is dependent on a post-Synoptic Syriac tradition. The variations in the Synoptic accounts of the parable are due to stylistic preferences of the authors and to attempts to emphasize the meaning. The account recorded in Mt. appears to be the earliest, primarily because of the lack of emphasis on the son. It is probable that there was a double tradition ("Q") form of the parable which included an allusion to Dn. 2:44-45 and which is represented by Mt. 21:43-44.

The parable repeats one of the basic messages of the prophets in that it charges that the Jewish leaders have not given God his due and have rejected his messengers, but it goes one step further by introducing the figure of the son as the last envoy before judgement. The emphasis on the importance of the son coupled with the stone quotations involves a veiled messianic claim for Jesus. The parable stands as an indictment of the Jewish leaders and warns that they would be deprived of participation in the privileges accorded God's people and that their position would be taken over by others who would be loyal to God's purposes. A very close parallel to the message of the parable may be found in the lament over Jerusalem (Mt. 23:37-38/Lk. 13:34-35), which like the parable is concluded by a quotation from Ps. 118. There is not sufficient reason to reject that the parable and quotations derive from Jesus. On the contrary the connections between the parable and the quotations that follow it, between the parable and the lament over Jerusalem, and between the use of words from Ps. 118:22 with the figure of the Son of Man are too subtle and complex for origin in the early Church.

Fourth, in the early Church the stone testimonia formed one of the most important and useful means by which Christians could explain the person and work of Christ and their relation to him. After the resurrection Ps. 118:22 was quickly re-enlisted for use in the conflict with Judaism. The verse stood as verification from scripture of the death and resurrection of Christ and served as a charge against the Jewish leaders for acting contrary to the purposes of God. Since the stone in general bore eschatological and messianic connotations, it is not surprising that Is. 8:14 and 28:16 were brought into service as further proof. These two verses were probably brought into use at the same time because of their connection in pre-Christian Judaism, but each contained its own attraction. Is. 28:16 had been interpreted specifically of the Messiah and emphasized the prominent place that the stone occupied in God's purposes. Is. 8:14 verified that Christ is an offence to some and had probably been alluded to in the saying recorded in Mt. 21:44/Lk. 20:18. Is. 8:14 and 28:16 together repeat both themes that were expressed in Ps. 118:22 (rejection-exaltation), but Is. 28:16 expands the thought on the stone image with the introduction of the necessity of belief and the promise of salvation.

By the time that Paul wrote Rm. (55-60 A. D.), the use of the stone had become part and parcel of the Christian apologetic and was so much a part of the Christian tradition that he could assume that the Roman Christians would be familiar with it. The importance of the Is. stone testimonia for Paul can only be appreciated when one realizes that they provided for him the answer to the problem of the unbelief of the Jews and that they served as the basic statement in Rm. 9-11. (Chapters 10-11 are to some extent an exposition of Rm. 9:30-33 which contains the Is. quotations.)

Since the building imagery was common in Judaism and was employed in the earliest Christian tradition, it is only natural that the use of the stone testimonia would have been brought into connection with the building terms and the concept of the spiritual temple as had happened with Is. 28:16 in 1QS VIII.7-8; 1QH VI.26; and VII.9. While there is no explicit allusion to Is. 28:16 in I Cor. 3:10-11, such an allusion may be implied since Christ is presented as the foundation on which the Corinthian Church is built. At least in Eph. 2:20 and I P 2:4-10 the connection of the stone and building terms is certain, but since the stone testimonia appear frequently in connection with the theme of the people of God, the possibility must be left open that the thought of the spiritual temple is never far removed from the stone testimonia.

The significance of the stone and building terms in the Christian tradition is best illustrated by I P 2:4-10. As Paul had used the stone testimonia as the most important part of Rm. 9-11, Peter used these quotations for the primary indicative of his entire epistle. Through these OT verses he explained the Christian's relation to Christ and contrasted the privileges of those who believe with the dishonor (implied) of those who will not believe. The depth to which this tradition reaches is evidenced by the non-LXX text form that both Rm. 9:33 and I P 2:6-8 record. It is difficult to account for this common text form and application of the image apart from some type of testimonia hypothesis. Further reliance upon Christian tradition is evident in the spiritual temple motif which is common to Eph. 2:20-22 and I P 2:4-5.

The theological usefulness of the stone testimonia was no doubt responsible for their repeated occurrence. One may even say that they provide a microcosm of Christian doctrine. They helped explain ecclesiology

by presenting Christ as the foundation upon which the Church is built. They provided the answer to the question why some people, particularly the Jews, did not believe. The Church's understanding of salvation was enhanced by Is. 28:16 since it emphasized the necessity of belief and the security of those who do believe. Judgement entered the picture via Dn. 2:34 and Is. 8:14. But it is primarily with reference to Jesus himself that the stone testimonia were so important for the Church. The underlying assumptions in the use of all the stone testimonia are that Jesus is the Messiah and that he has fulfilled the OT promises. His death and resurrection are verified by Ps. 118:22, and the inauguration of the kingdom of God by him may be assumed by the allusion to Dn. 2:34 (although it should be noted that reference is not made to the Dn. stone passage apart from the quotation at the end of the parable in Mt. and Lk.). The unique and honored position that he holds in the purposes of God and as the object of faith are brought out by Is. 28:16. Finally, the theme of Lordship is frequently associated with the stone image. Several factors probably contributed to this connection, but the most obvious is the context of Is. 8:14 where Yahweh (κύριος) is used in close association with the stone image.

In each NT occurrence of these testimonia then, the stone is understood as a symbol of Christ.³ Lloyd Gaston's suggestion that Is. 28:16 was originally interpreted of the Christian community and then was secondarily applied to Christ must be rejected.⁴ As with other images where

³Contra Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 180, who accepted only the occurrence of the stone image in I P 2:4-8 as an identification with the person of Christ.

⁴Lloyd Gaston, No Stone on Another (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 213-228.

the designation of Christians has been derived from a title or description of Christ (branches--vine, sheep--shepherd), the identification of believers as stones is derived from the fact that their Lord was referred to as a stone first. It is because of their relation to the cornerstone that they become stones in the building.

Fifth, the attempt to trace the stone testimonia (and Mt. 16:18) to the אבן שתיה legend is without sufficient merit. That Is. 28:16 was written with this legend in mind is unlikely, and there is little to suggest that the Qumranites made reference to the legend with their use of Is. 28:16. It is even doubtful that this creation legend was regularly associated with Is. 28:16 since only one rabbinic text connects the two and since the legend appears to be derived from Job 38:4-8. It is likely that the legend developed too late for it to have influenced the NT writers.

With these conclusions before us we may inquire further into the validity of the use of the stone testimonia. If we are correct in saying the use of the stone image was dominical, Jesus was probably first attracted to the stone testimonia because of the parallel between the stone in Dn. 2 and the Son of Man in Dn. 7. This identification was then carried over to Ps. 118:22 in which Jesus saw mirrored his rejection by the Jewish leaders and his expectation of vindication/exaltation. While the original contexts of Ps. 118:22 and the Stone/Son of Man of Dn. should not be connected, the occurrences of "stone," the common rejection-exaltation theme, and the eschatological reference of both passages in pre-Christian Judaism helped lead to the association. The Church continued to use Ps. 118:22 because she viewed Jesus' death and resurrection as an actualization of this verse. The use of Is. 8:14 and 28:16 together in the NT is in keeping with Isaiah's association of these two texts, and the application of the image to Christ

is legitimate on Christian presuppositions which view Christ as the fulfillment of God's OT promise. The eschatological and messianic use of the image in pre-Christian Judaism, of course, facilitated the Christian application.

The main issue with regard to legitimacy, however, is with reference to the use of the image in post NT times, both ancient and modern. Certainly the tendency of the patristic writers to include any mention of "rock" or "stone" in the OT as a reference to Christ is not justified. We have already rejected the attempt to draw parallels on the basis of the word "rock." Paul's awareness of Is. 8:14 may have helped make the identification of Christ with the "rock that followed" in I Cor. 10:4 possible, but he did not present this identification as a parallel to, or an extension of, the stone testimonia. May one, however, extend the application of the stone testimonia to other passages that use the word "stone?" One may legitimately make reference to the way others have interpreted a passage messianically (as Zech. 4:7 by the rabbis) for the purposes of illustration, but there are no legitimate grounds for interpreting other OT or NT passages as parallels to the stone testimonia (Is. 8:14; 28:16; Ps. 118:22; and Dn. 2: 34,45). The word "stone" could be used metaphorically in a number of ways, but there is no basis for connecting any of these uses to the messianic stone testimonia. In Zech. 3:9 and 4:7 the stone is used with reference to the actual construction of a temple, and in Zech. 12:3 it is used to show that Israel is like a heavy burden. In Jer. 51:26 it is used of literal foundations or possibly metaphorically for rulers of Babylon, but in none of these or other such passages is there justification for seeing a parallel to the christological stone testimonia. These passages may help us understand the stone testimonia because of their metaphorical use of the stone

image, but they are not part of the stone testimonia complex. In other words, the stone testimonia should include only Is. 8:14; 28:16; Ps. 118: 22; and Dn. 2:34 and 45 in the OT and quotations of, or allusions to, these verses in the NT.

Finally, the problem of the relation of the various stone passages to each other is best explained by recourse to some type of "testimonia hypothesis." This is not the place for a full discussion of testimonia,⁵ but since the stone image is the "first witness" for the existence of testimonia,⁶ some comment is required. As has been argued in the analyses of the various passages, the NT texts are not dependent on each other or on any known extra-biblical source. To argue that I P 2:3-10 is dependent on Rm. 9:32-33; Eph. 2:20-22; ψ 33; and 1QS VIII.5-8 all at the same time would require quite a stretch of the imagination, but each of these passages has parallels with I P 2:3-10 and each has been presented as the source for the Petrine thought. While the passages are not dependent on one another, neither are they isolated from each other. Each of these passages with the exception of ψ 33 is dependent on a common background of traditional material that was being circulated in Judaism and/or Christianity. Part of that common background involved the concept of the spiritual temple,

⁵For discussions on the history of the testimonia hypothesis and assessments on the present state of the problem, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "'4Q Testimonia' and the New Testament," Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), pp. 59-89; E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), pp. 98-107; Pierre Prigent, Les testimonia dans le christianisme primitif: L'Épître de Barnabé I-XVI et ses sources (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1961), esp. pp. 16-28; and Martin Rese, Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1969), pp. 217-223.

⁶B. P. W. Stather Hunt, Primitive Gospel Sources (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), p. 126.

but the part that concerns us is the common use of OT passages to explain the working of God in the end-time and the relation of the believing to God. When an OT passage was regularly associated with one of these two themes, it may legitimately be called a "testimonium." The existence of collections of such testimonia is no longer hypothetical. Through the discovery of 4Q Test. and 4Q Flor. the view that OT texts were grouped for thematic use has been moved from the realm of hypothesis to that of fact.⁷ The use of Is. 28:16 in various quarters is concrete evidence that it too was a testimonium. Even though Is. 8:14 and 28:16 had already been associated, it is not quite accurate to speak of these two verses as a pre-Christian stone testimonia complex, but certainly Is. 28:16 was a pre-Christian stone testimonium. With the evidence from Qumran, it is necessary to amend C. H. Dodd's conclusion that the testimonia in the NT were the result rather than the presupposition of Christian scholarly activity.⁸ This is no doubt true in some cases, but each testimonia complex must be viewed individually.⁹ Some of them, as the use of the stone passages, can be traced back to pre-Christian Judaism.¹⁰

There are still questions concerning testimonia that remain unanswered, but several conclusions seem to be valid. There is no evidence

⁷Fitzmyer, pp. 85-86; and Rese, p. 222.

⁸C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1952), p. 126.

⁹It would seem necessary as well to view each complex individually with regard to Dodd's further conclusion that individual verses are pointers to the whole context. Cf. Albert C. Sundberg, Jr., "On Testimonies," NT, III (1959), 275, although his criticism of Dodd's study is extreme. The value of Dodd's contribution is immeasurable, but should be amended in the two points mentioned.

¹⁰Fitzmyer, pp. 85-86.

that would suggest a single documentary source or a static collection as one would envisage with Rendel Harris' theory of the "Testimony Book." It is not certain how frequently testimonia were written down, but the debate on whether the testimonia were written or oral should probably be answered by "both" instead of "either...or." Certainly testimonia were at times written down as the evidence from Qumran indicates, but it is probable that the testimonia were circulated to a large extent by oral means. It should be remembered that testimonia were made up of popular material which would appear in various forms. They were used for worship, proclamation, teaching, and apologetic purposes. They were primarily memory aids to help organize one's thinking along thematic lines.¹¹ Certainly the testimonia were anything but static as can easily be seen in the patristic material.¹² Their successful use in one context no doubt led to their adaptation for other purposes and persuaded the user to look back into the scripture for further ideas and parallel passages. As there is no single "Testimony Book," neither is there a single explanation of testimonia that will account for all the various phenomena. Each testimonia complex must be analyzed and explained within its own context. Even then one must recognize that a theory of testimonia is not a panacea for every problem, whether it be in explaining the relation of parallel passages or in accounting for deviant texts.

The stone image is still the "first witness" for the existence of

¹¹Jean-Paul Audet, "L'hypothese des testimonia," *RB*, LXX (1963), 404-405; and Barnabas Lindars, "Books of Testimonies," *ET*, LXXXV (1964), 175.

¹²See esp. L. W. Barnard, "The Use of Testimonies in the Early Church and in the Epistle of Barnabas," Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Background (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), 110-135.

testimonia. It was a popular and readily adaptable image in pre-Christian Judaism. The Ps. and Is. stone passages became part of the basic apostolic tradition and were applied by various individuals to the theological problems they faced. This tradition may have been written down since Paul and Peter agree in their deviation from the LXX--at least this is one textual problem that should be explained on the theory of testimonia rather than by a theory of dependence of one epistle on the other. If the tradition were written down, however, certainly the circulation of the use of the image was not limited to documentary evidence. The patristic writings show very little uniformity in text or order or even in their understanding of some of the stone passages. The use of the image was widespread and varied and cannot be traced to a single source.¹³

The modern mind may well think in terms of such images as the shepherd of the sheep, but the stone image is as useful and picturesque for the Church of the twentieth century as it was for that of the first. We still use the "building imagery" to express our ideas, and with a proper understanding of the OT passages and their application in the NT, the stone image is second to none in its practicality. The Church neglects this image at her own expense. Christ is still the cornerstone of God's purposes and the basis of all faith. The words of the ancient Latin hymn are as expressive as they ever were:

Christ is made the sure foundation,
Christ the head and cornerstone,
Chosen of the Lord and precious,

¹³Fitzmyer, p. 85; and Robert A. Kraft, "Barnabas' Isaiah Text and the 'Testimony Book' Hypothesis," JBL, LXXIX (1960), 345.

Binding all the church in one,
Holy Zion's help for ever,
And her confidence alone.¹⁴

¹⁴As quoted by R. J. McKelvey, The New Temple (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 182. The Latin was quoted by Edward Gordon Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan & Co., 1964), p. 163.

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