

The Gospels and Their Stories in Anthropological Perspective

Edited by
JOSEPH VERHEYDEN and
JOHN S. KLOPPENBORG

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zum Neuen Testament
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Abbreviations

AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und Urchristentums
AncB	The Anchor Bible
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i>
APA	American Philosophical Association
ARA	Annual Review of Anthropology
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BiTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BThSt	Biblich-theologische Studien
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CQ	<i>The Classical Quarterly</i>
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DDD	K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, P. W. van der Horst, <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> (Leiden: Brill, 1995)
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DNP	Der Neue Pauly
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EKK	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
GNT	Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament
HBS	Herders biblische Studien
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ITQ	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
IESS	<i>International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences</i>
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBLMS	Journal of Biblical Literature. Monograph Series
J ECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JHS	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JLH	The Journal of Library History
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSHJ	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSSR	<i>Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library

LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)
LTK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i>
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
MEFR (A)	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité</i>
MTSR	<i>Method and Theory in the Study of Religion</i>
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NTA	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTOA/StUNT	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/ Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTSD	New Testament Studies, Tools, and Documents
ÖBS	Österreichische biblische Studien
QD	Quaestiones Disputatae
R&T	<i>Religion & Theology</i>
REA	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>
RRR	<i>Review of Religious Research</i>
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLSP	SBL Seminar Papers
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies. Monograph Series
STAC	Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity
SupplJNT	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of the New Testament
SupplJOT	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
SupplNT	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
SupplVChr	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
ThGl	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
ThKNT	Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThPQ	<i>Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift</i>
TWNT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
TynBull	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
VigChr	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNT	<i>Zeitschrift für Neues Testament</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Introduction

JOSEPH VERHEYDEN and JOHN S. KLOPPENBORG

Christianity originated in a world that in many respects was very different from ours. The differences involve certain practices, beliefs, and on a broader level, worldviews, and the language that is used for expressing one's convictions. The evidence can be traced through the literary sources and the archaeological remains that have come to us. This conference focused on the literary sources, as they are often thought to present a more direct entrance to the matter. In particular, attention was paid to the New Testament gospels and what they can tell us about these religious practices, beliefs and language. This evidence was studied against the broader background of Greco-Roman literature dealing with identical or similar phenomena and using an approach that is informed by recent research in (historical) anthropology.

The conference brought together a number of expert biblical scholars, specialists of ancient Greek and Roman religion, and proponents of an anthropological approach to early Christian and Greco-Roman religious tradition. Several of the speakers are members of the so-called "Context Group" that since several decades has been a leading voice in developing social-scientific approaches for studying early Christianity and that has been instrumental in getting the results trickling down in biblical studies at large. The meeting also offered an opportunity for entering in discussion with colleagues who, while fundamentally interested in the method and its results, have been working with a more classical paradigm of reading the earliest Christian sources against the background of the Greco-Roman sources to discover similarities and dissimilarities in beliefs and practices.

The speakers were asked to focus on a particular topic in the field of religious practice or belief that is found in the gospels and in other ancient literature and study this topic in dialogue with recent scholarship and with a specific interest for the insights that can be gained from an anthropological approach. The essays here collected are divided into four sections. The first one is entitled "Bodies, Demons, and Magic" and consists of five studies. Giovanni Bazzana analyses the Beelzebul controversy in Mark and Q focusing on the relationship between (the demon) Beelzebul and Satan, the mysterious reference to "a strong one" who is to be conquered, the type of accusation that is levelled against Jesus as healer and exorcist, and the way the powerful intervention of God is expressed. Laura Feldt continues her research on monstrosity in an essay dealing with

Mark's construction of the demoniac as monstrous, but also as ambiguous and as provoking deeply traumatising emotions. Sarah Rollens asks why Mark shows a special interest in developing the motif of assaulting or hurting the bodies of major characters of the story (Jesus and the Baptist, but also the believers) and links it to the genre of Mark as a "mythic" account on identity creation in a particular group. Brigidda Bell studies the topic of the "false prophet" in Matthew (7:15) and the *Didache* (11:8) from the perspective of a typology of discernment, comparing the ancient sources to the practice of embodied discernment in a contemporary evangelical community in the USA and in ancient Greek religion. William Arnal contributes a lengthy essay on magic in Mark and Acts read against the background of modern socio-anthropological trends in studying ancient magic and the perception of magic in the ancient world itself. Among the New Testament passages to be studied in some detail are Mark 7:32–6 and Acts 16:16–9 and chapter 19.

Two essays are listed under the heading "Practices". Zeba Crook deals with coercive prayers, exploring the relationship between religious and magical practice in using prayer as a tool to obtain something from the divine and the complicated interaction it creates by working with a model of reciprocity to obtain what is asked for all while making sure the gods remain satisfied. Martin Ebner studies the figure of Jesus as a teacher and preacher accompanied by his disciples in the four gospels in comparison with Roman models of the teacher – disciple *topos* in (primarily) philosophical tradition, thereby focusing on the distinctive features that can be found in each of the gospels with regard to how Jesus' power and authority are represented.

The section entitled "Spaces" contains two essays dealing with space, though in quite different ways. Halvor Moxnes connects the concepts of secrecy and separation as it is developed in Matt 6:1–18, 11:25–7 and chapter 13 with that of identity formation and the creation of another kind of spatial context that allows the group to understand itself as "different" or even as an alternative to the society in which it comes about. Dan Smith is rather more interested in "real" spatial categories as these are linked up with the missionary ambitions of the earliest Christian communities and evidenced in Q and in the synoptic gospels, the oldest of which interprets the move into new territory as incursion, while the two others seem to look upon it as forms of conquering or appropriating.

The last section bears the title "Visions" and brings together three essays, the first of which analyses gospel passages depicting visions by Jesus while the other two deal with the resurrection stories. Santiago Guijarro connects visions with specific states of consciousness, situates Jesus' visions in line with those of Jewish prophets that are told about in Hebrew Scripture, and ends with a brief survey of the visions of the disciples after the resurrection. Jan Bremmer studies resurrection narratives in Luke and Acts against the background of similar stories as told later on in Greek novels and in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, with special

attention to the issue of the “reality” of what is seen and told. Pieter Craffert proposes to read the resurrection narratives in the gospels in a neuro-anthropological perspective focusing on the particularities of visionary experiences.

Simon Coleman was asked to contribute a response to the essays from the perspective of an anthropologist recalling first how anthropology has evaluated some of the claims made in Scripture and in early Christianity about its identity before offering some brief but well-informed comments on each of the essays in this volume.

Over the past three or four decades, biblical scholars and scholars of early Christianity have gradually become more aware of the importance of the social sciences for their own field. This has produced a steady flow of studies rooted in work that was done in the fields of religious psychology, group formation psychology, the sociology of emerging groups and movements and the sociology of religion, ethnology, and historical anthropology. The Leuven conference wished to offer an inevitably selective survey of what has been achieved over these years and to reflect on how these efforts should be pursued in the future. It was the explicit purpose not to limit ourselves to purely methodological reflections, but to explore and evaluate how concepts and constructs can be developed and then also checked in applying them to specific cases and topics that are typical and crucial for understanding earliest Christianity.

Bodies, Demons, and Magic

Beelzebul vs Satan: Exorcist Subjectivity and Spirit Possession in the Historical Jesus

GIOVANNI B. BAZZANA

No scholar denies that “spirit”¹ possession played an extremely significant role in the experience of the Jesus groups, beginning already with the historical Jesus, about whom all the sources attest to a rich and successful exorcistic activity. Nevertheless, scholarship almost systematically marginalizes this aspect or tries to “explain it away” in reductionistic fashion. Thus, possession is often attributed either to psychopathology (even today, when large sectors of the field are progressively becoming more and more conscious of the implications of certain representations of disability) or to the need to “vent out” in order to find a momentary relief from the oppressiveness of unequal social and political situations.² Such a tendency in biblical scholarship cannot be surprising when one takes into account the long-standing aversion of institutional Christian theology towards “mystical” phenomena that are often deemed dangerous for their supposed individualistic and amoral thrust. However, there are in fact deeper reasons behind the inadequate treatments of possession that one encounters in New Testament academic writing. Indeed, the very phenomenon of possession entails aspects that are fundamentally at odds with some of the principles on which critical scholarship has been built since the Enlightenment.³ By definition, possession presupposes a fracture of the modern autonomous and coherent self or results in an embodiment of cultural scripts and idioms that is largely independent from linguistic and textual mediation. Given such premises, it is almost natural that the tools of traditional historical-criticism prove themselves inadequate to

¹ I will write “spirit” throughout as a way to acknowledge the fact that using this term to translate the Greek πνεῦμα as it occurs in the New Testament and in other ancient texts imports a dualistic worldview of Platonic origin that was scarcely at home in those writings.

² The second approach (which has the undeniable advantage to take into consideration the social context of possession) is often carried too far in New Testament scholarship on account of too wooden a reception of the influential (but by now seriously outdated) functionalist paradigm of I. M. LEWIS, *Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession* (London: Routledge, 2003³).

³ Such a thought is advanced insightfully already by H. ΜΟΧΝΕΣ, ‘Ethnography and Historical Imagination in Reading Jesus as an Exorcist’, in *Neot* 44 (2010), 327–41, on the basis of theoretical proposals of Jean and John Comaroff.

deal with this phenomenon and that consequently most scholars see themselves forced to resort to strategies of reductionism or marginalization.

Fortunately, cultural anthropology has also experienced (going back to the very first steps of the discipline in the nineteenth century) a trajectory comparable to that observed in biblical studies in its dealings with possession.⁴ However, ethnographers enjoy the great advantage of witnessing these episodes first-hand and of interrogating the human subjects involved in them in a way that is simply impossible for those scholars who have only ancient textual reports at their disposal. Thus, by building on an enormously rich treasure of ethnographic accounts, anthropologists have been able in recent years to move beyond the functionalist and structuralist interpretations that had characterized a previous generation of scholarship on possession. The most recent ethnographic literature on the subject shows very compellingly that possession as an embodiment of Otherness is a jarringly traumatic experience for mediums, but also that it can be turned into a very positive cultural impulse when it empowers them to heal, gives them a way to know the mythical as well as historical past of their group, or even provides them with means to reflect on and confront dialectically their socio-cultural conditions. Several theorists, such as Michael Lambek, Janice Boddy, and Adeline Masquelier, have succeeded in illustrating that possession is not merely a mechanistic response to psychological or social conditions, but that it has a strong “productive” role in enabling humans to reflect on their culture, to embody their personal and group history, and to construct new forms of moral agency and subjectivity. For these reasons, I too would like to treat possession as an *ordinary* phenomenon, moving away from the exoticizing (and thus ultimately marginalizing) note that is usually sounded in the earlier New Testament scholarship that has often associated these phenomena with “magic” and witchcraft.

This paper is part of an ongoing attempt to employ the results of ethnographic studies of possession to help the historical imagination when the ancient record of the early Christ groups is lacking in full descriptions of ritual performances or in detailed representation of the intimate relationship between human “hosts” and their “spirits”. After all, in the words of Jean and John Comaroff, “no humanist account of the past or present can (or does) go very far without the kind of understanding that the ethnographic gaze presupposes. To the extent that historiography is concerned with the recovery of meaningful worlds, with the interplay of the collective and the subjective, it cannot but rely on the tools of the ethnographer.”⁵ This paper constitutes an attempt to apply such an approach

⁴ For a good, but now slightly outdated, summary of the state of anthropological scholarship on possession, see J. BODDY, ‘Spirit Possession Revisited: Beyond Instrumentality’, in *ARA* 23 (1994), 407–34.

⁵ J. COMAROFF, J. L. COMAROFF, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder CO: Westview, 1992), 13–5.

to the figure of the historical Jesus as a possessed individual.⁶ Combining traditional historical-critical methodologies and insights drawn from anthropological literature, the examination of a key Gospel pericope (the so-called “Beelzebul accusation”) will show that possession in all likelihood constituted for the historical Jesus a traumatic experience of penetrability and fragmentation of the self, but also a moment of empowerment through the construction of a new subjectivity (one could almost say, an “assemblage”) as exorcist.

I. Beelzebul vs. Satan?

It might be convenient to begin this analysis not from the “charge” that Jesus is performing his exorcisms “with the help” of Beelzebul, but from the rather puzzling answer that he gives to his interlocutors (I will come back in due course on the nature of this “alliance” and on the issue whether this pericope was an “accusation” at all in its “original” stages).

Mark 3:23: Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· πῶς δύναται Σατανᾶς Σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν; 24 Καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν μερισθῆ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἢ βασιλεία ἐκείνη; 25 Καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν μερισθῆ, οὐ δυνήσεται ἡ οἰκία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι; 26 Καὶ εἰ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ’ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμερίσθη, οὐ δύναται στήναι ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει.

And he summoned them and began to speak to them in parables: “How can Satan drive out Satan? And if a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom is not able to stand. And if a household is divided against itself, that household will not be able to stand. And if Satan has rebelled against himself and he is divided, he is not able to stand, but is at an end”.

Q 11:17 Εἰδὼς δὲ τὰ διανοήματα αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα [καθ’] ἑαυτῆ[ς] ἐρημοῦται καὶ πᾶσα οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ’ ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται. 18 Καὶ εἰ ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐφ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη, πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ;

But, knowing their thoughts, he said to them: “Every kingdom divided against itself is left barren, and every household divided against itself will not stand. And if Satan is divided against himself, how will his kingdom stand?”

Despite its apparent straightforwardness, however, the argument Jesus develops here has generated significant exegetical problems. There are basically two options for understanding the final rhetorical question posed by Jesus in the overall context of the entire pericope.⁷ On the one hand, Jesus is presenting an actual

⁶ I will assume throughout that the pericope does not only reflect a historical charge leveled at Jesus, but also that he had to be possessed to begin with in order to perform his exorcisms (as it is almost the norm cross-culturally). A similar conclusion is also reached by S. L. DAVIES, *Jesus the Healer: Possession, Trance, and the Origins of Christianity* (London: SCM, 1995), 91, and P. F. CRAFFERT, *The Life of a Galilean Shaman: Jesus of Nazareth in Anthropological-Historical Perspective* (Eugene OR: Cascade, 2008), 231–2.

⁷ Or one can simply dismiss the verses as done by G. VAN OYEN, ‘Demons and Exorcisms in

scenario, in which the realm of Satan is in turmoil and even threatens to come to its *telos*. If one adopts this interpretation, then Jesus is admitting that he is performing his exorcisms and healings *by virtue of* the power of Beelzebul and against that of Satan. On the other hand, one might take Jesus' final question as a *reductio ad absurdum*, a rhetorical ploy that depicts an impossible outcome in order to show that the implicit premises of the accusation are logically untenable. In this case, Jesus would prove that Beelzebul does not possess him by showing that it is absurd to assume that Satan's rule might be divided, since it does not seem to be coming to an end.

There is little doubt that the two options present problems, both theological and in the rhetorical construction of the pericope. One of the most accurate readings of this section (which is usually side-stepped by commentators)⁸ is Joel Marcus', who compellingly shows that the only two viable positions are those summarized above. Marcus chooses to interpret the last question of Jesus as a *reductio ad absurdum*. While Marcus' choice is argued in a very convincing way overall, there are two major points at which he does not seem to provide a completely satisfactory explanation. The first issue concerns the interpretation of the verses immediately following the rhetorical question. Both in Mark (3:27, the burglary of a strong man's house) and in Q (11:19–20, Jesus' saying on the exorcisms performed with the "finger of God"), it appears that exorcisms do indeed signal at the very least the beginning of Satan's downfall and – more implicitly – of the victory of God's sovereignty. It is worth emphasizing straight away that, were one to adopt Marcus' *reductio ad absurdum* option, one ought to also provide a convincing explanation for this logical contradiction in the space of a few verses.

The second problem with the reading of the "divided kingdom" saying as a *reductio ad absurdum* is that this interpretation is forced to assume that the two names "Beelzebul" and "Satan" refer to the same entity. Most scholars seem to take this assumption for granted, but its historical support is actually quite flimsy. The name "Beelzebul", in particular, is almost unknown before the time of composition of the gospels and this has generated a significant debate concerning its correct spelling and its etymology.⁹ Indeed, the lone mention of the name in the Hebrew Bible occurs in 2 Kings 1, where King Ahaziah is injured because of a fall out of a window and sends for the help of "Beel-zebub, the god

the Gospel of Mark', in N. VOS, W. OTTEN (eds.), *Demons and the Devil in Ancient and Medieval Christianity*, SupplIVChr 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 99–116, who summarizes Jesus' words like this: "So what? What are you worried about? Let me do as I like to do, as long as the outcome will be that Satan will be beaten" (110).

⁸ For instance, A. WITMER does not even mention these verses in her rather long treatment of the Beelzebul episode (*Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist: His Exorcisms in Social and Political Context*, LNTS 459 [London: T&T Clark, 2012], 109–29).

⁹ The scholarly positions and the related evidence are conveniently summarized in W. HERRMANN, s. v. Baal-zebul, in *DDD*, 154–6.

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