

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

40

Walter T. Wilson

The Mysteries of Righteousness



Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

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The Mysteries of Righteousness

The Literary Composition and Genre
of the *Sentences* of Pseudo-Phocylides

by

Walter T. Wilson



J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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For Beth

οὐ μὲν γάρ τοῦ γε κρείσσον καὶ ἄρειον,
ἢ ὅθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχῃτον
ἀνὴρ ἠδὲ γυνή· πόλλ' ἄλγεα δυσμενέεσσι,
χάρματα δ' εὐμενέτησι, μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί.

For there is nothing greater or more splendid
than when man and wife dwell in their home
with one heart and mind, a grief to their foes
and a joy to their friends; but they themselves know it best.

Homer, *Odyssey* VI.182–185

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Walter T. Wilson

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Abbreviations

The abbreviations used for this study are taken from the "Instructions for Contributors," *JBL* 107 (1988) 579–596 and from Siegfried Schwertner, *IATG: Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1974).

AARSBLA	<i>American Academy of Religion/Society of Biblical Literature Abstracts</i>
AB	Anchor Bible
ABAW	<i>Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AHAW.PH	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften; Philologisch-historische Klasse
AISP	<i>Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AKG	Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte
AnBib	<i>Analecta Biblica</i>
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
AOS	American Oriental Series
APA	American Philological Association
ASGW.PH	Abhandlungen der (königlichen) sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften; Philologisch-historische Klasse
BAGD	Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich, and Danker, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
BETL	<i>Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium</i>
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BGBH	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Hermeneutik
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BT	<i>Bibliotheca Teubneriana</i>
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur ZAW
BZNW	Beihefte zur ZNW
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CRINT	<i>Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum</i>
CSCP	Cornell Studies in Classical Philology

<i>DBSup</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément</i>
<i>DSp</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique</i>
<i>EBib</i>	<i>Etudes Bibliques</i>
<i>EDNT</i>	<i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>EncJud</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i>
<i>EPRO</i>	<i>Etudes Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain</i>
<i>EWNT</i>	<i>Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>FB</i>	<i>Forschung zur Bibel</i>
<i>FF</i>	<i>Forum Fascicles</i>
<i>FKGG</i>	<i>Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte</i>
<i>FRLANT</i>	<i>Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments</i>
<i>GBLS</i>	<i>Greifswalder Beiträge zur Literatur- und Stilforschung</i>
<i>HAT</i>	<i>Handbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>HAW</i>	<i>Handbuch des Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>HKAT</i>	<i>Handkommentar zum Alten Testament</i>
<i>HKATSup</i>	<i>Handkommentar zum Alten Testament Supplement Series</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>HTKNT</i>	<i>Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</i>
<i>HTS</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JCPHSup</i>	<i>Jahrbücher für classische Philologie Supplementband</i>
<i>JHP</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Philosophy</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSHRZ</i>	<i>Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KP</i>	<i>Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike</i>
<i>KPS</i>	<i>Klassisch-philologische Studien</i>
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
<i>LCC</i>	<i>Library of Christian Classics</i>
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
<i>LEC</i>	<i>Library of Early Christianity</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>Liddell, Scott, and Jones, Greek-English Lexicon</i>
<i>LUÅ</i>	<i>Lunds Universitets Årsskrift</i>
<i>MBPF</i>	<i>Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte</i>
<i>NIDNTT</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTAbh</i>	<i>Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen</i>
<i>NTOA</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i>

OCT	Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (Oxford Classical Texts)
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PCPS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
PFLUS	Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg
PG	J. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PPR	<i>Philosophy and Phenomenological Research</i>
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
PWSup	Supplement to PW
QD	Quaestiones Disputatae
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des Etudes Juives</i>
RGG	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
RMP	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
RSPT	<i>Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques</i>
RSR	<i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i>
RTL	<i>Revue Théologique de Louvain</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLBMI	SBL The Bible and its Modern Interpreters
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	<i>SBL Seminar Papers</i>
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCHNT	Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti
SD	Studies and Documents
SHAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften; Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNVAO	Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo
SPB	Studia Postbiblica
ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
Str-B	H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</i>
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
Sup.	Supplement(s)
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TBAW	Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
ThA	Theologische Arbeiten
TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UaLG	Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte
VCSup	Vigiliae Christianae Supplement Series

VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplement Series
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZRGG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Part One

Literary Presuppositions

Introduction

The task of clarifying the role played by the sapiential traditions of Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity in the theological and ethical development of these formative religious movements, while by no means new, has enjoyed something of a revival in recent years.¹ One witness to this tradition, the *Sentences*, or *Sententiae*, of Pseudo-Phocylides, a didactic poem of about 230 lines written in Greek, has attracted a fair amount of current scholarly interest, both as an important source for investigating the literature and thought of Hellenistic-Jewish wisdom and as evidence for the milieu in which early Christian wisdom and ethics evolved.² Proof of this interest can be found in a number of recent publications, including the full-scale commentary of Pieter van der Horst for the *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* series,³ the translation with notes and introduction for the *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* series by Nikolaus Walter,⁴ and Pascale Derron's critical edition of the text prepared for the *Budé* series.⁵ Mention should also be made at this point of the important critical studies by Max Küchler, Karl-

¹ For literature see the recent surveys by Max Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheits-traditionen: Zum Fortgang weisheitlichen Denkens im Bereich des frühjüdischen Jahwe-glaubens* (OBO 26; Freiburg [Schweiz]: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979) and Hermann von Lips, *Weisheitliche Traditionen im Neuen Testament* (WMANT 64; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990); cf. Robert L. Wilken, ed., *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity* (University of Notre Dame Center for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity 1; Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975); John D. Crossan, ed., *Semeia 17: Gnostic Wisdom* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980).

² For a survey of scholarship on the *Sentences* before 1976, see Pieter W. van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides, with Introduction and Commentary* (SVTP 4; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978) 3–54; for literature between 1976 and 1987 see idem, "Pseudo-Phocylides Revisited," *JSP* 3 (1988) 3–30.

³ Van der Horst, *Sentences*; cf. idem, "Pseudo-Phocylides and the New Testament," *ZNW* 69 (1978) 187–202; idem, trans., "Pseudo-Phocylides (First Century B.C. – First Century A.D.)," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985) 2.565–582; idem, "Pseudo-Phocylides Revisited," 3–30; idem, "Phocylides, Pseudo-," *ABD* 5 (1992) 347–348.

⁴ Nikolaus Walter, *Poetische Schriften* (JSHRZ 4.3; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1983) 182–216.

⁵ Pascale Derron, *Pseudo-Phocylide: Sentences* (Budé; Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1986); cf. idem, "Inventaire des Manuscrits du Pseudo-Phocylide," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 10 (1980) 237–247.

Wilhelm Niebuhr, and Johannes Thomas.⁶ Besides the general wealth of background information and parallels from contemporaneous sources that they provide for the exegetical task, these books have made noteworthy strides in formulating modern consensus on a number of historical-critical and literary issues that are pertinent to our interpretation of the poem. It follows that the present state of research as represented by such studies constitutes an essential starting-point for any investigation of this text.⁷

As these scholars (and others before them) have demonstrated, it is apparent that our poem could not have been written by the putative author, the famous gnomic poet Phocylides of Miletus, who lived during the sixth century B.C.⁸ Rather, it was penned by an anonymous Hellenistic-Jewish author, either during the first century B.C. or the first century A.D., residing perhaps in Alexandria. The poem itself, composed with rough dactylic hexameters in the old Ionic dialect, consists chiefly of lengthy sequences of monostichic sayings. Because many of these sayings are practical in their orientation, addressing issues of ethical conduct and decision-making in the form of gnomic sentences, critics normally treat the text as part of the sapiential corpus of ancient

⁶ Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen*, especially 236–302; Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, *Gesetz und Paränese: Katechismusartige Weisungsreihen in der frühjüdischen Literatur* (WUNT 2.28; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1987) especially 5–72; Johannes Thomas, *Der jüdische Phokylides: Formgeschichtliche Zugänge zu Pseudo-Phokylides und Vergleich mit der neutestamentlichen Paränese* (NTOA 23; Freiburg [Schweiz]: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992).

⁷ The various introductory surveys on Second Temple Judaism provide general information on the authorship, date, provenance, and significance of the *Sentences* of Pseudo-Phocylides; see Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction aux Pseudépigraphes Grecs d'Ancien Testament* (SVTP 1; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970) 215–219; James H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research, with a Supplement* (SBLSCS 7; 2nd ed.; Ann Arbor, MI: Scholars Press, 1981) 173–175, 298–299; Maurice Gilbert, "Wisdom Literature," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT 2.2; Assen: van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984) 313–316; Emil Schürer, et al., *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, Volume 3, Part 1 (2nd ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986) 687–692; Burton L. Mack and Roland E. Murphy, "Wisdom Literature," *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters* (ed. Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg; SBLBMI 2; Philadelphia: Fortress; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 395–396; Nikolaus Walter, "Jewish-Greek Literature of the Greek Period," *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, Volume Two: *The Hellenistic Age* (ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 394–396.

⁸ On the popularity of Phocylides of Miletus in antiquity see van der Horst, *Sentences*, 59–63; also Karl Bielohlawek, *Hypotheke und Gnome: Untersuchungen über die griechische Weisheitsdichtung der vorhellenistischen Zeit* (Philologus Sup. 32.3; Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1940) 14–20; P. Ahlert and Wilhelm Kroll, "Phokylides," *PW* 20.1 (1941) 503–510; Rudolf Keydell, "Phokylides," *KP* 4 (1971) 298–299. For text and translation of the extant fragments see J. M. Edmonds, trans., *Elegy and Iambus* (LCL; 2 vols.; London: Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931) 1.172–181; Bruno Gentili and Carolus Prato, eds., *Poetarum Elegiacorum Testimonia et Fragmenta* (BT; 2 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1979, 1985) 1.135–140.

Judaism and for this reason have frequently held it up for comparison with other wisdom documents such as Proverbs, Qohelet, Ben Sira, and the Wisdom of Solomon. It should also be underscored that, in terms of both content and mode of composition, the *Sentences* is analogous to certain early Christian sapiential materials as well, including the synoptic sayings source Q,⁹ the epistle of James, the *Gospel of Thomas*,¹⁰ the *Teachings of Silvanus*,¹¹ and the *Sentences of Sextus*,¹² though these parallels have not been extensively studied.¹³

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of our text – and a characteristic that somewhat distinguishes it from other Jewish sapiential writings – is the degree and manner in which Pseudo-Phocylides has integrated Greek and Jewish moral concepts and perspectives, leaving very little that could be called distinctively Jewish. Indeed, the author seems to have gone to some lengths in concealing his Jewish identity and his commitment to any practices or beliefs unique to his faith. One special strength of recent publications on the *Sententiae* is the thoroughness and erudition they have exhibited in documenting the text's connections with the Greek and Roman ethical traditions; in this way they have elucidated both its multicultural nature and the complexity of its literary and material background. Notwithstanding its international qualities, though, it should be emphasized that the poem relies extensively on the Torah for its material and that the author's stance towards ethical issues is fundamentally Jewish in nature. In this regard, certain sections of the Pentateuch, specifically Exodus 20–23, Leviticus 18–20, and Deuteronomy 5 and 27, appear to have enjoyed a prominent place in his thinking.¹⁴ This is significant inasmuch as, in the opinion of some Jews of the Second Temple period, these chapters (or portions of them) were understood to recount in condensed form the essential points of the Torah, especially as it pertained to ethical matters.¹⁵ These facts have suggested to some critics that our author intended to create a sort of compendium or summary of the moral teachings of the Law (including other Jewish and non-Jewish sources interpreted to be consistent with its teachings) for a thoroughly Hellenized Jewish community that was grappling

⁹ See below, p. 40.

¹⁰ See below, p. 16, n. 4.

¹¹ See below, p. 36, n. 83.

¹² See below, pp. 30–31.

¹³ See especially van der Horst, "Pseudo-Phocylides and the New Testament," 187–202; Thomas, *Der jüdische Phokylides*, 365–453.

¹⁴ According to Niebuhr's reckoning of the *Sentences'* LXX parallels (see his chart on p. 10 of *Gesetz und Paränese*), the poem exhibits 131 parallels with the Pentateuch, 162 with the wisdom literature (mostly Proverbs and Ben Sira), and 27 with other books of the LXX. While one could dispute the exact numbers and their distribution, Niebuhr's statistics provide an adequate picture of the extent and nature of Pseudo-Phocylides' dependence on the Torah; cf. Thomas, *Der jüdische Phokylides*, 35–49, 57–89, 147–149, 161–179.

¹⁵ Luke T. Johnson, "The Use of Leviticus 19 in the Letter of James," *JBL* 101 (1982) 391–401; Niebuhr, *Gesetz und Paränese*, 5–72.

with the various problems posed by living in a pluralistic and cosmopolitan society while simultaneously maintaining something of its distinctive religious identity and purpose. Thus the choice of a Greek pseudonym and the avoidance of peculiarly Jewish features should not of themselves lead to the conclusion that the author was a "God-fearer" or that the intended audience was pagan. Rather, as Eduard Lohse puts it, the author "placed these sentences in the mouth of a Greek thinker who lived centuries earlier in order to show that already in ancient times the wisdom of the Greeks was influenced by the spirit of Moses, with the result that Jewish Torah and Greek ethics were thoroughly in agreement."¹⁶ Consequently, Pseudo-Phocylides' principle of selection in drawing from the Torah exhibits a preference for those moral rules that would gain wide approval with a Hellenistic readership. On the other hand, he integrates into the poem precepts of originally non-Jewish provenance that stand side-by-side with Jewish directives, all presented without distinction as "resolutions of God" revealed through "divine judgments" (verses 1–2).

Determining the exact *Sitz im Leben* of such a summary remains something of an open question, especially in light of the absence in the work itself of any explicit indications of its intended audience or function. One fairly attractive theory, suggested by van der Horst, proposes that Pseudo-Phocylides intended to compose a schoolbook for educational purposes. Such a function would fit with what we know about the role that gnomic texts could play in Greco-Roman education, where gnomic primers, frequently in verse, served as instruction in pronunciation, orthography, spelling, and grammar, as well as a means of exposing students to material of special literary, cultural, and ethical merit.¹⁷ It would also be consistent with what can be surmised about the operation of wisdom 'schools' in ancient Near Eastern societies, including those of Judaism.¹⁸ As van der Horst puts it, "one could imagine that, as a Jewish

¹⁶ Eduard Lohse, *Theological Ethics of the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) [originally, *Theologische Ethik des Neuen Testaments* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1988)] 22–23.

¹⁷ Van der Horst, *Sentences*, 72–73, 79–80 (with references); cf. Derron, *Sentences*, vii–xxx; Walter T. Wilson, *Love Without Pretense: Romans 12.9–21 and Hellenistic-Jewish Wisdom Literature* (WUNT 2.46; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1991) 77–81; Thomas, *Der jüdische Phokylides*, 355–361.

¹⁸ See, for example, P. A. Munch, "Die jüdischen 'Weisheitspsalmen' und ihr Platz im Leben," *AnOr* 15 (1937) 112–140; R. B. Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom in Israel," *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East: Presented to Professor Harold Henry Rowley* (ed. Martin Noth and D. Winton Thomas; VTSup 3; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955) 262–279 [reprint, James L. Crenshaw, ed., *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (Library of Biblical Studies; New York: KTAV, 1976) 84–101]; Wolfgang Richter, *Recht und Ethos: Versuch einer Ortung des weisheitlichen Mahnspruches* (SANT 15; München: Kösel, 1966) 147–189, and s.v. Schule; Hans-Jürgen Hermisson, *Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit* (WMANT 28; Neukirchen-Vlyun: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968) 97–136; Walther Zimmerli, "Das Buch Kohelet- Traktat oder Sentenzensammlung?" *VT* 24 (1974) 221–230; Bernhard Lang, "Schule und Unterricht im alten Israel," *La Sagesse de l'Ancient Testament*

writer, he tried to provide a 'pagan' text that could be used safely in Jewish schools to satisfy Jewish parents who wanted their children to be trained in the classical pagan authors."¹⁹ The nature of the poem's teaching (including directives on sexual conduct, for instance) suggests that it was aimed at more advanced, mature students; and there is no reason according to this proposal that the text could not have been of some interest or educational value for Jewish adults as well.

In light of these comments, it comes as no surprise that one of the more intriguing problems raised by the investigation of Pseudo-Phocylides' *Sententiae* is the question of its sources and the manner in which they have been manipulated. Indeed, most of the poem appears to be indebted in some fashion or another to a fairly wide pool of previous texts or traditions.²⁰ This is true of verses 175–227, for instance, a block of material whose general framework resembles that of some of the so-called *Haustafeln* known from the New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism as well as from certain Greco-Roman writings, Stoic sources in particular.²¹ Ever since the appearance of Paul Wendland's seminal essay in 1896, scholars have focused their attention on the similarities between these verses in the *Sentences* and comparable Jewish 'codes' found in Josephus' *Contra Apionem* 2.190–219 and Philo's *Hypothetica* 8.7.1–20 (preserved in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*).²² The par-

(ed. Maurice Gilbert; BETL 51; Leuven: Leuven University Press; Gembloux: Duculot, 1979) 186–201; James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981) s.v. School.

¹⁹ Van der Horst, "Pseudo-Phocylides Revisited," 16.

²⁰ Parallels that Pseudo-Phocylides' *Sentences* exhibits with the Sibylline Oracles and the Didache also figure in the analysis of its sources; in addition to the works cited below see Alfred Seeberg, *Die beiden Wege und das Aposteldekret* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1906) 24 ff.; Gottlieb Klein, *Der älteste christliche Katechismus und die jüdische Propagandaliteratur* (Berlin: Reimer, 1909) 143–153; Anton Kurfuss, "Das Mahngedicht des sogenannten Phocylides im zweiten Buch der Oracula Sybillina," *ZNW* 38 (1939) 171–181. Also, Derron (*Sentences*, 35–54) offers a chart that catalogues the more important sources and parallels for the *Sentences*.

²¹ The literature on the *Haustafeln* is extensive; see, for example, Klaus Berger, "Hellenistische Gattungen im Neuen Testament," *ANRW* II.25.2 (1984) 1078–1086; idem, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1984) 135–141; Karl-Heinrich Bieritz and Christoph Kähler, "Haus III," *TRE* 14 (1985) 478–492; Peter Fiedler, "Haustafel," *RAC* 13 (1986) 1063–1073; Marlis Gielen, *Tradition und Theologie neutestamentlicher Haustafelthik: Ein Beitrag zur Frage einer christlichen Auseinandersetzung mit gesellschaftlichen Normen* (BBB 75; Frankfurt am Main: Hain, 1990); also see the references in the next note. See below, pp. 120 ff. and 134 ff. As David L. Balch and others have argued, the New Testament codes are also related to Hellenistic discussions περί οἰκονομίας, especially as outlined in Aristotle's *Politica* 1.2.1–2; for a summary see idem, "Household Codes," *Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament* (ed. David E. Aune; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 25–50, with references.

²² Paul Wendland, "Die Therapeuten und die philonische Schrift vom beschaulichen Leben," *JCPHSup* 22 (1896) 693–772, especially 709 ff.; cf. Klein, *Der älteste christliche*

allels between Pseudo-Phocylides' poem and these texts pertain not only to specific ideas and commands but extend also to matters of basic presentation and general moral outlook. These facts have raised in the minds of many critics the possibility that the three authors may have independently borrowed from a common source of Hellenistic-Jewish ethical instruction. Of course describing the nature of this 'source' in specific terms remains as yet an unresolved issue, and it may be more accurate at this point to speak of a common ethical tradition rather than a particular written text. Van der Horst's comment regarding the literary relationship of these three documents is representative:²³

Though seemingly presented as a summary of Jewish laws, the material offered goes in so many instances beyond the injunctions of the Torah that one must explain the similarities between these three authors by assuming that they drew upon a common source in which the universally valid principles of the Torah were amalgamated with a Stoic καθήκοντα-scheme into which, in turn, several Greek so-called ἀγραφοί νόμοι, unwritten laws, had been incorporated.

He concludes by observing that, "it is an established fact that Pseudo-Phocylides drew upon a source which was also used by Philo and Josephus, and that writings like those of these three authors were, in turn, sources for some New Testament authors."²⁴

Besides the implications that findings like these have for our interpretation of the poem's textual history and ethical orientation, they also have an important bearing on the current analysis of the nature of its literary design. Because critics understand Pseudo-Phocylides as relying extensively on an assortment of texts for his poem, they often assume that as a rule it is only within the blocks of earlier, appropriated material that we may expect to uncover any signs of careful composition or argumentation; elsewhere only a minimal structure is detectable, as the author links together his various sources. In this sense, then, we may better characterize our 'author' as an editor – and certainly not as a poet in the ordinary or modern sense of the term. Van der Horst's views of the *Sentences* on this issue are again representative. He identifies the section in verses 175–227 as one of only two coherent blocks in the text, the other being the exhortation on labor in verses 153–174, which immediately precedes.²⁵ The

Katechismus, 143–153; James E. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel* (FRLANT 2.109; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972) 74–101; Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen*, 207–235, 281–283; Niebuhr, *Gesetz und Paränese*, 5–72; George P. Carras, "Philo's Hypothetica, Josephus' Contra Apionem and the Question of Sources," *SBLSP* 29 (ed. David J. Lull; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 431–450.

²³ Van der Horst, "Pseudo-Phocylides and the New Testament," 197; on the 'unwritten laws' see below, pp. 68–69.

²⁴ Van der Horst, "Pseudo-Phocylides and the New Testament," 197.

²⁵ This section itself is largely based on sources, especially LXX Proverbs 6.6–8; cf. van der Horst, *Sentences*, 216; idem, "Pseudo-Phocylides," in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, 579.

employment of the *Haustafel*-scheme (women-children-slaves) as an organizing principle for the sayings in verses 175–227 stands in contrast to the bulk of the poem, where he sees no comparable principles at work. Thus, according to this interpretation, Pseudo-Phocylides has not applied in a consistent or thoughtful fashion any literary framework or argumentative strategy to the text as a whole. Instead, in his commentary van der Horst groups the verses of the poem into thirteen rather vague topical units (plus a prologue and epilogue), though he does not attempt to explain the organization of sayings within these units or how the units are related to one another.²⁶

1–2	Prologue
3–8	Summary of the Decalogue
9–21	Exhortations to Justice
22–41	Admonitions to Mercy
42–47	Love of Money and its Consequences
48–58	Honesty, Modesty and Self-Control
59–69	Moderation in All Things
70–96	The Danger of Envy and Other Vices
97–115	Death and After-Life
116–121	The Instability of Life
122–131	Speech and Wisdom, Man's Distinction
132–152	Avoidance of Wickedness and Virtuous Life
153–174	The Usefulness of Labour
175–227	Marriage, Chastity and Family Life
228–230	Epilogue

Subsequent investigations of Pseudo-Phocylides' *Sententiae* have for the most part implicitly endorsed van der Horst's basic interpretation of the poem's literary genre and compositional mode, though the outlines provided by other authors do entail certain refinements. Such summaries are important for the present study particularly in so far as they represent the closest attempts to a compositional analysis of the text presently available.

In his translation for the *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* series, Nikolaus Walter subdivides the poem as follows:²⁷

1–2	Proömium
3–8	Summe der Gebote
9–12	Dem Recht die Palme!
13–17	Üb immer Treu und Redlichkeit!
18–21	Redlichkeit zumal gegen den Armen
22–31	Übe Barmherzigkeit an Bedürftigen
32–34	Gewalttat löst keine Probleme
35–38	Achte Acker und Feldfrucht des Nächsten!

²⁶ Van der Horst, *Sentences*, 106 and passim; the outline he provides in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, 574–582, is somewhat different; cf. Küchler, *Weisheitstraditionen*, 273, n. 18; van der Horst, "Pseudo-Phocylides Revisited," 16, 29, n. 4; Thomas, *Der jüdische Phokylides*, 317–327.

²⁷ Walter, *Poetische Schriften*, 197–216.

39–47	Solidarität mit den Heimatlosen
48–50	Aufrichtigkeit statt Doppelzüngigkeit
51–52	Absichtliches und ungewolltes Unrecht
53–54	Frömmigkeit bewahrt vor Übermut
55–58	Gelassenheit und Besonnenheit
59–69	Rechtes Maß in allen Dingen
70–75	Neid ist wider die Natur
76–79	Besonnenheit bewahrt vor Schaden
80–83	Wohltun zu rechter Zeit
84–85	Vogelschutz
86–90	Sachkunde ermöglicht gerechtes Urteil
91–94	Warnung vor Parasiten
95–96	Die Masse ist unberechenbar
97–108	Von rechter Pietät gegenüber den Toten und von der Hoffnung über den Tod hinaus
109–117	Der Tod macht alle gleich
118–121	Schicke dich in die Zeit!
122–131	Über rechte Rede und rechte Weisheit
132–136	Keine Unterstützung für Übeltäter
137–138	Rechte Verwaltung des Erbguts
139–140	Fürsorge auch für das Vieh
141–142	Hoffnungslose Fälle?
143–144	Wehre den Anfängen!
145–152	Vorsicht und Rücksicht im Umgang mit Menschen und Dingen
153–174	Ehrliche Arbeit ernährt ihren Mann
175–176	Familiengründung ist natürliche Pflicht
177–194	Gegen widernatürliches sexuelles Verhalten
195–197	Eheliche Treue
198	Kein Umgang vor der Verlobung
199–209	Heirate mit Vernunft!
210–217	Schutz der Jugend vor sexuellem Mißbrauch
218–222	Solidarität in der Familie – Ehrerbietung vor den Alten
223–227	Auch der Sklave ist ein Mensch!
228	Heiligung – ein ethischer, nicht kultischer Vorgang
229–230	Abschluß

Clearly, Walter's outline exhibits more meticulousness in identifying the number and the extent of the topical clusters and in describing their contents; however, as a consequence we tend to lose sight of some of the larger material connections and developments within the poem. Like van der Horst, he sets the blocks of sayings in the *Sententiae* side-by-side in a long sequence, apparently seeing each unit on an equal footing with regard to its literary character and argumentative contribution to the text as a whole.

Pascale Derron's summary of the contents of the *Sentences* for the *Budé* edition makes use of thematic divisions and titles similar to those employed by van der Horst:²⁸

1–2	prologue
3–8	sommaire des principales prescriptions morales

²⁸ Derron, *Sentences*, xxvi–xxvii.

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