

CARL JOACHIM CLASSEN

# Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament*

128

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**Mohr Siebeck**

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament

Herausgegeben von  
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

128





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of the New Testament

Mohr Siebeck

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## Preface

The papers in this collection differ in origin and nature. The first was written after I had become aware of the recent debate amongst New Testament scholars about the application of ancient rhetoric to the Bible and to Paul's letters in particular. Subsequently several questions arose which I am trying to answer in the following four chapters. First: whether and to what extent Paul was familiar with ancient rhetoric, a question which cannot be answered satisfactorily with the help of general considerations about his education or his manner of writing (chapter 2). Next: How rhetorical criticism may be practised today in application to different kinds of biblical texts, e. g. the gospels or a letter in the New Testament (chapters 3 and 4). I was tempted to include an interpretation of a piece from the Old Testament; but for any attempt to understand a text it is essential to know the language in which it is written. The chapter on Melanchthon, finally, shows not only that rhetorical criticism of the Bible has a long (often neglected) tradition, but also that a great variety of abilities and experiences is of the greatest help, if not necessary for its successful application: to be thoroughly familiar with the languages of the Bible (Hebrew, Greek and in view of the translations also Latin) as well as with most of the literature in these languages (proved for Melanchthon by his grammars, his editions and his commentaries), to be thoroughly familiar with the categories and methods of the critical instruments, i. e. the theories one is applying (proved for Melanchthon by his own handbooks on rhetoric and on dialectic with the new elements he introduces) and to be thoroughly familiar with the dogmatic problems arising from the texts of the Bible (proved for Melanchthon by his theological writings).

What I mean by 'rhetoric' is defined in the first chapter, what I mean by 'rhetorical reading' in chapter three; what I mean by 'rhetorical criticism' is illustrated by what I am trying to do in chapters three and four; and the qualities ideally required for this are described in chapter five.

The first and the third papers have been revised, the second and the fifth translated and revised, the fourth has been especially written for this

collection; in view of the numerous commentaries on the gospels and of the enormous amount of secondary literature a good deal of which seems to be dominated by very detailed Quellenkritik, the notes have deliberately been kept to a minimum in the fourth chapter. It is, no doubt, of great importance to determine the sources and models of the gospels; but it seems to me to be even more important to look not only at the raw material the evangelists made use of, but also at the finished products, as it were, and to analyse their narrative structure and argumentation.

I have to thank Professors David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies of the Sheffield Academic Press for the kind permission to reprint (in revised form) the papers on which chapters one and three are based, and Martin Hengel for his constant support, for his invitation to give a paper on the letter to Titus in his seminar and a lecture on Melanchthon and for his suggestion to publish this collection in his series. I am no less grateful to the publisher, Herr Georg Siebeck, for accepting this book.

Ash Wednesday 2000

C. J. Classen

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## I. Paul's Epistles and Ancient Greek and Roman Rhetoric

In August 1974 at the 29th General Meeting of the *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas* at Sigtuna (Sweden) H. D. Betz gave a lecture on "The Literary Composition and Function of Paul's Letter to the Galatians" which seems to have initiated a new era in Biblical Studies or at least in New Testament Studies in the United States and, to a lesser degree, elsewhere. In 1979 he published "Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia" in which he repeated the claims he had made in his paper and applied in detail the method which he had outlined five years before. And in 1988 a German translation of his commentary appeared in which he reproduced the original text without noticeable changes; only in the introduction Betz shows some awareness of the criticism and doubts some reviewers expressed.<sup>1</sup>

However, on the whole the reaction to the commentary was favourable and some reviewers even hailed Betz's work as marking the beginning of a new era in New Testament Scholarship.<sup>2</sup> Today, numerous scholars in this

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<sup>1</sup> H. D. Betz, *The Literary Composition and Function of Paul's Letter to the Galatians*, *New Testament Studies* 21, 1975, 353–379; H. D. Betz (ed.), *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, Philadelphia 1979; <sup>2</sup>1984 and H. D. Betz (ed.), *Der Galaterbrief: Ein Kommentar zum Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Gemeinden in Galatien*, München 1988; see further: H. D. Betz (ed.), *2 Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul*, Philadelphia 1985 and H. D. Betz (ed.), *2. Korinther 8 und 9: Ein Kommentar zu zwei Verwaltungsbriefen des Apostels Paulus*, Gütersloh 1993. The article of 1975 is reprinted in: H. D. Betz, *Paulinische Studien*, Tübingen 1994, 63–97 (with a Nachtrag [97] which merely lists a few more recent books and articles) together with some other of his articles on Galatians (20–45; 46–62; 98–125) and on the problem of rhetoric and theology (126–162, see below n. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Reviews: C. K. Barrett, *Interpretation* 34, 1980, 414–417; J.-N. Aletti, *Recherches de science religieuse* 69, 1981, 601–602; W. D. Davies, P. W. Meyer and D. E. Aune, *Religious Studies Review* 7, 1981, 310–328; W. A. Meeks, *Journal of Biblical Literature*

field, especially in the United States of America, try to employ the same method as Betz, and the terms 'rhetorical' and 'rhetoric' figure more and more frequently in the titles of their books and papers.<sup>3</sup> The new element which Betz introduced or rather claimed to have introduced into New Testament Studies is the use of the categories of ancient Greek and Roman, that is, classical rhetoric and epistolography for the exegesis of Paul's letters.

This alone would explain and justify the interest of classicists in this development; and not surprisingly one of the leading experts in this field, George A. Kennedy, a few years later took his stand in his book "New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism", approving of this type of exegesis in general and applying it to various texts from the New Testament, but modifying Betz's results with regard to the letter to the

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100, 1981, 304–307; J. Swetnam, *Biblica* 62, 1981, 594–597; H. Hübner, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 109, 1984, 241–250,

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. M. Bünker, *Briefformular und rhetorische Disposition im 1. Korintherbrief*, Göttingen 1984; R. Jewett, *The Thessalonian Correspondence: Pauline Rhetoric and Millenarian Piety*, Philadelphia 1986, esp. 61–87, more convincing than his pupil F. W. Hughes, *Early Christian Rhetoric and 2 Thessalonians*, Sheffield 1989; D. F. Watson, *Invention, Arrangement, and Style: Rhetorical Criticism of Jude and 2 Peter*, Atlanta 1988; N. Elliott, *The Rhetoric of Romans*, Sheffield 1990; more critical and discerning W. G. Übelacker, *Der Hebräerbrief als Appell. I: Untersuchungen zu exordium, narratio und postscriptum* (Hebr 1–2 und 13, 22–25), Stockholm 1989; W. Wuellner's pupil L. Thurén, *The Rhetorical Strategy of 1 Peter*, Åbo 1990; M. M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation. An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians*, Tübingen 1991; and especially B. C. Johanson, *To All the Brethren: A Text-linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to I Thessalonians*, Stockholm 1987, whose analyses are more convincing as they avail themselves also of the insights of modern rhetoric (see also below n. 74). These and many other also more recent titles are now listed by D. F. Watson and A. J. Hauser, *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible. A Comprehensive Bibliography with Notes on History and Method*, Leiden 1994, see further e. g. I. Saw, *Paul's Rhetoric in 1 Corinthians 15. An Analysis Utilizing the Theories of Classical Rhetoric*, Lewiston 1995; K. A. Morland, *The Rhetoric of Curse in Galatians. Paul Confronts Another Gospel*, Atlanta 1995; Ph. H. Kern, *Rhetoric and Galatians. Assessing an approach to Paul's epistle*, Cambridge 1998 and the bibliographies each of them provides. Today any volume of *Journal of Biblical Literature*, *New Testament Studies*, *Novum Testamentum*, *Theologische Zeitschrift* or *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* will furnish examples of articles on biblical 'rhetoric'. Interestingly some scholars seem to remain totally unaffected by this approach, see e.g. W. L. Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in 1 Peter*, Tübingen 1989; M. Prior, C. M., *Paul the Letter-Writer and the Second Letter to Timothy*, Sheffield 1989. For a brief survey see R. Majercik, Th. B. Dozeman and B. Fiore, *Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism*, in: D. N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* 1–6, New York 1992, 5, 710–719.

Galatians.<sup>4</sup> However, the enthusiasm for this new instrument for the interpretation of biblical texts is not shared in all quarters, and some scholars prefer simply to ignore it or to suspend judgment, while others, clearly, feel uneasy about their uncertainty or even ask for advice or assistance from classicists.<sup>5</sup> A new assessment seems to be called for.

In his commentary Betz claims: "Paul's letter to the Galatians can be analyzed according to Greco-Roman rhetoric and epistolography. This possibility raises the whole question of Paul's relationship to the rhetorical and literary disciplines and culture, a question which has not as yet been adequately discussed", and he adds in a footnote to the first sentence:

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<sup>4</sup> G. A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism*, Chapel Hill 1984, on Galatians: 144–152; reviews: e. g. V. K. Robbins, *Rhetorica* 3, 1985, 145–149; J. H. Patton, *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 71, 1985, 247–249; R. M. Fowler, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 105, 1986, 328–330; H. D. Betz, *Journal of Theological Studies* n. s. 37, 1986, 166–167, see also D. F. Watson, *Rhetorical Criticism* (see n. 3), 109–112. In appreciation of his work a Festschrift was offered to him: D. F. Watson (ed.), *Persuasive Artistry. Studies in New Testament Rhetoric in Honor of George A. Kennedy*, Sheffield 1991 with several useful contributions.

<sup>5</sup> This paper grew out of a talk given on March 26th, 1990 in Einsiedeln (Switzerland) at the request of the group of Roman Catholic and Protestant Commentators on the New Testament who showed a great variety of attitudes towards this new panacea; it was published as *Paulus und die antike Rhetorik*, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 82, 1991, 1–33. The English version was written afresh and presented first at the University of Helsinki on May 8th, 1991 (see *Rhetorica* 10, 1992, 319–344) and later at the conference in Heidelberg, organized by Pepperdine University, see C. J. Classen, in: St. E. Porter and Th. H. Olbricht (edd.), *Rhetoric and the New Testament. Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, Sheffield 1993, 265–291. The paper has again been thoroughly revised and adapted for this collection. More recent contributions to the debate are found in the volume just mentioned and in St. E. Porter and Th. H. Olbricht (edd.), *Rhetoric, Scripture and Theology. Essays from the 1994 Pretoria Conference*, Sheffield 1996 and St. E. Porter and Th. H. Olbricht (edd.), *The Rhetorical Analysis of Scripture. Essays from the 1995 London Conference*, Sheffield 1997, see further R. D. Anderson Jr., *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, Kampen 1996 (review: C. J. Classen, *Rhetorica* 16, 1998, 324–329); St. E. Porter, *Paul of Tarsus and His Letters*, in: St. E. Porter (ed.), *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B. C.-A. D. 400*, Leiden 1997, 533–585; see also n. 3. The article on *Bibelrhetorik* by H. Schweizer, in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* 1, Tübingen 1992, 1548–1572 is disappointing, also G. Otto, F. Eybl, D. Gutzen and M. Ottmers, *Christliche Rhetorik*, *ibid.* 2, 1994, 197–208; 208–216; 216–222, more useful J. Grondin, *Hermeneutik*, *ibid.* 3, 1996, 1350–1374, esp. 1350–1364; see further C. v. Bormann, L. Schmidt and W. Schenk, *Hermeneutik*, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 15, 1986, 108–137; 137–143 and 144–150 and G. Sternberger, D.-A. Koch, E. Mühlberg, U. H. J. Körtner and H. Schröer, *Schriftauslegung*, *ibid.* 30, 1999, 442–457; 457–471; 472–488; 489–495 and 495–499.

“This fact was apparently not recognized before.”<sup>6</sup> Next, however, he rather oddly gives a couple of references to Luther and Melancthon as well as to J. B. Lightfoot, thus admitting that he did have predecessors.<sup>7</sup> This raises a number of questions: (1) Are rhetoric and epistolography regarded by Betz as two separate disciplines, each of them separately being of service to the interpretation of the New Testament, or are they taken together by him and if so, is this justified? (2) Is Betz referring to the theory of rhetoric and/or epistolography or to their practical application or to both? (3) What exactly is the aim of applying the ancient categories? (a) Is it to demonstrate to what extent Paul was familiar with them, with rhetoric and/or epistolography, theory and/or practice (as the second sentence seems to indicate), or (b) is it in order to help modern exegetes to arrive at a more thorough understanding of the letter(s)? (4) If this is the aim, the question arises whether one should restrict oneself to applying the categories and insights of ancient rhetoric only, or perhaps even only to rhetoric prior to and contemporary with Paul, or whether one may also employ whatever new aspects have been added since antiquity. (5) If, however, the aim is solely a more adequate appreciation of Paul himself, at least three further groups of problems come up: (a) when, where and how is Paul likely to have become familiar with ancient rhetoric and epistolography; (b) exactly which form or which aspect of rhetoric and epistolography and at which phase of their history is meant (provided it is possible to distinguish clearly several phases of the development); (c) did he deliberately draw on such knowledge of rhetorical theory and employ its categories consciously or not? (6) Finally, as Betz stresses the novelty of his method, it seems obvious to ask: why was it not discovered and used

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<sup>6</sup> Galatians 14 and Galater 54 (see n. 1); more recently Betz seems to have become more aware of his predecessors, cf. 2 Corinthians 8 and 9, 129, n. 2 and 2 Korinther 8 und 9, 231–232 n. 2 (see n. 1) and his *The Problem of Rhetoric and Theology According to the Apostle Paul*, in: A. Vanhoye (ed.), *L'Apôtre Paul: Personnalité, style et conception du ministère*, Leuven 1986, 16–48, esp. 16–21 = *Studien* (see n. 1), 126–162, esp. 126–131.

<sup>7</sup> Galatians 14 n. 97 and Galater 54 n. 97 (see n. 1) he mentions Luther's commentary of 1535 (for details see his bibliography Galatians 337 and Galater 566–567, where he also lists Luther's earlier lectures and commentaries which he does not seem to have consulted) and J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, London 1865, <sup>10</sup>1890 and adds that G. Ebeling called his attention to Melancthon's commentary on Romans, the edition of 1532 as reprinted in R. Stupperich et al. (edd.), *Melancthons Werke in Auswahl I–VII*, Gütersloh 1951–<sup>2</sup>1983, V <sup>2</sup>1983 (edd.: G. Ebeling and R. Schäfer), 25–371, with a “Disposition”: 373–378.

before; or, as he mentions Luther, Melancthon and Lightfoot in a footnote, were they the first and what did they do?

In view of these questions some general observations seem to be called for. When one turns to the categories of rhetoric as tools for a more adequate and thorough appreciation of texts, their general structure and their details, one should not hesitate to use the most developed and sophisticated form, as it will offer more help than any other.<sup>8</sup> For there is no good reason to maintain that a text could and should be examined only according to categories known (or possibly known) to the author concerned. For rhetoric provides a system for the interpretation of all texts (as well as of oral utterances and even of other forms of communication), irrespectively of time and circumstances (except, of course, for the fact that some rules of rhetoric immediately concern the external circumstances).<sup>9</sup>

When one turns to the categories of rhetoric in order to appreciate more fully an author's writings, one should examine what is known about the writer himself, his background, his education and other factors that influenced him. When, however, lack of independent sources render this impossible and one has nothing but a text or a group of texts, one has to bear in mind that in any speech or any piece of writing, elements or features occur which are found in handbooks of rhetoric and which we are inclined to classify and designate accordingly, but which may, in fact, originate from four sources: from rhetorical theory (and its deliberate application), from a successful imitation of written or spoken practice, from unconscious borrowing from the practice of others, or from a natural gift for effective speaking or writing.

In application to Paul's letters, this means that one may collect the external evidence regarding the conditions under which he grew up and the experience of interpreting the Bible which he gained later. I shall not

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<sup>8</sup> On this problem see W. Wuellner, *Where Is Rhetorical Criticism Taking Us?*, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 49, 1987, 448–463 and hesitatingly St. E. Porter, *Ancient Rhetorical Analysis and Discourse Analysis of the Pauline Corpus*, in: St. E. Porter and Th. H. Olbricht (edd.), *The Rhetorical Analysis* (see n. 5), 249–274. I. Saw (see n. 3) tries at length to justify why he uses ancient rhetoric only (11–31, also 63–79), see also R. Brucker, in: St. Alkier and R. Brucker, *Exegese und Methodendiskussion*, Tübingen 1998, 211–215.

<sup>9</sup> See my paper in *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 82, 1991, 1–33 (see above n. 5) and my article *Die Rhetorik im öffentlichen Leben unserer Zeit*, in: C. J. Classen and H.-J. Müllenbrock (edd.), *Die Macht des Wortes*, Marburg 1992, 247–267.

attempt to do this here, as I am not competent;<sup>10</sup> but I should like to add two observations: (a) Anyone who could write Greek as effectively as Paul did must have read a good many works written in Greek, thus imbibing applied rhetoric from others, even if he never heard of any rules of rhetorical theory; so that even if one could prove that Paul was not familiar with the rhetorical theory of the Greeks,<sup>11</sup> it could hardly be denied that he knew it in its applied form; and (b) anyone who studied the Old Testament as carefully as Paul undoubtedly did must have noticed the rhetorical qualities displayed there<sup>12</sup> and must have given some thought to the best way of expressing himself.

In turning to Paul's letters now, one has to emphasize a point to which Betz does not pay attention sufficiently – the difference between rhetoric and epistolography. Most ancient handbooks of rhetoric do not deal with letters, and where they do, they are content with a few remarks mostly on matters of style.<sup>13</sup> Manuals on letter-writing on the other hand differ substantially from handbooks on rhetoric in content and structure.<sup>14</sup> Instead of dealing with either the *officia oratoris* (“the tasks of a speaker”) or the *partes orationis* (“the parts of a speech”) they list a large number of

<sup>10</sup> The literature on Paul is too vast to be referred to here, see e. g. H. Hübner and D. Flusser, Paulus, in: Theologische Realenzyklopädie 26, 1996, 133–153 and 153–160 (literature: 149–153 and 159–160).

<sup>11</sup> It seems most likely that he was. See below chapter II.

<sup>12</sup> Studies on the rhetoric in the Old Testament are listed in the first part of D. F. Watson and A. J. Hauser, Rhetorical Criticism (see n. 3), 21–98 (by Hauser); on possible rabbinic rhetorical elements in Paul's writings see H. R. Lemmer, in: St. E. Porter and Th. H. Olbricht (edd.), Rhetoric, Scripture and Theology (see n. 5), 161–179.

<sup>13</sup> See the two best known examples: L. Radermacher (ed.), Demetrii Phalerei qui dicitur de elocutione liber, Leipzig 1901, 47–49 (223–235) with Adnotationes: 109–110 and R. Giomini and M. S. Celentano (edd.), C. Iulii Victoris ars rhetorica, Leipzig 1980, 105–106 (*de epistolis*).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. V. Weichert (ed.), Demetrii et Libanii qui feruntur ΤΥΠΟΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΚΟΙ et ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΙΜΑΙΟΙ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ, Leipzig 1910, also R. Foerster and E. Richtsteig (edd.), Libanii Opera IX, Leipzig 1927, 27–47; for other texts on ancient epistolary theory see R. Hercher (ed.), Epistolographi Graeci, Paris 1873, 6–13 (Ps.-Proclus) and 14–16 (Philostratus and Gregory of Nazianzus) and A. J. Malherbe (ed.), Ancient Epistolary Theorists, Atlanta 1988. On the various types of letters see H. Görge-manns, Epistolographie, in: Der Neue Pauly 3, Stuttgart 1997, 1166–1169, see also id. and M. Zelzer, Epistel, *ibid.* 1161–1164 and 1164–1166 and P. L. Schmidt, Brief, *ibid.* 2, 1997, 771–773 and 774–775 and on the relationship between rhetoric and epistolography J. T. Reed, The Epistle, in: St. E. Porter (ed.), Handbook (see n. 5), 171–193 and with reference to Paul St. E. Porter, The Paul of Acts. Essays in Literary Criticism, Rhetoric and Theology, Tübingen 1999, 98–125.

types of letters and give advice on stylistic problems. Obviously, a fundamental difference was felt in antiquity between a speech or even a poem or another type of composition on the one hand and a letter on the other, and while for example brevity, clarity or appropriateness of style are recommended for letters as for other pieces of writing or speaking,<sup>15</sup> as regards the "structure" of letters (*dispositio*), no particular rule or advice seems to have been given.

I could now enter upon a detailed examination of Betz's method, the new arguments which he formulates with the aid of rhetorical theory and the insights he thus gains, or I could offer a rhetorical analysis of Paul's letter to the Galatians or at least some comments on such elements and features, the function of which one would explain with the help of rhetorical categories in any work of ancient literature. Instead, I turn to the last question raised above: To what extent ancient rhetoric was made use of for the interpretation of the Bible before 1974. I cannot, of course, deal here with the history of the exegesis of the Bible in general.<sup>16</sup> But even a brief glance at some arbitrarily selected earlier commentaries shows very quickly that this method is by no means new. It was practised in antiquity and it was not totally neglected in the Middle Ages; it was frequently employed with great skill during the Renaissance, and it has never been forgotten ever since in some quarters, while others preferred to ignore it; and it was revived after the Second World War first by such Old Testament scholars as J. Muilenberg,<sup>17</sup> before Betz brought it back to New Testament Studies so effectively.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. e. g. the references given by A. J. Malherbe (see n. 14), 13–14; for these qualities in general see H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, Stuttgart 31990 and J. Martin, *Antike Rhetorik*, München 1974, 362–374: Register s.v. *brevis/brevitas*, *dilucidus*, *decorum* etc.

<sup>16</sup> See in general H. Graf Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung I–III*, München 1990–1997, for the Church fathers H. J. Sieben, *Exegesis Patrum: Saggio bibliografico sull'exegesi biblica dei Padri della Chiesa*, Roma 1983, for the Middle Ages H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale I–II*, Paris 1959–1964 and B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1941, 31985, for the humanists and the Renaissance J. H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance*, Princeton 1983 and the bibliographical references given by T. J. Wengert, *Philip Melancthon's Annotationes in Johannem in Relation to its Predecessors and Contemporaries*, Genève 1987, 265–273; see now also M. Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. The History of its Interpretation. I: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300)*. Part I: Antiquity, Göttingen 1996 and below chapter V.

<sup>17</sup> *Form Criticism and Beyond*, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 88, 1969, 1–18; a brief survey of the history of rhetorical criticism of the Old Testament is given by A. J. Hauser



In this long and varied history, few have done more for the study of ancient rhetoric, for its development and its application to the needs and requirements of his own time and for its use for the interpretation of the Bible than Philip Melanchthon;<sup>18</sup> and yet, few have experienced a more complete neglect later. Betz refers to him in a footnote, but not in the bibliography where Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples, Luther, Calvin and Bullinger are listed with their commentaries; G. A. Kennedy does not mention him at all.<sup>19</sup> Some modern scholars seem to ignore him, because they disagree with his theological position, others because he wrote in Latin (or an old fashioned type of German).

How does he proceed? How does Melanchthon practise rhetorical criticism? To what extent does he anticipate Betz? What, if anything, can the modern scholar learn from him? His works and his methods will be discussed at length in the fifth chapter. Here I need to do no more than to remind the reader that Melanchthon wrote three handbooks on rhetoric and three handbooks on dialectic, the art of defining words and objects, of dividing kinds and of finding and using arguments,<sup>20</sup> also a large number

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in: D. F. Watson and A. J. Hauser, *Rhetorical Criticism* (see n. 3), 3–20 and of the *New Testament* by D. F. Watson, *ibid.* 101–125; see now also L. J. de Regt et al. (edd.), *Literary Structure and Rhetorical Strategies in the Hebrew Bible*, Assen 1996.

<sup>18</sup> His works: C. G. Bretschneider and H. E. Bindseil (edd.), *Philippi Melanthonis Opera I–XXVIII*, Halle 1834–1860, with his commentaries on books of the Bible in XIII: 761–1472, XIV and XV; see also R. Stupperich et al. (edd.) (see n. 7) and E. Bizer (ed.), *Texte aus der Anfangszeit Melancthons*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1966 (to be used with the corrections by H. Scheible, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 79, 1968, 417–419). His correspondence: H. Scheible and W. Thüringer (edd.), *Melancthons Briefwechsel. Regesten I–X*, Stuttgart 1977–1998 and R. Wetzel and Helga Scheible (edd.), *Melancthons Briefwechsel. Texte I–II*, Stuttgart 1991–1995. For his biography see K. Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae*, Berlin, 1889, with detailed, though incomplete lists of his publications and lectures (577–620 and 555–566); W. Maurer, *Der junge Melanchthon zwischen Humanismus und Reformation I–II*, Göttingen 1967–1969. Bibliography: H. Scheible, *Melancthon*, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 22, 1992, 371–410; on Melanchthon as interpreter of the Bible see most recently T. J. Wengert and M. P. Graham (edd.), *Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) and the Commentary*, Sheffield 1997.

<sup>19</sup> Galatians 14 n. 97; 337 and Galatians 54 n. 97; 566–567 (see n. 1); G. A. Kennedy (see n. 4). N. Elliott (see n. 3) grants him no more than a footnote (22 n. 1).

<sup>20</sup> *De Rhetorica libri tres*, Wittenberg 1519; *Institutiones Rhetoricae*, Hagenau 1521 and *Elementorum Rhetorices libri duo*, Wittenberg 1531 (edition here used: *Elementorum Rhetorices libri duo. Diligenter recogniti*, Wittenberg 1536); *Compendiaria Dialectices*, Leipzig 1520; *Dialectices libri quatuor*, Hagenau 1528 and *Erotemata dialectices*, Wittenberg 1547. For details see *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich er-*

of commentaries on books of the Old and New Testament in addition to editing numerous texts.<sup>21</sup> And I shall content myself with a few remarks on his earliest editions, lecture-notes and commentaries to give some idea of the earliest stages of the development of his rhetorical criticism.

In preparation of his lectures on the letter to Titus Melanchthon published an edition of the Greek text in 1518 in Wittenberg (which was printed again with a Latin translation in 1519 in Erfurt),<sup>22</sup> in 1519 he contributed a preface to Luther's commentary on the psalms as well as a preface and an epilogue to his commentary on Galatians, lectured himself on the psalms, on the letter to the Romans and the gospel of Matthew and wrote the "Theologica Institutio ... in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos".<sup>23</sup> In 1520 he delivered a "Declamatiuncula in divi Pauli doctrinam" on January 25th, the feast of Saint Paul, the patron of the Divinity Faculty in Wittenberg, and continued to lecture on the gospel of Matthew, published an edition of Erasmus' Latin translation of the letter to the Romans with a preface and some notes in the margin and an "Ad Paulinae doctrinae studium adhortatio" (also printed separately) and perhaps an edition of the Greek text with more rhetorical notes in the margin, lectured on this letter and composed the "Artifitium Epistolae Pauli ad Romanos";<sup>24</sup> he also

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schienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts 1–20, Stuttgart 1983–1993, 13, 1988, 497–498: M 4179–4185; 417–418: M 3514–3527; 364–368: M 3101–3136; 327–328: M 2797–2809; 350–352: M 2996–3021; 381–384: M 3242–3273; see further J. Knape, Philipp Melanchthons >Rhetorik<, Tübingen 1993 (disappointing) and O. Berwald, Philipp Melanchthons Sicht der Rhetorik, Wiesbaden 1994 (review: C. J. Classen, *Gnomon* 70, 1998, 81); on his dialectic see G. Frank, in: J. Leonhardt (ed.), *Melanchthon und das Lehrbuch des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Rostock 1997, 125–145 and on his teaching manuals in general J. Leonhardt in: R. Friedrich and K. A. Vogel (edd.), *500 Jahre Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560)*, Pirkheimer Jahrbuch 1998, Wiesbaden 1998, 26–47

<sup>21</sup> For the editions of and commentaries on books of the Bible by Melanchthon and his contemporaries see Verzeichnis (see n. 20) 2, 1984, 401–739 B 2568–5312, for Melanchthon also *ibid.* 13, 1988, 261–534 M 2330–4425.

<sup>22</sup> For the lecture see K. Hartfelder (see n. 18), 555, for the editions Verzeichnis (see n. 20) 2, 1984, 724 B 5174 and 5175.

<sup>23</sup> For the prefaces see Briefwechsel. Texte (see n. 18), I 110–113 (no. 47) and 121–124 (no. 54), for the epilogue *ibid.* 148–149 (no. 65), for the lectures on the psalms *ibid.* 115–117 (no. 50), on the letter to the Romans and on Matthew *ibid.* 158–159 (no. 68), see also *ibid.* 189–197 (no. 84) with important notes on line 67 (Matthew; for the Annotations published first probably in 1522 see below chapter V) and 70 (Romans), for the text of the Institutio see E. Bizer (ed.), Texte (see n. 18), 90–99.

<sup>24</sup> For the declamatiuncula, printed three times in 1520, see H. Koehn, *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* 25, 1984, 1323–1325 (no. 51–53) and Briefwechsel. Texte

edited the Greek text of the letter to the Galatians with Latin translation and lectured on that letter.<sup>25</sup> In 1521 he edited (perhaps) the Greek text of the letter to the Romans, certainly a Latin translation of texts of the two letters to the Corinthians and also of that to the Colossians, lectured on these four letters<sup>26</sup> and published his "Loci communes".<sup>27</sup> What do they contain, what do they teach us?

The notes on the epistle to the Galatians are rather elementary. However, it seems appropriate to characterize them briefly here, as Betz applied his new method in a commentary on this letter.<sup>28</sup> In accordance with the practice in such lectures, as we know it from contemporary lecture-notes on Ciceronian speeches,<sup>29</sup> Melanchthon first determines the

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(see n. 18), I 166–167 and 167–176 (no. 75 and 76), for the lectures on Matthew see n. 23, for the edition of the Latin translation of the letter to the Romans Briefwechsel. Texte (see n. 18), I 211–212 (no. 94a), with adhortatio 209–210 (no. 94) and H. Koehn 1325 (no. 54), separate printing: 1325–1326 (no. 55); for the edition of the Greek text 1520 is assumed as year of publication by St. Strohm et al., Griechische Bibeldrucke. Die Bibelsammlung der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart I 3, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1984, 9 (C 9), see also K. Hartfelder (see n. 18), 580 no. 27, but 1521 by H. Scheible, Briefwechsel. Texte (see n. 18), I 292–293 (no. 142). For lectures see Briefwechsel. Texte (see n. 18), I 267–272 (no. 132), for the Artifitium and the marginal notes see E. Bizer (ed.), Texte (see n. 18), 20–30. On the chronology of Melanchthon's early work on Romans see R. Schäfer, in: T. J. Wengert and M. P. Graham (edd.), Philip Melanchthon (see n. 18), 79–104.

<sup>25</sup> For the edition see Verzeichnis (see n. 20) 2, 1984, 713 B 5068, for the notes taken during his lecture E. Bizer (ed.), Texte (see n. 18), 34–37.

<sup>26</sup> For the edition of the letter to the Romans see n. 24, for that of the letters to the Corinthians see Briefwechsel. Texte (see n. 18), I 279–280 (no. 138) and 357–358 (no. 172) and of that to the Colossians O. Beuttemüller, Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der Melanchthon-Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts, Halle 1960, 28 (no. 117: year uncertain) and St. Strohm (see n. 24), 9 (C 11: 1521); for the lectures see K. Hartfelder (see n. 18), 556–557 and E. Bizer (ed.), Texte (see n. 18), 40–42 who prints 45–85 ΠΑΨΟΔΙΑΙ (*sic* !) ΕΝ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΔ ΡΟΜΑΝΟΣ.

<sup>27</sup> For details see Verzeichnis (see n. 20), 13, 1988, 428–431 and 431–433: M 3583–3613 and 3614–3632.

<sup>28</sup> Not surprisingly there is a comparatively large number of recent studies on this letter, see D. F. Watson and A. J. Hauser, Rhetorical criticism (see n. 3), 194–198 and K. A. Morland, The Rhetoric of Curse (see n. 3); Ph. H. Kern, Rhetoric and Galatians (see n. 3); R. E. Ciampa, The Presence and Function of Scripture in Galatians 1 and 2, Tübingen 1998.

<sup>29</sup> For such notes cf. e. g. In omnes M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes, quot quidem extant, doctissimorum virorum enarrationes ..., Basel 1553; on earlier and contemporary commentaries on Cicero see C. J. Classen, Cicerostudien in der Romania im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, in G. Radke (ed.), Cicero ein Mensch seiner Zeit, Berlin 1968, 198–245;

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## List of the Original Publications

Chapters I–III and V are revised, enlarged and updated (II and V also translated) versions of the following publications:

I: St. Paul's Epistles and Ancient Greek and Roman Rhetoric, in: St. E. Porter et Th. H. Olbricht (edd.), *Rhetoric and the New Testament. Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series 90*, Sheffield 1993, 265–291.

II: (German version:) *Philologische Bemerkungen zur Sprache des Apostels Paulus*, in: *Wiener Studien 107/108 [ΣΦΑΙΡΟΣ, Festschrift Hans Schwabl]*, 1994/1995, 321–335.

III: *A Rhetorical Reading of the Epistle to Titus*, in: St. E. Porter et Th. H. Olbricht (edd.), *The Rhetorical Analysis of Scripture. Essays from the 1995 London Conference*. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series 146*, Sheffield 1997, 427–444.

V: (German version:) *Die Bedeutung der Rhetorik für Melanchthons Interpretation profaner und biblischer Texte*, in: *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. phil.-hist. Kl.* 1998, 5, 233–272, Göttingen 1998.



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