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Anthropologie und Ethik im Frühjudentum und im Neuen Testament

Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen

Internationales Symposium in Verbindung
mit dem Projekt Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum
Novi Testamenti (CJHNT)
17.–20. Mai 2012, Heidelberg

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Mohr Siebeck

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Vorwort

Der vorliegende Band dokumentiert die Beiträge eines Symposiums, das vom 17. bis 20. Mai 2012 in Verbindung mit dem Projekt *Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* (CJHNT) in den Räumlichkeiten des Internationalen Wissenschaftsforums Heidelberg (IWH) stattgefunden hat. Seit 2003 sind im Rahmen des CJHNT unter dem Leitaspekt der wechselseitigen Wahrnehmung von frühjüdischen und neutestamentlichen Texten an wechselnden Orten drei internationale Symposien durchgeführt worden. Nachdem der Fokus im Blick auf die frühjüdische Literatur 2003 (Eisenach/Jena) auf Philo,¹ 2006 (Greifswald) auf Josephus² und 2009 (Leipzig) auf den Zeugnissen hellenistisch-jüdischer Alltagskultur lag,³ standen im Heidelberger Symposium die so genannten „Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments“ im Zentrum.

Da diese ein wahrhaft weites und in sich äußerst vielgestaltiges Feld darstellen, empfahl es sich von selbst, die wechselseitigen Wahrnehmungen mit der Frage nach der Korrelation von Anthropologie und Ethik unter ein thematisches Dach zu stellen. Leitend war dabei die Überlegung, dass ethische Orientierungen in weltanschauliche Grundüberzeugungen eingebettet und daher nur dann adäquat zu verstehen sind, wenn sie als integraler Bestandteil der jeweiligen Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit analysiert und interpretiert werden. Die Korrelation von Anthropologie und Ethik verdient dabei besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Ethischen Orientierungen liegen – in den frühjüdischen wie neutestamentlichen Texten häufig implizit bleibende – anthropologische Prämissen zugrunde: Die Plausibilität und damit

¹ ROLAND DEINES/KARL-WILHELM NIEBUHR (Hgg.), Philo und das Neue Testament. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. I. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum (1.–4. Mai 2003, Eisenach/Jena), WUNT 172, Tübingen 2004.

² CHRISTFRIED BÖTTRICH/JENS HERZER (Hgg., unter Mitarbeit von Torsten Reiprich), Josephus und das Neue Testament. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. II. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum (25.–28. Mai 2006, Greifswald), WUNT 209, Tübingen 2007.

³ ROLAND DEINES/JENS HERZER/KARL-WILHELM NIEBUHR (Hgg.), Neues Testament und hellenistisch-jüdische Alltagskultur. Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen. III. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum (21.–24. Mai 2009, Leipzig), WUNT 274, Tübingen 2011.

die Affirmationsattraktivität ethischer Überzeugungen hängen ganz wesentlich davon ab, ob diese durch ein entsprechendes Menschenbild getragen und unterstützt werden oder nicht. Auf dieser Basis untersucht der vorliegende Sammelband zentrale anthropologische und ethische Themen, die – in methodischer Anknüpfung an die Anlage der genannten drei CJHNT-Symposien – im Sinne wechselseitiger Wahrnehmungen jeweils paarweise aus einer frühjüdischen und einer neutestamentlichen Perspektive beleuchtet werden. Der thematische Bogen wird dabei vom Motiv der Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen über die Frage nach der Sünde und dem Umgang mit Gewalt sowie über Aspekte der Sexual- und Besitzethik und das Verhalten gegenüber Notleidenden bis hin zum „Ende des Menschen“ gespannt. Ergänzend reflektiert der einführende Beitrag von John Barclay methodisch den „Dialog“ zwischen frühjüdischen und neutestamentlichen Schriften, indem er Paulus und 4Esra miteinander in ein kritisches Gespräch bringt. In einem weiteren übergreifenden Beitrag erörtert Christfried Böttrich unter dem Leitmotiv „Menschenwürde – Menschenpflichten“ Perspektiven universaler Ethik in den Henochschriften und im lukianischen Doppelwerk. Der Beitrag von René Bloch zu Joseph und Aseneth basiert auf dem öffentlichen Abendvortrag, der im Rahmen der CJHNT-Symposien zur guten Tradition geworden ist. Zur bewährten Tradition gehört ferner, dass die Vorträge und deren Diskussion durch originalsprachliche Textlektüren in Arbeitsgruppen ergänzt werden. Die Beiträge von Stefan Krauter und Todd Still sind aus den Arbeitsgruppen hervorgegangen. Allen Referentinnen und Referenten sei an dieser Stelle noch einmal nicht nur für ihren Vortrag und deren Ausarbeitung in Form der vorliegenden Beiträge, sondern auch für die engagierte Diskussion während des Symposiums herzlich gedankt.

Für Hilfe bei der Korrektur danken wir Rahel Brandt, Kathleen Ess und Annette Dosch. Dem Internationalen Wissenschaftsforum Heidelberg und seinen Mitarbeitern und Mitarbeiterinnen danken wir für die Möglichkeit, dass wir das Symposium in dessen Räumlichkeiten durchführen konnten. Unser Dank gilt ferner der VolkswagenStiftung, ohne deren Förderung das Symposium nicht hätte durchgeführt werden können, sowie dem Verlag Mohr Siebeck, der das Symposium durch einen finanziellen Beitrag unterstützt hat. Dem Verlag Mohr Siebeck, namentlich Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, sowie Prof. Dr. Jörg Frey sei darüber hinaus für die Veröffentlichung des Bandes und die Aufnahme in die WUNT-Reihe gedankt. Ilse König, der verantwortlichen Mitarbeiterin des Verlages, danken wir für die freundliche und sorgfältige Betreuung des Projekts.

Heidelberg, im September 2013

Matthias Konradt
Esther Schläpfer

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Abkürzungsverzeichnis

Die Abkürzungen folgen bei deutschen Beiträgen dem Abkürzungsverzeichnis der RGG⁴ (Tübingen 2007). Für englische Beiträge gelten die Regeln des SBL Handbook of Style. For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies (Peabody, Mass. 1999). Darüber hinaus finden folgende Abkürzungen Verwendung:

1. *Abkürzungen in deutschen Beiträgen, die im Abkürzungsverzeichnis nach RGG⁴ fehlen:*

| | |
|--------|--|
| ABG | Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte |
| AJEC | Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity (Fortsetzung von: Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums) |
| SAPERE | Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam Religionemque pertinentia |
| EHAT | Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament |

2. *Abbreviations used in English contributions not to be found in The SBL Handbook of Style*

| | |
|--------|---|
| LCL | Loeb Classical Library |
| SAPERE | Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam Religionemque pertinentia |

3. *Abkürzungen des CJHNT*

3.1 *Frühjüdische Schriften*

3.1.1 Philo

A. Gesetzesauslegung, *Expositio legis*

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Opif | De opificio mundi/Über die Weltschöpfung |
| Abr | De Abrahamo/Über Abraham |
| Jos | De Josepho/Über Josef |
| VitMos | De vita Mosis I–II/Über das Leben Moses |
| Decal | De decalogo/Über den Dekalog |
| SpecLeg | De specialibus legibus I–IV/Über die Einzelgesetze |
| Virt | De virtutibus/Über die Tugenden |
| Praem | De praemiis et poeniis/Über die Belohnungen und Strafen |
| Praem 79–126 | auch: De Benedictionibus/Über die Segnungen |
| Praem 127–172 | auch: De Exsecrationibus/Über die Flüche |

B. Allegorischer Kommentar

| | |
|--------|---|
| LegAll | Legum allegoriae I–III/Allegorische Erklärung der Gesetze |
| Cher | De Cherubim/Über die Cherubim |
| Sacr | De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini/Über die Opfer Abels und Kains |
| Det | Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat/Über die Nachstellungen, die das Schlechtere dem Besseren bereitet |
| Post | De posteritate Caini/Über die Nachkommen Kains |
| Gig | De gigantibus/Über die Riesen |
| Imm | Quod deus sit immutabilis/Über die Unveränderlichkeit Gottes |
| Agr | De agricultura/Über die Landwirtschaft |
| Plant | De plantatione/Über die Pflanzung (Noahs) |
| Ebr | De ebrietate/Über die Trunkenheit |
| Sobr | De sobrietate/Über die Nüchternheit |
| Conf | De confusione linguarum/Über die Verwirrung der Sprachen |
| Migr | De migratione Abrahami/Über die Wanderung Abrahams |
| Her | Quis rerum divinarum heres sit/Über den Erben des Göttlichen |
| Congr | De congressu eruditionis gratia/Über das Zusammenleben der Allgemeinbildung wegen |
| Fug | De fuga et inveniione/Über die Flucht und das Finden |
| Mut | De mutatione nominum/Über die Namensänderung |
| Deo | De Deo/Über die Gottesbezeichnung „wohlätig verzehrendes Feuer“ (nur arm., Siegert 1980) |
| Somn | De somniis I–II/Über die Träume |

C. Fragen und Antworten, *Quaestiones et solutiones*

| | |
|-----------|---|
| QuaestGen | Quaestiones in Genesim I–IV/Fragen zur Genesis (nur arm.) |
| QuaestEx | Quaestiones in Exodum I–II/Fragen zu Exodus (nur arm.) |

D. Historische und apologetische Schriften

| | |
|---------|--|
| Flacc | In Flaccum/Gegen Flaccus |
| LegGai | Legatio ad Gaium/Gesandtschaft an Gaius |
| VitCont | De vita contemplativa/Über das betrachtende Leben |
| Hypoth | Hypothetika bzw. Apologia pro Judaeis (fragmentarisch bei Euseb, PraepEv VIII 6,1–9; 7,1–20; 11,1–18) |

E. Philosophische Abhandlungen

| | |
|------|---|
| Prob | Quod omnis probus liber sit/Über die Freiheit des Tüchtigen |
| Prov | De providentia I–II/Über die Vorsehung |
| Aet | De aeternitate/Über die Unvergänglichkeit der Welt |
| Anim | De animalibus/Über die Tiere (nur arm.) |

3.1.2 Josephus

| | |
|------------|---|
| Bell I–VII | De Bello Judaico/Über den Jüdischen Krieg |
| Ant I–XX | Antiquitates Judaicae/Jüdische Altertümer |
| Vita | Vita Josephi/Selbstbiographie |
| Ap I–II | Contra Apionem/Gegen Apion |

3.1.3 Sonstige jüdisch-hellenistische Schriften

(aufgelistet sind hier auch die sogenannten Apokryphen des LXX-Kanons, die eigentlich den biblischen Schriften zugehören)

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Achik | Achikar |
| ApkAbr | Apokalypse Abrahams |
| ApkAdam | Apokalypse Adams |
| ApkDan | Apokalypse Daniels |
| grApkDan | griechische Apokalypse Daniels/griech. Daniel-Diegeses (Berger 1976) |
| syApkDan | syrische Daniel-Apokalypse (Henze 2011) |
| ApkElia | Apokalypse Elias |
| koptApkElia | koptische Apokalypse Elias (Steindorff 1899) |
| hebrApkElia | hebräische Apokalypse Elias (Jellnek, Bet ha Midrasch) |
| ApkEsra | Griechische Apokalypse Esras |
| (ApkMos) | (Apokalypse des Mose) <i>siehe</i> grLAE |
| ApkSedr | Apokalypse Sedrachs |
| ApkZef | Apokalypse Zefanjas |
| (ApkZos) | (Apokalypse des Zosimos) <i>siehe</i> HistRech |
| ApokrEz | Apokryphon Ezechiel |
| ApokrPs | Apokryphe Psalmen Davids (auch: syrische Psalmen Davids) |
| AristExeg | Aristeas der Exeget (bei Euseb, PraepEv IX 25,1–4) (AristExeg 1 etc. verweist auf Euseb, PraepEv IX 25,1) |
| AristobExeg | Aristobulos der Exeget |
| Frgm. 1 | Euseb, HistEccl VII 32,16–18 |
| Frgm. 2 | Euseb, PraepEv VIII 9,38–10,17 (Frgm. 2 10,3 verweist auf Euseb, PraepEv VIII 10,3) |
| Frgm. 3 | Euseb, PraepEv XIII 12,1–2 |
| Frgm. 4 | Euseb, PraepEv XIII 13,3–8 |
| Frgm. 5 | Euseb, PraepEv XIII 12,9–16 |
| ArtapHist | Artapanus der Historiker |
| Frgm. 1 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 18,1 |
| Frgm. 2 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 23,1–4 (zur Zitierweise <i>siehe</i> AristExeg) |
| Frgm. 3 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 27,1–37 |
| (AssMos) | (Assumptio Mosis) <i>siehe</i> TestMos |
| 1Bar | Buch Baruch (LXX) |
| 2Bar | Syrische Baruchapokalypse |
| 3Bar | Griechische Baruchapokalypse |
| gr3Bar | Griechische Baruchapokalypse |
| slav3Bar | Sklavische Baruchapokalypse |
| 4Bar | 4 Baruch (= Paraleipomena Jeremiae bzw. Jeremiou) |
| DemetrChron | Demetrius der Chronograph (zur Zitierweise <i>siehe</i> AristExeg) |
| Frgm. 1 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 19,4 |
| Frgm. 2 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 21,1–19 |
| Frgm. 3 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 29,1–3 |
| Frgm. 4 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 29,15 |
| Frgm. 5 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 29,16 |
| Frgm. 6 | ClemAlex, Strom I 21,141,1–2 |
| EldMod | Eldad und Modad |

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| EpArist | Aristeasbrief |
| EpJer | Brief Jeremias (LXX, gelegentlich auch 1Bar 6) |
| 3Esra | Apokryphes Buch Esra (LXX) |
| 4Esra | Jüdische Apokalypse Esras = 4Esra 3–14 |
| 5Esra | Christliche Apokalypse Esras = 4Esra 1–2 |
| 6Esra | Christliche Apokalypse Esras = 4Esra 15–16 |
| EupolHist | Eupolemos der Historiker |
| Frgm. 1A ¹ | ClemAlex, Strom I 23,153,4 |
| Frgm. 1B | Euseb, PraepEv IX 26,1 |
| Frgm. 2A | ClemAlex, Strom I 21,130,3 |
| Frgm. 2B | Euseb, PraepEv IX 30,1–34 |
| Frgm. 3 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 34,20 |
| Frgm. 4 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 39,2–5 |
| Frgm. 5 | ClemAlex, Strom I 21,141,4f. |
| EzTrag | Ezechiel der Tragiker (Auszüge bei Euseb, PraepEv IX 28f.) |
| 1Hen | Äthiopisches Henochbuch |
| aethHen | Äthiopische Überlieferung des 1Hen ² |
| aramHen | Aramäische Fragmente zum 1Hen (Milik 1976) |
| grHen | Griechische Fragmente zum 1Hen (Black 1970) |
| 2Hen | Slavisches Henochbuch |
| 3Hen | Hebräisches Henochbuch |
| HistJosef | Geschichte Josefs |
| HistMelch | Geschichte Melchisedeks |
| HistRech | Geschichte der Rechabiter (auch: Apokalypse des Zosimos) |
| JannJamb | Jannes und Jambres |
| Jdt | Judit (LXX) |
| JosAs | Josef und Asenet |
| Jub | Jubiläen (auch: Leptogenesis) |
| KleodMalchHist | Kleodemos Malchas |
| A | Zitat bei Josephus, Ant I 239–241 |
| B | Zitat bei Euseb, PraepEv IX 20,2–4 (übernommen von Josephus) |
| KlimJak | Klimax Jakobou/Leiter Jakobs |
| LAB | Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (auch: Pseudo-Philo) |
| LAE | Leben Adams und Evas |
| grLAE | Griechisches Leben Adams und Evas/Apokalypse des Mose |
| latLAE | Lateinisches Leben Adams und Evas (Meyer 1878) |
| armLAE I | Armenisches Buch Adams (Preuschen 1900) |
| armLAE II | Armenische Buße Adams (Stone 1981) |
| georgLAE | Georgisches Leben Adams und Evas (Mahé 1981) |
| slavLAE | Slavisches Leben Adams und Evas (Jagi 1883) |

¹ Die Unterscheidung der Fragmente in A und B erfolgt nach dem Vorbild von C.R. HOLLADAY, Eupolemus, in: *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors I: Historians*, SBL.TT 20/SBL.PS 10, Chico, CA 1983, 93–156 im Falle von differierenden Parallelüberlieferungen.

² Sprachkürzel nur im Bedarfsfall zur Abgrenzung gegenüber der griechischen oder aramäischen Überlieferung, ansonsten steht 1Hen allein für die äthiopische Fassung.

| | |
|------------------|---|
| 1Makk | 1 Makkabäer (LXX) |
| 2Makk | 2 Makkabäer (LXX) |
| 3Makk | 3 Makkabäer (LXX) |
| 4Makk | 4 Makkabäer (LXX) |
| MartJes | Martyrium Jesajas (= Ascensio Jesaiae [AscJes] 1–5) |
| OdSal | Oden Salomos |
| OrJak | Oratio/Gebet Jakobs |
| OrJosef | Oratio/Gebet Josefs |
| OrMan | Oratio/Gebet Manasses (LXX [Odae 12]) |
| OrSynag | Hellenistische Synagogengebete (aus den Apostolischen Konstitutionen 7–8) |
| (ParJer) | (Paralipomena Jeremiae) <i>siehe</i> 4Bar |
| PhiloEpik | Philo der Epiker (zur Zitierweise <i>siehe</i> AristExeg) |
| Frgm. 1 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 20,1a ³ |
| Frgm. 2 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 20,1b |
| Frgm. 3 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 24,1 |
| Frgm. 4 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 37,1 |
| Frgm. 5 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 37,2 |
| Frgm. 6 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 37,3 |
| PseudAisch 1–12 | Gefälschte Aischylos-Verse (PseudJustin, Mon 2; ClemAlex, Strom V 131,1–3; = Walter, JSHRZ IV/3, 261f. = Dram.-Gnom. I) |
| PseudApoll 1–2 | Gefälschtes Apollon-Orakel (Euseb, PraepEv IX 10,3; = Walter, JSHRZ IV/3, 276 Nr. XVI) |
| PseudDiph 1–3 | Gefälschte Diphilos-Verse (PseudJustin, Mon 5 [irrtümlich Menandros zugeschrieben]; ClemAlex, Strom V 133,3; = Walter, JSHRZ IV/3, 269f. = Dram.-Gnom. VII) |
| PseudEupolHist | Pseudo-Eupolemos/Samaritanischer Anonymus |
| Frgm. 1 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 17,2–9 |
| Frgm. 2 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 18,2b |
| PseudEurip 1,1–2 | Gefälschte Euripides-Verse PseudJustin, Mon 2 (irrtümlich Philemon zugeschrieben); ClemAlex, Protr 68,3; = Walter, JSHRZ IV/3, 263 = Dram.-Gnom. III |
| 2,11–20 | ClemAlex, Strom V 75,1; = Walter, JSHRZ IV/3, 265–267 = Dram.-Gnom. V |
| 3,1–2 | PseudJustin, Mon 3; ClemAlex, Strom V 121,1–3 (irrtümlich Diphilos zugeschrieben); = Walter, JSHRZ IV/3, 270 = Dram.-Gnom. VIII |

³ Abweichende Zählung der Fragmente von N. WALTER, Fragmente jüdisch-hellenistischer Epik: Philon, Theodotus, JSHRZ IV/3, Gütersloh 1983, 135–172: 148–153, in Übereinstimmung mit C.R. HOLLADAY, Philo the Epic Poet, in: Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors II: Poets, SBL.TT 30/SBL.PS 12, Atlanta, GA 1989, 205–299, indem jede Zitateinleitung als Markierung verwandt wird. Diese Erhöhung der Zahl der Fragmente erlaubt eine präzisere Zitation.

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| PseudHekatHist I ⁴ | Pseudo-Hekataios I |
| Frgm. 1 | Josephus, Ap I 183–205 |
| Frgm. 2 | Josephus, Ap II 43 |
| PseudHekatHist II | Pseudo-Hekataios II ⁵ |
| Frgm. 1 | Josephus, Ant I 154–157 (fehlt bei Holladay) |
| Frgm. 2 | Josephus, Ant I 161 (fehlt bei Holladay) |
| Frgm. 3 | Josephus, Ant I 165 (fehlt bei Holladay) |
| Frgm. 4 | ClemAlex, Strom V 113,1–2 (= Frgm. 3 bei Holladay) |
| PseudHesiod | Gefälschte Hesiod-Verse |
| 1,1–2 | ClemAlex, Strom V 107,1–108,1; = Walter, JSRHZ IV/3, 271–273 = Siebener-Verse IX |
| 2,1–2 | ClemAlex, Protr 73,3; Strom V 112,3; = Walter, JSRHZ IV/3, 275 = weitere gefälschte Verse XV |
| PseudHomer 1–4 | Gefälschte Homer-Verse (ClemAlex, Strom V 107,1–108,1; = Walter, JSRHZ IV/3, 271–273 = Siebener-Verse X) |
| PseudKallim 1–5 | Gefälschte Kallimachos-Verse (ClemAlex, Strom V 107,1–108,1; = Walter, JSRHZ IV/3, 271–273 = Siebener-Verse XI) |
| PseudMenand 1–24 | Gefälschte Menander-Verse (PseudJustin, Mon 4 [irrtümlich Philemon zugeschrieben]; ClemAlex, Strom V 119–120; = Walter, JSRHZ IV/3, 267–269 = Dram-Gnom. VI) |
| PseudMenandSyrr | Sprüche des syrischen Menander |
| PseudOrph | Pseudo-Orpheus (Zitierung nach Walter, JSRHZ IV/3, 235–243) ⁶ |
| Rez. A | PseudJustin, Mon 2/Cohor 15 = Orph. Frgm. 245 (Kern) = version J in OTP II = shorter version; diese Version auch durch einzelne Zitate bei ClemAlex, Strom u. Protr, bezeugt (= version C ¹ in OTP II) |
| Rez. B | ClemAlex, Strom V 123,2–124,1 = Orph. Frgm. 246 (Kern) = version C ² in OTP II (entspricht weitgehend Rez. C) |
| Rez. C | Euseb, PraepEv XIII 12,5 = Orph. Frgm. 247 (Kern) = version E in OTP II = longer version |
| Rez. D | Tübinger Theosophie (Text: Holladay, Fragments IV, 220f.) |
| PseudPhilem 1–10 | Gefälschte Philemon-Verse (PseudJustin, Mon 3; ClemAlex, Strom V 121,1–3 (irrtümlich Diphilos zugeschrieben); = Walter, JSRHZ IV/3, 265–267 = Dram.-Gnom. V) |
| PseudPhiloJona | Über Jona, hellen. Synagogenpredigt (arm., Siegert 1980) |
| PseudPhiloSimson | Über Simson, hellen. Synagogenpredigt (arm., Siegert 1980) |
| PseudPhok | Pseudo-Phokylides |

⁴ Die Aufteilung der Hekataios-Fragmente in der Forschung ist umstritten, wobei zwischen einem und drei verschiedenen Verfassern unterschieden wird; eine gute Übersicht über die Zuteilung der Überlieferung bei C.R. HOLLADAY, Pseudo-Hecataeus, in: Fragments I (s. Anm. 1), 292f. Die hier gegebene Aufteilung folgt N. WALTER, Fragmente jüdisch-hellenistischer Historiker, JSRHZ I/2, Gütersloh 1976, 89–164: 144–153.

⁵ Abweichende Zählung der Fragmente von WALTER, JSRHZ IV/3 (s. Anm. 3), 158–161.

⁶ Zitierung nach der Zählung der 47 Hexameter d.h. PseudOrph 34 und in Klammer dahinter die Angabe der Rezension. Wenn alle Rezensionen übereinstimmen, kann dieser Hinweis entfallen.

| | |
|---------------|---|
| PseudPind 1–4 | Gefälschte Pindar-Verse (ClemAlex, Strom IV 167,3; = Walter, JSHRZ IV/3, 275 = Weitere gefälschte Verse XIV) |
| PseudPyth | Gefälschte Pythagoras-Verse |
| 1,1–4 | PseudJustin, Mon 2; ClemAlex, Strom V 107,1–108,1; = Walter, JSHRZ IV/3, 273 = Jüd. Pseudo-Pythagorika XII |
| 2 | PseudJustin, Cohor 19b; ClemAlex, Protr 72,4; = Walter, JSJRZ IV/3, 274 = Jüd. Pseudo-Pythagorika XIII |
| PseudSoph | Gefälschte Sophokles-Verse |
| 1,1–9 | PseudJustin, Mon 2; ClemAlex, Strom V 113,1–2; = Walter, JSHRZ IV/3, 262f. = Dram.-Gnom. II |
| 2,1–11 | PseudJustin, Mon 3; ClemAlex, Strom V 121,4–122,1; = Walter, JSHRZ IV/3, 264f. = Dram.-Gnom. IV |
| (PsDav) | (Syrische Psalmen Davids) <i>siehe</i> ApokrPs |
| PsSal | Psalmen Salomos |
| (syrPs) | (Syrische Psalmen) <i>siehe</i> ApokrPs |
| QuaestEsra | Quaestiones/Fragen Esras |
| RevEsra | Revelatio/Offenbarung Esras |
| SapSal | Sapientia Salomonis/Weisheit Salomos (LXX) |
| Sib | Sibyllinische Orakel |
| Sir | Jesus Sirach (LXX) |
| TestXII | Testamente der 12 Patriarchen |
| TestRub | Testament Rubens |
| TestSim | Testament Simeons |
| TestLevi | Testament Levis |
| TestJuda | Testament Judas |
| aramTestJuda | Testament Judas nach der aram. Überlieferung |
| TestIss | Testament Issachars |
| TestSeb | Testament Sebulons |
| TestDan | Testament Dans |
| TestNaf | Testament Naftalis |
| hebrTestNaf | Testament Naftalis aus der hebr. Chronik des Jerachmeel |
| TestGad | Testament Gads |
| TestAss | Testament Assers |
| TestJos | Testament Josefs |
| TestBenj | Testament Benjamins |
| TestAdam | Testament Adams |
| TestAbr | Testament Abrahams |
| TestHiob | Testament Hiobs |
| TestIsaak | Testament Isaaks |
| TestJak | Testament Jakobs |
| TestMos | Testament Moses (auch: Assumptio Mosis) |
| TestSal | Testament Salomos |
| TheodEpik | Theodotus der Epiker |
| Frgm. 1 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 22,1 |
| Frgm. 2 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 22,2 |
| Frgm. 3 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 22,3 |

| | |
|------------|---|
| Frgm. 4 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 22,4–6 ⁷ |
| Frgm. 5 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 22,7 |
| Frgm. 6 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 22,8–9a |
| Frgm. 7 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 22,9b |
| Frgm. 8 | Euseb, PraepEv IX 22,10–11 |
| TheophHist | Theophilus der Historiker (bei Euseb, PraepEv IX 34,19) |
| Tob | Tobit (LXX) |
| TrSem | Schrift/Traktat des Sem |
| VisEsra | Vision Esras |
| VitProph | Vitae Prophetarum |

3.2 Frühchristliche Schriften

3.2.1 „Apostolische Väter“

| | |
|-----------|---|
| Barn | Barnabasbrief |
| Did | Didache |
| Diogn | Diognetbrief |
| Herm | Hirt des Hermas |
| HermVis | Hirt des Hermas, Vision/Visio I–V |
| HermMand | Hirt des Hermas, Gebot/Mandatum I–XII |
| HermSim | Hirt des Hermas, Gleichnis/Similitudo I–X |
| Ign | Ignatiusbriefe |
| IgnEph | Brief des Ignatius an die Epheser |
| IgnMagn | Brief des Ignatius an die Magnesier |
| IgnTrall | Brief des Ignatius an die Traller |
| IgnRöm | Brief des Ignatius an die Römer |
| IgnPhilad | Brief des Ignatius an die Philadelphier |
| IgnSmyr | Brief des Ignatius an die Smyrnäer |
| IgnPolyk | Brief des Ignatius an Polykarp |
| 1Klem | 1. Klemensbrief |
| 2Klem | 2. Klemensbrief |
| MartPolyk | Martyrium des Polykarp |
| Papias | Papias-Fragmente (Zitierung nach der Nummerierung bei K. Wengst, SUC III, Darmstadt 1998, d.h. Papias Frgm. 1 etc.) |
| Polyk | Brief des Polykarp |
| Quadr | Quadratus-Fragment |

3.2.2 Patristische Quellen

Zur Orientierung sind eine Reihe von Abkürzungen genannt; weitere sind in Entsprechung dazu zu bilden.

| | |
|----------|----------------------|
| ClemAlex | Clemens Alexandrinus |
| Protr | Protreptikos |
| Strom | Stromateis |

⁷ Ab hier abweichende Zählung der Fragmente von WALTER, JSRZ IV/3 (s. Anm. 3), 167–171 in Übereinstimmung mit HOLLADAY, Theodotus, in: Fragments II (s. Anm. 3), 104.

| | |
|-------------|------------------------------|
| Epiph | Epiphanius von Salamis |
| Pan | Panarion |
| Euseb | Eusebius von Caesarea |
| DemEv | Demonstratio evangelica |
| HistEccl | Historia ecclesiae |
| PraepEv | Praeparatio evangelica |
| Hier | Hieronymus |
| Justin | Justinus Martyr |
| Dial | Dialog mit dem Juden Tryphon |
| PseudJustin | Pseudo-Justin |
| Cohort | Cohortio ad gentiles |
| Tert | Tertullian |

Übergreifende Beiträge

Constructing a Dialogue

4 Ezra and Paul on the Mercy of God

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Through its conferences and publications, and the ongoing research which it has spawned, the *Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* project has initiated new ways of putting ancient texts into conversation with one another, tracing not only verbal “precursors” and “parallels,” but also conceptual connections and/or contrasts which have the potential to give each text a clearer and sharper profile. In this essay I wish to provide an example of the kind of probing, critical inter-textual dialogue that may emerge as the fruit of this research. For this purpose I will construct a dialogue between *4 Ezra* and Paul’s letter to the Romans, two texts which stand in tantalising proximity – and distance – on the subject of divine mercy and justice. But before we stage this conversation, it may be useful to reflect a little on method and goal, to ensure we get the best value out of this exercise.

1. Reciprocal Perspectives/*Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen* – or Dialogue/*Dialog*?

Following its precursors and in line with its originating conference, this volume has employed the phrase *wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen* (“reciprocal perspectives”) to characterise the relationship it seeks to foster between the New Testament and Early Jewish literature. This title, and the organisation of the material in chapter-pairs, reflects the fact that the study of Early Jewish (or Second Temple) literature is now a fully fledged and self-sufficient field of scholarship, no longer pursued primarily for the sake of providing “context” or “background” for the New Testament or early Christianity. The fact that there now exists independent and sophisticated academic expertise on Early Jewish literature, which is studied for its own sake and on its own terms, means that there can be genuine “mutuality” between scholarship in these fields in which each can hope to learn

from the other. The question is how to enable beneficial reciprocity between disciplines that have begun to diverge into separate scholarly enterprises. I want to outline three moves that are necessary in this regard, starting from the most obvious, and progressing to what may seem the most difficult.

1. *From Genealogy to Comparison*. This first move is now almost routine. There was a time when Christian scholars saw the study of pre-Christian (including early Jewish) literature as the search for the roots of Christian language and ideas – a genealogical exercise concerned first and foremost with tradition-history, founded on the capacity to set texts in a clear chronological sequence. In order to know what Jesus meant by “the kingdom of God” scholars went to earlier Jewish texts (in the Hebrew Bible, the LXX, at Qumran, or elsewhere in Second Temple Judaism) to unearth the traditions that Jesus or the gospels might have drawn upon.¹ The hermeneutical traffic in this exercise was always one-way: one travelled from earlier sources to illuminate later texts or traditions. There was always a temptation to *underplay* difference, in order to discover similarity and thus connection, or to *overstate* it, for the sake of preserving the “novelty” and “uniqueness” of the later text – the notion of “uniqueness” sometimes masking a religious claim to superiority, as Jonathan Z. Smith has noted.² In moving beyond genealogy to comparison this project is, I think, rejecting the limitations of this tradition-history approach, whatever its value in other contexts. The point here is not to ask who influenced whom, but to set texts alongside one another as partners in an ancient conversation, hoping to shed light not just in one direction but in two. I take *wechselseitige* to mean that we aim to learn more about Early Jewish literature from the New Testament, as well as learning more about the New Testament from Early Jewish literature.

2. *From Fragments to Wholes*. This second move is more demanding but equally necessary. The tradition-history approach tends to isolate items of vocabulary, or particular motifs, in order to trace how one tradition developed from another. This has produced, and continues to produce, enormously valuable results, but its atomising tendency carries the danger of misinterpretation. No word or phrase, and no single motif, operates in isolation: it acquires its meaning from the context it inhabits, the network of associations that surrounds it, the links between one motif and another, and (crucially) the connections between a cluster of motifs and their social con-

¹ For an analysis and critique, see J.K. RICHES, *Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1980).

² See J.Z. SMITH, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

text and use. The word χάρις has a set of connotations in Philo different from those in the letters of Paul – the same word endued with different senses from the different conceptual and social contexts in which it is used.³ We have known the limitations of word-studies ever since the Kittel *Wörterbuch* project came under sustained criticism.⁴ But motif-research can suffer from similar problems if comparisons fail to take a wholistic view of the similarities and differences between the *comparanda*. It is for this reason that the “ethical” topics studied in the volume are rightly placed in the larger matrix of anthropology, as evidenced in the relevant texts. Difficult as it is, the most satisfactory comparison is always between wholes and wholes: to understand any word, or any single motif, we need to see the total picture – the whole ideology of the text and, where possible, how this was correlated with practice and experience in its original social context.

3. *From Juxtaposition to Dialogue*. At a number of points the invitation to our Symposium spoke of bringing texts not only into juxtaposition with one another – placing them side by side – but into conversation (*Gespräch*) or dialogue (*Dialog*). What might this mean, in methodological terms? Juxtaposition can be useful in sharpening the profile of each text: as they stand alongside one another, we can see more precisely where texts look similar and different. But the metaphor of a conversation suggests that we hope for more than simply one monologue followed by another: it suggests that each text is allowed to probe the meaning of the other, to test its consistency and adequacy, to bring it under the critical light of another perspective, to expose its strengths and weaknesses, its obscurities and illogicalities. The dialectical method was, of course, a common educational exercise in the ancient world, playing off one opinion against another. From Plato onwards, the philosophical tradition is replete with examples of imagined dialogue between different traditions, in which a repeated to-and-fro of challenge and reply helped to expose what each was saying, and why. Can we create a friendly dialogue between our texts in which they challenge and test each other, in which they require the other to respond to questions or criticisms, and in which the common *Sache*, the subject-matter under discussion, is genuinely illuminated through such conversation?

What this requires is a willingness to situate the New Testament texts *within* the debates of Second Temple Judaism, not outside of them or in a

³ See J.M.G. BARCLAY, “‘By the Grace of God I am what I am’: Grace and Agency in Paul and Philo,” in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and his Cultural Context* (ed. J.M.G. Barclay et al.; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 140–157.

⁴ J. BARR, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

privileged position immune from critical testing of their adequacy and coherence. We need to put the New Testament in the mix *as* early Jewish literature, not just *alongside* it. In the multi-sided dialogue that would ensue, on any particular topic a New Testament author might line up with another Jewish voice against a third (thus, in their apocalyptic expectations, Paul with *4 Ezra* against Philo), while from another perspective it might stand out against them both (Paul's view of the Torah, against both *4 Ezra* and Philo).⁵ In this complex interweave of conversation, one could expect that every Jewish voice will be at some points unique, and at other points generally in agreement with others. The crucial prerequisite for staging such a conversation is the willingness to listen with empathy to all voices in the debate – to listen as attentively and sympathetically to *4 Ezra* as to Paul, for instance. No-one can be entirely neutral, but if we are to stage these conversations, as, for example, Cicero staged debates in his *De natura deorum*, we need to be as fair as possible to all the conversation partners. Of course, to conduct this exercise properly would require at least a monograph, but in this context I will limit our conversation to the topic of mercy and justice, and hope at least to open a debate which could proceed in several directions.⁶

Of course *4 Ezra* and Paul (I will focus here on Romans) stand about 50 years apart and reflect very different contexts and goals.⁷ Romans 9–11 is pervaded by a sense of crisis, perplexity and (finally) hope regarding the fate of Israel, and in this respect is closely parallel to the mood of *4 Ezra* with its progressive transformation of emotions. The crisis in *4 Ezra* is occasioned by “the desolation of Zion” (*4 Ezra* 3:2), that is, the destruction

⁵ See the fully worked examples in F. WATSON, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (London: T&T Clark, 2004). For a three-way comparison between Sirach, the Qumran Hodayoth and Romans 7–8 on the topic of agency, see J. MASTON, *Divine and Human Agency in Second Temple Judaism and Paul* (WUNT 2/297; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010).

⁶ A good comparison between these two texts was offered by B.W. LONGENECKER, *Eschatology and the Covenant. A Comparison of 4 Ezra and Romans 1–11* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); he modified his reading of *4 Ezra* in IDEM, *2 Esdras* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995). I have offered a fuller reading of *4 Ezra*, with other Second Temple texts, in my forthcoming book, *Paul and the Gift* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, forthcoming).

⁷ The dating of *4 Ezra* (at the end of the first century C.E.) relies less on the opening notice of “the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem” (3:1, echoing Ezek 1:1) than on the “three heads” of the (Roman) eagle, the last precise feature of the eagle vision (11:29–35; 12:22–28) and probably a reference to the three Flavian emperors; see J. SCHREINER, *Das 4. Buch Esra* (JSHRZ V/4; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1981), 289–412 (291–306); M.E. STONE, *Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 9–10, 363–365.

of the Jerusalem temple (10:19–23), but for the author this is connected to a deeper crisis, the persistence of the “evil heart” that has drawn Israel away from obedience to God (3:4–36). Paul also begins Romans 9 with lament on behalf of Israel (Rom 9:2–3) and like “Ezra” he eagerly prays for the salvation of Israel (Rom 10:1). Paul shares with *4 Ezra* a pessimistic view of the capacity of humans to resist the power of sin, but for him the event that occasions the sense of crisis is not the destruction of Jerusalem but, paradoxically, the arrival of Israel’s Messiah, placed by God as a “stumbling-stone” (Rom 9:30–33). In the midst of their respective crises, both authors appeal to the promises and privileges accorded to Israel. Ezra appeals to the covenants and to the special status of Israel among the nations (*4 Ezra* 5:23–30; 6:55–59); Paul clings to the fact that his kinsmen are “Israelites, and to them belong the sonship, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law,” etc. (Rom 9:4–5). These are for Paul, as in *4 Ezra*, non-negotiable entities. It is in articulating how those promises will be fulfilled that the two texts diverge, and it is that difference within this common framework that I wish here to probe.

One central topic that exposes the difference between these two Jewish authors is the relation between divine mercy and divine justice, a topic on which *4 Ezra* itself stages an internal debate, between Uriel and Ezra. These are central concerns for both authors, who even appeal to some of the same Scriptural texts (Deut 30; Exod 33–34). Since I am not here concerned with questions of source or genealogy, I will treat *4 Ezra* first, out of chronological order. After letting this text articulate its views on mercy and justice, I will let Paul put forward his perspective, and then invite the author of *4 Ezra* to comment in reply. The debate is of course open-ended, but I am hoping at least to make a start in exploring its *Sache*.⁸

2. *4 Ezra* on Divine Mercy and Justice

Ezra’s laments over the destruction of the temple and the prosperity of “Babylon” articulate not only despair in the wake of national tragedy but also a profound attempt to wrestle with questions of theodicy. With most modern scholars, I take the work to be a unity, which moves by progression from the earlier anguished dialogues between Ezra and Uriel, through

⁸ It is generally agreed that all the versions of *4 Ezra* (Latin, Syriac, Georgian, Ethiopic, Armenian, etc.) derive from (a number of) Greek versions, which probably themselves derive from a Hebrew original; see STONE, *Fourth Ezra* (n. 7), 1–11. The Latin text cited here is that reconstructed in A.F.J. KLIJN, *Der lateinische Text der Apokalypse des Esra* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1983).

the visions of the second half of the book to the point where Ezra becomes competent to instruct his fellow Jews on the importance of Torah-observance.⁹ But the early dialogues, in chapters 3–9, are not merely preparatory, nor are Ezra’s complaints to be dismissed as an “heretical” viewpoint.¹⁰ The space allotted to Ezra’s pleas indicates that we are meant to take both viewpoints with equal seriousness, though not, I think, with equal finality.¹¹

Ezra’s despair regarding Israel’s history broadens into a profound pessimism about the human condition, where the *cor malum* or *cor malignum* has led humanity into disobeying God’s commandments (3:4–36). Uriel’s programme is to induct Ezra into a vision of time divided into *two ages*. The present world is indeed corrupt, “for a grain of evil seed was sown in Adam’s heart from the beginning, and how much ungodliness it has produced until now!” (4:30). But this age is hurrying swiftly towards its end, and will be succeeded by an utterly different era from which evil will be banished. Ezra will not be able to understand the present world unless he views it, as it were, in retrospect, from the perspective of the future. The present age will be nothing but *Unheilsgeschichte*, but this is merely the entrance to the world to come (7:3–16). The threshold between the two and the event that gives meaning to all history is the just judgement (*iudicium*) of God. Uriel agrees with Ezra that there is very little justice in the present world, and predicts that conditions will get still worse (5:1–13). But justice

⁹ The source-critical hypotheses of earlier generations have been superseded by readings which trace a progression of thought through the seven episodes of the text. This trend is most fully exemplified in E. BRANDENBURGER, *Die Verborgenheit Gottes im Weltgeschehen. Das literarische und theologische Problem des 4. Esrabuches* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1981); STONE, *Fourth Ezra* (n. 7). For a survey of scholarship, see *ibid.*, 11–23, concluding that the book is a sophisticated unity, though it incorporates pre-existent materials.

¹⁰ Harnisch detected in Ezra’s complaints a contemporary sceptical, fatalistic and dualistic (Gnostic-like) stream of thought, with which the author was in polemical dialogue (through Uriel); see W. HARNISCH, *Verhängnis und Verheißung der Geschichte. Untersuchungen zum Zeit- und Geschichtsverständnis im 4. Buch Esra und in der syr. Baruchapokalypse* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 19–60. For the latest discussion, see K.M. HOGAN, *Theologies in Conflict in 4 Ezra: Wisdom Debate and Apocalyptic Solution* (JSJ Supplements 130; Leiden: Brill, 2008).

¹¹ WATSON’s fine reading of episode III (*Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* [n. 5], 475–503) rightly resists talk of Ezra’s “conversion” (477–478), but wrongly concludes that the text leaves the clash between the views of Ezra and of Uriel unresolved (502–503). Ezra’s farewell address (14:28–36), in appealing to the final judgement of the “just judge,” indicates that he has adopted Uriel’s vision of reality. And since Uriel speaks not only for, but often as God (e.g., 6:1–6; 9:17–22), this is precisely what we would expect.

will finally be established, and in that definitive rectification of the cosmos, planned from before all time, God's purposes will be secured (6:1–6).

Uriel's assurance that the final word is divine justice is not good news to Ezra. Given the virulence of the "evil heart," it is hard to see how anyone can survive that final day of judgement. "Who is there among the living that has not sinned, or who is there among mortals that has not transgressed your covenants?" (7:46). Placing himself among these sinners, he anticipates the day of judgement with fear and despair. In reply, Uriel insists on the perspective of justice: there are in fact some righteous souls (among whom Ezra should count himself, 8:47–49), and the day of judgement will consist of their ultimate vindication, together with the humiliation and torment of the unrighteous (7:76–101). Justice will finally be done, and will be seen to be done, when those who have struggled in the contest with sin (not necessarily the perfect, but at least the valiant) will receive their reward (*merces*, 7:35).¹² In their faith and works they have chosen Moses' option of "life" (7:129) and in disciplining their hearts they will be kept alive, and after death will obtain mercy (14:34). Because he views the world through this prism of justice, Uriel's assurance of God's love for Israel (5:40) is subtly transformed into assurance of God's love for the righteous.¹³ Uriel cannot promise salvation to Israel *qua* Israel, but he can assure Ezra that *the righteous* will get the reward they deserve as God will spare one grape from a cluster and one plant from a forest (9:21).

Looking at this prospect from the perspective of the present world, Ezra is appalled at the fact that the vast majority of humanity (7:45–48) will miss out on the future world, enduring suffering in this life only to receive torment in the next. Uriel is unrepentant about that fact: the question before the Judge is not quantity but quality. "When you ask the earth, it will tell you that it provides a large amount of clay from which earthenware is

¹² References to repentance (7:82; 9:11) indicate that "perfection" in law-keeping (7:89) need not be taken literally (so rightly R.J. BAUCKHAM, "Apocalypses," in *Justification and Variegated Nomism. Vol. 1: The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism* (ed. D.A. Carson et al.; WUNT 2/140; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 135–187 (171–172).

¹³ In his appeals on behalf of Israel in Dialogue III (6:55–59; 8:15–19, 26, 45) Ezra placed Israel in the context of humanity as a whole, and her sinfulness makes it problematic to treat her as a special case. But Uriel's framework, which views present history (including Israel's history) from the standpoint of the age to come, alters the categories of analysis, so that the decisive labels are, in his discourse, "the righteous" and "the ungodly." This does not mean that Israel is forgotten (7:10), or that the text shifts from covenant/national interests to the individualised plight of humanity as a whole (*pace* E.P. SANDERS, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* [London: SCM, 1977], 409–418). Rather, what may be said concerning the salvation of Israel is said within the framework of the salvation of the righteous.

made, but only a little dust from which gold comes; so is the course of the present world. Many have been created but only a few will be saved” (8:2–3). The whole of Dialogue III (6:36–9:25) is taken up with challenge and explication of this point. Ezra’s question, whether the righteous can intercede for the ungodly on the day of judgement (7:102–103), receives a brusque but revealing reply: each must bear his own burden (7:104–105). This is not a general preference for individualism over ethnic solidarity, but a function of Uriel’s legal framework; individual accountability is exactly what we would expect in a courtroom judgement. Moreover, this is no ordinary judgement but the final, definitive settling of justice: “the day of judgement is decisive (Latin: *audax*) and displays to all the seal of truth” (7:104). If the full facts are finally revealed, as justice requires (cf. 7:34), there can be no hiding under the cover of another’s virtues. Intercession for mercy would not reveal but cover the truth (7:102–105).

Ezra then appeals to a number of biblical instances of intercession by the righteous for the sinful, from Abraham through to Hezekiah, and asks why this is permissible now (*modo*), when corruption is so great, but not then (*tunc*), on the day of judgement (7:106–111). His distinction between “now” and “then” already invites the answer (cf. *tunc* in 7:115). Uriel does not deny the propriety of mercy *within the conditions of the present world*: the present corrupt world, lacking the full glory of God, is the appropriate arena in which the strong may pray for the weak (7:112). “But the present world is not the end” (7:112). As the hinge between “this age” and “the immortal age to come,” the day of judgement cannot permit any trace of sin to contaminate the glorious future. As a day of absolute justice and truth (7:114), it cannot allow any modification of justice: there can be no mercy on those justly condemned, and no penalty for those properly justified (“victorious,” 7:115). The logic is clear: mercy would represent a compromise with sin. Such compromise is necessary in this imperfect world, but it has no place in a future world where justice and truth take maximal effect.¹⁴

Ezra returns to the theme of mercy in each of his next three speeches (7:132–140; 8:4–36; 8:42–45), which appeal to God’s own character and constitute the most intense *theological* moment in the text. The first (7:132–140) is an exposition of the depiction of God in Exod 34:6–7, a text often employed in the Jewish tradition to define the character of God.¹⁵ Ez-

¹⁴ For this reason, while repentance is always possible in this life (7:133; 9:11), it is impossible after death (7:82).

¹⁵ For 7:132–140 as commentary on Exod 34:6–7, see STONE, *Fourth Ezra* (n. 7), 256; WATSON, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (n. 5), 500–502; for its connection with Jewish liturgy, see D. BOYARIN, “Penitential Liturgy in 4 Ezra,” *JSJ* 3 (1972): 30–34.

ra selects, highlights and glosses key terms from that text and manages to turn even its final statement about God's judgement into a mark of God's mercy: he is "the judge, because if he did not pardon those who were created by his word and blot out the multitude of their sins, there would probably be left only very few of the innumerable multitude" (7:139–140). Ezra here insists that God's merciful character, as endorsed by Scripture, is displayed precisely *in the face of human sin*, and is the only means by which the sin-ridden world is sustained at all. However, Ezra has conceded everything in his very first sentence: "I know that the Most High is now (*nunc*) called merciful, because . . ." (7:132). For Uriel, "now" is one thing, "then" is another (cf. above on 7:111–15). "The Most High made *this world* for the sake of the many, but *the world to come* for the sake of only a few" (8:1). To be sure, *this world* is sustained by God's mercy: its multitude of sinners is permitted to live only because within these conditions God is as gracious as Ezra insists. But *the world to come* operates by different conditions, in which quality (like gold-dust) counts for everything (8:2). In the world to come, divine justice requires that mercy, in the sense of *mercy on the unworthy*, must be left behind.

This prospect propels Ezra into prayer (8:20–36) and a powerful appeal to mercy, based on the virtues of the righteous (8:26) and on the character and reputation of God: "In this, O Lord, your goodness will be declared, when you are merciful to those who have no store of good works" (8:36).¹⁶ Uriel's reply is by now predictable. Looking at reality through the prism of the future, he does not concern himself with the sinners and their destruction,¹⁷ because all that matters is the righteous, "their pilgrimage, their salvation, and their receiving their reward (*merces*)" (8:39). If the *telos* of the cosmos is indeed the reward of the righteous (few though they be), God cannot be expected to fret about unfruitful elements that fail along the way.

¹⁶ Reading *bonitas tua* without *iustitia tua* (with STONE, *Fourth Ezra* [n. 7], 270). Ezra is pressing God's goodness/mercy: he should know by now that "justice" is on the other side. Ezra's arguments are often judged inconsistent since his statements about the universality of sin (e.g., 8:35) seem incompatible with his talk about the righteous (e.g., 8:33); see STONE, *Fourth Ezra* (n. 7), 271–272. But his claims that sin is universal are always rhetorical exaggerations, since from the start he acknowledged the presence of a righteous few (e.g., 3:11; 7:45–48). As Uriel points out, such rhetoric is a commendable sign of humility, but is not to be taken literally (8:47–49).

¹⁷ Uriel gives a subtle twist to Ezra's words: God will not indeed "look on" people's sins, but not in Ezra's sense (that he will ignore them) but in another (that he will not be troubled by their judgement). The closeness of the verbal interchange here (and in the following passage, 8:41–44) indicates the fine crafting of this text, matching its theological sophistication.

Ezra's emotional appeals in this dialogue are consistently feisty, and scholars with modern liberal sentiments are apt to side more with him than with Uriel.¹⁸ But at every point Uriel gives a carefully reasoned justification for his apparently "harsh" viewpoint, and Ezra raises no complaint that this is unfair. In fact, fairness or justice is at the core of Uriel's vision: "You are not a better judge than the Lord, or wiser than the Most High. Let many perish who are now living rather than that the law of God that is set before them be disregarded" (7:20–21). The maintenance of the law – the Torah or commandments of God – is the anchor-point of this whole treatise: human beings, its containers, may perish, but the Law itself will last for ever (9:30–37). This is why *4 Ezra* can be relatively unconcerned about the godless nations of the world – the Gentiles are like spittle and a drop from a bucket (6:56) – and can focus its interest in Israel only on those who remain faithful to the law. The text therefore climaxes in an exhortation to keep the law (14:27–36). In the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., *4 Ezra* dampens expectations of revenge on Rome or a restoration of Israel's political fortunes, bidding Jews to focus on the quotidian struggle to keep the law and thus remain faithful to the divine justice that will finally prevail. *4 Ezra*'s vision of cosmic order has as its practical correlate the demand that the Jewish people stay loyal to the Torah. The moral order of the cosmos is in this way upheld here and now, as a representation of the justice that will ultimately prevail in the age to come.

3. Paul on Divine Mercy and Justice

To this Jewish debate on divine mercy and justice, which we could trace also in the Wisdom of Solomon and elsewhere, let us now add the voice of Paul.¹⁹ The theme of God's mercy (ἔλεος) or favour (χάρις) is prominent in Paul's letter to the Romans, as also is talk of God's righteousness or justice (δικαιοσύνη).²⁰ For Paul God's favour/gift is enacted first and foremost in an event, the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. While he can trace the operation of God's mercy all the way through Israel's history

¹⁸ See, e.g., A.L. THOMPSON, *Responsibility for Evil in the Theodicy of IV Ezra* (Mish-soula: Scholars Press, 1977), 137, 143.

¹⁹ For the thematic in *Wisdom of Solomon*, see M. MCGLYNN, *Divine Judgement and Divine Benevolence in the Book of Wisdom* (WUNT 2/139; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).

²⁰ For the use and background of the first two terms, see C. BREYTENBACH, " 'Charis' and 'eleos' in Paul's letter to the Romans," in *The Letter to the Romans* (ed. U. Schnelle; BETL 226; Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 247–278.

(Romans 9–11), God’s favour is not a general divine characteristic, but is given primary and definitive instantiation in a specific event, the gift of God in Christ, or the self-gift of Christ (Rom 3:24; 5:6; 8:32; cf. Gal 2:20; 2 Cor 8:9; 9:15). If in *4 Ezra* the judgement day forms the focal point of time, and the caesura which divides this world from the world to come, for Paul the Christ-event has reshaped history and eschatology, opening the door to “the new creation” (2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15).

Paul’s letter to the Romans begins with a traditional distinction between the sins of the Gentile world and the special advantages of Jews, but by 3:20 it has become clear that no distinction can be found between them.²¹ Thus Paul would agree with *4 Ezra* that Israel’s history is part of the whole story of humankind, and like *4 Ezra* he traces the problem back to Adam (5:12–21). For Paul, however, the problem of sin – what *4 Ezra* describes as the *cor malignum* – is absolutely universal, reaching to a depth that even the most “righteous” cannot resolve.²² There are many parallels between Paul and *4 Ezra* on the scope and seriousness of sin, but where Uriel insists, and Ezra eventually agrees, that there is a tiny number of righteous, as rare as gold, Paul will allow no exceptions. In dialogue with the author of *4 Ezra* (of course, an anachronistic idea, but still of heuristic value) he might have pressed this point hard. *4 Ezra* speaks of a struggle, a “contest” with evil, which is immensely difficult, but where a victory is imaginable – for the nine-and-a-half tribes in their previously uninhabited territory (13:39–45), and for others who “rule over their minds and discipline their hearts” (14:34). Paul declares this impossible (Rom 3:10–20) and in Romans 7 offers an analysis of why this is so.²³ This may not have quite the depth that Augustine thought he found there, but it does give the sort of anthropological analysis of the *cor malignum* which *4 Ezra* never provides, and it results in an unremitting pessimism applicable even to those who

²¹ Placing these chapters in dialogue with *Wisdom of Solomon*, with which there is a close relation, one may find even in Rom 1:18–2:11 a levelling of the condition of Gentile and Jew; see J.A. LINEBAUGH, “Announcing the Human: Rethinking the Relationship between the Wisdom of Solomon 13–15 and Romans 1.18–2.11,” *NTS* 57 (2011): 214–237.

²² For Paul’s pessimism in comparison with other Second Temple Jews, see T. LAATO, *Paul and Judaism: An Anthropological Approach* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) and S. WESTERHOLM, “Paul’s Anthropological ‘Pessimism’ in its Jewish Context,” in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and his Cultural Context* (ed. J.M.G. Barclay et al.; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 71–98.

²³ The modern discussion of this passage begins with W.G. KÜMMEL, *Römer 7 und das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament* (München: Kaiser Verlag, 1974); for insightful recent analysis, see S.J. CHESTER, *Conversion at Corinth: Perspectives on Conversion in Paul’s Theology and the Corinthian Church* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2003), 183–195.

have every intention of keeping the Torah. If Ezra is an exception to the power of sin, Paul's "I" most certainly is not. In other words, Paul would consider *4 Ezra* insufficient in not analysing in the necessary depth the corruption caused by the *cor malignum*, and in thus imagining, without justification, the possibility of human victory over sin.

The event at the centre of cosmic history is, for Paul, an event of mercy, or gift, to the wholly undeserving and the wholly unfit. If Adam's sin led to death and condemnation, the *χάρισμα* of God leads not from righteousness to reward, but from many trespasses to an incongruous justification (Rom 5:16). It is this incongruity that is the characteristic shape of Paul's theology and which at the formal level bears many similarities to the pleas of Ezra in Dialogue III which are finally (and for good reason) rejected by Uriel. "God shows his love for us," writes Paul, "in that *while we were yet sinners* Christ died for us" (Rom 5:8). The justification that Paul announces is the justification not of the righteous or the repentant but of the ungodly (Rom 4:5), as effected by the God who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist (Rom 4:17).²⁴ This misfit between the gift and the status or work of the recipient is the theme that unites Romans 9–11, running all the way from God's declaration that he will have mercy on whom he has mercy (Rom 9:15, citing Exod 33:19) to Paul's assertion that God has consigned all people to disobedience that he may have mercy on all (Rom 11:32).²⁵ The thread that has sustained Israel from the start, according to Paul, and that will effect her redemption in the end, is the single thread of God's mercy on the undeserving: Paul is confident that "all Israel will be saved" (11:26) not because all Israelites will eventually become righteous, but because God's call and God's *χαρίσματα* are irrevocable (11:29).²⁶ Just as the figure Ezra in *4 Ezra* insists that God's mercy is properly considered to be "mercy" when it is exercised on those who have no works of righteousness (*4 Ezra* 8:32), Paul insists that *χάρις* is properly so called not as the reward for works but in the absence of works (Rom 11:5–6; cf. 4:4–5). In fact, the motif of "mercy" or "favour" does not have to be interpreted in this way, as *4 Ezra* shows when it talks of God's mercy *on the righteous* (14:34). But Paul would find in the

²⁴ On the significance of this phrase in Pauline theology, see E. KÄSEMANN, *An die Römer* (HNT 8a; 4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980), 115–17.

²⁵ On God's mercy in Romans 9–11 in the context of Second Temple Judaism, see J.M.G. BARCLAY, "'I will have mercy on whom I have mercy': The Golden Calf and Divine Mercy in Romans 9–11 and Second Temple Judaism," *Early Christianity* 1 (2010): 82–106. See also S. EASTMAN, "Israel and Divine Mercy in Galatians and Romans," in *Between Gospel and Election: Explorations in the Interpretation of Romans 9–11* (ed. F. Wilk et al.; WUNT 257; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 147–70.

²⁶ See N. WALTER, "Zur Interpretation von Römer 9–11," *ZTK* 81 (1984): 172–195.

Christ-event precisely what Ezra was pleading for at the last judgement in Dialogue III, an act of mercy *on the entirely undeserving*.

In Paul's view this act of mercy or favour in Christ is also at the same time the enactment and display of God's justice (δικαιοσύνη).²⁷ Although it was revealed apart from the Torah, this, he claims, was the divine δικαιοσύνη witnessed to by the Torah and the prophets (Rom 3:21): through the death of Christ God displays that he is both "just" and justifies those who have faith in Christ (Rom 3:24–26).²⁸ At several points Paul indicates an awareness that what he is claiming borders on a denial of the justice of God (e.g., Rom 9:14) or involves such a strong redefinition of that "justice" that it must be said to have been previously unknown (Rom 10:3). It appears that he wants to redefine God's justice not as something *other than* God's mercy, something more ultimate or more foundational, but as enacted precisely *in* God's mercy, such that for him the anchor-point of the cosmos lies not in the fair distribution of justice at the final judgement, but in the mercy itself, enacted in the Christ-event. It is for this reason, as we have seen, that Paul has hope for Israel beyond the preservation of a remnant. While at present there is only a remnant (those saved, Paul insists, by χάρις, not because of their worth, 11:1–6), the salvation of the remnant is not the end of the story, but only the prelude to the salvation of "all Israel" when even the branches presently cut off can be grafted back in, by a mercy that is the ultimate purpose of the cosmos (11:17–32). By the same token, Paul has as much hope for non-Jews as he does for Jews, for if the thread that holds God's purposes together is his mercy on the disobedient, Jews and Gentiles are in exactly the same position and have exactly the same hope.²⁹

It is at this point that the correlation between theology and social practice becomes important in understanding how Paul compares to *4 Ezra*.³⁰ *4 Ezra* reflects a political context post-70 C.E. when Gentile nations are figured as "domineering" and "devouring" Israel (*4 Ezra* 3:28–36; 6:57–59), and the author shows nothing but hostility towards them in their general

²⁷ See E. KÄSEMANN, "Gottesgerechtigkeit bei Paulus," *ZTK* 58 (1961): 367–378. Cf. P. STUHLMACHER, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus* (FRLANT 87; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965).

²⁸ Among the extensive literature on this passage, see D.A. CAMPBELL, *The Rhetoric of Righteousness in Romans 3.21–26* (JSNTSup 65; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992).

²⁹ See D. ZELLER, *Juden und Heiden in der Mission des Paulus: Studien zum Römerbrief* (FB 8; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1973).

³⁰ For the importance of this correlation in understanding Paul, see F. WATSON, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: Beyond the New Perspective* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).

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