

ERKKI KOSKENNIEMI

The Old Testament  
Miracle-Workers  
in Early Judaism

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testamente 2. Reihe  
206*

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Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

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206





Erkki Koskenniemi

# The Old Testament Miracle-Workers in Early Judaism

Mohr Siebeck

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ISBN 3-16-148604-8

ISSN 0340-9570 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe)

978-3-16-157102-2 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

Die Deutsche Bibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie;  
detailed bibliographic data is available in the Internet at <http://dnb.ddb.de>.

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The book was printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Held in Rottenburg.

Printed in Germany.

## Preface

I did not know where the path would lead me in 1983/84, when I prepared to leave Finland to study classical philology in Tübingen with the gentle help of the DAAD. After my master's thesis on Apollonius, which luckily was written only in Finnish and never printed, I was anxious about the theme of my further study. I could not find a way to approach Apollonius of Tyana, the primary target of my interest, and not Philostratus, who wrote about Apollonius in about A.D. 220. Shortly before leaving Finland I thought I had found a solution: I abandoned Apollonius and started to investigate Philostratus and his intentions. It took time before I – a young student of classical philology – realised that I had reinvented redaction criticism and done a lot of needless work seeking the method. Yet, I finally felt that I had advanced, and my time in Tübingen was a good one, during which I enjoyed and benefited from the deep knowledge of the philologists at the university. After my work was almost ready, I posted it to, among others, Professor Jukka Thurén (Åbo Akademi), who had been my teacher during the slow progress of my theological studies. Typically for him, he reacted immediately, realising that my ideas had direct consequences for New Testament scholars: If Apollonius in *Vita Apollonii Tyanensis* was mainly a product of the third and not of the first century A.D., he was to be used only cautiously as a parallel figure to Jesus, although this had been common.

After two enthusiastic weeks of work I could clarify my view on Apollonius in the New Testament exegesis to my teacher, and also present it to Professor Martin Hengel, who had kindly invited me to his *Oberseminar*, and now strongly encouraged me to continue on the course I had chosen. I then published my work on Philostratus (*Der philostrateische Apollonius*, 1991), and wrote my theological dissertation on how Apollonius had been used in New Testament exegesis (*Apollonius von Tyana in der neutestamentlichen Exegese. Forschungsbericht und Weiterführung der Diskussion*, 1994). I challenged the view that Gentile miracle-workers were a common phenomenon among the Greeks and Romans and that they were a model for Jesus as he was presented in the Gospels. Scholars were never able to name these many alleged men, but uncritically used Apollonius when constructing the famous concept of “divine man”. I wondered why Jewish miracle-workers were so sorely overlooked by the scholars.

The present book investigates the way the biblical miracles of the Old Testament figures, such as Moses, Joshua and Elijah, are retold in early Judaism. Some stories appear often and they share common nonbiblical details, which leads to the supposition of a strong written and oral tradition. I hope to still publish a book on historical Jewish miracle-workers in Jesus' times, but even if that book is published someday, I still have no solutions to several fascinating questions on the miracles of Jesus in the Gospels, especially concerning the historical Jesus. This, then, is the third book by the anxious man who found a sudden solution to an impossible problem, and I do not know how many there will still be. It took about ten years before the first two were finished, and more than ten before the appearance of this volume. If anything, this process has taught me patience.

I owe my warm thanks to several scholars. Prof. Antti Laato generously gave of his time to help me, and Prof. Martin Hengel's advice has been of great value during the decade this book was written. The learned recommendations of Prof. Jörg Frey have improved this book. The warden of the Tyndale House in Cambridge, Dr. Bruce Winter, and Dr. David Instone-Brewer helped me during the most difficult phases of the work. Timo Niisula, M.A., M.Th. always combines friendship with a strong *iudicium*. The scholars at the Centre of Excellence of the Finnish Academy, especially professors Lars Aejmelaeus, Karl Gustaf Sandelin and Timo Veijola, have helped me greatly. My father, Prof. Heikki Koskenniemi, and brother, the Rev. Olli Koskenniemi, have offered many opportunities to discuss my views. Nancy Seidel, M.A. has corrected the language.

During the writing of my book on Apollonius and New Testament exegesis, our family grew by five sons. During the last ten years, Tuomas, Johannes, Antti, Jaakko and Pietari have grown up to be eager partners in discussions, and their love has given me strength and joy. My wife Marja has not only allowed me to work but also supported and encouraged me. "A wife of noble character who can find?" (Prov 31:10).

For a professor to lead an impatient young student of classical antiquity into the rich world of the New Testament and to become his *Doktorvater* should have been enough. However, during the most difficult phases of the writing of this book, Professor Jukka Thurén still guided a slightly older student into the world of early Judaism. It is a pleasure to dedicate this book to him, although, as with all my works intended for his desk, it comes terribly late.

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# 1. Introduction

## *a. Preliminary definition of the task*

The task of this book is to study how the Old Testament stories about Hebrew miracle-workers were used in early Jewish literature. Everyone retelling a biblical story left his trace, making it possible to study what he retained, what he left, what he added and what he changed. The study also reveals the early Jewish tradition, as well as various biases reshaping the stories through nonbiblical details circulating in the oral and literary folklore of different eras.

## *b. What is a “miracle”?*

Neither the Old nor the New Testament contains anything that could be characterised as a definition of a miracle, and the early Jewish texts do not help either. Moreover, the Old Testament uses a variety of terms. God’s miracles are נַדְלִיתָה<sup>1</sup>, נַפְלָאוֹת<sup>2</sup>, נַעֲמָות<sup>3</sup> or מַזְמָרִים<sup>4</sup>. All these words have been used in different ways during the long history of the Jewish tradition and they may include things not usually covered by modern definitions of miracle. A definition can thus not be based on an ancient term. David Hume formulated possibly the most famous modern definition, which is very close to Aristotle’s words:<sup>5</sup> A miracle is a violation of the laws of nature. But even

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<sup>1</sup> נַדְלִיתָה in the sense of God’s ‘mighty deeds’ occurs in Deut 10:21; Jer 33:3; 45:5; Ps 71:19; 106:21; Job 5:9; 9:10; 37:5. 2 Kgs 8:4 uses it for Elisha’s mighty deeds. On the word see Jenni 1984, 402–409.

<sup>2</sup> נַפְלָאוֹת (from פָּלָא) points mostly to God’s saving deeds in the past (Exod 3:20; Job 37:14). It does not necessarily mean a breaking of what we call the laws of nature, but that God helps in a hopeless situation, perhaps in a very “natural” way; see Albertz 1984, 416–420.

<sup>3</sup> נַעֲמָות occurs 79 times in the Old Testament in all historical layers. On נַעֲמָות in the Old Testament see Stolz 1984, 91–95.

<sup>4</sup> מַזְמָרִים occurs in Exod 4:21 when God speaks to Moses about the miracles he should make in Egypt. In Joel 3:3 it points to phenomena in the skies.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle said that a miracle was παρὰ φύσιν (*GA* 770b). The similarity is, of course, not a coincidence, since Aristotle’s philosophy deeply influenced the medieval learned world. Spinoza symbolized a milestone on the road to the modern concept. He dealt with the possibility of miracles in 1670: God has created the world and its harmony and a

that is very problematic in the study of the early Jewish material. The idea of the laws of nature as separate from God's almighty power is seldom even alluded to in the Jewish texts. Generally there are no laws to be broken by an unusual event. God's help may come in a very natural way and still be praised as his "miracle". Since Jewish texts thus do not give a basis for a definition, and the modern view differs greatly from the world view of the writers, the use of the term "miracle" is difficult. Further, it is not always obvious whether, for instance, physical strength should be considered a miracle or not: David's unexpected triumph over Goliath may not have been supernatural in 1 Sam (although obviously in *L.A.B.* 61), but Samson indeed had superhuman powers in Judges and certainly in *L.A.B.* Some miracles are perhaps interpreted "rationalistically" in part of the tradition, but does a natural explanation mean that the writer has not believed in miracles? It is impossible to find an unambiguous definition covering the Jewish as well as the modern perspectives. It is understandable that most studies dealing with miracles define the miracle very briefly or even omit the definition altogether, as Barry Blackburn and Werner Kahl do.<sup>6</sup> Actually, Eric Eve suggests a new terminology, reserving the word "miracle" for the biblical phenomenon and using the concept "anomaly" for a supposed exception to the laws of nature.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, a sufficient definition is possible. Bernd Kollmann studies the New Testament terminology and observes that a modern view is incompatible with it. He uses a short definition:

"In dieser Untersuchung wird der Begriff Wunder im überkommenen Sinne als Sammelbezeichnung für außergewöhnliche, aufsehenerregende Taten Jesu wie anderer Gestalten der Antike verwendet."<sup>8</sup>

It may be considered problematic that a modern category including disparate material is applied to the ancient texts, but Kollmann's formulation provides a basis for the definition:<sup>9</sup> A miracle is a fortuitous breaking of what we (although not the writers) call the laws of nature and which God

miracle breaking the good order is not only a positive thing. A miracle is against nature and against reason (see G. Maier 1986, 50-51).

<sup>6</sup> On these works see below p. 4, 9, and 15.

<sup>7</sup> Eve 2002, 1-2.

<sup>8</sup> Kollmann 1996, 53-54.

<sup>9</sup> John P. Meier (1994, 512-515) also uses a short definition: "A miracle is (1) an unusual, startling, or extraordinary event that is in principle perceivable by any interested and fair-minded observer, (2) an event that finds no reasonable explanation in human abilities or in other known forces that operate in our world of time and space, and (3) an event that is the result of a special act of God, doing what no human power can do." However, it should be emphasized that also this definition results in a modern, collecting category.

or his agent allegedly causes.<sup>10</sup> The theme, of necessity, must be discussed several times in this study.

### *c. Competing miracle-workers and a story about a modern category*

The study of the biblical miracles has held a central position in the New Testament exegesis from at least the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Richard Reitzenstein (1906, 1910)<sup>11</sup> and Gillis Wetter (1916)<sup>12</sup> considered that the first Christians lived in an atmosphere of tough competition. This view is expressed in the work of Helmut Köster (1982):

"Miracles were performed not only by Christian missionaries, as described in the Acts of the Apostles and as Paul encounters them in the opponents of *2 Corinthians*, but also by Jewish preachers, Neopythagorean philosophers, and by many other teachers, physicians, and magicians. The entire scale of miraculous deeds of power was commonly used, from magical tricks to predictions of the future, from horoscopes to the healing of diseases and maladies, even the raising of dead people. In those circles which were addressed by these philosophers of the marketplace, the power of speech and the greatness of miracle would have more profound effects than the depth and dignity of rational, moral, and religious insight."<sup>13</sup>

The competition with the "mob of divine or deified men"<sup>14</sup> allegedly led the first Christians to remodel their image of Jesus according to a pagan pattern, and make him a Hellenistic divine man ( $\thetaεῖος ἀνήρ$ ). The accommodation to this model or the reaction against it allegedly colours all canonical Gospels, the pre-Pauline tradition, *Second Corinthians*, *First Thessalonians* and *Philippians*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> There are several borderline cases, such as the exceptional military strength mentioned above. One of them is divination, either in dreams or through different particles or astrological skills. They are excluded from the present study, but if a text retelling the Old Testament miracles deals with these techniques with the aim of accepting (as Artaapanus) or rejecting them (as *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*), they are briefly mentioned.

<sup>11</sup> *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (1906) and *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* (1910).

<sup>12</sup> "Der Sohn Gottes". Eine Untersuchung über den Charakter und die Tendenz des Johannes-Evangeliums. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Heilandsgestalten der Antike.

<sup>13</sup> Helmut Köster, *History, Culture, and Religion of the Hellenistic Age 1-2*, (1982, 1, 357).

<sup>14</sup> "Mob of divine or deified man", Morton Smith 1970, 184.

<sup>15</sup> A survey of the history of the research is found in Koskenniemi 1994, 114-168.

The concept of divine men was rarely motivated by ancient sources and it is widely criticised today.<sup>16</sup> The Graeco-Roman world knew famous figures with a reputation for being miracle-workers, but both the heroes such as Hercules and men from the past such as Pythagoras should be compared to the Old Testament figures rather than to historical Jewish miracle-workers. Scholars have been able to name very few pagan miracle-workers from the time of Jesus, although it has been somewhat easier to name miracle-working gods, rulers and anonymous magicians.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the concept is ambiguous in many ways. For example, Reitzenstein, Gillis Wetter, Otto Weinreich and Ludwig Bieler differed greatly from each other, and were all heavily influenced by the ideologies current in the late

<sup>16</sup> The most important critique of the hypothesis of divine men comes from Klaus Berger, Otto Betz, Martin Hengel and Barry L. Blackburn (see Koskenniemi 1994, 232-233); my book *Apollonios von Tyana in der neutestamentlichen Exegese* (1994) is also very critical. David du Toit (1997) showed later in a detailed analysis that the words θεῖος ἀνήρ (ἄνθρωπος) were not a fixed *terminus technicus*. See also the critical article of Aage Pilgaard (1995) and the review in Hans-Josef Klauck's *The Religious Context of Early Christianity. A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions* (2000, 174-177). On Bernd Kollmann's book see below p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> See Koskenniemi 1994, 207-219. The last pre-Christian pagan miracle-worker known to us is Menecrates, who lived about 300 BC. Alexander of Abonuteichos is the first pagan miracle-worker known to us from contemporary sources after the time of Jesus. His *floruit* was in about 150 AD. The man mentioned in most studies is Apollonius of Tyana, who lived in the first century AD. However, the main source is *Vita Apollonii Tyanensis* of Lucius Flavius Philostratus, which was written in the religious world of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century (see Bowie 1978, Dzielska 1986 and Koskenniemi 1991). The main lines of my dissertation (1994) have received mostly positive reviews so far (November 2003); see Pérès 1995, 447-448; Thümmel 1995, 801-802; Ziegenaus 1995, 154-155; Danker 1996, 757-758. Jaap-Jan Flinterman, however, criticised them in a long review (1996). He relies more on the sources on Apollonius than I do and considers it possible to deal with the historical Apollonius. Moreover, he claims that there were more miracle-workers in Jesus' time, especially since it is not easy to draw the line between miracle-workers and magicians. I fully agree with Flinterman that Apollonius was considered a magician before Philostratus (see Koskenniemi 1994, 211). However, although some prominent scholars have tried to define here the historical nucleus, the historical figure escapes us (Koskenniemi 1991, 58-69; I returned to the theme in an article, which is in print). Also, neither Flinterman nor other scholars (Werner Kahl was not yet aware of my book; see Kahl 1994, 58-61) have added many new figures to my list. Although it is not easy to differentiate between magicians and miracle-workers, I considered it important, after all the confusing discussion, to collect the names of the historical persons who acted as miracle-workers and to study the common magical practices separately. The θεῖος ἀνήρ-hypothesis was constructed with very few sources and great ideological fervour, moreover, with no respect for Jewish sources. It now seems reasonable to study the religious-historical parallels carefully, step by step. Flinterman's article plays an important part in this work. On the discussion and open questions see also Klauck 2000, 168-177.

19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Some recent scholars have regarded the model as a Hellenistic concept,<sup>18</sup> while others have seen it as a modern concept.<sup>19</sup> It is thus not possible to speak about *the divine man* model; it includes several different models, partly mutually exclusive. θεῖος ἄνήρ should no longer be considered as a fixed and Hellenistic but as a modern concept. The best solution is to realise that the whole concept is rather part of the western history of ideas and to investigate the Graeco-Roman parallels to Jesus' miracles without this modern pattern, which has clearly hindered rather than helped scholarship.

#### *d. Jewish miracle-workers in religious-historical study*

The fact that we know of very few pagan miracle-workers makes Jewish men with such a reputation more significant than ever. They have been investigated, but often through the perspective of the θεῖος ἄνήρ hypothesis.<sup>20</sup> It is obvious that the old History of the Religions school did not show enough interest in them, but sought more parallels from the "Hellenistic" world.<sup>21</sup> Although there is no reason to return to the old opposi-

<sup>18</sup> H.D. Betz (1983, 235) considers θεῖος ἄνήρ to be an ancient pattern, which is treated by the ancient writers in many ways and in many phrases and which could be interpreted in several ways (1983, 364). Kollmann agrees and cites H.D. Betz (1996, 58-59). It is rather problematic that the archetype of these interpretations seems to remain a platonic idea. H.D. Betz cannot convincingly show that θεῖος ἄνήρ was an ancient category.

<sup>19</sup> Unlike most supporters of the hypothesis, Corrington regards "the divine man" as a modern, hypothetical category (*The "Divine man". His Origin and Function in Hellenistic Popular Religion*, 1986; for a review see Koskenniemi 1994, 95-98).

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Willi Schottroff characterises Moses in Eupolemus, Philo, Josephus and Artaapanus as θεῖος ἄνήρ (1983, 229-233). Most scholars suppose that the Jews had learned the concept from the Greeks and then mediated it to the first Christians (the view of Ferdinand Hahn 1963; see Koskenniemi 1994, 121). Precisely this view is studied and criticised by Holladay in an early and important study of the θεῖος ἄνήρ -hypothesis. According to Holladay, the Jewish writers did not remove the line between God and man, but drew it very clearly (*Theios aner in Hellenistic Judaism: a Critique of the Use of This Category in New Testament Christology*, 1977; reviewed in Koskenniemi 1994, 88-90). Corrington criticises Holladay's work severely and claims that Holladay has overlooked the social factors in early Judaism (Corrington 1986, esp. 46-47). Louis Feldman's new and undoubtedly correct approach is to list the general virtues of the heroes in the pagan literature without constructing a fixed pattern (1998a, 82-131).

<sup>21</sup> Bultmann offers a representative example in his famous *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (1921, 147). According to him, scholars earlier considered the Old Testament the source of Christian miracle stories. Bultmann sees this as no longer credible, because the similarities are limited. Bultmann speaks now about a genealogy, but uses analogy to deal with the pagan stories (see Koskenniemi 1994, 45). Some scholars have always ob-

tion between “Hellenistic” and “Jewish”, it is strange how small a role the Jewish miracle-workers have had in the discussion about divine men. Simultaneously, characteristic Jewish features in the concept of miracle have been overlooked. The last decades have shown signs of better times, as the “new History of the Religions school” seeks the roots of Christianity in Judaism.<sup>22</sup> However, neither the Jewish sources, which today are much wider than in the heyday of the θεῖος ἀνήρ-hypothesis, nor the rich secondary literature is given enough attention even to date.<sup>23</sup>

The pagan miracle-workers have thus won the interest of scholarship during the last century and provided most of the background for the New Testament study of Jesus’ miracles. Yet, there have always been scholars who have observed the Jewish parallels. Two of them in particular provided an impulse to scholarship and deserve to be mentioned.

Paul Fiebig (*Jüdische Wundergeschichten im Zeitalter Jesu etc.*, 1911) argued that many Rabbis made miracles in Jesus’ time, and that it was part of the Rabbi’s image. Only the echoes of the vivid discussion between Fiebig and his opponent Schlatter, which related to the miracles of the historical Jesus, can be heard today, but this debate was one of the most significant in this area.<sup>24</sup> These scholars opened the door for a study of the Jewish background of the New Testament miracles, but there were few who stepped in.

Vivid research followed the first edition of *Die Zeloten* by Martin Hengel (1961), in which he investigates the movements, which revolted against the Romans and their religious background. Hengel’s work has been subject to a discussion and severe criticism. Horsley and Hanson, for example, regard the zealots in his works as historical fiction.<sup>25</sup> According to them there was not a unified movement before the Jewish war, in which armed revolt and the Jewish religion were combined.<sup>26</sup> Hengel responds to his opponents in the preface

served the Old Testament material. Berger, a critic of the θεῖος ἀνήρ-concept, emphasized the stories about Elijah and Elisha (Berger 1984, 305-306).

<sup>22</sup> Hengel was the first to use the phrase when introducing a book written by Larry W. Hurtado (1988). The programme of the school is formulated in Jarl Fossum’s article “The New Religionsgeschichtliche Schule: The Quest for Jewish Christology” (1991). See also below, p. 82.

<sup>23</sup> Charlesworth (1995, 72) characterises the situation as follows: “In the sixties, when we considered the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha we usually meant 17 documents, but now we frequently mean at least 65. Then we examined about 12 Dead Sea Scrolls, but now well over 400.”

<sup>24</sup> See Becker 2002, 16-21.

<sup>25</sup> Horsley and Hanson 1985, xiii-xvii.

<sup>26</sup> Horsley (1994, ix-xi) underlines the political relevance of New Testament scholarship and openly expresses the political relevance of his own study: Observing the Jewish agrarian people and their problems leads to a better understanding of the South American theology of freedom.

and appendix of the English translation of his work.<sup>27</sup> The unanimity of the scholars is obvious in the articles in the *Cambridge History of Judaism III*. However, Smith, who considers the concept of Horsley and Hanson absurd, attacks Hengel even more strongly.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, Gabba is sympathetic to Hengel's position.<sup>29</sup> Schaper characterises the zealots as "the left wing of Pharisaism."<sup>30</sup> The present book, which must often deal with the combination of religion and politics, certainly illuminates the question.

During the discussion on the zealots, the research advanced in many ways. P.W. Barnett introduced the term "sign prophets", referring to men who tried to legitimate themselves as leaders by repeating Old Testament miracles (1981). Recently Rebecca Gray collected the evidence in Josephus (1993),<sup>31</sup> and many figures have now been studied in detail. However, because, for instance, Atomus (*Jos. Ant.* 20,141-143) cannot be labelled either as a zealot or a "sign-prophet", he, as most men of his type, is usually not mentioned. The phenomenon of the historical figures has still not been studied thoroughly enough.

The Jewish miracle-workers were again drawn to the centre of New Testament scholarship by Geza Vermes (*Jesus the Jew*, 1973; *The Gospel of Jesus the Jew*, 1981), who could combine his studies with the newly awakened quest of the historical Jesus. Vermes underlined the Old Testament miracle-workers, especially Elijah and Elisha, and named many Jewish healers, exorcists and miracle-workers from the times of Jesus.<sup>32</sup> He regarded the historical Jesus as one of the holy miracle-workers of Galilee.<sup>33</sup> This view can either be accepted or rejected, but Vermes' studies are cited even today in discussions about the historical Jesus.<sup>34</sup> Fiebig, as well as Vermes, dealt with historical, non-biblical Jewish miracle-workers, and several scholars have subsequently studied these figures. New Testament scholars can justly be criticised for what the Germans call *Steinbruchsmentalität*: historical Jewish miracle-workers have all too often been studied because of the needs of New Testament scholarship; and the passages on

<sup>27</sup> Hengel 1989b, xiii-xvii; 380-404.

<sup>28</sup> Smith 1999, 542-544, 566.

<sup>29</sup> "We cannot say with certainty exactly when this name (sc. Zealot) was first used, not least because the term was pregnant with religious and political significance the roots of which went back a long time", Gabba 1999, 154.

<sup>30</sup> Schaper 1999, 422.

<sup>31</sup> *Prophetic figures in late Second Temple Jewish Palestine. The evidence from Josephus*. New York / Oxford 1993.

<sup>32</sup> Vermes 1973, 58-85.

<sup>33</sup> Vermes 1973, 223. Goodman studied the differences between Judaism in Galilee and in Judea in the *Cambridge History of Judaism 3* (1999, 569-617), but he did not deal with the miracles.

<sup>34</sup> See Becker 2002, 291. 337-340.

Honi the Circle-drawer in Crossan's and Meier's books, for instance, lack the depth present in Green's and Becker's studies.<sup>35</sup> However, these figures are studied vigorously.

A further step was taken with Michael Becker's recently published dissertation on rabbinical miracle-workers.<sup>36</sup> According to Becker, the early rabbis were unwilling to tell about miracles made by men. This included biblical figures, as well as extra-biblical persons. Some miracles, however, were intimately connected to the history forming the Jewish identity, and were retold without reservation. That does not mean that they did not have to deal with miracles, but Becker's study reveals that the early rabbis wrestled long and hard with the problem. Statistics show the indisputable fact that the early collections contain fewer miracle stories, whereas the number grows markedly in the later texts.<sup>37</sup> Becker's study confirms that the development in the Jewish world corresponds with the Graeco-Roman world, where miracle-workers were numerous from the late second century AD.<sup>38</sup>

Just as the Graeco-Roman miracle-workers known to us were either historical figures known from contemporary sources or great men of the distant past, their Jewish counterparts were either contemporaries of the early Jewish writers or figures known from the Old Testament. Much research must still be done on the historical, non-biblical figures for a clearer picture of the background of New Testament Christology. It is surprising, however, how little even the later traditions concerning the figures mentioned in the Old Testament have been studied. They are often noted simply in passing. On the other hand, scholars such as Martin Dibelius (1919) and Rudolf Bultmann (1921) tried to note the Jewish as well as the Graeco-Roman parallels, although their intention was to underline the "Hellenistic" world. Otto Böcher (1970, 1972) and Gerd Theissen (1974) have continued this kind of work. Some scholars have always pointed to the Old Testament<sup>39</sup> and some very recent works attest that the Old Testa-

<sup>35</sup> See Green 1979, 621-647; Crossan 1991, 142-148; Meier 1994, 581-584; Becker 2002, 291-337.

<sup>36</sup> "Wunder" und "Wundertäter" im frührabbinischen Judentum. *Studien zum literarischen und historischen Phänomen im paganen und frühjüdischen Kontext und seine Bedeutung für das Verständnis Jesu* (2002).

<sup>37</sup> See the summary in Becker 2002, 406-414.

<sup>38</sup> See Koskenniemi 1994, 207-219.

<sup>39</sup> In 1978, Michael Goulder, in investigating the Gospels, made cautious observations on Elijah's and Elisha's miracles; see 1978, 266-281 and also 1989, 304-305. Richard Glöckner studied the connections between the *Psalms* and New Testament miracle stories (*Neutestamentliche Wundergeschichten und das Lob der Wundertaten Gottes in den Psalmen. Studien zur sprachlichen und theologischen Wundergeschichten und Psalmen*,

ment miracle-workers are being given more attention today than some decades ago.<sup>40</sup> However, Kollmann's book, mentioned above is a good example of an unbalanced way to deal with the texts:<sup>41</sup> He closely studies the traditions about Pythagoras, but not the traditions about Moses, Elijah or Elisha, which were certainly very close to the early Christians. Moreover, here as so often, the characteristic feature of the Jewish area, the combination of miracles of the past with the hope of future miracles, is mainly overlooked. It is now time to pay attention to the traditions about the Old Testament miracle-workers.

Many studies contain valuable material on the Old Testament heroes in later Jewish literature, but the timeline between the Old Testament and rabbinic literature is long and includes a great number of sources. Some special studies and works cover some parts of this vast material, some more or less all of it. Some figures have always been eagerly studied. Moses offers a good example: The early parts of the tradition have been thoroughly investigated, but descriptions given by later writers, such as Ezekiel the Tragedian, Artapanus or Pseudo-Philo in *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, still offer extensive work for scholars. Other figures, such as David and Solomon, have received less attention.

Much of the research covers a part of this rich material. Some studies follow traditions about heroes. Willy Schottroff, for example, investigated the images of the Old Testament miracle-workers in his RAC article

1983). Klaus Berger noted the Old Testament stories in his *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments*, 1984, 305-306.

<sup>40</sup> Kahl is well aware that the Jewish side is neglected (see 1994, 21-22), and Craig Evans closely studies the Jewish miracle tradition (1995, 213-244).

<sup>41</sup> *Jesus und die Christen als Wundertäter. Studien zu Magie, Medizin und Schamanismus in Antike und Christentum* (1996). Kollmann criticises some scholars, especially O. Betz and Glöckner, because they one-sidedly observe the Old Testament and Jewish traditions and forget the Hellenistic parallels (1996, 26-27). He tries himself to observe both sides when studying the miracles of Jesus and the first Christians. Nevertheless, he overlooks several Graeco-Roman parallels, such as Eunus (about 136/135-132 BC, Liv. *perioch.* 56; Flor. *epit.* 2,7; Diod. 34); Damigeron (second century BC, Apul. *apol.* 90; Arnob. *nat.* 1, 52; we have only fragments of his own work *de lapidibus*); Publius Nigidius Figulus (about 100-45 BC; for the sources see Koskenniemi 1994, 209); the eremite in Plutarch (first century AD, Plut. *mor.* 421a-b); Peregrinus Proteus (died 165 AD, Lukian *Peregr.*; Gell. 8,3. 12,11; Athenag. *suppl.* 26,3-5) Arnuphis (about 174 AD, Dio Cass. 71,8-9, *Hist. Aug. M. Aur.* 24,4); Julianus (in the time of Marcus Aurelius, Prokl. *Krat.* 72, 10; *rep.* 2, 123, 12; Arnob. *nat.* 1, 52; Iul. *epist.* 12), Apsethus (before Hippolytus' *haer.* [222 AD], Hippol. *haer.* 6,7-8); and Neryllinus (about 177 AD, Athenag. *suppl.* 26,3-5). I give a list of the known pagan miracle-workers in my book; see Koskenniemi 1994, 207-219. On the other hand, Kollmann carefully notes such historical figures as Theudas and the Egyptian, but shows no interest in the tradition of retelling new variants of the Old Testament miracles.

(1983). However, he only observes the “divine men” (“*Gottmenschen*”) of the Old Testament (Moses, Elijah, Elisha) and leaves aside even many later traditions about them.<sup>42</sup> He also overlooks the Old Testament figures, such as David and Solomon, mentioned as miracle-workers only in the later tradition and not in the Old Testament. David L. Tiede (1972) and Carl L. Holladay (1977), two early critics of the θεῖος ἄνηρ theory, studied many of the most important texts, and made observations still valuable today.

Some studies do not follow the tradition of an individual miracle-worker through different texts, but instead concentrate on a certain text and all its heroes. In his monumental work, Louis Feldman studied the way in which Josephus treated the Old Testament figures, including all the miracle-workers. This does not mean that the work is complete because Feldman’s work has been heavily criticised by Mark Roncace, who scrutinised his depictions of Deborah and Gideon,<sup>43</sup> and Christopher Begg challenges Feldman’s view in his study of Josephus’ description of Elisha.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, Feldman has collected and discussed a huge amount of material, which has been helpful in this study. Although there are no such works on, for example, the *Lives of the Prophets* or *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, the commentaries of Anna Maria Schwemer and Howard Jacobson are an equal contribution to the study of these texts. Eric Eve’s book (*Jewish context of Jesus’ miracles*, 2002), in which the writer studies the role of the miracles in almost all relevant Jewish texts, deserves special attention. Eve has taken upon himself a huge task, because his work not only deals with the human miracle-workers, but also with the views on miracles, whether they be done by men or God, and he expands his investigation to historical figures such as Honi and the “sign prophets” in Josephus. The wide scope of the study necessarily means that he cannot investigate all the texts thoroughly enough.<sup>45</sup>

Scholars are now eagerly investigating the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and many studies and articles are of valuable help to the present work. Becker covers the rabbinical literature in his dissertation mentioned

<sup>42</sup> Schottroff 1983, 220-233. He does not deal with the passages in Ben Sira, Ezekiel the Tragedian and *L.A.B.*

<sup>43</sup> Deborah and Gideon are not presented as miracle-workers in Josephus, and they are not treated in the present work, but Roncace’s article may also affect other figures studied by Feldman. Roncace investigates Josephus’ passages, but notes none of the strong redactional biases found by Feldman, and concludes in his article: “A close reading of the stories does not produce the results that Feldman claims. ... If the stories of Deborah and Gideon are any indication, then it appears that much of this work remains to be done” (2000, 247-274). Feldman promptly responded (2001, 193-220), but did not remove all doubts concerning his work.

<sup>44</sup> See below p. 271-278.

<sup>45</sup> See below e.g. p. 19, 109 and 162.

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