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Social Justice in the Epistle of James

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Jeen Ho Ahn

Submitted for the degree of PhD

Department of Theology

Durham University

2001

13 JUL 2001

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I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other University.

Signed: Jeen Ho Alm

Date: 5th January 2001

Abbreviations

ABD-Anchor Bible Dictionary.

AE-M. Finley, *The Ancient Economy.*

AJ-Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities.*

ANET-J. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.*

Annals-Tacitus, *Annals.*

APOT-R.H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English.*

Augustus-Suetonius, 'Augustus,' *The Lives of the Caesars.*

b.-Babylonian Talmud.

BJ-Josephus, *The Jewish War.*

CAH-The Cambridge Ancient History.

CD-Damascus Document.

Claudius-Suetonius, 'Claudius,' *The Lives of the Caesars.*

CPJ-Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum.

CRINT-The Jewish People in the First Century: The Foundation Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum.

Domitian-Suetonius, 'Domitian,' *The Lives of the Caesars.*

EH-Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History.*

ELP-S. Applebaum, 'Economic Life in Palestine.'

ERP-Z. Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine.*

ESAR-T. Frank, ed., *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome.*

Gaius-Suetonius, 'Gaius,' *The Lives of the Caesars*.

Geography-Strabo, *Geography*.

HDB-Hastings, ed., *A Dictionary of the Bible*.

HJP^2-E. Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ*, rev. and ed. G. Vermes, et. al.

j.-Jerusalem Talmud.

Jerusalem-J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*.

JLBM-G. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*.

Julius Caesar-Suetonius, 'Julius Caesar,' *The Lives of the Caesars*.

N.-Codex Neofiti I.

Nero-Suetonius, 'Nero,' *The Lives of the Caesars*.

NH-Pliny, *Natural History*.

NTA-W. Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. and ed. R. Wilson.

m.-Mishnah.

OTP-J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudephigrapha*.

RCJ-M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judea*.

SEHRE-M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*.

SHP-D. Fiensy, *The Social History of Palestine in the Herodian Period*.

SVF-Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta.

t.-Tosefta.

TDNT-G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds., *The Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*.

Tiberius-Suetonius, 'Tiberius,' *The Lives of the Caesars*.

Vespasian-Suetonius, 'Vespasian,' *The Lives of the Caesars*.

VITA-Josephus, *The Life of Josephus*.

Zealots-M. Hengel, *The Zealots*.

INTRODUCTION

> What does it profit, my brethren, if a man says he has faith but has not works? Can his faith save him? If a brother or sister is ill-clad and in lack of daily food, and one of you says to them, "Go in peace, be warmed and filled," without giving them the things needed for the body, what does it profit? So faith by itself, if it has no works, is dead. (James 2.14-17).

Before discussing the problems raised in the citation above for the epistle of James, it is appropriate to note that the epistle has not received due attention from biblical scholars among the other New Testament books. There are some reasons for this inattention. In the first place, the epistle was denounced by M. Luther as "a truly strawy epistle . . . (because) it does not have any evangelical nature in itself."[1] Secondly, being influenced by the old Tübingen school's antithesis between Paul and Peter, some scholars have even thought that the epistle is not a Christian but Jewish document and that the phrase 'Jesus Christ' (1.1; 2.1) is an interpolation from a later Christian hand.[2] Thirdly, a theological or thematic approach to the epistle has been discouraged by M. Dibelius who postulated that the epistle,

---

[1]WA, DB 6.10; F. Mußner, *Catholica* 24 (1940) 112.

[2]Although scholars have concurred that the epistle of James is notable for the lack of an explicit Christology, there are attempts to identify Jamesian Christology: e.g. G.H. Rendall, 'Christology' *The Epistle of James and Judaic Christianity*, 88-95; A.T. Cadoux 'Christology,' *The Thought of St. James*, 88-93; Mußner, "'Directe' und 'indirecte' Christologie im Jakobusbrief," 111-17; idem, *Der Jakobusbrief* 250-254. Specifically reading wisdom as a person in the epistle of James has been suggested by J. A. Kirk ('The Meaning of Wisdom in James: Examination of a Hypothesis,' *New Testament Studies* 16 (1969/1970): 24-38), although Ulrich Luck reads wisdom impersonally (Luck, 'Die Theologie des Jakobusbriefes,' *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 81 (1984) 1-30; idem, 'Jakobusbrief und die Theologie des Paulus,' *Theologie und Glaube* 61 (1971) 161-179; idem, 'Weisheit und Leiden. Zum Problem Paulus und Jakobus,' *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 92 (1967) 253-258). W.D. Davies adopted Kirk's personal reading of wisdom (*Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*), followed by Rudolf Hoppe (*Der theologische Hintergrund des Jakobusbriefes* (Würzburg: Echter, 1985)) and Patrick J. Hartin (*James and the Q Sayings of Jesus* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991)). Hartin also identifies Jesus the Lord of Glory (2.1) with wisdom. Richard Bauckham questions Hartin's wisdom pneumatology because "Jesus is understood as a teacher of wisdom" at best in Q (Bauckham, 'Review of P.J. Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus*' in *JTS* 44 (1993): 299). Bauckham also argues that Hartin's wisdom pneumatology is 'unsuccessful' because wisdom Christology cannot be harmonised with wisdom pneumatology (Bauckham, *James: Wisdom of James, Disciple of Jesus the Sage* (London/New York: Routledge, 1999) 31; T. Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology: Rereading an Ancient Christian Letter* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 116-120). On Jamesian Christology see also the exegetical part of this thesis below.

as a paraenesis, has no theology.[3] Luther's denigration of the epistle from his reformation perspective, the old Tübingen school's prejudice against the figure of James and consequently against the epistle bearing his name, and Dibelius' difficulty in discerning a theology and context for the epistle have thus far inhibited research on this document.

Despite such negative influences, there have been innovative approaches during the last decade which have taken up certain themes of the epistle and discussed its theological coherence. In 1991 P. J. Hartin argued that wisdom is the central theme of James (3.13-18; 4.1-10). In 1991 and 1992 E. Tamez produced publications that offer an interpretation based on liberation theology.[4] In 1993 T. B. Cargal found a coherence in the epistle by utilising Greimasian semiotics through 'inverted parallelisms.'[5] In 1995 M. Klein interpreted the epistle in the light of moral perfection.[6] In the same year B. R. Baker investigated the speech theme in the epistle.[7] In 1996 T. C. Penner explained the epistle in terms of eschatology (1.2-12 and 4.6-5.7). In 1997 M. Tsuji emphasised, in contrast to Dibelius, that there is a theological coherence in James.[8] In the same year R. W. Wall explained the epistle in terms of three tests of faith ('quick to hear,' 'slow to speak' and 'slow to anger').[9] In 1998 M. Konradt read the epistle from the perspective of a conversion phenomenon in 1.18.[10] Finally, in 1999 R. Bauckham has invited readers to reconsider Kierkegaard's views of the epistle.[11] Thus almost every year during the last ten scholars have produced works

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[3]Dibelius, 41.

[4]E. Tamez, *The Scandalous Message of James: Faith Without Works is Dead* (New York: Crossroad, 1992); idem, 'Elemente der Bibel, die den Weg der Christliche Gemeinde erhellen. Eine hermeneutische Übung anhand des Jakobusbriefes,' *Evangelische Theologie* 51 (1991) 92-100.

[5]Timothy B. Cargal, *Restoring the Diaspora: Discursive Structure and Purpose in the Epistle of James* (SBL Dissertation Series 144; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1993). For inverted parallelisms, the diaspora (1.1) is paralleled invertedly with those who err from the truth (5.19-20).

[6]Martin Klein *"Ein vollkommenes Werk": Vollkommenheit, Gesetz und Gericht als theologische Themen des Jakobusbriefes* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995).

[7]W.R. Baker, *Personal Speech-Ethics in the Epistle of James* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995).

[8]Manabu Tsuji, *Glaube zwischen Vollkommenheit und Verweltlichung: Eine Untersuchung zur literarischen Gestalt und zur inhaltlichen Kohärenz des Jakobusbriefes* (Tübingen: Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1997).

[9]Robert W. Wall, *Community of the Wise: The Letter of James* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1997).

[10]M. Konradt, *Christliche Existenz nach dem Jakobusbrief: Eine Studie zu seiner soteriologischen und ethischen Konzeption* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998).

[11]R. Bauckham, *James: Wisdom of James, Disciple of Jesus the Sage* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

with their own themes in the epistle. The present thesis marks a further attempt to throw light on the epistle, this time by taking the problem of social justice as the determinative point of departure.

When we consider recent scholarly works on James, such scholars as P. U. Maynard-Reid, J. B. Adamson, Tamez, and Bauckham have recognised the significance of social concerns in the epistle. Maynard-Reid well describes the socio-economic conditions presupposed by the epistle. However, he argues that the author had a thoroughly negative view of the rich who were doomed to judgment because they had become rich through their exploitation and oppression of the poor.[12] Contrary to Maynard-Reid, the prophetic judgment on the rich in 5.1-6 is not only designed for judgment itself but also for a repentance which is still possible (see below). Of course, Maynard-Reid does not mention how social justice is to be realised in the epistle. Adamson comes very close to mentioning the Jamesian social justice when he writes in passing, "Apparently, the latter (works) are simply deeds of generous, un-calculating love, the product of single-minded faith, inspired no doubt by what the Christian learned of God's grace in Christ, rooted in an 'ethic of filial righteousness' (an 'ethic of sons') and ultimately in the doctrine of the *Imitatio Dei*."[13] 'God's grace in Christ' and the 'Imitatio Dei' indeed contribute as solutions which combat social injustice, and this will be more elaborated in the exegetical part below. Tamez considers the epistle from the perspective of liberation theology. The weakness of his study lies in his one-sided insistence that James teaches the solidarity of the poor against the rich (class struggle). However, as I shall attempt to show, James aims at harmony and cohesion between the rich and the poor in the community. Bauckham stresses that according to James the poor should not be discriminated against because they are the paradigmatic members in the community (2.5). They are humble due to their utter poverty in relation primarily to God and then to others. God exalts such humble people. Thus in Bauckham's view the poor are chosen to be model members worthy of emulation by the community.[14] However, the poor are not, as such, idealised by the author; rather the model provided is the meek and humble Word, i.e. Jesus, whom Abraham, Rahab, Job, and Elijah patterned themselves after.

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[12]P.U. Maynard-Reid, *Poverty and Wealth in James* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1987).

[13]J.B. Adamson, *James: The Man & His Message* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 306.

[14]Bauckham, *James* 191ff.

The definition of social justice has had a tendency to be vague among biblical scholars. In the case of James in particular, scholars often simply assume social justice as an issue without, however, explaining more precisely what it means. The present thesis shall try to delineate the contours of the problem. My investigation thus far suggests that the argument of social justice belongs to an ontological or theological domain rather than to the sociological domain although the term 'social' is retained here as the prime adjective for the word 'justice.' Much as Christian scholars have, respectively, proposed two cardinal components of anthropology with reference to social justice--human depravity and the notion of humanity in the image of God[15]--so we will find that James reflects two types of anthropology: a so-called hamartio-anthropology and the notion of the image of God. An exegesis in terms of the question of anthropology which corresponds to Christology will be offered in Part One.

Because the problem of social justice usually arises in extreme and conflicting economic conditions, the socio-economic framework of the Jamesian society requires examination. Thus far only a few scholars have written in depth about the socio-economic issues underlying James. Part Two will offer a socio-economic analysis of the Jamesian community and of the environment in which they lived.

In Part Three we will further discuss two types of anthropology identified in James and explore how in early Jewish literature they relate to social justice. The notion of human depravity is often linked with a cosmology involving a dualistic, ethical framework in early Jewish and Christian literature. The notion that humans are created in the image of God in some of early Jewish writings outlines that humane treatment of humans is to be understood in the worshipping context of the *image* of God. These two notions, which are taken from early Jewish writings, in turn, have determined our interpretive approach to James.

Before we proceed to interpret the epistle, it is significant that we inquire into two-fundamental issues: who wrote the epistle (authorship) and to whom it was addressed (addressees)? After these two questions have been explained, the methodology adopted in this thesis will be identified and set forth.

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[15]See Reinhold Niebuhr, the introduction in *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960) for human depravity; Emil Brunner, *Justice and Social Order* (London & Redhill: Lutterworth Press, 1945) 34ff for the image of God: W.H. Shin, ed., *Christian Ethics and Social Justice* (Seoul: Handle Publishing Company, 2000) (Korean) 157-210.

Chapter One: The Authorship of the Epistle of James.

It is argued below that the socio-economic conditions presupposed in the epistle best suit an authorship by James the brother of Jesus in the latter half of first century Palestine.[16] Thus, the issues of authorship, interpretation, and social location of the epistle are closely linked.[17] Hence, the consideration of authorship needs to consider a broader range of views on James in the secondary literature.

Among others L. Massebieau, A. Meyer, J. B. Mayor, M. Hengel and S. Laws are chosen here because their opinions are distinctive and disclose main scholarly agenda (e.g. authorship, language, anti-Paulinism) on the epistle of James.[18] After critically investigating these scholars' views, we will also inquire whether or not James the brother of Jesus could have written such a letter in view of Eusebius, Josephus and the New Testament.

A. Scholarly Views on James.

a. *L. Massebieau* (1895).[19]

Massebieau asserted that the epistle of James is not a Christian document; Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in James 1.1 and 2.1 must have been added by a later Christian hand because the Jamesian soteriology does not mention Christ's suffering and resurrection. Moreover, James does not use Jesus as a model of endurance; instead, the figures of Job, Elijah, and Abraham are appealed to. Seemingly James alludes to the tradition of Jesus; however, if studied in

---

[16]Although four or five other Jameses have been suggested by scholars, it is almost incontestable that James the brother of Jesus is the author among the other Jameses because he was the leader of the Jerusalem church in Acts. Therefore, we will not compare James the brother of Jesus with other Jameses as other scholars have done. On other Jameses, Mayor, i-xlvii; Rope, 53-74; Adamson, *James: The Man & His Message* 3-52; Pierre-Antoine Bernheim, *Jacque, Frère de Jésus* (Paris: Noêsis, 1993) 23-46; Mußner, *Jakobusbrief* 1-8; Dibelius, 23-35; Wall, *Community of the Wise: The Letter of James* 5-11.

[17]See Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology* 47-48; W. Popkes, *Adressaten, Situation und Form des Jakobusbriefes* 32-33; R.B. Ward, 'James of Jerusalem in the First Two Centuries' *ANRW* II.26.1, 812; M. Ludwig, *Wort als Gesetz* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1994) 193.

[18]In footnotes P.H. Davids, L.T. Johnson, and G. Kittel will also be dealt with.

[19]L. Massebieau, "L'épître de Jacques: est-elle l'oeuvre d'un chrétien?" *RHR* 31-32 (1895) 249-83.

detail, there are discrepancies between the words attributed to Jesus and those in James: although Jesus enjoins people to love their enemies, James does not encourage his readers to love the rich (2.6-7; 5.1-6); while Jesus teaches people to pray that God not lead them into temptation, James' God is altogether dissociated from temptation (1.13); and James encourages the poor to '*se glorifier*'(1.9), which contrasts starkly with the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount.[20] Massebieau assumes that the notion that faith can be separated from works is borrowed from Philo, not from Paul[21]; Paul discusses the works of the law, specifically circumcision, while James discusses works, that is, love; although scholars at least presuppose that James is arguing against some kind of Paulinism, James simply repeats an early Jewish interpretation of Abraham's justification (1 Maccabees 2.52).[22]

Critique: Massebieau maintained that James, if examined in detail, differs significantly in thought from both Paul and the synoptics. His study, as far as the gospels are concerned, overlooked the overall contextual environment of the synoptics and Paul's letters. Although Matthew, in particular, does not deny the redemption of Christ (see Matthew 20.28; 26.28), faith alone does not provide salvation (Matthew 7.21-23; 25.31-46). This recalls James 2.24 ("You see that a man is justified by works and not by faith alone"). Matthew would like to balance the church's lopsided faith-oriented and antinomian trend by stressing works. Thus Matthew corrects pseudo-Paulinism by mentioning the judgment theme that even Christians could be thrown into eternal fire if they remain antinomians (Matthew 7.15-23; 24.11, 24; see also 13.47-50; 18.6-9, 34; 22.11-14). Similarly, James synthesizes faith and works in James 2.14-26.[23] By emphasising the difference between James and the synoptics, Massebieau failed in seeing the context that Matthew and James were responding to the antinomianism of pseudo-Paulinism of the early church.[24]

Massebieau's extreme conclusion that James is not a Christian document rests on his observation that James does not refer to basic Christian beliefs, that is, to the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Why did James not refer to Christ's death and resurrection?

---

[20]Ibid, 256-257.

[21]Ibid, 257.

[22]Ibid, 261.

[23]Günther Bornkamm et al., 'The Risen Lord and the Early Jesus' in *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1982) 326.

[24]Dibelius, 31; Laws, *The Epistle of James* 15-17; Wall, 25; Penner, 49-58.

This difficult problem could be resolved by considering here again the context of the Jamesian church. Why was Paul persecuted by non-Christian Jews and/or Jewish Christians? His negative attitudes to circumcision, the Sabbath, and dietary laws furnish reasons for his persecution by non-Christian Jews (Acts 21.21, cf. 28) and by Christian Judaizers or 'false brothers' (Acts 15.1; Galatians 2.4)[25]. However, the Jewish persecution of Christians arose not only due to their attitude to the Torah but also to their faith in Christ, who functions and eventually replaces the temple, a source of income to Jewish leaders and the symbol of Jewish identity (Acts 9.20-25; 13.38-39, 45; 17.5; 18.5). Bauckham mentions that both Christians and the Qumran group could see themselves as the temple of God.[26] The Qumran sect envisaged a new temple because of the corrupt high priests in Jerusalem. Whenever Paul calls the church 'temple,' he used ναός, not ἱερόν (1 Corinthians 3.16,17; 6.19). Ναός is 'the dwelling of God; the inmost part of a temple, the cell, in which the image of the god was placed.'[27] This use of ναός in Paul corresponds to its use in the Septuagint.[28] Within the veil of the Holy of Holies כפורת (ἱλάστήριος, the mercy seat) was placed over the ark.[29] In the New Testament, Jesus is ἱλάστήριος (Romans 3.25) and ἱλασμός (1 John 2.2; 4.10).[30] The result is that Jesus (ἱλάστήριος) and the saints (ναός) form the new temple, which means that the Christian church replaces the time-honoured

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[25]J. Dunn, 'Echoes of Intra-Jewish Polemic in Paul's Letter to the Galatians,' *JBL* 112 (1993) 459-477; idem. *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998) 317-89.

[26]Richard Bauckham, 'James and the Jerusalem Church,' 452ff. Bauckham, 457, interprets סֻכַּת דָּוִיד (Amos 9.11; Acts 15.16) as the eschatological temple of God. In fact the kingdom of God is Luke's favourite literary device to describe eschatology (Acts 1.3, 6, 8.12, 14.22, 19.8, 20.25, 28.23, 31). Though סֻכַּת דָּוִיד is reminiscent of the kingdom, the temple concept is more concrete and mature than the kingdom. The motif of the church as an eschatological temple is frequent in the New Testament literature. Paul calls James and Cephas and John 'pillars,' which is a metaphor of the eschatological temple. *Oblias* (=James) in Eusebius *EH* 2.23.7 is a decayed form of *peribolos* (=בּוּל, boundary, wall) in Isaiah 54.11-12 (cf. Tobit 13.16; Revelation 21). Compare Dibelius, 28, n.3. Bauckham, 442ff., maintains that all these architectural expressions symbolize the eschatological temple peculiar to Christianity and the Qumran community. The Qumran community called themselves temple (1QS 8.4-6; 11.8 etc.).

[27]*Lidell & Scott* s.v. '*naos*.'

[28]Michael Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (SNTSMS 53; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 54.

[29]Exodus 25.17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22; 26.34; 30.6; 31.7; 35.12; 37.6, 7, 8, 9; 39.35; 40.20; Leviticus 16.2, 13, 14, 15; Numbers 7.89; 1 Chronicles 28.11.

[30]Because *hilaskomai* is used in a passive form in two occurrences in the New Testament (Luke 18.13; Hebrews 2.17) and the subject of the verb is God, the verb seems to be better translated as 'expiate' rather than as 'propitiate' (cf. Craig L. Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1990) 258). The word 'propitiate' has the nuance that man attempts to alleviate the angry God. Salvation is God's gift to man, not man's gift to God. Thus, in the New Testament the cognate words of *hilaskomai* should be translated as expiate or expiation.

Jerusalem cult. Moreover, the economy of Jerusalem rests predominantly on the Jerusalem cult.[31] The existence and growth of the Christian church, which Jewish leaders definitely knew about, replaced the cult industry and could be fatal to the economic interests of the high priests of Jerusalem. Thus, James dared not mention Jesus' death and resurrection, which form the core of the Christian message. In the persecution setting of Jerusalem, James could not openly talk about the redemption of Christ which supersedes the sacrificial system of Judaism. The best possible option for James amongst the Jewish persecution in Jerusalem was silence with respect to such a sensitive problem.[32]

As J. Dunn puts it, the circumcision problem was directly related to justification by faith, i.e., getting in a Christian community.[33] James did not want to bring about persecution on the part of the Jews to the church by expressively mentioning justification by faith.

b. *Arnold Meyer.*

Like Massebieau, Meyer argues that the epistle of James is not Christian because there is no mention of Jesus' death and resurrection.[34] The name of Jesus in James 1.1 and 2.1 was for him a later Christian addition to a Jewish paraenesis, analogous to a Christian author editing the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Ascension of Isaiah, Apocalypse of Abraham, etc.[35] In addition, he raises the age-old question of how James, the brother of Jesus (that is, a son of a low-class, artisan carpenter) could write such a rhetorically skilled epistle in Greek, the like of which only educated people could have composed at that time.[36] Meyer thus ends up with much the same result as Massebieau, but in the opposite way from a different direction. Contrary to Massebieau, who highlighted differences between James and the synoptics and between James and Paul's writings in order to

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[31] *Jerusalem*, 138.

[32] With Adamson, 264. On the condition of the Jerusalem church see below.

[33] Dunn, 'Echoes of Intra-Jewish Polemic,' 459-477.

[34] Arnold Meyer, *Das Rätsel des Jacobusbriefes* 86-118, especially 114.

[35] Meyer, 115 and n.2.

[36] Meyer repeats this argument from de Wette and Kern of the nineteenth century. See Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jacobus*, 81.

differentiate between James and other Christian writings, similarities between James and Paul are abundant: 'the gospel to the Poor' (James 2.5; 1 Corinthians 1.27), 'yes yes, no no' (James 5.12; 2 Corinthians 1.17-20), 'love of neighbours' (James 2.8; Romans 13.10 and Galatians 5.6), 'catena' (James 1.2-4; Romans 5.3-5), 'righteousness' (James 1.20; Romans 1.17), 'the two ways' (James 4.1; Romans 7.23 and Galatians 5.17).[37] The notion of 'two ways (*die beiden Wege*),' along with other ideas, comes from Judaism.[38] As is demonstrated in Meyer's comparison above, the shared ideas of Paul and James may be explained on the basis of their common Jewish heritage, despite their contradictory approaches to 'works' (James 2.24[39] and Romans 3.28). James and Paul challenge faith without works (*Glauben ohne Werke*) in their own ways.[40]

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[37]Meyer, 104-105, and see also other commentaries like Dibelius and Mayor.

[38]Meyer, 107, writes, "Alles das zeigt uns aber nur die gemeinsame Herkunft des Jac und Paulus aus dem hellenistischen Judentum und läßt uns, was ein wichtiger Gewinn ist, einen Blick in die Lehr- und Ausdrucksweise im Hellenismus des I. Jhs. n. Chr. tun." Meyer repeats the same idea in 117. Contrastingly, Dibelius, 64, writes, "Ihrem (i.e. Jamesian) Christentum, das man am besten als 'entschränktes Diaspora-Judentum' bezeichnet, ist die entschlossene Folgerichtigkeit des Paulus fremd," although Dibelius here points out the difference between James and Paul in terms of 'poor piety.' If so, do Paul's writings derive from Hellenistic Judaism? The word, 'hellenistic' is a slippery term. The distinction between Hellenistic and Palestinian became blurred before Alexander the Great's invasion.

[39]Meyer, 94f, maintains that James 2.24 comes from 4 Ezra 9.7 ("It shall be that everyone who will be saved and will be able to escape *on account of his works, or on account of the faith* by which he has believed"). However, P. Stuhlmacher writes, "Religionsgeschichtlich nirgends (auch in den Qumrantexten nicht!) davon gesprochen wird, daß der Glaube allein vor Gott rechtfertigt" (*Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus* 103, n. 1; contra E.P. Sanders)

[40]Meyer, 97. Meyer's hypothesis that "the epistle is in origin the 'testament' of *Jacobus*, Jacob, to his twelve sons" is substantially adopted by B.S. Easton, *The Epistle of James* (S. Laws, *The Epistle of James*, 11, n.1).

P.H. Davids, *The Epistle of James: a Commentary on the Greek Text*, 17, argues that there is no conflict between James and Paul because James could distinguish between faith and works without borrowing Paul's characteristic terminology. James 2.14-26 can be explained sufficiently on the basis of Genesis 15.6, 22.1 and 1 Maccabees 2.52. Agreeing with Massebieau and Meyer that James had nothing to do with Paul, Davids believes that because of the humble title of 'James,' James the brother of Jesus was at least the oral or written source for the epistle of James (the staged authorship). Moreover, Paul speaks about the ritual laws in Romans and Galatians whilst James deals with charity and intellectual faith (idem, *James: A Good News Commentary* 24). In addition, Davids assumes that because of the importance of the reception of the Gentiles at the Jerusalem council, James should have included the reception of the Gentiles in his epistle if the epistle had been written after the council. The failure to mention the reception reveals that James was written before the Jerusalem council. Thus, the date of James ranges from AD 40 to the Jerusalem council. However, the failure to mention the reception, i.e., the circumcision polemic, may also imply that the problem was already over (Hengel, 'Der Jakobusbrief als antipaulinische Polemik,' 253). Thus, the mention of the reception of the Gentiles or not in the epistle cannot be used to settle the date of the epistle.

L.T. Johnson, *The Letter of James* 89-121, maintains along with Meyer that James and Paul use the same stock of terminology and biblical themes coincidentally. *Writing contemporaneously* James and Paul could have had access to the same stock of theological materials. Johnson maintains that the antithesis between James and Paul results from F.C. Baur's conflict model between James and Paul. Johnson blames F.C. Baur for the emphasis on the conflict because it is based on imagination rather than on biblical data. In Acts 21.20ff., it is not James but the group which recommends that Paul keep the ritual laws. In Galatians 2.9 Paul places James before Cephas and John, which shows Paul's favourable stance towards James. Paul distinguishes James from the 'false brethren' who insist on Titus' circumcision (Galatians 2.3-5). In Galatians 2.11-14 Peter slips away from table-fellowship with the

Critique: Concerning the doubts about the Greek language skill of James (a peasant carpenter's brother), recent archaeological finds show that "65 percent of the inscriptions from Roman Palestine are in Greek", and thus that "Greek had become common even among the less entitled classes of Roman Palestine."[41] Besides, we must also think about who it was that comprised the Jerusalem church.[42] Acts 6.1 shows that the church was composed of two subgroups: the 'Hellenists' and the 'Hebrews'. Who were these groups? Scholars argue that the Hellenists were the Jews who chiefly spoke Greek while the Hebrews were the Jews who spoke Hebrew or Aramaic as their mother tongue.[43] Thus, the

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Gentiles because of the men coming from James. James differs from the men from James. Johnson also points out that it is not circumcision but table-fellowship that is the concern in Galatians. The four prohibitions on the Gentiles in Acts 15.20,29also treat 'Mahlpraxis,' not 'Heilsfrage.' However, the position held by Massebieau and Meyer's line that there was no mutual implication between James and Paul in their writings is contrary to James and Paul's reciprocal influences although they did not polemicise each other, which will be dealt with shortly.

[41]J. Andrew Overman, 'Recent Advances in the Archaeology of the Galilee in the Roman Period,' *Currents in Research* 1 (1993) 44; P. van der Horst, 'Das Neue Testament und die jüdischen Grabinschriften aus hellenistisch-Römische Zeit,' *Biblische Zeitschrift* 36 (1992) 161-78.

[42]See also S. Laws, *The Epistle of James* 40; J.N. Sevenster, *"Do You Know Greek?" How much Greek could the First Jewish Christians have known?* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); A.W. Argyle, 'Greek among the Jews of Palestine in New Testament Times,' *NTS* 20 (1973-1974) 87-89, maintains that Jesus preached in Greek, and that "There may be many valid arguments against the ascription of apostolic authorship to I Peter and James, but the linguistic argument can no longer be used with confidence among them"; Hengel, *The 'Hellenization' of Judea in the First Century after Christ* (London: SCM Press, 1989) 7-18; idem, *Hellenism and Judaism*, 58-65; G. Mussies, 'Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora,' *CRINT* 2.1040-64;E.M. Meyers and J.F. Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis and Early Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981) 62-91; S.E. Porter, 'Jesus and the Use of Greek in Galilee,' in B. Chilton and C.A. Evans (eds.), *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 123-54; Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology* 37, n. 4.

[43]A bilingual (Aramaic and Greek) ostracon (277 BC) was found at Khirbet el-Qôm, Idumea, in a salvage operation in 1971 (further see L. Geraty, 'The Khirbet el-Kom Bilingual Ostracon,' *BASOR* 220 (1975) 55-61; *BA* 60 (1997) 6). The Hefzibah inscription unearthed seven km northwest of Beth-Shean recorded six official letters only in Greek between Ptolemaios and the Seleucid kings Antiochus III and IV (201-195 BC) (Y. Landau, 'A Greek Inscription Found near Hefzibah, Israel,' *IEJ* 16 (1966) 54-70; J. Bertrand, 'Sur l'inscription d'Hefzibah,' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 46 (1982) 167-74; *BA* 60 (1997) 13; *SHP* 28-29; the Yavne-Yam inscription was written in Greek concerning tax immunity between the Sidonian community and Antiochus V Europator (B. Isaac, 'A Seleucid Inscription from Jamnia-on-the-Sea; Antiochus V Europator and the Sidonians,' *IEJ* 41 (1991) 132-44). From the time of Antiochus IV Greek was used in Jerusalem as a language of commerce and administration, as is evidenced by long Greek inscriptions (S. Applebaum, 'A Fragment of a New Hellenistic Inscription from the Old City of Jerusalem,' in *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period*, eds. A. Oppenheimer, V. Rappaport and M. Stern (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak BenZvi, 1980) 47-60; I. Merker, 'A Greek Tariff Inscription in Jerusalem,' *IEJ* 25 (1975) 238-44). On bilingualism in Palestine, T.W. Martin, 'Hellenists,' *ABD* 3.135-136;Wolfgang Reinhold, 'Die Hellenisten,' *Biblische Zeitschrift* 42 (1998) 96-102; J.A. Fizmyer, 'Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.' in his *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS 25; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979) 29-56). Strabo (64 BC-*c*.AD 24) refers to Greek philosophers from Gadara (*Geography* 16.2.29;H. Frankemölle, 'Das semantische Netz des Jakobusbriefes,' *Biblische Zeitschrift* 34 (1990) 166). The fact that one third of inscribed ossuaries are in Greek suggests that Palestine was bilingual with Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek and that one third of the Jewish population spoke Greek as native speakers. Updating Hengel's data, Loren Stuckenbruck personally informs me that, among 858 ossuaries in Palestine from 20 BC to AD mid-third century, 88 ossuaries bear Greek inscriptions and 156 ossuaries carry Aramaic and/or Hebrew inscriptions (refer to L.Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem: The Israel Antiquities Authority, 1994)). Further, Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?* 51, lists the evidences of the use of Greek in first century Palestine from rabbinic literature. Before

Jerusalem church would as a whole have been a bilingual community.[44] After the persecution of Herod Agrippa I (41-44), there seems to have been a shift in the leadership of the Jerusalem church from Peter to James.[45] James was leading a bilingual community for almost twenty years at least from the death of Agrippa I to his martyrdom in AD 62. For such a long period it would have been indispensable for James to have had some command of the Greek language if he was to minister to Greek-speaking Christians in Jerusalem. The author of the epistle might have known Greek before, and at least twenty years' (and probably more) exposure to the Greek language would have enabled James to have a fluent command of Greek.[46] It is therefore entirely possible that the author of the Greek epistle could have been a Jew living in Palestine.

One contribution of Meyer's is his observation that Paul and James draw on similar ideas such as the Jewish 'two ways' tradition. Usually under the influence of Luther (and Baur), scholars have misleadingly supposed that Paul is Christian because of his emphasis on justification by faith while James is Jewish because of his emphasis on justification by

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AD 70 R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said, "אלף ילדים היו בבית אבא/ חמש מאות למדו תורה וחמש מאות למדו חכמת יונית, In my father's house there was a thousand students. Five hundred studied Torah and five hundred studied the Greek wisdom," *b.Sotah* 49b). Rabban Gamaliel encouraged fathers to teach their children Greek (*t.Sotah* 15.8). However, during the war of Titus it was forbidden for a father to teach his children Greek because of the exclusiveness of the revolters, ("בפולמוס של טיטוס . . . שלא ילמד אדם את בנו יוויית, In the war against Titus . . . (they decreed) that a man should not teach Greek to his son," *m.Sotah* 9.14). Certainly the Hellenists who as the diaspora Jews lived in Jerusalem and had their own synagogues, contributed to the early translation of Christian documents into Greek, and spread the gospel to Antioch and other Greek speaking places. On the theological reading of the Hellenists and Hebrews see below.

[44]See the Greek inscription of Theodotus which was in a Hellenist synagogue in Jerusalem before the destruction of Jerusalem (A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 439-441; C. Jones, *New Testament Illustrations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) 19).

[45]R. Bauckham, 'James and the Jerusalem Church,' 415-480. However, Ignatius (*The Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians* 7; *The Epistle of Ignatius to Hero, a Deacon of Antioch* 3) and Clement of Alexandria (*EH* 2.1.3) relate that even before the martyrdom of Stephen and James, John's brother, James the brother of Jesus was chosen by Peter, James and John to be the bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) of the Jerusalem church.

[46]However, semitic Greek expressions do occur in the epistle: ποιητής λόγου (1.22); πρόσωπον τῆς γενέσεως (1.23); πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν (2.1,9); ποιεῖν ἔλεος (2.13); ποιητὴς νόμου (4.11); προσευχῇ προσηύξατο (5.17), etc. This may suggest that he was not writing the epistle in his mother tongue. However, the semitism in James does not bolster the two-staged composition of the epistle. The two-staged composition (James wrote or orally transmitted important portions of the epistle and his colleague or secretary whose mother tongue was Greek finished the epistle) is supported by Davids, Martin and J. Painter, *Just James* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999) 240. The epistle which integrates the semitism is too smooth to suggest the two stages of composition (Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology* 43, n. 3).

works.[47] Although E.P. Sanders drew scholars' attention to the fact that the notion of justification by faith is also found in Palestinian Judaism (thus that justification by faith is not unique in Christianity-'covenantal nomism'), thus boldly challenging Luther's reformation slogan,[48] it is Meyer who had already opposed the James and Paul antithesis by declaring the similarity of James and Paul on the basis of their common origin in Jewish tradition. Sanctification (justification by faith and works) is not a Christian invention, but is derived from 'the two ways' of Judaism.[49]

c. *J. B. Mayor.*

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Mayor argued that Paul expanded the argument against James who had first written on the faith-and-works issue; that is, James the Just wrote the epistle prior to Paul's writing of Romans, Galatians, as well as prior to 1 Peter and Shepherd of Hermas.[50] This view was based on his observation that, usually, succinct forms are earlier than lengthy ones (analogous to textual criticism) so that the epistle with its short phrases is believed to have been written prior to the previously mentioned books.[51] Paul lengthens and elaborates the Jamesian ἔργα to ἔργα πίστεως, ἔργα ἀγάπης (the

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[47]Martin Hengel, 'Der Jakobusbrief als antipaulinische Polemik,' 254, writes, "Im Gegensatz zu der paulinischen Relation: Wort (resp. Predigt/Evangelium)-Glaube-Heil (vgl. Rö 10,9ff.17;1,16f; Gal 3,1ff) ist für Jakobus die Relation: Wort (königliches Gesetz der Freiheit resp. Liebesgebot)-Tat der Liebe-Rechtfertigung im Gericht grundlegend"; see also Ulrich Luck, "Die Theologie des Jakobusbriefes," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 81 (1984) 1-30.

[48]E.P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1985) 543-556.

[49]Although Dibelius and Meyer, following W. Bousset (W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1935[4]) 289ff), mention that James comes from 'Hellenistic' Judaism, our previous examination of 'ethical dualism' will show that it is not only found in Palestinian Judaism but also in Alexandrian Judaism. Therefore, the predicate 'Hellenistic' should be dropped (Sophie Laws, *The Epistle of James*, 36; Hengel, *The 'Hellenization'*, 45-56, who asserts that because of hellenization both in first century Palestine and the diaspora the adjective, 'Hellenistic' is meaningless; idem, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 310-314; W.D. Davies, 'Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit,' 157). However, even Hengel himself mentions that Jews were opposed to the hellenistic culture (*Zealots* 324-25). On critiques at Hengel's overemphasis on hellenisation in Palestine, L.H. Feldman, 'Hengel's *Judaism and Hellenism* in Retrospect,' *JBL* 96 (1986) 371-82; idem, *Jews and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993) 3-44; P. Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 312-35; idem, "The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel's 'Judaism and Hellenism,'" *JJS* 29 (1978) 21.

[50]J.B. Mayor, *The Epistle of James: the Greek Text with Introduction Notes and Comments* (London: Macmillan, 1897) cxviii-cli.

[51]Ibid, cxliii.

'natural fruits of faith and love') and ἔργα νόμου ('dead works done from slavish obedience to an external law').[52] Mayor thinks that, since James and the elders repeated the four prohibitions for Gentile Christians to Paul (Acts 21.17-26) when Paul visited Jerusalem after the third missionary journey, James would not have missed the chance to include the four prohibitions in his circular epistle if this epistle had been written after the council of Jerusalem. For the earlier date of the epistle, see further below.

If James 1.1 were written by a later hand pseudonymously, one would expect 'Ἰάκωβος . . . κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀδελφός' instead of δοῦλος.[53] Thus James the brother of Jesus is, according to Mayor, the true author. The latest possible date of the epistle is the time of James' death in AD 62. Further, this epistle contains no allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70. The invectives against the rich in James would not be explicable after the disappearance of the rich Sadducees,[54] assuming that the setting is Palestinian and that the community consists only of Jews. In James there is no hint at a delay in the parousia. Instead, the mention of the imminent coming of Jesus highlights the early composition of the epistle. Circumcision was not debated because 'conversion' to Christianity was not yet certain at that time, or the addressees were not recent converts.[55] The 'Judaic tone,' demonstrated in the many quotations from the Old Testament, also supports the early date of James.[56] Since the gospels were not finished, the source Q and the Old Testament were used frequently. The church hierarchy was not fully developed; the Jamesian community did not have the bishops and deacons which are found in 1 Peter 5.1-5. The community appears to be a nascent one because it comprises teachers and elders who heal the sick with oil.[57] However, the epistle is not non-Christian Jewish because the phrase 'Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης' (James 2.1) involves faith in the resurrection, ascension, and divinity of Christ.[58] On balance, Mayor concludes that the epistle of James was written

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[52]Ibid, cxxxv.

[53]Ibid, cxxxv.

[54]Ibid, cxx.

[55]Ibid, cxxiii.

[56]Ibid, cxxii.

[57]Ibid, cxxi-cxxii.

[58]Ibid, cxxxv.

between AD 40 and 50 before the Jerusalem council.[59]

Critique: Mayor's estimation of the early date of the epistle situates the epistle before the Jerusalem council and even before Paul's first missionary journey (AD 46-48). Despite Mayor's convincing argument for the early date, James' faith and works argument seems at least to presuppose Paul's emphasis on faith. Before Paul there had not been such an intense debate about faith and works in either Palestinian or diaspora Judaism. So the epistle may with reason be dated after Paul's letters or at least after Paul's message on faith had become known. James 4.1-2 refers to fighting and killing in the Jamesian society. Thus historically the date of the epistle may be around the time of the appearance of the sicarii during the reign of the procurator M. Antonius Felix (AD 52-60). Mayor's estimate of the date may therefore be too early.

If the name James had been added later, the name might have been embellished. Thus, according to Mayor, the simple name of James is evidence for James' (the brother of Jesus) authorship of the epistle, a view which has convinced later commentators.

d. *Martin Hengel.*

Martin Hengel offers a rather singular scenario for James' attack on Paul, because in

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[59]Ibid, cxxiv. In Germany, following the scheme of Mayor and Theodor Zahn, Gerhard Kittel, 'Der geschichtliche Ort des Jakobusbriefes,' *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 41 (1942) 71-105, also argues against two fronts: the first front is that the epistle of James is not a Christian document but a Jewish one; the other is that the epistle of James was written in the second half of the second century of the Christian era. The fact that James has definite literary connections with Q and Paul's letters demonstrates that James is a Christian document (ibid, 77). In the second century the persecution of the Jamesian community was due to its Christian faith. But in the epistle of James the persecution originates from an inequality of economic distribution (ibid, 82). Since Paul was asked to help the Jerusalem church (Galatians 2.10), the persecution in James refers to an economic one. Thus, the date of James is prior to AD 70. The imminent judgment/parousia in James 5 draws the date of James earlier. It is not a delayed event as in John 21.23 and 2 Peter 3.4. As in Romans 13.11 or in the two epistles to Thessalonians, the Jamesian parousia is imminent (ibid, 83). So, the date of James is around the date of Romans and Thessalonians, perhaps prior to the Jerusalem council. Kittel sees James as the oldest Christian document. He suggests that James was written about the middle of AD forties before the Jerusalem council and Paul's first missionary journey. Kurt Aland, 'Der Herrenbruder Jakobus und der Jakobusbrief,' *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 69 (Mai/Juni 1944) 108, however, turns down Kittel's early date by asserting that 'imminent eschatology', a pointer to the early date of James, is also found in second century Christian literature, the Shepherd of Hermas. Aland attempts to put James in the second century. However, second century Palestinian economy was boosted because of the presence of the Roman army in Palestine and of the integration of the Palestinian economy into the Empire. If James was a second century work, James should have omitted the pointed expressions of the sharp contrast between the poor and the rich. On the reconciled relationship of the rich and poor in Hermas' community, see Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jacobus*, 66.

his view James criticised Paul directly.[60] For ten years before the revolution of the Zealots in Jerusalem in AD 66 the economic conflicts between rich and poor were extreme. The believers of the epistle identified themselves with the poor, while the rich would not be saved. While James in Jerusalem was poor, Paul was a rich missionary. For example, in Acts 28.30 Paul waited for the emperor's judgment as a prisoner in a rented house in Rome. Hengel calculates that the lowest rent in Rome at the time amounted to 2,000 sesterces. The wage of a daily worker ranged from 2 sesterces to 4 sesterces. It would have been impossible for Paul to live in any rented house in Rome on his own wages even were he to have worked everyday without any holidays. There must have been missionary helpers assisting Paul. Paul would have enjoyed much support from people like Priscilla and Aquila of the Gentile churches. Paul's affluence generated aversion on the part of the poor Jerusalem Christians. This aversion is reflected in the anti-Paulinism of James. Even though there is mention of alms for the Jerusalem saints (Galatians 2.10; 1 Corinthians 16.1, etc.), Paul only once actually brought them to Jerusalem; there is no report that Paul himself delivered the alms to the Jerusalem church (Acts 21.15ff). Perhaps Paul's alms were either rejected or not delivered to begin with (cf. Romans 15.31).[61] So, James writes, "εἰδότι οὖν καλὸν ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιοῦντι, ἁμαρτία αὐτῷ ἐστιν" (James 4.17). In the first century there were no rich merchants who travelled about the metropolises.[62] The description of entrepreneurs (James 4.13-16) is 'Missionmetaphorik.'[63] The mercantile words ἐμπορεύομαι and κερδαίνω (James 4.13) could be used in terms of missions (1 Corinthians 9.19-22; 2 Peter 2.3). Although Paul and James agree on the matter of circumcision, Paul's soteriology is contrary to that of James. James encourages the Gentile churches who lost their leader because of Paul's detention in prison. Hengel thus dates the epistle of James to between AD 58-62 while Paul was in prison.

Critique: Hengel adroitly attempts to connect the epistle of James to Paul. The merit of Hengel's thesis lies in his dating of the epistle around AD 58-62 in the light of the

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[60]Martin Hengel, 'Der Jakobusbrief als antipaulinische Polemik,' 248-278; Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology* 58, agrees with Hengel's view of James' anti-Paulinism, although he thinks that "outside of James 2 there is no further evidence of sustained polemic against Paul in the letter."

[61]Ibid, 258. The fact that Paul kept the enormous collection is confirmed by the fact that the governor Felix hoped that the bail would be given him by Paul (Acts 24.26).

[62]Ibid, 255.

[63]Ibid, 256.

relationship between Paul and the Jerusalem church (James). Hengel also sees a diametrical antithesis in theology between Paul and James. For this see below.

e. *Sophie Laws.*[64]

Laws argues,

> That such misinterpretation (*pseudo-Paulinism*) occurred in communities which had connections with Paul in their past, communities which he had founded or to which he had written, cannot be ruled out; they were not guaranteed to keep his teaching sacrosanct.[65]

Thus, she puts the date of James after Paul's ministry and writings. One of her arguments for the later date of James is the author's anticipation of the second coming of Christ (James 5.8).[66] She also interprets the absence of the kerygma of the death and resurrection of Jesus, charismatic gifts and institutional features (teachers and elders)[67] as pointers to the late date of the epistle. She thinks that James the brother of Jesus (d. AD 62) could not be the author of the epistle because the law in the epistle (=love) is different from the law of James the brother of Jesus (=the Torah, especially ritual laws). She defines James the brother of Jesus as a law-abiding person from the sources of Acts 15.13-21, Galatians 2.12, Josephus (*AJ* 20.200), and Hegesippus (*EH* 2.23.6).[68] Because of the differences in views over the law, she concludes that the James of the epistle cannot be James the brother of Jesus, following Dibelius.[69] Therefore, the author of the epistle is a pseudonymous James who was famous in the New Testament apocrypha after the death of James. Because of strong literary and theological connections between James and the writings of Hermas, she conjectures that the epistle was written sometime around the appearance of the writings of

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[64]Laws, *The Epistle of James* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1980) 1-43.

[65]Ibid, 17.

[66]Ibid, 19, 29, 35. However, for Mayor the expectation of the imminent coming of Christ serves as a reason for the early date as is noted above.

[67]Contra Mayor who posited its early date because the Jamesian church was still called synagogue and was not fully institutionalised on account of the lack of the reference to deacons.

[68]Ibid 40-41.

[69]Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, 32.

Hermas (about AD 150) in Rome.

To conclude, Jamesian scholars usually discuss three prime issues: 1. Who wrote the epistle of James, James the brother of Jesus, a pseudonymous or homonymous author? Could James from a low-artisan class write the stylish Greek epistle? 2. Is the epistle, which does not mention the Christian gospel, i.e., the death and resurrection of Jesus, Jewish Christian or non-Christian Jewish? 3. Is James to be understood as an epistle which is antithetical to or which responds to Paul's thought?[70] These three questions (language, no Christian gospel, Paulinism) are related to the authorship of the epistle. Among these three problems, language and no Christian gospel have been resolved in the above critiques. To summarise, we have discussed that James, a brother of a peasant carpenter, was able to speak Greek as a native speaker in first century Palestine, and that the problem of no Christian gospel in the epistle could be resolved by considering the socio-economic contexts of the Jerusalem temple. Thus we are able to argue that James the brother of Jesus could have written the letter. However, Paulinism which Laws points out in the above *ABD* article has not been discussed yet. See below.

B. James, the Brother of Jesus, in Jewish and Christian literature.

It is argued by Laws (who follows Dibelius) that James the brother of Jesus was contrary to Paul in theology, and that such an epistle with the Pauline 'works' in James 2.14-26 could not be written by James the brother of Jesus. We will enquire below whether or not the antithesis between James the brother of Jesus and Paul is certain by examining and reconstructing an historical James from the extant Jewish and Christian literature. If no antithesis is found between them through our examination, it will be substantiated that the epistle with the Pauline concept of 'works' could be written by James the brother of Jesus. Thus we will securely be able to locate the epistle in the latter half of the first century of socio-economic hardship which James addressed in the letter.

a. James in Josephus and Eusebius.

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[70]See also Laws, 'James, Epistle of,' *ABD* 3.622.

The fact that James attracts the attention of the historian Josephus who wrote that James was executed by Ananus the high priest in AD 62 reveals that he was the church leader in Jerusalem (Acts 12.17; 15.13; 21.19; Galatians 1.19; 2.9; 2.12; Jude 1.1). Concerning the death of James, Josephus writes, "Those of the inhabitants of the city who were considered the most fair-minded and who were 'strict in observance of the law (εἶναι καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς βαρέως)' were offended at this" (*AJ* 20.201). The sympathetic grief felt at the death of James by those strict in observance of the law (the Pharisees) at least indicates that James was a Torah-observing person. Hegesippus also comments that it is on account of his exceeding great piety that 'Just' (δίκαιος) was added to the name James (*EH* 2.23.4). It appears to be evident through the reports of Josephus and Hegesippus (in Eusebius) that James was a leading, pious and law-abiding man in the Jerusalem church. On the other hand, when the ordinary priests were deprived of their tithes by the servants of the high priests, there was a conflict 'between the high priests, on the one hand, and the priests and the leaders of the populace of Jerusalem, on the other' (*AJ* 20.180). Possibly 'the leaders of the populace of Jerusalem' were the Pharisees, the political opponents of the Sadducees. Again when James the brother of Jesus was killed by the Sadducean Ananus who accused James of 'transgressing the law' (παρανομησάντων, *AJ* 20.200), those who were offended at the death on political grounds rather than on religious ones, were the Pharisees (*AJ* 20.201).[71] It should not be ignored that James was regarded as a transgressor of the law from the Jewish angle. If this construct is correct, the Pharisees' political sympathy with James' death does not mean their religious sympathy with James.[72] Thus if James was not of the Pharisaic circumcision party, we can infer that he wrote the epistle without referring circumcision when he mentioned 'works' in the epistle.

b. James the brother of Jesus in the New Testament.[73]

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[71]On the political conflict between the Pharisees and the Sadducees, see R.A. Horsley, 'High Priests and the Politics of Roman Palestine: A Contextual Analysis of the Evidence in Josephus,' 44; E.M. Smallwood, 'High Priests and Politics in Roman Palestine,' 26.

[72]Cf. Z. Baras, 'The Testimonium and the Martyrdom of James,' *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity* (ed. L. Feldmand and G. Hata; Leiden: Brill, 1987) 338-348; Adamson, 245 and n. 99.

[73]On Paul's chronology R. Riesner, *Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994) 1-30; Robert Jewett, *Dating Paul's Life* (London: SCM Press, 1979); L.C.A. Alexander, 'Chronology of Paul,' *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* 115-123. This chapter focuses on the relationship between James and Paul. So, it is beyond the scope of this chapter where the relationship between James and Paul is focused to cover scholars' various chronologies of Paul and James.

U. Luck maintains that the epistle of James is anti-Pauline because of the antithesis between the Jamesian justification by works (James 2.24) and the Pauline justification by faith (Romans 3.28). This theological antithesis seems to be corroborated by the historical antithesis between Paul and James (Galatians 2.12). In the same vein, Laws argues that the pro-Pauline James of the epistle differs from the anti-Pauline James of Galatians because James in Galatians (and Romans) belongs to a circumcision party while James in our epistle is close to Paul. We will examine through Galatians and Acts whether or not Luck's and Law's views on James the brother of Jesus are correct. Because James the brother of Jesus and Paul were always closely associated in Acts and Galatians, we will identify James the brother of Jesus through Paul's relationship with James and the Jerusalem church to discern whether or not James the brother of Jesus belonged to the anti-Pauline circumcision party. Because the relationship between Paul and the Jerusalem church (or James) is intertwined as Galatians and Acts show, Paul specifically in relation to the Jerusalem church and James will be examined here.

Paul was converted by encountering the resurrected Jesus Christ on the road to Damascus in AD 31 (Acts 9.3-6; 22.6-10; 26.12-18; 1 Corinthians 9.1; 15.8-9; Galatians 1.12, 16; Ephesians 3.3). After conversion Paul went down from Damascus to Arabia and returned to Damascus (Galatians 1.17). Then, Paul had to leave Damascus because of King Aretas' persecution (2 Corinthians 11.32; Acts 9.22-25).

Three years after his conversion (AD 34) for the *first* time he went to Jerusalem to see Peter and he also met James[74] (Galatians 1.18-19); Paul stayed only fifteen days in Jerusalem because of the hellenists' persecution (Acts 9.29) and of a vision in the temple (Acts 22.17-21).[75] The fact that Paul met Peter and James in Jerusalem shows that there

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[74]James took over the leadership of the Jerusalem church. James is named first (Galatians 2.9); Peter withdrew from the table-fellowship on account of certain men from James (Galatians 2.12); among those who saw the resurrected Jesus, James comes before all the apostles (1 Corinthians 15.7). All these show that James was the leader of the Jerusalem church, the mother church of the worldwide church before AD 62 (G. Luedemann, 46-48).

[75]Luke did not record that Paul's trip to Arabia lasted for three years. Instead of 'three years' Luke writes 'ἡμέραι ἱκαναί' (Acts 9.22-23). F.C. Baur, *Paul: The Apostle of Jesus Christ, His Life and Works, His Epistles and Teachings* (ed. E. Zeller; London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1873) 1.111, suggested that Paul would have not been feared by the Jerusalem Christians contrary to Acts 9.26 because of the time span of three years after Paul's conversion in Acts 9.23 and Galatians 1.18. However, Baur's doubt about the fear of Paul from the Jerusalem Christians is vulnerable because people could still have been scared of Paul who persecuted even three years after Paul's conversion. Baur also identifies a discrepancy because the churches of Judea did not know Paul according to Galatians 1.22 whilst Paul boldly preached in Jerusalem and Judea according to Acts 26.20 (1.115). However, to show that Paul preached to Jews, not in Judea, Blass emended Ἰουδαίας into Ἰουδαίους in Acts 26.20 (Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: United Bible Society, 1975) 495-96; F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing

was no conflict between them. He returned from Jerusalem to his hometown Tarsus through Caesarea (Galatians 1.17-21; Acts 9.26-30). He, perhaps a successful independent Gentile missionary[76], was invited by Barnabas to the Antioch church thirteen years later (AD 47).

Jewish persecutions drove Christians away from Jerusalem to Samaria and Syria. Jewish Christians preached even to the Gentiles in Antioch, the third largest city in the Empire. Barnabas was sent to the Antioch church by the Jerusalem church. Barnabas, who had earlier introduced Paul to the Jerusalem church, brought him again from Tarsus to Antioch to share in his ministry; their ministry was so successful that the members of the Antioch church were 'with political overtones' observed as 'Christians' by outsiders, (i.e., magistrates of Antioch).[77] This implies that the Antioch church grew enough to draw the attention of outsiders (Acts 11.25-26). Paul and Barnabas ministered there for a whole year (Acts 11.19-26). However Paul does not mention their ministry in the Antioch church in Galatians.[78] Paul's *second* visit to Jerusalem was occasioned by Agabus' visit to Antioch from Jerusalem and his prophecy of a great famine over all the world which took place in the days of Claudius according to Acts 11.27-28. The Antioch church sent relief to the Jerusalem church by the hands of Barnabas and Paul (Acts 11.29-30). A question may arise as to why the Antioch church sent relief specifically to the Jerusalem church since the famine was worldwide. The answer is that four Roman regular brigades in Antioch created jobs, and the Antioch economy was much healthier than that of Jerusalem. It will be discussed below. Barnabas and Paul's *second* visit to Jerusalem may have fallen in AD 48 because fourteen years had elapsed since Paul's first visit to Jerusalem in AD 34 (Galatians 2.1). The famine hit Palestine during the reign of the governors Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander

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Company, 1990[3]) 503; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971) 689).

[76]In the mean time, Paul perhaps became an 'acute theological thinker, a careful community organizer and a missionary to the Gentiles with many years experience of independent preaching' in Cilicia and Syria (Galatians 1.23) (Hengel and Schwemer, 230).

[77]Hengel M. and Anna Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch* (London: SCM Press, 1997) 230; E.J. Bickerman, 'The Name of Christians,' *HTR* 42 (1949) 109-24; H.J. Cadbury, 'Names for Christians and Christianity in Acts,' *The Beginnings of Christianity* (London: Macmillan, 1920-33) 5:383-86; H.B. Mattingly, 'The Origin of the Name Christiani,' *JTS* 9 (1958) 26-37.

[78]Paul was named last in the list of the Antioch church (Acts 13.1). This implies that Paul was not recognised much in the church. The Antioch church was controlled mostly by the Jerusalemite Christians. See below.

(AD 44-48). There was a 'hundred year flood (eighteen cubits high)' in AD 45 in Egypt.[79] This flood spoiled the harvest of Egypt, 'the breadbasket for the whole region.' "By August-November of 45 the price of grain had already jumped to more than twice that of any other recorded price in the Roman period before the rule of Vespasian" in Egypt. Moreover, the famine became harsher on account of the sabbatical year AD 47-48 in Palestine.[80] At that time, 'an assaron was sold for four drachmas' (*AJ* 3.320).[81] "3½ issaron = 1 seah."[82] Therefore, 1 seah during the famine was equal to 14 denarii (3½ x 4). The price was fourteen times the regular price because normally 1 seah of wheat was sold at 1 denarion (*m.Sheqalim* 4.9; *m.Baba Mesia* 5.1; *m.Peah* 8.7). Queen Helena of Adiabene and her son Izates sent relief to Jerusalem (*AJ* 20.53, 101). Barnabas, who donated his land to the Jerusalem church and thus was much concerned about the church, also went with Paul to Jerusalem to deliver the relief to the poor in the Jerusalem church during the sabbatical year.[83]

Especially from this point on, Acts and Galatians do not fit well with each other. Discrepancies between Acts and Galatians have been pointed out, especially since Baur. If Galatians 2 is identified with Acts 15,[84] Galatians 2 is to be Paul's third visit to Jerusalem according to Acts (the first visit: Acts 9.26-29 = Galatians 1.18-19; the second visit: Acts 11.27-30, 12.25 = no equivalent in Galatians; the third visit: Acts 15 = Galatians 2[85]). If so,

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[79]K.S. Gapp, 'Notes: The Universal Famine under Claudius,' *HTR* 28 (1935) 258-65; Ben Witherington, III, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Carlisle: The Paternoster Press, 1998) 372; Riesner, *Die Frühzeit* 114; P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Greco-Roman World. Responses to Risk and Crises* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 220ff.

[80]B.Z. Wacholder, 'The Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles,' *HUCA* 44 (1973) 153-96, 191; Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 307; Martin Hengel and A.M. Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch* 241; R. Riesner, *Die Frühzeit des Apostels Paulus* 119; *Jerusalem* 143; Jeremias, 'Sabbathjahr,' *ZNW* 27 (1928) 100, n. 9; *Zealots* 345. AD 40-41 was the Sabbatical year when Agrippa I ascended to the throne (*m.Sotah* 7.8). Thus the next ones were in AD 47-48, 54-55.

[81]Josephus mistakenly placed this famine during the high priesthood of Ishmael (AD 58-60) under Claudius (d. AD 54). The famine took place when Joseph (AD 44-47) or Ananias (AD 47-58) was high priest.

[82]Sperber, *Roman Palestine 200-400 Money and Prices* 196.

[83]Contra those who deny the historical possibility of Barnabas and Paul's relief trip to Jerusalem by maintaining that the trip is Luke's forgery. See below.

[84]Dunn, Hengel, Esler, Holmberg, Luedemann, Betz.

[85]Baur's simple dichotomous prejudice rests upon the discrepancies of the Jerusalem council between Acts 15 and Galatians 2 (Baur, 1.116-151):

1. In Galatians 2.2 Paul presented the gospel to the apostles privately, κατ' ἰδίαν, whilst in Acts, publicly

the statement of Acts 11.30, 12.25 of Paul's second visit to Jerusalem would appear to be historically erroneous given Paul's emphasis, "In what I am writing to you, before God, **I do not lie**!" (Galatians 1.10). Haenchen argued that Acts 15 = Galatians 2.1-10 because the second visit in Acts 11.27-30, 12.25 is Luke's combination/fusion of two oral traditions: 'Paul's journey with the fund' and 'his other journey to Jerusalem.'[86] What is the reason for Luke's fabrication of Paul's relief visit in Acts 11-12? To this question Baur answers Luke's fictional devise to harmonise between Paul and the Jerusalem church by Paul's relief trip to Jerusalem.[87] Baur's argument is that Luke relativises the edged conflict between Pauline and Petrine Christianity.

Nevertheless, Paul's second visit described in Galatians 2.1-10 may be identified with the relief trip (Acts 11.30)[88] because it is difficult to harmonise the *private* (κατ' ἰδίαν) meeting (Galatians 2.2) with the *public* Jerusalem conference (Acts 15).[89] However, it appears that Galatians 2.1-10 does not mention the relief trip of Acts 11.30 at all.[90] Paul's *private* visit to receive the Jerusalem apostles' recognition for the Gentile mission at Antioch may also be explained by the previous persecutions of the Hellenists (intergroup conflict) who had sought to kill him 14 years ago (Acts 9.29) or by the presence of *the circumcision party* in Jerusalem (intragroup/factional conflict). Although Baur guessed that Cornelius'

(Baur, 1.121);
2. Paul brought the uncircumcised Titus to Jerusalem to polemicise the circumcision party in Galatians 2.3 whilst Acts is silent about Paul's acute challenge against the circumcision party by bringing Titus to Jerusalem to harmonise the Pauline Christianity and the Jewish Christianity (Baur, 1.127);
3. Baur believed that the Antioch incident between Paul and Peter concerning the food law which had taken place after the Jerusalem council displays that the four prohibitions decided at the Jerusalem council for the coexistence between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians were not actually even the agenda of the council (1.134);
4. The Antioch incident between Paul and Peter (Barnabas) was relativised by the 'apologetic and conciliatory tendency' of Acts in Acts 15.36-41 (Baur, 1.135);
5. Galatians did not mention the weighty Apostolic Decree but the sharp contrast between Paul and Peter and the κοινωνία for the poor in Jerusalem (Baur, 1.138-39);
6. Rather Paul allowed the Corinthian church to eat sacrifices to idols contrary to the four prohibitions (Baur, 1.140).

[86]Haenchen, 375-379; Catchpole, 'Paul, James and the Apostolic Decree,' *NTS* 23 (1977) 428-44.

[87]Baur, 1.118-31.

[88]F.F. Bruce, *Paul Apostle of the Heart Set Free* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 151; C.H. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990).

[89]Galatians 2.2 reads, "I went up *by revelation*; and I laid before them (but *privately* before those who were of report) the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles." However, the Jerusalem council was held for an apparent reason and publicly (Acts 15), not by revelation or privately.

[90]Perhaps the revelation in Galatians 2.2 may indicate Agabus' prophecy in Acts 11.28. In addition, the word, 'privately' (κατ' ἰδίαν), may refer to the rich's secret charitable actions to the poor (*m. Sheqalim* 5.6 and see below).

conversion through Peter is a forgery on Luke's part in order to harmonise Peter and Paul,[91] Paul might already have known that the circumcision party[92] already upbraided Peter who ate with Gentile Cornelius (Acts 11.2-3). Paul himself confirmed Peter's table-fellowship with the Gentiles in Galatians 2.14 before the Antiochean accident. Thus, even Galatians recognises the harmony between Paul and Peter contrary to Baur who mentioned that Acts which concocts the harmonisation between Paul and Peter is not historically authentic and that Galatians which shows the conflict between Paul and Peter (James) is genuine history. Paul also had to be more cautious in going privately to Jerusalem not because of Paul's colleagues Peter and James but because of anti-Pauline Jews or the circumcision party.

Another discrepancy between Acts 11.30 and Galatians 2.1-10 is that in Acts 11.30 Barnabas and Paul met elders whereas according to Galatians 2.9 Paul met apostles (James, Peter and John). However, if Peter and John are at least associated with the name elder (cf. 1 Peter 5.1; 2 John 1.1; 3 John 1.1), Luke could write that Paul met elders in Jerusalem as in Acts 11.30. Moreover, 'elder' may be a synonym of 'apostle' (Acts 15.2, 4, 6, 22, 23; 16.4). In the phrase 'elders καὶ apostles' καὶ may be a καὶ of apposition.

It may also seem that the trips of Acts 11.30 and Galatians 2.1-10 have different aims. However, this problem may be settled by the fact that the Lucan concern in Acts is different from Paul's concern in Galatians. Luke was concerned with edifying Theophilus and thus stressed the mutual help among Christian communities while Paul was acutely concerned with the apostles' recognition of the Gentile mission in Antioch (Galatians 2.2b, "I laid before them (but privately before those who were of repute) the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, lest somehow I should be running or had run in vain"). Nevertheless, a link between Acts 11.30 and Galatians 2.10 can be seen because both of them deal with relief for the Jerusalem saints. The tense of first aorist (ἐσπούδασα), the meaning of the verb (hurry or be eager) and an emphatic αὐτο (Galatians 2.10) highlight the fact that Paul

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[91]Baur, 1.131.

[92]Syncretic opponents combining 'some Jewish rites with laxity in morals' (C. Crownfield, 'The Singular Problem of the Dual Galatians,' *JBL* 63 (1945) 491-500); circumcised Gentile Christians because of οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι, 'those who receive circumcision,' in Galatians 6.13 (J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1959) 89); the Zealots (R. Jewett, 'The Agitators and the Galatian Congregation,' *NTS* 17 (1971) 198-212; R. Longenecker, *Galatians* (Dallas: Word Books, 1990) xciii-xcvi; Dunn, 'Echoes of Intra-Jewish Polemic in Paul's Letter to the Galatians,' 459-477); Paul's ally (G. Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia* (SNTSMS 35; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 9). Among these scholars' views on the circumcision party 'the Zealots' is the most probable. Longenecker, *Galatians* xcv, defines, "Paul's opponents were Jewish Christians-or, more accurately, Christian Jews-who came from the Jerusalem church to Paul's churches in Galatia with a message stressing the need for Gentiles to be circumcised and to keep the rudiments of the cultic calendar, both for full acceptance by God and as a proper Christian life style."

himself already surely participated in the relief to the Jerusalem church. Galatians 2.10a ("Only they would have us remember the poor") gives the impression that the apostles in Jerusalem asked Paul and Barnabas to remember the poor at this meeting for the first time. If so, Paul's relief trip should be dated later than the meeting in Galatians 2.1-10. However, the present tense of the verb 'remember' (μνημονεύωμεν) has its *continuous* aspect as well. Thus Galatians 2.10a could be translated into "Only that we should continue to remember the poor." This translation of Galatians 2.10a presupposes Paul and Barnabas' relief trip in Acts 11.29-30, which is confirmed in Galatians 2.10b ("Very thing I *was* eager to do").[93]

Paul might have brought the uncircumcised Gentile Christian Titus with him to Jerusalem as a test case in order to ascertain whether Gentile Christians coming to the church without circumcision could be approved by apostles in Jerusalem. Despite the secret meeting of Galatians 2.1ff which looks very similar to that of Acts 15, the differences between the two are that in Galatians 2.9 the Gentile mission is recognised by the apostles whilst in Acts 15 the table-fellowship or full membership[94] is allowed to Gentile Christians. Upon their arrival from Jerusalem at Antioch Paul and Barnabas left for the first mission journey (Acts 13.2). This missionary journey is a natural corollary which corresponds to the apostolic recognition of Gentile mission in the second meeting in Jerusalem (Galatians 2.9). Therefore, it is inferred that apostolic permission for the Gentile mission (Galatians 2.9) was discussed in the relief trip in Acts 11.30 which was followed by the first missionary journey. It is unthinkable for Jerusalemite Barnabas and Paul to have taken the first mission trip without the permission of the Jerusalem church.

Although there were some prophets/leaders in the Antioch church (Acts 13.1)[95], the Jerusalem church would have been concerned about the vacant leadership of the Antioch church due to Paul and Barnabas' missionary journey.[96] Presumably the Jerusalem church sent Peter to the Antioch church where Jews were resident predominantly to fill the vacant

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[93]Witherington III, *Acts of the Apostles* 375; Bruce, *Commentary on Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1982) 126.

[94]Participation in a table-fellowship decides one's social boundary (D.E. Smith, 'Table Fellowship,' *ABD* 4.302-304). The community meal in 1QS has also a sociological dimension. On the sociological aspect of the Lord's supper see D. Tidball, 'Social Setting of Mission Churches,' *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters* 885; Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* 159-161; P.F. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts* 71-109.

[95]There was fluidity in boundaries between prophets and apostles as here (see Hengel and Schwemer, 239).

[96]Bengt Holmberg, *Paul and Power* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1978) 184, wrote, "It (*the Antioch church*) was vitally dependent on the previous institutionalisation of the Jerusalem church from which it had received its creed, christology, cult and sacraments and partly even its organisation" (see idem, 19; Acts 13.1; 11.27; 15.32).

position although there are no allusions to this sending in Acts and Galatians. After the first missionary journey Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch around AD 49 (Acts 13-14).[97] Peter ate with Gentile Christians there as he had done with Cornelius. The circumcision party who had once attacked Peter because of his fellowship with Cornelius (Acts 11.2-3) came to Antioch with suspicion to inspect whether or not Gentile Christians were circumcised (Galatians 2.4). Although the circumcision party came from James (Galatians 2.12), the circumcision party is seen as separate from James (pillar) whom Paul consulted for the recognition of his missionary works and mission boundary (Galatians 1.18-19; 2.1-10).[98] The party found fault with Peter, contending that Gentile Christians should be circumcised prior to having table-fellowship with Jewish Christians (Galatians 2.11-14; Acts 15.1). If not, the party polemicised, Jewish Christians should separate themselves from Gentile Christians. Although the agreement of mission boundaries between Jewish and Gentile Christians in Galatians 2.9 may still retain anti-Pauline aspects because it presupposes a distinction between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians,[99] Peter's withdrawal from table-fellowship with Gentile Christians (Galatians 2.11-14) shows not that Peter was anti-Pauline, but that there was no apostolic decision on the matter of table-fellowship in the previous private meeting in which they only discussed mission boundaries (Galatians 2.9). The fact that Peter is not anti-Pauline is once more corroborated by the fact that Peter involuntarily withdrew with Barnabas from the fellowship *fearing* the circumcision party (Galatians 2.12). In Galatians Paul does not argue against Peter but against 'what is happening now with reference to the Galatians.'[100]

In Antioch Paul and Barnabas vehemently argued against the circumcision party's requirement of proselytisation of Gentile Christians to Judaism (Acts 15.2; Galatians 2.11-14). Even the circumcision party went to Galatia and persuaded some Gentile Christians to receive circumcision. So, Paul wrote, "O foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was publicly portrayed as crucified?" (Galatians 3.1). Now the table-fellowship of Gentile Christians with Jewish Christians became an acute public polemic. So Paul and Barnabas *publicly* went to Jerusalem to resolve this question. Presumably Galatians

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[97]The first missionary journey was short because it was monitored by the churches of Antioch and Jerusalem while his independent missionary journeys were relatively long.

[98]Even Baur, 1.131-133,agreed.

[99]Luedemann, 37-38.

[100]Schmithals, *Paul and James* 73.

was written just before the Jerusalem council.[101] Luke wrote, "the apostles and the elders gathered together to consider this matter" in Jerusalem (Acts 15.6). Thus the Jerusalem council took place. After Peter's speech, James decreed four prohibitions for Gentile Christians, offering Gentile Christians with full membership or Gentile Christians' table fellowship with Jewish Christians without circumcision, eventually turning down the circumcision party's appeal for proselytization of Gentile Christians (Acts 15.7-21).[102] This is the last thing either the Jews or the circumcision party wanted to accept. God-fearers remained without full membership in Jewish communities, while Gentile Christians observing the same prohibitions enjoyed full membership in Christian communities. God-fearers were attracted by the full membership of their friends in Christian communities. Thus God-fearers were frequently converted to the Christian faith. Jews (the circumcision party alike) disliked and persecuted Christian communities because they recruited God-fearers to Christianity effortlessly through providing full membership to God-fearers whom Jews made all efforts to win to their synagogues.[103]

However, it is true that there remained 'some tension between Paul and Jerusalem' in the early church.[104] We should notice the close relationship between Peter and Barnabas: Peter stayed with the well-to-do Mary whose son is John Mark, Barnabas' nephew or cousin. Barnabas understood and sympathised with Peter because both of them came from the Jerusalem church and they had known by experience who the circumcision party

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[101]C. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* 277ff; Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles* 817f; Bauckham, 'James and the Jerusalem Church,' 469. Again this hypothesis is not without a problem because the word, τὸ πρότερον (*formerly*), in Galatians 4.13 would presuppose at least two trips to Galatia (Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. H.C. Kee; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1992) 303). However, Turner proposes that "the expression τὸ πρότερον was more likely to have been intended by the apostle as an elative superlative rather than a true comparative, thus it has the resultant meaning 'originally,' 'at the very first'" (N.A. Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1965) 90). Some may question that Galatians was written after the second and third missionary journeys because the word Galatia appears in the journeys in Acts 16.6; 18.23. It is clear that Paul visited South Galatia in the first missionary journey.

[102]Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* 469, points out that the specific four bans "are given not only to Israel but also to strangers dwelling among the Jews" according to Leviticus 17, 18. In that Paul "allows Gentile Christians to eat meat sacrificed to idols contrary to these regulations (1 Corinthians 8-10)," Schmithals doubted the historicity of these regulations (Schmithals, *Paul and James* 98). However, in that Pauline churches appeared not to eat what aroused the compunctions of the weak (Romans 14-15.6; 1 Corinthians 8-10), they might have observed the apostolic decree. Haenchen wrote, "In fact, the introduction of these four conditions must have occurred at a time when it was hoped that they would cement the fellowship of Jewish and Gentile Christians" (Haenchen, 470-471). The Apostolic Decree was necessary in 'racially mixed Christian communities.'

[103]Schmithals, *Paul and James*. Cf. Esler who argues that discontent god-fearers who were excluded from the temple worship at Jerusalem could enjoy full-membership through participating in the table-fellowship, which explains growth of the early church (*Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*).

[104]Even Bruce, *Paul* 154.

was in Jerusalem (Acts 11.2-3). Barnabas, perhaps one of 70 apostles sent by Jesus,[105] seemed to be surprised at Paul's intrepid rebuke of Jesus' preeminent disciple and church leader Peter. Such qualms at Paul's self-assertiveness against Peter and the authority of the Jerusalem church, eventually resulted in a separation between Paul and Barnabas, who took Mark on the next missionary journey (Acts 15.36-41) although Barnabas agreed upon the agenda in the Jerusalem council. Paul took the Jerusalemite Silas for the second missionary journey. This suggests that Paul's desire to have links and continuity with the Jerusalem church remained strong (Acts 15.40; Galatians 2.1) despite his declaration of independence (Galatians 1.11-12). It appears in the first missionary trip that Paul and Barnabas were sponsored by the Antioch church. With limited mission funds from the Antioch church, the first missionary trip (48-49) was shorter than the second and third self-employed missionary trips (50-57). There is no report of Paul's working in the first missionary journey (Acts 13-14 and Galatians). However, Paul worked during the second and third missionary journeys (Acts 18.3; 20.34; 1 Corinthians 4.12; 9.14-15; 1 Thessalonians 2.9; 2 Thessalonians 3.8). Although Paul was commended by the Antioch church in the second journey (Acts 15.40), the church did not financially support Paul's missionary works not because of theological anti-Paulinism but because of Paul's rude reaction to Peter, the authority of the Jerusalem church. The contention of the moderate Jerusalem party (Barnabas and the Antioch church) against Paul does not concern doctrine, but is 'the question of spiritual supremacy.'[106] Later Paul and Barnabas were reconciled (1 Corinthians 9.6).[107] The circumcision party was still anti-Pauline through Galatians,[108] Acts and other Pauline epistles[109]. Especially at Antioch Paul is not influential. "Eusebius (*EH* 3.22, 36) employed lists of bishops for the metropolis that begin with Peter and fail to mention Paul."[110] Moreover, Paul hardly

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[105]Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 2.20.112;Hengel and Schwemer, 205.

[106]Cf. Holmberg, *Paul and Power* 23.

[107]F.W. Norris, 'Antioch,' *ABD* 1.268.

[108]J.D.G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 1996) 209; idem, 'The Incident at Antioch,' *JSNT* 18 (1983) 40.

[109]They (οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς) took Peter to task when he ate with Cornelius (Acts 11.2). During Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, they (παρείσακτοι ψευδαδελφοί) insisted Paul to circumcise Titus (Galatians 2.4). They (τινες απο Ἰακώβου) who are also named αἵρεσις τῶν Φαριαίων (Acts 15.5), charged Peter to separate from the Gentile believers (Galatians 2.12). When Paul planned to go to Jerusalem to deliver relief for the last time, Paul was afraid of the Jews and of the circumcision party (ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου) as well (Romans 15.31; Acts 21.20-21).

[110]F.W. Norris, 'Antioch,' *ABD* 1.268.

mentions Antioch in his letters except for 2 Timothy 3.11 any more. However, some attitude against Paul on the part of the Antioch church and Barnabas is not doctrinal but hierarchical. The hierarchical conflict between Paul and Barnabas (and the Antioch church) should not be confused with doctrinal anti-Paulinism of the circumcision party.

We have thus far shown that James was close to Paul in theology and that he continued to remain as a leader of the Jerusalem church, distinguishing himself from the circumcision party.[111] This will be further formulated below.

c. Parties of Early Christianity in the First Century AD.

It is difficult to infer parties simply from the terms of Hellenists and Hebrews in Acts. Bruce M. Metzger writes,

> Perhaps the chief objection of modern scholars to adopting ἑλληνιστάς here in Acts 11.20 is the belief that it always means 'Greek-speaking Jews,' and therefore is inappropriate to stand in contrast with the preceding Ἰουδαίοι. But since ἑλληνιστής is derived from ἑλληνίζειν, it means strictly 'one who uses Greek [language or custom]'; whether the person be a Jew or a Roman or any other non-Greek must be gathered from the context. In Acts 6.1 the contrast is no doubt between Greek-speaking Jewish Christians and Semitic-speaking Jewish Christians.[112]

While in Acts 6.1 the 'Hellenists' were Christians, in Acts 9.29 the term is used for those who were not. Although the persecutors in Acts 9.26 were called Hellenists, theologically they were so devoted to the law that they tried to kill Paul. Thus, the names Hellenists and Hebrews are misnomers when used to designate theological positions.[113] Pharisaic Christians or the circumcision party could be either Hellenists or Hebrews according to their use of language. Therefore, it is wrong to discern real parties behind the terms Hellenists and Hebrews.

Schmithals rejects the existence of the circumcision party in the church because its theology could not have been compatible with faith in Christ. However, Schmithals' position is not supported by the evidence of their presence in Acts 11.2-3; 15.5; 21.20. On the other

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[111]Schoeps, *Paulus: Die Theologie des Apostels im Lichte der Jüdischen Religionsgeschicht* 62.

[112]Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* 388.

[113]J.N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?* 28-31.

hand, H.J. Schoeps rightly proposes that there were three Christian parties in early Christianity before AD 70: on the left wing Paul, in the middle Peter and James and on the right wing the circumcision party.[114] Following Schoeps, J. Julius Scott, Jr. argues that there were two parties in the Jerusalem church: 'the Pharisaic Hebrew Christians' and 'the Moderate Hebrew Christians.'[115] The circumcision party demanded that the Gentiles must first become proselytes to Judaism which included submitting to circumcision and the Torah, before they could be admitted to the Christian fellowship.[116] However, the mainline moderate Jerusalem church rejected circumcision and the Torah as necessary conditions for being accepted into the community although they maintained and practised 'their Christian faith within a distinctive Jewish framework.'[117] The leaders of the Jerusalem church (the Twelve Apostles, James the Just, and the elders) were representatives of a Moderate Christianity.[118]

> Galatians 2.6 From those (James, Peter and John) who were reputed to be something (what they were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality) -- those, I say, who were of repute added nothing to me.
> 1 Corinthians 15.11 Whether then it was I or they (including James), so we preach and so you believed.
> Acts 15.19-20 Therefore my (James') judgment is that we should not trouble those of the Gentiles who turn to God, but should write to them to abstain from the pollution of idols and from unchastity and from what is strangled and from blood.

Such scholars as F.C. Baur, O. Cullmann, Strecker and Luedemann find some anti-Pauline vestige in the Pseudo-Clementines and the Ascents of James.[119] However, it was only after the death of James that James was recognised as 'Papst der ebionitischen Phantasie.'[120] After the two Jewish revolts in Palestine the Pharisaic, circumcision party

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[114]H.J. Schoeps, 57-64; H.D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977) 82; Baur, 1.131-33(!).

[115]J. Julius Scott, Jr., 'Parties in the Church of Jerusalem as seen in the Book of Acts,' *The Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 18 (1975) 217-227.

[116]Ibid.

[117]Ibid.

[118]Ibid.

[119]Robert E. Van Voorst, *The Ascents of James History and Theology of a Jewish-Christian Community* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 6-26.

[120]Schoeps, 61.

became listless and observed the law, by choice, but did not seek to impose it upon others (see Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 43-47) while the moderate party was integrated into the mainstream Pauline church.

To conclude, Luther and, much later, Meyer and Luck have maintained that the epistle of James is Jewish in the light of 'justification by works' (James 2.14-26). However, the old Tübingen school who reads too much of the antithesis between Paul and Peter (James) into Galatians 2.12 should not impose it on the interpretation of the epistle of James.[121] As we have seen above, James and Peter never belonged to the circumcision party. Schoeps writes, "Daraus ergeben sich nun erhebliche Korrekturen am Tübinger Geschichtsbild des Urchristentums."[122] Rather, the antithesis should be between Paul (James and Peter) and the circumcision party. Dibelius[123] and Laws[124] mistakenly surmise that James who observed ritual laws as evidenced in Eusebius and Josephus must belong to the circumcision party and must have been referring to circumcision in the faith and works polemic in the epistle if James the brother of Jesus is the author of the epistle. In other words, James could not have written the epistle because circumcision is not meant in the concept of the word 'works' (James 2.14-26). However, now we can safely conclude that James the brother of Jesus could have written the epistle without referring to circumcision because there is no theological and relational antithesis between Paul and James.

Thus far, we have defended the authorship of the epistle by James the brother of Jesus considering language, no gospel (Jesus' death and resurrection or justification by faith), and Paulinism/anti-Paulinism. The reason for this lengthy defence of the authorship by James the brother of Jesus is because James the brother of Jesus in the latter half of first century Palestine could most reasonably have composed such an epistle.

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[121]Baur wrote, "There was an εὐαγγέλιον τῆς περιτομῆς, and an εὐαγγέλλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας; and an ἀποστολὴ εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν, and an ἀποστολὴ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη; in one the Mosaic law prevailed, in the other it did not, but each depended inextricably on the other" (Baur, 1.130); Betz, *Galatians* 82. Baur and Betz are inconsistent because they are confused about whether there are 2 or 3 parties. This is caused by the confusion between the Jerusalem council (three parties; Acts 15) and the private meeting (two mission boundaries; Galatians 2.1-10, especially v.9).

[122]Schoeps, 62.

[123]Dibelius, 32, ns. 1, 2; 33; 38; 40; 42.

[124]Laws, 41-42.

Chapter Two: The Addressees of the Epistle of James.

We have examined authorship to identify the social location of the epistle. An investigation of addressees will illuminate a more concrete socio-economic location of the epistle. The epistle provides some clues as to the addressees in the expressions 'the Twelve Tribes in the Dispersion' (1.1), 'the lowly brother' and 'the rich' (1.9-11), the rich and the poor (2.1-7), 'you' who kill (φονεύετε) (4.2), the merchants (4.13-17), and the large estate owners (5.1-6). Each of these clues will be examined here. Although the immediate addressees of the epistle were the Jamesian community, James sent it to the Christian church at large because he thought that there were problems similar to his community in other churches.

A. 'The Twelve Tribes in the Dispersion' in 1.1.

The opening in 1.1 suggests that the letter was sent from James in to the diaspora.[125] There are prior examples that letters were sent from Jerusalem to the diaspora. Jeremiah sent a letter from Jerusalem to the Jews exiled to Babylon.

> Jeremiah 29.1, These are the words of the letter which Jeremiah the prophet sent from Jerusalem to the elders of the exiles, and to the priests, the prophets, and all the people, whom Nebuchadnezzar had taken into exile from Jerusalem to Babylon.

Under Darius II (419 BC) a letter was sent from Hananiah to Yedoniah and his

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[125]James as leader of the world church in Jerusalem until his death in AD 62 is believed to have sent letters to daughter churches (Mußner, 11; Mayor, cxv; Bauckham, 'The Book of Acts in its Palestinian Setting,' 424; idem, *James* 11-28). There have been arguments whether the epistle of James is a letter or not: the literary form of the epistle is classified either as a paraenesis (Dibelius, Mußner, L.G. Perdue, W. Popkes, Bauckham), homily-extracts (G.H. Rendall, B. Reicke, Davids), a diatribe (Ropes), or an allegorical testament (A. Meyer). On the epistolary form of James, see F.O. Francis, 'The Form and Function of the Opening and Closing Paragraphs of James and 1 John,' *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 61 (1970) 110-26; J.L. White, 'New Testament Epistolary Literature in the Framework of Ancient Epistolography,' *ANRW* II.25.2, 1730-56; F.X. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter: A Study in Greek Epistolography* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1923); Cargal, *Restoring the Diaspora* 207-16; Tsuji, 12-17; also see the bibliography in Johnson *The Letter of James* 172; D. Pardee, *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters* (SBL Sources for Biblical Study 15; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982); I. Taatz, *Frühjüdische Briefe: Die paulinischen Briefe im Rahmen der offiziellen religiösen Briefe des Frühjudentums* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991); J. Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70* (Leiden: Brill, 1971) 1.356-79; P.S. Alexander, 'Epistolary Literature,' in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, CRINT 2.581, n. 14.

colleagues the Jewish garrison to Egypt to keep the passover.[126]

> *To* my *brethren*, *Yedo*niah and his colleagues the Jewish gar*rison*, your brother Hanan*iah*.

2 Maccabees 1.1, 2 contains senders in Jerusalem and receivers in Egypt of the letters.[127]

> 2 Maccabees 1.1, The Jewish brethren in Jerusalem and those in the land of Judea, To their Jewish brethren in Egypt, Greeting, and good peace.
>
> 2 Maccabees 1.10, Those in Jerusalem and those in Judea and the senate and Judas, To Aristobulus, who is of the family of the anointed priests, teacher of Ptolemy the king, and to the Jews in Egypt, Greeting, and good health.

According to Acts 15.22-23, it is James the leader of the Jerusalem church who sends a letter of four prohibitions to 'the **Gentiles** in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia.' See also Acts 28.21.

> Acts 15.22-23 Then it seemed good to the apostles and the elders, with the whole church, to choose men from among them and send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas. They sent Judas called Barsabbas, and Silas, leading men among the brethren, with the following letter: "The brethren, both the apostles and the elders, to the brethren who are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, greeting[128] . . ."

2 Baruch 78-86 is formulated as a letter from Baruch the son of Neriah in Jerusalem to the nine and a half tribes in Babylon (2 Baruch 78.1).[129]

Finally, Gamaliel I (Acts 5.34), R. Yohanan ben Zakkai and R. Simon ben Gamaliel

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[126]A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1923) 60-65.

[127]See J.A. Goldstein, II Maccabees (New York: Doubleday, 1983) 137-88.

[128]Greeting in Greek is χαίρειν. This word with the meaning of greeting appears only in James 1.1 and Acts 15.23. Thus A.R. Fausset, *The New Testament: 1 Corinthians-Revelation* (Critical Commentary Vol. IV; London and Glasgow: William Collins, Sons, & Co., Limited, 1900), 167 [2], suggests that χαίρειν with the meaning of greeting indicates 'an undesigned coincidence and mark of genuineness' about the authorship of James the brother of Jesus although Dibelius, 96, intentionally links the word, χαίρειν, in 1.1 with χαράν in 1.2. Also see the similarity between Acts 15.17 ("Who are called by my name, ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς") and James 2.7 ("Name which was invoked by you, ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς") which increase the degree that the historical James wrote the letter (Mayor, 85). Moreover, Mayor, 88, maintained the authorship of James the brother of Jesus because a similar style (εὖ πράξετε) of καλῶς ποιεῖτε is also used by him in Acts 15.29.

[129]See D.J. Verseput, 'Genre and Story: The Community Setting of the Epistle of James,' *CBQ* 62 (2000) 101.

reportedly sent letters to Jews in the diaspora.[130]

Consequently, the notion of an epistle being sent from Palestine/Jerusalem to the diaspora is not unusual. A major reason for denying the Palestinian provenance has been found in its stylish, polished Greek. However, the Gentile provenance was argued against above by the use of Greek in first century Palestine. Frankemo¨lle summarises the point: "The excellent rhetorical style of James could not be the reason why the letter was not composed in Palestine, but in Alexandria or Egypt."[131] The convincing references to the Palestinian provenance of the epistle are 'πρoϊμον καὶ ὄψιμον' (the early and the late rain, James 5.7; Deuteronomy 11.14; Jeremiah 5.24; Joel 2.23) and 'καύσων' (the strong and hot wind of Palestine, James 1.10; Job 27.21; Isaiah 49.10; Jeremiah 18.17; Jeremiah 28.1; Ezekiel 17.10; Hosea 13.15; Jonah 4.8; Judith 8.3; Sirach 18.16; 34.16; 43.22; Matthew 20.12). Ropes writes,

> Only in Palestine among the countries that come in question do the seasonal conditions produce the intensity of anxious hope to which this verse refers. By reason of just that intensity of feeling the phrase has every appearance of being not a literary allusion but a reference to a familiar fact of daily life.[132]

Moreover, James does not refer to the idolatry and immorality which were characteristic of Gentile churches (cf. 1 Corinthians 6.9-11; Galatians 5.19-21).[133] The fact that the synagogue was used for their meeting place in 2.2 shows the author's experience was confined to a Jewish community.[134] Thus, the references to weather and the lack of Gentile influences suggest that the author and his own community lived in Palestine. The author's community, however, should not be confused with those to whom the epistle is addressed.

The phrase 'the Twelve Tribes in the Dispersion' in 1.1 invites two possible

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[130]J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia: I The Parthian Period* (Brown Judaic Studies 62; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1984) 45.

[131]Frankemölle, 'Das semantische Netz des Jakobusbriefes: Zur Einheit eines umstritten Briefes,' *Biblische Zeitschrift* 34 (1990) 67.

[132]Ropes, 42.

[133]Chaine, LXXXV.

[134]Mayor, cxx; Chaine, LXXXV.

interpretations: the symbolic/spiritual diaspora (the Christians at large) as in 1 Peter 1.1[135] and the literal/historical diaspora as in John 7.35[136]. Scholars' views on the addressees have gravitated towards the symbolic/spiritual diaspora (the Christian church at large). There are no specific reasons for limiting the letter to Jewish Christians.[137]

In sum, first century Palestine, specifically Jerusalem, is the most plausible place from which the letter was sent to 'the Christian church at large.' James has likely drawn an experience within his community as he raises and discusses issues in relation to his addresses.

B. 'The lowly brother' (ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ταπεινὸς) and 'the rich' (ὁ πλούσιος) (1.9-11).

This pericope (1.9-11) intrudes into a large part of the theme of trial/temptation in 1.2-18.[138] Thus, it is to be understood in the context of trial/temptation. As Mayor put it, "It seems best to take this (ἐν ταῖς πορείαις) here in the literal sense, as in the only other passage in which it occurs in the N.T., referring to *the journeys and voyages of the merchants*."[139] These verses may have been written in the context of trials/temptations in

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[135]'Addresses readers in a social world characterised by feelings of alienation and powerlessness' (Wall, 43); those who 'have wandered from the truth' (Cargal, 213); all the Christian churches since Paul's imprisonment (Hengel, 'Der Jakobusbrief als antipaulinische Polemik,' 259); 'the hoped-for restored Israel among the nations', 'a spiritual Israel normed by the texts of Torah and living in service to God and the Lord Jesus Christ' (Johnson, *The Letter of James* 172); 'a Christian community as fulfilling or inheriting the rôle of Israel' (Laws, 49); 'das wahre Israel in seiner eschatologischen Wiederherstellung' (Mußner, *Der Jakobusbrief* 62); 'chrétiens, le nouvel et véritable Israël' (Marty, 7).

[136]'The true Israel (i.e. Jewish Christians) outside of Palestine (i.e. probably in Syria and Asia Minor)' (Davids, *The Epistle of James: A Commentary on the Greek Text* 64); 'des Juifs convertis à la foi chrétienne' (Chaine, LXXXV); 'the Christian Jews not being yet definitely marked off from their unbelieving countrymen,' 'the original Eastern Diaspora, settled in Babylon and Mesopotamia, and extending as far as the eastern and northern borders of Palestine" (Mayor, 30). Those who believe that the Christological titles are interpolated by later Christians automatically advocate that the addressees are non-Christian Jews (L. Massebieau, A. Meyer, F. Spitta).

[137]Hengel, 'Der Jakobus,' maintains that James sent this letter to the Christian church at large after Paul's imprisonment.

[138]Dibelius, 113.

[139]Mayor, 45; my italics. Maritime merchants in the first century were known as the rich (ὁ πλούσιος) (Revelation 18.3, "The merchants of the earth have grown rich (ἐπλούτησαν) with the wealth of her wantonness"; Revelation 18.23, "Thy merchants were *the great men* of the earth (οἱ ἔμποροί σου ἦσαν οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῆς γῆς)"; Isaiah 23.8, "Merchants were princes, whose traders were the honored of the earth, סֹחֲרֶיהָ שָׂרִים כְּנַעֲנֶיהָ נִכְבְּדֵי־אָרֶץ"; 1 Enoch 101.4; R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 373; Pedrito U. Maynard-Reid, *Poverty and Wealth in James* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1987), 68-80; M. Tsuji, *Glauben zwischen Vollkommenheit*, 138). Πλούσιοι would also be financiers (2.6) and/or rich agriculturalists (5.1).

the arena of economic competition in the market. It is noteworthy that James did not intentionally use ὁ πτωχός (beggar) but ὁ ταπεινός (humble or humbled).[140] Ὁ ταπεινός does not denote a beggar but a person who is humbled by losing the game in the market. Since James does not specify any further what ὕψος means, its connotation could consist of several dimensions: it may imply material blessings, the spiritual high status of a humble person, or eschatological blessing.[141]

It is a burning issue whether or not ὁ πλούσιος in James 1.10 refers to the Christian community, because the expression is not modified by ὁ ἀδελφός.[142] Ὁ ἀδελφός does not appear to be omitted merely to avoid repetition of the same word. Thus, ὁ πλούσιος may denote a spiritual condition. Although the 'rich one' could be a member of the Jamesian community, his mentality would be contaminated by '*falscher Selbstüberschätzung und Verachtung der Armen*,'[143] possibly because he had become relatively successful in the vicissitudes of market competition. Such arrogant people will be brought low (ἐν τῇ ταπειώσει) in 1.10 and 4.6.[144] The ephemeral splendour of the rich is symbolised as a flower of grass in Palestine which would be dried up dead by the scorching wind.[145] Mußner mentions that this symbol was used for the death of the rich.[146] However, the symbol could refer to the futility of wealth even during the life of the rich, not necessarily their death. By mentioning and threatening them with the futility of wealth, James is undermining the basis for the arrogance of the rich. By promising blessings to the loser, James encourages and maintains his group, because the loser suffers from an inferiority complex. It becomes possible to infer from this that the Jamesian community was afflicted

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[140]*Liddell and Scott* s.v. 'πτωχός,' and 'ταπεινός.'

[141]Likewise, when James quoted Proverbs 3.34 ("God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble") in James 4.6, 'grace' could include spiritual and/or material blessings.

[142]Ropes, 145-47; Tsuji, 135-141; Mußner, *Der Jakobusbrief* 72-75; Dibelius, 113-18.

[143]Mußner, *Der Jakobusbrief* 74.

[144]Luke 14.11, "For every one who exalts himself will be humbled, and he who humbles himself will be exalted"; Hillel said, "הגבהתי השפלתי השפלתי הגבהתי (my humility is my greatness and my greatness is my humility" in ExRab 45.5 and LevRab 1.5 (C. Safrai, 'Sayings and Legends in the Hillel Tradition,' J.H. Charlesworth ed., *Hillel and Jesus: Comparisons of Two Major Religious Leaders* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 313-314).

[145]This picture of the transitoriness of grass was used by 1 Peter to show in relief the eternity of the word of God, and also by 1 Enoch 96.6 to depict the fate of the rich in the light of the eschatological judgment (Mußner, 75, n. 9).

[146]Ibid.

by intragroup conflicts among its businessmen.[147] In that sense, the community was suffering from trials/temptations. The economically fluctuating condition of the community which manifested itself in group conflict will be examined in Part Two.

C. 'The rich' (ὁ πλουσιός) and 'the poor' (ὁ πτωχός) in 2.1-7.

The author blames the community for showing partiality. James' accusation of discrimination of the poor by the rich makes it clear that the rich were among the members of the community.[148] Although Dibelius regards the narrative as fictive,[149] the substance of the charge seems at least to have reflected the author's experiences. Although there were equestrian Jews in Judea who were crucified by the procurator Florus (AD 64-66; *BJ* 2.308), the rich with gold rings in James 2.2-3 certainly did not belong to the equestrian order because the Romans did not wear gold rings.[150] The society in which the rich wore gold rings was not Roman, but probably Jewish. The rich are sharply contrasted with beggars.

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[147]W. Popkes, *Adressaten, Situation und Form des Jakobusbriefes*, 54-62, 77, esp. 61, n. 51. Intragroup conflict in the Jamesian community presupposes that the community was not entirely composed of the poor or beggars. Robert Smith, 'Were the Early Christians Middle-Class?,' *Currents Theological Mission* 7 (1980): 274, "It is a mistake to think that the recruits of earliest Christianity came primarily from the lowest ranks of society, from the unemployed or underemployed. Christianity was not a religion of slaves. The majority of its adherents in the whole period up to Constantine were members of the middle class of antiquity." According to R. Smith's argument which nevertheless needs correction, there was a middle class in the Jerusalem church. John Mark had his house in Jerusalem and had a female servant (παιδίσκη, Acts 12.12-13). Simon of Cyrene seemed to own a farm in the vicinity of Jerusalem (Mark 15.21).

[148]Mayor, 84, wrote, "James is speaking of the persecution of Christians by Jews, especially by the rich Sadducees." The rich in 2.1-5 were more or less friendly to Christians whilst the rich in 2.6-7 were antipathetic to Christians. Thus Ropes, 197, took a middle and eclectic road between the two and wrote, "The rich are plainly neighbours who do not belong to the conventicle but may sometimes condescend to visit it. No word, however, hints that the two classes do not worship the same God, and the whole tone of the passage seems to imply a less complete departure from the dominant religion of the community than would have been the case in Rome or any heathen city." Ropes depicted some rich in liminality between the Jewish synagogue and the Jamesian community. Similarly Tsuji, 140.

[149]Dibelius, 163.

[150]Laws, 98, mistakenly writes, "The gold ring part of the insignia of the equestrian order, the second rank of the Roman aristocracy," following E.A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of Christian Groups in the First Century* (London: Tyndale, 1960), 53. Romans did not wear gold rings. "Romans were accustomed to wear *iron rings* as a symbol of courage in war" (*NH* 33.8). Pliny the elder (AD 23/4-79) wrote, "The majority of the peoples who live under our Empire at the present time possess no gold rings at all. Even now *the East* and Egypt do not seal documents and are content with only a signature" (*NH* 33.21). "Rings clearly introduced a third order (*the equestrian order or the knights*) between plebeians and the Senate" (*NH* 33.29). Roman judges also wore iron rings (*NH* 33.40). As regards the custom of Romans' wearing rings, the equestrian order and judges wore iron rings.

The rich did take the poor (probably ὁ πένης)[151] to court (κριτήρια[152]) as a way of dealing with problems arising from debts, rents and the like.[153] Because they were told not to despise beggars, the addressees could not initially have been beggars. However, the income from their land was below their expenditure; therefore they had to borrow money. They were dragged to court by rich financiers to pay debts; finally they would be forced to sell their fields.[154] Eventually they too could become beggars.

D. The 'you' who kill (φονεύετε) in 4.2.

Some scholars opine that the word should have been φθονεῖτε (you envy) because it is unimaginable that the Jamesian Christians could kill each other.[155] However, φθονεῖτε has no textual witnesses. Although scholars try to read φονεύετε symbolically by relating it to literary traditions, it is better that the word should be read literally. The emergence of the sicarii (daggers/killers) under the governor Felix (AD 52-59) may coincide with the socio-economic backdrop of the word φονεύετε.[156] The historical conditions which led to the Jewish revolt in AD 66-73 will be examined in Part Two.

E. The merchants in 4.13-17.

Maynard-Reid writes,

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[151]Finely, *AE* 41, defines, "A πένης need not be propertyless; he could own a farm or slaves, and he could have a few hundred drachmas accumulated in a strong box but he was compelled to devote himself to gaining a livelihood." Davids 112, reads ὁ πτωχός in the light of Matthew 5.3 and the anawim piety. Thus he fails to distinguish the addressees ('you') and ὁ πτωχός.

[152]Κριτήριον is a singular neuter. Κριτήρια is plural. On the Jewish legal system, *HJP*^{2} 2.184-226,3/1.107-125.

[153]Ropes, 195-96; Pedrito U. Maynard-Reid, 63.

[154]John H. Kautsky, *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires*, 35, 284-288, mentions that *commercialization* in the Roman Empire resulted in selling smallholders' land to pay debts and taxes; they become landless and revolutionary. On the detailed process of the peasants' downfall in first century Palestine, see below.

[155]Dibelius, 260; Tsuji, 173, n. 232; Klein, 109.

[156]See Ralph P. Martin, *James* 146 referring to F.F. Bruce, *New Testament History* (New York: A Galilee Book-Doubleday, 1980), 93-100.

> It must be remembered that the epistle is dealing with the three groups of rich persons specifically mentioned in the New Testament; in chapter 2 James seems to be referring to financiers; in 4:13-17 he has in mind the merchants; and in 5:1-6 James is writing about the rich agriculturalists. However, we must realize that these 'classes' are not distinct; rather, the activities are different functions of the same individual or individuals.[157]

Maynard-Reid may be correct because only the rich could simultaneously be involved in banking business, maritime mercantilism and commercial farming. On the other hand, Mayor has maintained that the Jews could easily be prosperous merchants because of the cobweb-network of the diaspora:

> The dispersion of the Jews, which gave them connections all over the world and let them know at once of any new opening for trade, led to their being constantly on the move.[158]

Moreover, the Palestinian mercantilism would have been prosperous, because Palestine was geo-economically located at the centre of the Rome-India trade. The merchants might have included Sadducees.[159] However, the merchants are admonished as insiders in the epistle (4.15-17). There were rich members in the Jamesian community.[160] Merchants purchased wares at a good price and sold them at a high price where the wares were scarce. Their entrepreneurial activities are described in 4.13. They usually sold them in the city (πόλις, 4.13) where rich absentee landowners and other rich people lived. They made large margins of profit through their marketing efforts. They pompously boasted about their wealth (4.16). James enjoined the merchants to redistribute their wealth in 4.17.

F. The large estate owners in 5.1-6.

The supply of labour increased beyond the demand for labourers because of a 'reserved army of unemployment.'[161] Wages were set below subsistence level because of

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[157]Maynard-Reid, 69.

[158]Mayor, 145.

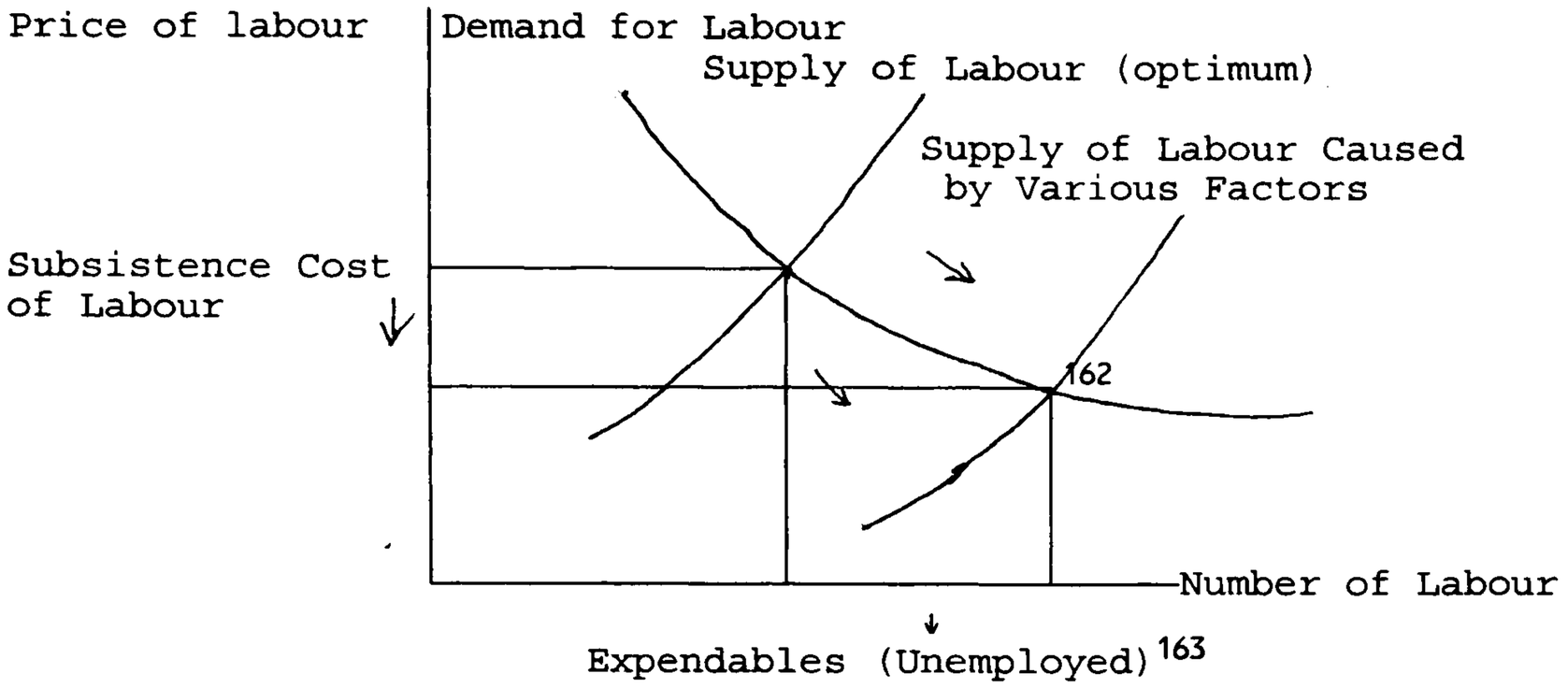
[159]With Maynard-Reid, 76.

[160]David Fiensy, 'The Composition of the Jerusalem Church,' in Richard Bauckham ed., *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 213-236, especially, 226-230.

[161]Reasons for the increase in the labour supply will be examined in Part Two.

the increase in the labour supply. It meant larger profits for agriculturalists or capitalists. They did not even pay wages to labourers (5.4) because there were the excess unemployed who wanted to work by any means to survive. See the chart below.

The Labourer Market of the Jamesian Society



Cheap labour reduced the costs of production, resulting in agriculturalists/capitalists being able to hoard money and to maintain a luxurious lifestyle (5.2-3, 5).[164] Withholding wages

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[162]Employed labourers were paid below the subsistence level. Sean Freyne ascribes the revolution to inhuman market economics where the price of agricultural products was adjusted below the cost of marginal productivity by the law of the 'survival of the fittest' (Freyne, 'Herodian Economics in Galilee: Searching for a suitable model,' *Modelling early Christianity*, 28-45).

[163]The surplus labourers consisted of beggars, bandits or sicarii in first century Palestine. However, expandables in the Jamesian society were not Marx' "reserved army of the unemployed" because, according to Lenski and Finley, unemployment in ancient Rome occurred on account of the lack of technology. On the other hand, Marx maintained that unemployment arises out of the advancement of technology which produces machines. According to Marx, the capitalist wants to increase profits by replacing labour with machines. Thus, the increase in supply of labour decreases the price of labour in the market. Now, the capitalist uses cheap labour which eventually results in an increase in wages because of the demand for labour. The increase in wages which reduces the profits of the capitalist again causes the capitalist to invest in machines instead of in labour. However, the spiral operates through an increase in mechanization and unemployment, according to "Marxian Algebra (P=S'(1-Q))." P is the rate of profit. S' is the rate of surplus caused by cheap labour. Q is the rate of investment in machines compared with the total investment, machines and labour. According to this formula, the increased use of machines means a decrease in profit. The algebra is designed to show that P (rate of profit) results from S' (surplus caused by cheap labour) rather than from Q (rate of investment in machines). Thus, Marxists ascribe profits to labourers in order to persuade them to regain their lot through the class struggle. See Harry Landreth and David C. Colander, *History of Economic Thought* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994[3]), 194f. Ancient economy which is different from the Marxist's will be dealt with in due course.

[164]Contra Tsuji who, 146, writes, "Das (*5.1-6*) ist keine analytische Bemerkung zum Reichtum, sondern Ausdruck seiner Antipathie gegenüber allen Reichen."

from the labourers, which was sometimes compared with murder (5.6; Sirach 34.21-22), resulted in complaints ('cries') to God (5.4). Being inspired by early Jewish traditions, James pronounced divine judgment on the rich agriculturalists who were exploiting the inhumane labour market mechanism (5.1-6).[165]

To conclude, the epistle was addressed by an author in Jerusalem to the Christian churches at large (1.1). James was dealing with both losers and winners in mercantile businesses in 1.9-11. In 2.1-7 he deals with the problems of partiality towards the rich and the poor. The debts problem had led to landlessness and, eventually, to terrorism (4.2). James refers to merchants in 4.13-17. In that merchants were addressed twice in 1.9-11 and in 4.13-17, the social location of the epistle would seem to be a centre of mercantilism. James describes injustice as practiced by rich agriculturalists in 5.1-6. In brief, James largely addressed economically categorised groups: poor peasants/artisans, beggars, rich financiers, maritime merchants/shipowners, large estate owners, and landless daylabourers. In order to gain a clear focus on the social location, Part Two will be devoted to an investigation of the socio-economic setting of first century Mediterranean and Palestinian society.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Two thousand years ago, ancient readers might well have understood the epistle without difficulty. In order to understand the epistle of James in its original setting, it is necessary to explore its enigmatic terminology and ideas against the background of contemporary early Jewish literature. We are obliged to utilise the ideas of the thought world contemporaneous to the epistle in order to overcome the immense time lapse, because the epistle was written without any attempt to communicate to modern minds. At the same time, social scientific categories will assist us in analysing the socio-economic conditions of Jamesian society with the help of historical data. Before beginning the task of interpreting

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[165]On the judgment theme of the second temple literature, refer to Marius Reiser, *Jesus and Judgment: Jesus' Eschatological Proclamation in Its Jewish Context* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 43-163; Randal A. Argall, *I Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 165-225; refer to 1 Enoch 48.10; 94.8; 95.6-7; 96.8; 97.8-9 and Sirach 13.18; 21.5; 34.21-22; 35.17-20. Further see Part Three.

the epistle of James in Part One, the socio-economic conditions of Jamesian society in Part Two, and the ideas from early Jewish literature used by James in Part Three, we will discuss methodologies applied in these parts.

A. History and Sociology.

The argument concerning the dichotomy between sociology and history continues to be a contentious issue: put simply, the difference is that sociology utilises models while history does not.[166] Although P.F. Craffert mentions that sociology and history are actually incompatible with each other,[167] he criticizes the antithesis between sociology and history in an early article.[168] Craffert finds an argument against the antithesis between history and sociology in Burke's words: "The historical and the sociological approach are both complementary and dependent on one another, and both necessarily involve the comparative method."[169] Such antithesis between sociology and history would also contradict any legitimation of an interdisciplinary approach. Nevertheless, it is taken for granted that sociology is more oriented towards models than history is. The difference between sociology and history is a matter of degree. The distinction is elaborated further below. Social description uses more history while social explanation, sociology.[170] Craffert also argues against the dichotomy between social description and social explanation in biblical interpretation, because the former also uses models, but only covertly and implicitly, whilst in the latter they are explicit.[171] Despite the hierarchical biased view that social description serves as the source of social explanation, J. Gager convincingly adopts an eclectic approach to social description and social explanation: "Explanation without description is vacuous.

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[166]Peter Burke, *Sociology and History* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), 33: "Sociology is concerned with the establishment of general laws, while history is concerned with the particular, the unrepeatable, the unique."

[167]P.F. Craffert, 'Relationships between Social-Scientific, Literary, and Rhetorical Interpretation of Texts,' *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 26 (1996) 45-55.

[168]P.F. Craffert, 'Towards Interdisciplinary Definition of the Social-Scientific Interpretation of the New Testament,' *Neotestamentica* 25 (1991) 124-125.

[169]Ibid; Burke, *Sociology and History* 33.

[170]Thomas F. Best, 'The Sociological Study of the New Testament: Promise and Peril of a New Discipline,' *Scottish Journal of Theology* 36 (1983) 191-194.

[171]Craffert, 'Towards an Interdisciplinary Definition of the Social-Scientific Interpretation,' 123-144.

Description without implicit theory is impossible."[172]

In the socio-economic analysis of the Jamesian society (Part Two) both history and the overpopulation theory are going to be used. By applying the insights from the socio-economic analysis of Part Two and the voluntary association model, we will portray 'the poor in the Jamesian community' in the epistle of James in Part One.

B. Ontological/Theological Ideas and Etic Models.

Usually modern social-scientific critics/interpreters utilise etic models (or modern social-scientific models) to interpret emic texts. Susan R. Garrett has, for one, been critical of an indiscriminate use of etic models in relation to biblical texts because the imposition of etic models on emic data is wont to produce anachronism and ethnocentrism. The observer's etic view would be incommensurable or incompatible with the ancient author's emic view. Alternatively Garrett argues that symbolic forms are to be preferred over models.[173] Garrett's opinion that disciplines in the humanities consist only of patterns, symbolic forms, rituals, or myths is summarised in the table below. She believes that biblical interpretation also belongs in the right-hand column.

Natural Sciences, Social Sciences	Humanities (Historiography, Anthropology, Ethnography, etc.)
Scientific Laws, Models	Patterns, Symbolic Forms, Rituals or Myths
Hypothetico-Deductive	Inductive
Etic, Present	Emic, Past
Explanation	Interpretation

Critics who firmly espouse the use of etic models in biblical interpretation do not agree with Garrett. For example, Esler appears to fall into methodological reductionism[174] when he maintains, against Garrett, that "(*etic or modern social scientific*) models are heuristic tools,

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[172]John G. Gager, 'Shall We Marry Our Enemies?: Sociology and the New Testament,' *Interpretation* 36 (1982) 259.

[173]Susan R. Garrett, 'Sociology (Early Christianity),' *ABD* 6.89-98. On symbolic interpretation, see Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London: Fontana Press, 1993) 87-141.

[174]John Elliott, *Social-Scientific Criticism of the New Testament: An Introduction* (London: SPCK, 1995) 93.

not ontological (*theological*) statements."[175] Although detecting only emic ideas in the texts has been condemned as a 'methodological docetism,'[176] it is at least correct to say that modern etic models cannot provide comprehensive hermeneutical tools that correspond to the particularity of the Bible. As is noted above, Christian social justice is here dealt with ontologically or theologically because the topic of social justice ultimately belongs to the domain of values.[177] As Esler maintains that scholars of social justice or social justice itself are not social-scientific,[178] the discipline of social justice has to be distinguished from the category of social-science or sociology. In short, Esler's methodology cannot address the author's theological treatment of social justice. Other researchers may wish to conduct a thorough examination of the sociological dimensions of James. Here, however, we will mainly concentrate on our issue in the exegetical part, and examine social justice in early Jewish writings in the light of ethical dualism and the notion of the image of God in Part Three. Nevertheless, we will also at least at times find reason to make use of sociological findings in a piecemeal way as they are relevant within the context of a particular discussion.

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[175]Esler, 'Introduction: Models, context and kerygma in New Testament interpretation,' in *Modelling early Christianity* 4, (italics added).

[176]Robin Scroggs, 'The Sociological Interpretation of the New Testament: The Present State of Research,' *New Testament Studies* 26 (1980) 165; Elliott, *Social-Scientific Criticism* 90.

[177]E.g.,Georg Simmel according to whom, sociology is to examine 'form[s] of sociation' or 'seelische Wechselwirking' among social factors rather than to discuss values; thus sociology which is free from values is the science of relationship ('Beziehumgslehre') (G. Simmel, *Georg Simmel: On Individuality and Social Forms* (ed., Donald N. Levine; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

[178]From personal conversation with him.

PART ONE: EXPOSITION OF THE EPISTLE OF JAMES

Chapter One: Introduction

This part shall ultimately focus on an exegetical analysis of the epistle of James in relation to the problem of social justice. Before commencing with the exegesis itself, we shall consider to what extent social theories not inherent in the document may be thought to provide a framework within which to conduct our analysis. These theories will, appropriately, be evaluated in relation to 'the poor in the Jamesian community,' since any consideration of social justice in James must take these into account. The exegesis (chapters, two and three) will then examine social justice within the framework of James' anthropology and Christology. As will become evident, there are two kinds of anthropology at work in the epistle: one that regards the human being as essentially sinful and another that affirms that the human being is created in the image of God. Considered in relation to Christology, these kinds of anthropology determine the way the problem of social justice is addressed.

A. Some Social Justice Theories

Here we will briefly examine four theories of social justice to ascertain whether or not any of them could serve as a interpretative tool for social justice in the epistle of James: communist utopia, euergetism (the patron and client relationship), Aristotelian friendship, and the theories of justice by Nozick and Rawls.

a. Communist Utopia?

John Dominic Crossan has claimed that "egalitarianism stems not only from peasant Judaism but, even more deeply, from peasant society as such."[1] Similarly, James Scott writes:

> The radical vision to which I refer is strikingly uniform despite the enormous variations in peasant cultures and the different great traditions of which they partake. . . . At the risk of overgeneralizing, it is possible to describe some common features of this reflexive symbolism. It nearly always implies a society of brotherhood in which there will be **no rich and no poor**, in which exist **no distinctions of rank and status** (save those between believers and nonbelievers). . . . The envisioned utopia may also include a self-yielding and abundant nature as well as a radically transformed human nature in which greed, envy, and hatred will disappear. While the earthly utopia is thus an anticipation of the future, it often harks back to a mythic Eden from which mankind has fallen away.[2]

According to this view, peasants, more than other levels of society, are prone to place an emphasis on 'brotherhood' or egalitarianism in order to share someone else's wealth, whether or not they have produced it. Crossan and Scott agree that there existed a vague dream of 'brotherhood' in antiquity which was hoped would bring about a utopia.[3] The society in which "there will be no rich and no poor" in an economic sense is not what James dreams of. Although James espouses distributive justice (2.15-16; 5.1-6), he does not condemn private entrepreneurship (so 4.13-17). The harsh tone in 5.1-6 does invite the expectation of a utopian organisation in the Jamesian community. However, contrary to our expectation, we find no social structural programme for the poor in James as in Josephus' description of Essenian communism (*BJ* 2.122):

> These men are despisers of riches, and so very communicative as raises our admiration. Nor is there any one to be found among them who has more than another; for it is a law among them, that those who come to them must let what they have be common to the whole order, - insomuch, that among them all there is no appearance of poverty or excess of riches, but every one's possessions are intermingled with every other's possessions: and so there is, as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren.[4]

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[1]John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992) 263.

[2]Bolds added; Crossan, 264; James Scott, 'Protest and Profanation: Agrarian Revolt and the Little Tradition,' *Theory and Society* 4 (1977) 225-226.

[3]See also Hengel, *Earliest Christianity* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1986), 151 and 155, who argues against "the thesis that private property came into being as a result of the Fall." On the views of common possession of the Cynics, Stoics and Neo-Pythagorean schools, Hauck, 'Κοινός,' *TDNT* 3.794-795;see also H.J. Klauck, 'Gütergemeinschaft in der klassiken Antike, Qumran und im Neuen Testament,' *Revue de Qumran* 11 (1982) 47-70.

[4]*AJ* 15.371 reads, "These men (*the Essenes*) live the same kind of life as do those whom the Greeks call Pythagoreans." See also *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 75-87, especially 85-87; *Apologia Pro Iudaeis* 11.1-18, especially 11.5-13.

If actually put into practice in the nascent Jerusalem church (see Acts 2.44-45), Christian 'Gütergemeinschaft' did not survive very long because the community did not sustain itself through economic production as the Essenes of Qumran. Perhaps this was due to an expectation of the imminent coming of the kingdom, which was escalated by the experience of receiving the Holy Spirit.[5]

First century Jews had their own charitable institutions. In 2 Maccabees 3.10, there were deposits for widows and orphans in the temple treasury. Ze'ev Safrai introduces Jewish charitable organisations like *kepuh* which "gave weekly financial support" and *tamhui* which "provided daily food portions."[6] He also mentions that "the *gabbaim* were in charge of the charitable institutions. . . . Charity was collected by two *gabbaim* and dispensed by three, just like any other court-sponsored activity."[7] However, it is not clear whether all this charitable organisation accurately reflects the situation in the pre-70s. Out of 14 tithes during a seven year cycle, two tithes were given to the poor while 6 tithes went to priests and 6 tithes were for feasts in Jerusalem.[8]

Jesus' stance was not altered in the Jamesian church.[9] If a socio-economic programme was not chosen, this would mean that the Jamesian community had to deal with the poverty problem through charitable institutions. The Jamesian community suffered more severely (1.27; 2.14-17; 5.1-6; Acts 6.1; Paul's collection from the Gentile church for the Jerusalem church [Acts 11.30; 24.17; Romans 15.25; 1 Corinthians 16.1; 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 chapters]). It is possible to infer that Jewish Christians were being excluded from sharing public funds. The author was forced to enjoin his readers to create an alternative for the poor. James' attack on the rich agriculturalists (5.1-6) is more ruthless because the church was excluded from the public charity of which the rich agriculturalists (high priests) were in

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[5]Hengel, *Early Christianity* 182; Hengel and Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch* 463, n. 1256.

[6]*ERP* 50.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Jack Pastor, *Land and Economy in Ancient Palestine*, 139. On tithes see Jubilees 32.10-15;Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Deuteronomy 26.12-13;Tobit 1.17;Josephus *AJ* 4.240;*m.Sota* 9.10; 11QTemple 43.

[9]Jesus' tradition is indeed critical of the rich: it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God (Mark 10.25;Matthew 19.24;Luke 18.25); it warns his disciples to beware of the Pharisees and Herodians who were rich in Galilee at the time (Mark 8.15;Matthew 16.6;Luke 21.1). However, it does not say to a rich young man to donate his possessions to Jesus' circle and to work in the collective farms of the community as in the Essene community; it rather tells him to give them to the poor and to follow Jesus (Mark 10.17-22). It called him not to undertake economic activities, but to take care of the poor or the community by following Christ. Thus the Christian church takes the middle way (*via media*) between communism and individualism or between responsibility and liberty (Brunner, *Justice and Social Order* 183).

charge.

b. Euergetism: the Patron and Client Relationship?

According to Goodman, *euergetism* - in Malina's language, the patron and client relationship - could not fully develop in Jewish society during the first century AD.[10] In Jewish society, the rich were called חשאים (the secret ones) who "gave *secretly* to the poor . . . not only occasionally and in an unorganised fashion but out of a common treasure established for the purpose"[11] possibly on account of the honour of God and the poor (Matthew 6.1ff). Honouring God, which eclipses human honour, was in principle the Jewish ethos although it was neglected in many cases. Josephus and Luke attributed Herod Agrippa's death to his depriving God of his honour, rather than to disease (*AJ* 19.343-352; Acts 12.20-23). Historically Jews avoided ostentatious public actions: the Second Temple was built by Idumean Herod the Great; a synagogue in Capernaum was built by a centurion (Luke 7.5); under the procurators Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Julius Alexander (A.D. 44-46) the "great famine occurred in Judea, during which Queen Helena bought grain from Egypt for large sums and distributed it to the needy" (*AJ* 20.101; here again Helena was not a Jew).[12] Pursuing God's honour may result in diminishing human glory/honour (euergetism, the patron and client relationship). Jewish society was feebly structured on account of this Jewish ethos.

James reproaches his community for their sycophancy to the rich which tends to cultivate a kind of euergetism or the patron and client model (2.1ff). James' egalitarian encouragement of the poor, "Let the poor brother boast in his exaltation" (1.9; and see Matthew 23.9-12), is contrary to the Greco-Roman ethos of the hierarchical patron-client

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[10]*RCJ* 128; contra Malina, 'Patron and Client,' 3-32.

[11]Weber, *Ancient Judaism*, 409 (my italic); Jeremias, *Jerusalem* 132, mentions that in the temple there were two chambers: **chamber of secrets** where the pious put gifts for the poor; chamber of utensils (*m.Sheqalim* 5.6, שתי לשכות היו במקדש/ אחת לשכת חשאים/ ואחת לשכת הכלים/ לשכת חשאים יראי חטא נותנים לתוכה בחשאי/ ועניים בני טובים מתפרנסים מתוכה בחשאי).

[12]*RCJ* 127.

model[13]. Any hierarchical view or partiality between rich and poor brothers, which is, nevertheless, true in the Jamesian community, is contrary to James. Thus it is difficult to adopt this for the exegesis of James.

c. Aristotelian Friendship?

Aristotle thought that communitarianism could be achieved through the concept of *friendship*: the proverb "friends have all things in common" is quite right, because friendship enables a communal life.[14] Aristotle analysed three kinds of friendship; each is based on utility, pleasure, or what a friend is. When friends are no longer useful or give no pleasure, friendship disappears. Only friendship based upon what a friend is endures permanently. Aristotle's notion of true friendship is in a sense similar to the later notion of Christian love[15]. However, although Aristotelian true friendship might include a slave,[16] it should be contingent upon the 'goodness' or 'good character' of friends. This restricted condition of Aristotelian friendship differentiates itself from the Jamesian anthropology. Thus, the love or royal law in 2.8 is not as limited by any condition on the part of the beneficiaries as in Aristotelian friendship.

d. Nozick or Rawls' Theories of Justice?

Recently two justice theories (procedural and distributive justice) have been in

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[13]Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* 28-62; J.K. Chow, *Patronage and Power: A Study of Social Networks in Corinth* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992).

[14]Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, 8.9.

[15]Cf. Niebuhr, *Nature and Destiny of Man* 2.251ff; Brunner, *Justice and Social Order* 18ff.

[16]"Therefore friendship to him as a slave is impossible, although as a human being it is possible" (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 8.11). However, Christian communitarianism cannot be identified with Aristotelian true friendship because ancient Greco-Romans did not embrace beggars as friends until the Christianisation of the Roman Empire (*AE* 38-39). Child benefit in the Empire was given to the middle class, not to the poor (ibid, 200-203). Until the Empire became a Christian nation, the government did not care about the poor (ibid, 201).

contention.[17] Alasdair MacIntyre lucidly explains the two particular viewpoints ('A' represents Nozick's view on procedural justice, and 'B' illustrates Rawls' view on distributive justice):

> A, who may own a store or be a police officer or a construction worker, has struggled to save enough from his earnings to buy a small house, to send his children to the local college, to pay for some special type of medical care for his parents. He now finds all of his projects threatened by rising taxes. He regards this threat to his projects as *unjust*; he claims to have a right to what he has earned and that nobody else has a right to take away what he acquired legitimately and to which he has a just title.
>
> B, who may be a member of one of the liberal professions, or a social worker, . . . is, if anything, even more impressed with the inability of the poor and the deprived to do very much about their own condition as a result of inequalities in the distribution of power. He regards both these types of inequality as *unjust* and as constantly engendering further injustice.[18]

Both A and B accuse each other of injustice. A accuses B of theft because B wants to share A's possessions. B accuses A of injustice because human beings are naturally born equal.[19] In the context of Aristotelian true friendship or euergetism, if B shares A's goods, B gives honour to A. However, in the contemporary American setting, in sharing A's goods, B does not give honour to A. A tries to hold back his goods while B tries to get more of a share from A in a legal struggle. In modern politics a 'genuine moral consensus' is not found. Modern government serves as a 'peace-keeping or truce-keeping body,' and tries to achieve a 'set of institutional arrangements.'[20] In modern society the integration of Aristotelian or traditional Christian morality no longer survives. On the other hand, Rawls' justice is regulated by 'difference principle' and 'maximin principle'. According to Rawls, difference principle in the framework of liberty principle is allowed as long as unequal society maximizes the 'primary goods' (rights, liberties, opportunities, income, and wealth, not simple

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[17]John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Oxford: Oxford Press University, 1973); R. Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974). According to Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 5.3.7,**distributive justice** must be 'in accordance with merit/desert in some sense (κατ' ἀξίαν τινὰ).' Idem 5,3,3,also reads, "If what is unjust is unequal, what is just is equal (εἰ οὖν τὸ ἄδικον ἄνισον, τὸ δίκαιον ἴσον.)" He, idem 5.4.1,proposes one more type of justice: 'rectificatory' justice (διορθωτικόν) which is carried on in commercial transactions. "When neither party has too much or too little but both have exactly what they gave, they are said to 'have their own', and there is no question of gaining or losing" (5.4.6). 'Rectificatory justice' could be termed '**procedural justice**' which is Nozick's justice. Aristotle's distributive justice is comparable to Rawls' justice.

[18]Alasdair MacIntyre, 'Justice as a Virtue: Changing Conceptions,' *Communitarianism and Individualism* (eds. Shlomo Avineri and Avner De-Shalit; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 51-52.

[19]For the origins of this view, refer to Hengel, *Earliest Christianity*, 'Natural law and utopia in antiquity,' 151-156. Philosophers talked about charity (Cicero, *De Off.* 2.18.61-62,2.16.55-56),but in reality the poor were despised (*RCJ* 125; *AE* 38). Practical care for the poor originated in Judaism and Christianity.

[20]MacIntyre, 'Justice as a Virtue,' 61-63.

benefits) of the worst-off members (the 'maximin' principle).[21] Nozick's and Rawls' categories are useful but ultimately unsatisfactory for the interpretation of the epistle of James for James is concerned with anthropology (human depravity and value) and, consequently, with how to achieve 'works' (social justice) rather than to define or confine the boundaries of justice.

We found out here that James does not adopt communist utopia, eugetism, Aristotelian friendship and Nozick' and Rawls' theories of justice as interpretative devices. In the next section, we will examine the poor in the Jamesian community for whom James spoke social justice before practicing the exegesis.

B. The Poor in the Jamesian Community.

The 'voluntary association' model from cultural anthropology could serve as an appropriate explanation for the growth of the Jamesian church.[22] Voluntary associations usually appear during urbanisation. Although the urbanisation of Roman society is an issue for debate, commercialization undoubtedly drove landless peasants to the cities.[23] In referring to urbanisation, it is important to distinguish between modern and ancient urbanisation. The industrial revolution, beginning in the 18th century, created jobs so that rural peasants could be employed in industrial complexes without being obliged to sell their land. However, in antiquity there were no such mass production factories. The landless-

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[21]Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*; Rawls, 'Distributive Justice,' *Justice* (ed. Alan Ryan; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 73-94.

[22]On scholars who interpret the Christian church as a voluntary association, Dennis C. Duling, 'The Matthean Brotherhood and Marginal Scribal Leadership,' *Modelling Early Christianity*, 159-164; W. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* 77-80; R.L. Wilken, 'Toward a Social Interpretation of Early Christianity Apologetics,' *Church History* 39 (1970) 1-22; idem, 'Collegia, Philosophical Schools and Theology,' in *The Catacombs and Colosseum* (eds. S. Benko and J.J. O'Rourke; Valley Forge: Judson, 1971) 268-91; E.A. Judge, *The Social Pattern of Christian Groups in the First Century* (London: Tyndale, 1960) 40-48. About field researches as regards voluntary associations, see Kenneth Little, *West African Urbanization: A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); C. Meillassoux, *Urbanization of an African Community* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1968).

[23]*AE* 185-86. On commercialization and exploitation of peasants, John H. Kautsky, *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires* 28-35; the second part of this thesis.

unskilled-unemployed population came to the cities[24] and formed impoverished districts there, while the rich distanced themselves from the poor by building walls between the two precincts.[25] In antiquity the demand for unskilled labour was quite limited; it was created only by construction works in times of agricultural surplus. Being especially sympathetic to the marginalised of society, Christianity was attractive to the urban poor who had lost their land to the rich, left the primary kinship group (the traditional extended family), felt severe emotional deprivation, and were seeking an alternative fictive kinship in cities. Although in the rural and traditional setting they had lived under a kind of traditional kinship which served an insurance function in a time of crisis, in their new urban setting the unskilled rural population found no jobs, no money for food or necessities, no families, no one who cared for them, and thus felt helpless.[26]

Consequently, voluntary associations as 'small fictive kinships' became 'surrogate groups' for the previous traditional kinship.[27] There are usually three types of voluntary association: tribal associations; cult associations; and economic associations. Synagogues of the Jewish diaspora were tribal and cult associations. Trade guilds (*collegia*) were economic associations.[28] Since the 'fundamental unit of economic production' of ancient advanced

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[24]Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, mentions that Jerusalem was a centre of mendicancy (116) and that a large section of the population was dependant on charity and relief (112; 138); unemployed workers (26) and teachers were supported from the Temple treasury; the temple treasurer and the captain of the temple were relatives of the high priests (196).

[25]Richard L. Rohrbaugh, 'The Pre-industrial City in Luke-Acts: Urban Social Relations,' *The Social World of Luke-Acts* (ed. J.H. Neyrey; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991) 139, 144.

[26]They lived in dirty, shabby and crumbling houses in cities (Juvenal, *Satires* 3.193-202;Martial, *Epigrams* 8.14.5-6, etc). On early Christian church growth in the lonely urban setting, see Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996) 129-161; Abraham J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians: the Philosophical Tradition of Pastoral Care* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987) 34-35, but 36f, maintains that feelings of deprivation come from conversion experience as in philosopher groups rather than the social setting of converters; idem, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (Baton Rouge/London: Louisiana State University, 1977) 69, suggests house churches to soothe deprivation feelings, but mentions that the Christian church drew its members from a 'cross-section of most of Roman society' rather than the poor (p. 87). On another sociological motivation of drawing people to the early church, see E.A. Judge, *The Social Patterns of Christian Groups in the First Century*, who examines Christian gatherings generated by relieving the frustrated social aspirations of all range of people.

[27]Duling, 'The Matthean'; Gerhard Lenski, *Power and Privilege:A Theory of Social Stratification*; Jonathan H. Turner, *Societal Stratification: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984) 86-87.

[28]Contrary to this view, Finley, *AE* 136-139, 195, argues that because manufacturing was not developed due to the high cost of transport especially by land and to the small size of the 'consumer stratum' of peasant/Roman society there were no industrial guilds in the ancient economy. Because most of the workers were slaves, they belonged to their owners so that they had no psychological need to participate in guilds. On collegia, refer to Duling, 'The Matthean' 162; *ESAR* 4.208; 841-844; *Jerusalem* 21.

agrarian society was the householder (*pater familias*, בַּעַל־בַּיִת, οἰκοδεσπότης),[29] a voluntary association, specifically the cult-association, calls its head '*pater*.' "The members of these solidarities are brothers. . . . The cult-association, then, is a family and feels itself such."[30] In a modern society or city the concept of father is not as strong as in an ancient agrarian society, because in the former a man's wife, daughters, or sons may have better occupations and incomes than his. However, in a traditional extended agrarian family, the father has the most significant means of income through his ownership of land until his death. His patriarchal power in the family is unique and unsurpassed by any other members of his family. The Roman concept, *pater familias*, provides a good symbol for God as the 'father' of the community. The word *pater familias* was often used as a synonym for *pater*. Roman law endowed the father with virtually absolute control over the lives of his household. "This control was called the *patria potestas* ('the father's power')."[31] Although most fathers were concerned about the welfare of their family, a Roman father might legally abuse his children by selling a child into slavery or even killing 'a child whose behaviour displeased him.'

> The head of the house is also the household priest. This *dominica potestas* extends not only to all children at all ages, including adopted children, but also to grown-up married sons and their issue. It lasts until the death of the father. It also embraces other members of the household, the slaves. It includes the *jus vitae necisque* and the right to expose children. The father has disciplinary and penal power. He can marry and divorce his children as he sees fit. He can give in adoption and emancipate. According to ancient Roman law the son earns income only for the father. Relaxation of paternal control comes only with the Justinian Code.[32]

As will be examined in Part Two, the society of Palestine had more expendables than any other regions of the Roman Empire. Moreover there was a famine and a sabbatical year during AD 44-48 which drove impoverished Palestinian peasants to cities, especially to Jerusalem. These peasants were psychologically and financially impoverished. We may

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[29]Neusner, *The Economy of the Mishnah*, 26.

[30]A.D. Nock, 'The Historical Importance of Cult Associations,' *Classical Review* 38 (1924) 105; Duling, 'The Matthean' 163. Jesus also used familial language to describe his church: God is father (*ho pater ho uranos*); Jesus himself is master; his followers are brothers (Matthew 12.46-50;23.8-10). Malina, 'Patron and Client: the Analogy behind Synoptic Theology,' *Forum* 4/1 (1988) 8, writes, "Such (patron-client) relations 'kin-ify' and suffuse the persons with the aura of kinship, albeit fictive or pseudo-kinship. . . . Patron-client relations take on these kinship dimensions"; Sverre Aalen, "'Reign' and 'House' in the Kingdom of God in the Gospels," *New Testament Studies* 8 (1962) 215-40; Oakman, *Jesus and the Economic Questions of his Day*, 196.

[31]Jo-Ann Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 17-8.

[32]Schrenk, '*pater*,' *TDNT* 5.950; see also W.V. Harris, 'The Roman Father's Power of Life and Death,' in *Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. Arthur Schiller* (eds., R.S. Bagnall and W.V. Harris; Leiden: Brill, 1986) 81-95.

assume that they would have been attracted to the Jamesian church which concerned itself with the poor. No doubt James would have attempted to comfort those who were bereaved of their previous primary relationship by providing a new fictive kinship in the Christian community. The author of the epistle describes God as father (πατήρ) (1.17, 27; 3.9). He repeatedly calls the addressees brothers (ἀδελφοί) (1.2, 9, 16, 19; 2.1, 5, 14, 15; 3.1, 10, 12; 4.11; 5.7, 9, 10, 12, 19).[33] Since the concept of God as an object of honour might be vague and remote,[34] Jesus as the broker of the heavenly patron (God) makes honouring God more tangible.[35] The phrase 'the Lord of Glory' may be a strong patron formula which comforts those who suffer from bereavement and helplessness.[36] The word 'Christ' is also related to the Jewish eschatological hope. Yet the Jamesian community was supposed to wait for the second coming of the LORD (James 5.7-9). All these hopes involving Christ encouraged the landless poor who were psychologically deprived. The fact that Jesus was the lawgiver and judge (ὁ νομοθέτης καὶ κριτής, 4.12) also reassured those who were socio-economically oppressed. The fact that Jesus is greatly compassionate and merciful (πολύσπλαγχνός ἐστιν ὁ κύριος καὶ οἰκτίρμων, 5.11) and answered prayer (5.17-18) would have been intended to bring comfort to those who were helpless and discouraged. The Jamesian community was the client who honoured Christ who, in turn, answered their prayers and cared for their lives in the contemporary precarious world. However, the community was full of jealousy, envy and backbiting. Because of the prospering economy of the Eastern Roman Empire, some had become successful while others remained the same but felt severe relative deprivation. Moreover, the members were despising the poor who came to the church to be comforted. Although they were verbally nice to the poor, they did

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[33]Of course, the addressees are not altogether the poor. However, in this part where the social problem of the poor is dealt with the author's offer of the diadic, fictive kinship to the addressees may form a consolation to the poor.

[34]The naming of God, Jesus, and his community reveals two relationships: unequal relationship between God and humans and equal relationship among humans. Regarding unequal relationship, Aristotle wrote, "The superior friends should get more honour, and the needy friend more gain; because honour is the reward for virtue and beneficence, whereas the remedy for need is gain" (*Nicomachean Ethics* 8.14). On the other hand, Aristotle also writes, "Where there is a great gulf, as between God and man, friendship becomes impossible," (ibid 8.7) which implies that the unequal hellenistic relationships between gods and humans are very nominal, although the myths of the hellenistic gods are rhetorical.

[35]For a detailed explanation of honour, see Malina, *The New Testament World*, 28-62. However, predominantly the honour and shame system is the paradigm of the gender roles of male (husband) and female (wife) in the Mediterranean region (J.P. Mitchell, 'Honour and Shame,' *An Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* 280-81).

[36]Jesus is referred to as the LORD and Christ (κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 1.1), the LORD of glory (τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης, 2.1), and the LORD (κύριος), [1.7. 12; 4.10, 15; 5.4, 7, 8, 10, 11 (2x), 14, 15].

not help them at all. James had to deal with such problems as inner conflicts motivated by envy, discrimination, and no action toward the poor. We will consider James' rejoinder to these problems of social justice below.

Chapter Two: Ethical Dualism and Social Justice in the Epistle.

James describes the human being as full of envy and subject to temptation by his own desire (1.14; 4.5). This *hamartio*-anthropology requires divine help in order to produce good works (1.5; 3.17). Autonomous people do not want to accept any doubt regarding the sufficiency of human ability and thus think that they do not need any supernatural help for their actions (cf. 4.13). James does not reflect a world view which divorces human actions from dualistic cosmic powers. The epistle of James depicts the human being in struggle between two powers, namely, wisdom from above and wisdom from below. Thus it is legitimate to say that "sanctification is a relationship concept"[1] in the sense that humans need divine help to do good works. Early Jewish literature also bears witness to the fact that human actions are controlled and governed by dual cosmic powers. This dualistic framework for understanding human activity is especially evident in Testament of Judah 20.1-2[2] and in 1QS 3.20-21.[3] We will examine below how opposing supernatural powers in James influence and produce human actions, in other words, how they lead to social justice or injustice.

A. Temptation and Faith (1.1-8).

Jews dominated the thriving multinational trade in the eastern part of the Empire. Some Palestinian merchants enjoyed profits from the transit trade by virtue of the geographic location of Palestine between the Roman Empire and India/China.[4] Although

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[1]L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 527.

[2]"So understand, my children, that two spirits await an opportunity with humanity: the spirit of truth and the spirit of error. In between is the conscience of the mind which inclines as it will."

[3]"Control over all the sons of righteousness lies in the hand of the prince of lights, and they walk in the ways of light; complete control over the sons of injustice lies in the hand of the angel of darkness, and they walk in the ways of darkness." Further refer to ethical dualism in this thesis.

[4]Refer to the economic part of this thesis.

most scholars undoubtedly agree that James 4.13-17 refers to merchants, merchants' traveling is also implied in such phrases as 'all his ways' (1.8) and 'his journeys' (1.11). Thus it is suggested by scholars that the addressees of 1.2-25 are also merchants.[59] Jewish merchants recruited their relatives in Palestine. However, most remained as before and felt poorer although nothing had changed in their circumstances on account of unfavourable comparison with successful businessmen.[60] We have already remarked above that 'the lowly brother' (ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ ταπεινὸς) in James 1.9 is not the beggar (ὁ πτωχός), but the humiliated person in the market mechanism. The fact that some members' prayer to have more (economic) gain was not answered by God (4.3) suggests James views their prayer as motivated by envy or jealousy, rather than by necessity. A proverb contemporaneous with James that "the love of money is the mother of all evil" (Pseudo-Phocylides 42; Sibylline Oracles 2.111; 1 Timothy 6.10) corroborates this especially among people in the economically thriving Roman East. The word πειρασμός (1.2, 12) may be understood against this background.

However, the word temptation in Greek (πειρασμός) has two entries of definition: trial and temptation.[61] Similarly it could be either external persecution by the rich or lust, according to Mayor and Ropes.[62] E. Tamez suggests that it is an economic external persecution of the rich on the poor.[63] Wall argues that it connotes anger caused by desire for wealth.[64] Laws and Adamson respectively interpret the word πειρασμός as inner temptation[65] or lust[66]. James clarifies that πειρασμός is lust, when he wrote, "Each person is tempted (πειράζεται) by his self-centred desire or lust (τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας) being lured and enticed" (1.14). Thus the definition of the word πειρασμός in James denotes temptation rather than external trial.

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[59]Maynard-Reid, 47; Mußner, 75; Chaine, 16; Mayor, 45.

[60]*RCJ* 62-63.

[61]*Liddell and Scott* s.v. 'πειρασμός.'

[62]Mayor, 183ff; Ropes, 133.

[63]Tamez, 'Elemente der Bibel, die den Weg der Christliche Gemeinde erhellen. Eine hermeneutische Übung anhand des Jakobusbriefs,' *Evangelische Theologie* 51 (1991) 92-100, who reads the epistle of James in the light of liberation theology.

[64]Wall, 50, 95, 253.

[65]Laws, 51ff.

[66]Adamson, *James: The Man and His Message*, 330ff.

Verse 1.14 does not refer to a supernatural being but to lust as that which influences human actions. Thus, temptation appears to be purely a psychological phenomenon. However, although a person is tempted by lust, James is silent about a being by whom the person is 'being lured and enticed.' Later Jewish tradition could regard the devil and lust as synonymous ("Satan and the *Yeser* and the Angel of Death are one" [*b.Baba Bathra* 16a]). Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs come close to this as well. It is made clear later in 3.15 and 4.7 that the being is the devil or wisdom below. The word δελεάζω (lure, entice) is defined "to entice by a bait."[13] As Spitta put it, the subject of δελεάζω may be the devil who behind the reality uses lust as a bait to cause humans to sin. Surveying the word πειρασμός in the New Testament and the Dead Sea Scrolls, K.G. Kuhn makes the point clear: "*Peirasmos* describes the situation of the believer in this battle as that of being constantly attacked by Satan, being at all times exposed to his assaults and having to hold one's own against him."[14] Thus the word πειρασμός suggests the spiritual warfare of believers against Satan and lust in the flesh. Adamson writes, "In the body the Prince of Darkness has already set his snares."[15]

In order to conquer lust, James introduces endurance (ὑπομονή) and wisdom (1.3-5). Commentators define 'endurance' (ὑπομονὴ, 1.3-4, 5.11) as an active and militant concept of 'steadfastness, staying power, not *passive* patience' against Satan.[16] Commentators find martyrs' militant stance of 4 Maccabees in this word. James encourages readers to ask wisdom from above to overcome temptation (1.5). Generally scholars regard wisdom from above in James as the Holy Spirit,[17] or Jesus[18]. If wisdom were the Mosaic law,[19] James would not enjoin the addressees to ask wisdom from God or above. This demand for wisdom from above appears to be directly influenced by Wisdom of Solomon 9.10 ("Send her [wisdom] forth from the holy heavens, and from *the throne of thy glory* send her, that she may

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[13]*Lidell and Scott.*

[14]K.G. Kuhn, 'New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament,' in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; London: SCM Press Ltd, 1958), 108.

[15]Adamson, 343.

[16]Ropes, 135; Laws, 53; Adamson, 318.

[17]Laws, 54; Adamson, 322; Johnson, *The Letter of James* 202.

[18]Adamson, 387; Baasland, Kirk, Hoppe, Hartin.

[19]Wall, 82.

be with me and toil, and that I may learn what is pleasing to thee"). Wisdom (Jesus)[20] in 1.5; 3.13, 17 is contrasted to wisdom from below in 3.15 or the devil in 4.7. Prayer for wisdom could mean a kind of exorcism because exorcism in 5.12 which is implied in the word ὅρκος ('an oath'; 'the witness of the oath, *the power or object adjured*'-Liddell and Scott) could be projected back into our verse 1.5 and also 1.25; 4.7. The verb form of the word, ὁρκίζω, appears in Acts 19.13b which reads, "I *adjure* (ὁρκίζω) you (a demon) by the Jesus whom Paul preaches."[21] Exorcism should be performed *only* ('neither by heaven nor by earth' 5.12; see also 'κατὰ τὰ στοιχεια τοῦ κόσμου καὶ οὐ κατὰ Χριστόν,' Colossians 2.8[22]) in the 'name of the Lord' through prayer (5.14). S. Eitrem writes, "We may be allowed to date the insertion of his name into this sort of magic formulae back to Jesus' lifetime (Mark 9.38)."[23] Jesus' name exorcises peirasmos and the devil.

To summarise, the devil makes use of desire or lust to tempt believers to sin. Believers could conquer the devil through steadfastness in faith and wisdom from above.

B. Death in Sin and New Life in Christ (1.12-25).

A number of scholars think that the Word of truth (1.18), the implanted Word, the Word, and the perfect law of liberty are synonyms.[24] James mentions 'the implanted Word' (1.21), 'the Word' (1.22), and 'the perfect law of liberty' (1.25) without sufficient explanation. So, scholars' views on these terms are various: 'the commandment of love'[25]; 'the Sermon

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[20]On the identification of wisdom with Jesus J.A. Kirk, 'The Meaning of Wisdom in James,' *NTS* 16 (1969/1970) 24-38; Hoppe, 98; Hartin, 81-115.

[21]Walter Bindemann, 'Weisheit versus Weisheit: der Jakobusbrief als innerkirchlicher Diskurs,' *ZNW* 86 (1997) 196.

[22]Ancient exorcists adjured many names of gods (see Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 260).

[23]S. Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament* (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksells, 1966) 18.

[24]Laws, 83-85; Mußner, *Der Jakobusbrief* 107-108; Marty, 53; Chaine, 26; Ropes, 167; Johnson, *The Letter of James* 214; Dibelius, 149; R.B. Ward, 'The Communal Concern of the Epistle of James,' 123, 125; O. Via, 'Right Strawy Epistle Reconsidered: A Study in Biblical Ethics and Hermeneutic,' *Journal of Religion* 49 (1969) 253-267, being puzzled by the inconsistency that the gospel (the Word) is suddenly replaced by the law of liberty in 1.25, attempts to combine the law of liberty with the law of the Spirit/Christ (see Romans 8.2). The law and the Word are also synonyms among Stoics (*SVF* 3.78.2;3.79.40;2.295.31;3.81.23;3.158.11,19).

[25]Laws, 28.

on the Mount'[26]; 'the Gospel'[27]; 'Christianity as a law, including and fulfilling (Mt. 5.17) the old one'[28]; 'the law of Christ as a perfection of the old law'[29]; the 'ethical teachings of Jesus as a *nova lex*'[30]; a 'metaphor of the levitical Jubilee (Leviticus 25)'[31]; 'the Mosaic Torah'[32]; 'the new Christian Norm'[33]; the 'internalization, ethical concentration, and intensification' of the Mosaic law[34].

There are five types of explanations for the expression. Firstly, Wall unambiguously denies that the implanted Word is either Jesus[35] or the Holy Spirit.[36] He maintains instead that it is the Torah[37] and that the Torah is still necessary in the history of salvation[38]. In his opinion James teaches that the human being could achieve good works without divine help or the Holy Spirit[39] because the Torah is self-sufficient to save the soul ("The law of the LORD is perfect, reviving the soul" Psalms 19.7=James 1.21 ['the Word which is able to save your soul']).[40] Thus according to Wall James believed that (the yoke of) the law provides liberty in contrast to Paul who taught liberty from the law.[41] James

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[26]Davids, 100.

[27]Mayor, 70; Mußner, *Der Jakobusbrief* 107.

[28]Ropes, 178.

[29]Chaine, 33.

[30]Cargal, 104.

[31]Wall, 93.

[32]Marty, 60; Meyer, 153.

[33]Dibelius, 152.

[34]Bauckham, *James* 147.

[35]Wall, 73.

[36]Wall, 82.

[37]Wall, 83.

[38]Wall, 86.

[39]Wall, 87.

[40]Wall, 89.

[41]Wall, 92.

was a Pharisaic Christian in view of such passages as Galatians 2.12; Acts 15.13-21, and 21.15-26.[42] While Wall maintains that the Word or law is 'a metaphor of the biblical Torah,'[43] he suddenly relegates the meaning of the term to the law concerning the jubilee for the poor.[44] Although Wall's definition of the term as the law of jubilees for the poor may perhaps fit into 2.12 where love is discussed, the law as the law of jubilees for the poor is unlikely in 1.25 where anger is being dealt with.

Secondly Ropes and Johnson have similar position as regards the Word or law in that they include every possible meaning in it. According to Ropes, it means the Old Testament, the precepts and truths of the gospel.[45] Johnson defines this term as 'gospel, Torah and the Word of creation.'[46]

Thirdly Laws does not take her position, but implicitly identifies the term with Jesus when she quotes, "Behold, the Lord is our mirror" (Odes of Solomon 13.1) in the explanation of 1.23-24.[47]

Fourthly Adamson almost inclines to identify the law with Jesus: 'the Jewish Torah, interpreted and consummated now in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ,'[48] 'a new interpretation of God's purpose, manifested and mediated through the long-promised messiah,'[49] 'the messianic Torah,'[50] and gospel[51].

Fifthly although Hoppe holds that the Word is wisdom (Jesus),[52] his book does not comprise a proper exegesis on 1.18-25 where the Word occurs. Now, it is our turn to inquire whether or not the Word or the law in 1.18-25 refers to Jesus. The equation of the Word or

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[42]Wall, 84. However, we argued previously that James belonged to the moderate party.

[43]Wall, 314, n. 4.

[44]Wall, 93-95.

[45]Ropes, 178.

[46]Johnson, *The Letter of James* 214.

[47]Laws, 86.

[48]Adamson, 260.

[49]Adamson, 283.

[50]Adamson, 285.

[51]Adamson, 397.

[52]Hoppe, 86.

the law with Jesus is plausible when considered against the background of early Jewish literature, later Christian tradition, apostles contemporaneous with James, and especially Matthew. We will examine this evidence below.

a. Early Jewish Literature.

Some of early Jewish literature provides evidence for the expectation of a future messianic figure. We will find that the messianic figure has many titles such as the Prince of light, priest, messiah, wisdom, the Word, the Son of Man, the Elect One, and the Righteous One, when we examine the terms in the light of ethical dualism. The Aramaic word for the Word, Memra (מימרא) in Targums, is also suggested by scholars to constitute the background of the Johannine Word (Jesus).[53] If Philo called Moses a 'living law' (νόμος ἔμψυχος, *De Vita Mosis* 1.162, 2.4), why could James not call Jesus (his Christ) the law (1.25; 2.12)?[54]

b. Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Hermas and Clement of Alexander[55] identify the λόγος or νόμος with Jesus.

Irenaeus identifies 'the law of liberty' or 'the Word of God' with Jesus (*Irenaeus against Heresies* 4.34.4, "The law of liberty, that is, the Word of God, preached by the apostles (who went forth from Jerusalem) throughout all the earth"; see also 4.39.3). Christ is 'the Law in the laws' (*Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus* 53).

Justin maintains that Jesus is an eternal and final Law which replaced the Mosaic law (*Dialogue* 11, 43). He introduces Jesus as 'the law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem' (*Dialogue* 109, 133) who echoes *Irenaeus against Heresies* 4.34.4.

Hermas identifies the Law of God with Jesus ("The Law of God [νόμος θεοῦ] is given to the whole world; and this Law is the Son of God, proclaimed to the ends of the

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[53]Robert Hayward, *Divine Name and Presence:the Memra* (Totowa, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun & Co. Publishers, Inc., 1981) 132-136; A. Díez Macho, 'El Logos y el Espíritu Santo,' *Atlántida* 1 (1963) 381-396. Some Targums appear to have been translated before the first century. However, it is clear that some of Targums was written too late probably the fourth century AD, e.g. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Numbers 24.20.

[54]Robert Badens, *Christ the End of the Law: Romans 10:4 in Pauline Perspective*,(JSNTSS 10; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 144, maintains that Romans 10.4 means the traditional 'fulfillment of the OT' in lieu of the temporal/terminal interpretation of the law. For the terminal view, see Seyoon Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (trans. Sung-Hee Hong; Seoul: Emmaus Publishing Company, 1994), 510. Jesus became the law by fulfilling the Old Testament and terminating it through his redeeming and loving action culminated on the cross if the law is recapitulated by love (Romans 13.10; Galatians 5.14; James 2.8). Thus, the measuring and emulating law is Christ's action on the cross in his meekness and love which governs and defines the fragmentated ten commandments (James 2.10-11; cf. H. Frankemölle, 'Gesetz im Jakobusbrief' in *Das Gesetz im Neuen Testament* (ed., K. Kertelge; Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 1986) 200).

[55]*Stromata* 1.29, 182; 2.15, 68.

earth," *Similitudes* 8.3.2). Those who are crowned (οἱ ἐστεφανωμένοι) are those who suffered on account of the Law (*Similitudes* 8.3.5).

c. John and Peter may have shared the same Christian faith with James together (Galatians 2.9; 1 Corinthians 15.11). John's gospel and 1 Peter who would at least have been related to the Johannine and Petrine circles respectively identify the Word with Jesus (John 1.1-14[56]; 5.37-38; 17.5-26; 1 Peter 1.23).

d. Matthew.[57]

Wisdom in 3.13 and the Word in 1.21 are very similar to that of Jesus tradition (Matthew 11.19, 25-30).

	Matthew 11	James 1.21b	James 3.13
Wisdom/the Word Meekness The wise and understanding	v.19b Yet **wisdom** is justified by her deeds. v. 29b I am gentle and lowly in heart. v. 25b Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and understanding.	Receive the implanted **Word** with reference to meekness.	Who is wise and understanding among you? By his good life let him show his works in the meekness of **wisdom**.

It is the context of Matthew 11 that Jesus was not received by 'the wise and understanding,' i.e., the religious leaders. Matthew 11.25-27 is called the 'Johannine' passage of the Synoptics because of its high Christology.[58] Jesus could execute judgment on the opponents immediately, but he was meek and gentle as the divine wisdom who is penetrated by love and ecological concern to his creature as will be shown especially in our discussion of Wisdom of Solomon in Part Three. Meekness is the common quality of wisdom and the Word ('the meekness of wisdom' (3.13) and 'the implanted Word in reference to meekness (ἐν πραΰτητι)' (1.21)), which will be further discussed below. We suggest that wisdom/the Word in 1.18-25 is Jesus who is characterised by meekness (James 1.21; 3.13; Matthew 11.29).

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[56]The Word participated in the creation (John 1.10) and in dispensing grace (John 1.17). See the same Greek sentence structure of John 1.10 and 1.17.

[57]Concerning literary dependance on the synoptics (especially the Gospel of Matthew), see Massey H. Shepherd, 'The Epistle of James and the Gospel of Matthew,' *JBL* 75 (1956) 40-51; Patrick J. Hartin, *James and Q Sayings of Jesus* 140-217; Bauckham, *James* 74-108; Adamson, *James: the Man & his Message* 169-94. For the relationship between James and other writers, see Mayor, lxvii-cv; Johnson (1995), 26-80.

[58]F. V. Filson, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1967) 141.

e. Interpretation.

According to the Jamesian anthropology the human being is an envious being (4.5) and is controlled by his own lust (1.14). The natural man without divine grace (1.5) is not able to produce good works, but sins. Thus he is put under the sentence of death. James describes this degenerating process of the human fate in 1.15: "Then desire when it has conceived gives birth to sin; and sin when it is full-grown brings forth death."[59] The first fruit in James may be traced back to God's redeemed ones from the Pentateuch. The first fruit, by which unleaven bread is made, commemorates the liberation of God's chosen people from Egypt.[60] When God smote the first born of the Egyptians, he redeemed those of Israelites through the *blood* of lambs.[61] Thus God said, "Consecrate to me all the first-born; whatever is the first to open the womb among the people of Israel, both of man and of beast, is mine" (Exodus 13.2), which is the first mention to the first fruit in the Old Testament. Besides, the first fruit was offered to priests in the passover (11Q20 frag. 5, 6.1). Moreover, the worshiper was instructed to offer the first fruit in a basket and to avow before the priest, "My father was a wandering Aramaean. . . . The Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm and with great terror and with signs and wonders; and He has brought us to this place and has given us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey" (Deuteronomy 26.1-11).[62] Thus, the first fruit in Pentateuch celebrates God's redemption of Israelites from the Egyptians through the blood of lambs. 1.18 is to be understood against this background that God gives new birth/life to believers to be a first fruit through the Word's redemptive priestly works.[63] Accordingly, scholars maintain that 1.18 contains the gospel, i.e., justification by faith.[64]

In 1.19 James deals with Christian life or sanctification regarding tongue and anger.

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[59]This is starkly echoed by Romans 6.23a, "For the wages of sin is death," which evidently corroborates that the Jamesian pericope is dealing with the Christian gospel. The graceful God gives new life to the miserable human being to be first fruit of his creation through the Word of truth (1.18). If 'the Word of truth' is Jesus, this verse again matches Romans 6.23b, "The free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord."

[60]Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd LTD, 1994) 490-493.

[61]Refer to Jubilees in ethical dualism in the thesis.

[62]Richard O. Rigsby, 'First Fruits,' *ABD* 2.797.

[63]'First fruit' in Romans 8.23; 11.16; 16.5; 1 Corinthians 15.20,23; 16.15; 2 Thessalonians 2.13 means those who are converted through Paul as a priest (refer to M. Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*). The Word functions as a priest to produce first fruit.

[64]Adamson, 420; Dibelius, 137. Justification by faith is also implied in forgiveness of sins in 5.15-16.

The unbridled tongue and anger are filthy (1.21a).[65] In order to control them, James enjoins them to "receive in reference to meekness the implanted Word, which is able to save your souls" (1.21b).[66] The implanted Word is not the Stoic innate reason because the imperative, 'receive,' suggests that the implanted Word comes *extra nos*.[67] According to Ward, the phrase 'the implanted Word' is James' coined word.[68] What is James' intention to attach the adjective 'implanted' to the Word? The adjective contrasts the fast implanted-ness of lust stuck to human nature. The implanted-ness of the Word occurred at the filial relationship as 'beget' (ἀποκυέω) suggests in 1.18. The implanted-ness shows the filial stickiness between believers and God the Father/the Word/Christ. The implanted-ness or stickiness may refer to the union with Christ. This union produces good works[69] because this sticky union may drive away the other sticky lust or the Devil in their daily battle against unbridled tongue and anger. Thus believers are given paired graces (*duplex gratia*) in Christ: justification (1.18) and sanctification (1.21-25; 1.5; 4.6).[70] Thus faith and actions are combined together through the sticky relationship with Christ. Consequently James writes,

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[65]See Matthew 15.18-19("But what comes out of the mouth proceeds from the heart, and this *defiles* a man. For out of the heart come evil thoughts, murder, adultery, fornication, theft, false witness, slander"); Mark 7.20-23; cf. Galatians 5.19-21. The clean and unclean model functions as a boundary marker. Outsiders are called unclean; Jews believe that outsiders are unclean so that Jews do not share food with Gentiles; Peter's vision that God made the Gentiles clean shows that the Gentiles became insiders in the community (Acts 10.28,14; 11.8; Romans 14.14; 1 Corinthians 7.14). Division or separation is dirty whilst cohesion or love is holy and clean. Things 'in place' are pure while things 'out of place' are unclean. In 1.21 'wickedness' which results in division in the group is identical to 'filthiness'; care of widows and orphans which maintains the group is pure and undefiled religion and keeping oneself unstained from the world (1.27); the uncontrolled tongue which provokes group division stains the whole body (3.6-8); wisdom from above which coheres individuals in the group is pure (3.17); men of double-mind who want to be out of the group are supposed to cleanse their hands and to purify their hearts (4.8); to restore the defectors to the group means to cleanse pollution (5.20). Purity is maintained in the Jamesian community when unity of the group is preserved. See John H. Elliott, 'Epistle of James in Rhetorical and Social Scientific Perspective: Holiness-Wholeness and Patterns of Replication,' *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 23 (1993) 71-81; Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993) 149-183. For more bibliography on this subject, refer to *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (ed. Richard Rohbaugh; Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1996) 101-104.

[66] Ἐνπραΰτητι could be translated into 'in reference to meekness' (dative of reference).

[67]Ward, 'The Communal Concern of the Epistle of James,' 129; A. Bonnhöffer, *Epiktet und das Neue Testament* (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1911) 97.

[68]Ward, 'The Communal Concern of the Epistle of James,' 127-134.

[69]Stadtland expounds the union with Christ, "The union decides our life-form because only the one who is implanted in Christ through faith unquestionably brings forth fruit" (Stadtland, 121-122). "Without this union there is no fruit of the Holy Spirit in us-the union produces sonship and inheritance. Calvin emphasises the nuance that the one (who is born again) not *through*, but *in* Christ (1 Corinthians 1.5) obtains this abundance" (Stadtland, 122, n. 24).

[70]Stadtland, 143.

"Be doers of the Word, and not hearers only, deceiving yourselves" (1.22). In order to abide with the meek Word, believers should take off (ἀποτίθημι)[71] anger motivated by lust and welcome or stick to the meek implanted Word (1.21).

In 1.25 James elaborates how to achieve sanctification by introducing a mirror image. Johnson writes, "The mirror could stand for a moral exemplar held up for one's contemplation, remembrance, and-most significantly-imitation or emulation."[72] The mirror image connotes moral imitation of Christ.[73] The Jamesian community would have known Jesus' meekness revealed in his redemptive death for their sins implied in 1.18. By 'bending over to look more closely at' (παρακύψας) him and 'standing fast' (παραμείνας) in his meekness and loving kindness, readers are supposed to copy Jesus' meekness in their speech and temper. Those who imitate Jesus are blessed, because they will ultimately inherit eternal life (1.25; 1.12[74]). The Jamesian sanctification means exorcism of selfish lust, anger or the devil through the Word, the law or wisdom (1.5; 1.25 and 4.7) and a personal welcome and emulation of the meek Word (1.21-25).[75]

The law (1.25) is heightened by the phrase, 'of liberty' (τῆς ἐλευθερίας). This liberty

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[71]See also Romans 13.12; Ephesians 4.22; Colossians 3.8; Hebrews 12.1; 1 Peter 2.1.

[72]Johnson, *The Letter of James* 213.

[73]See 2 Corinthians 3.18; Hebrews 2.17-3.1; Ephesians 2.5f (*OTP* 2.747, n. 13 a; N.T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 186).

[74]M. Smith also reads the imitation of the image of God/Christ in 'the crown of life' in 1.12 (Morton Smith, 'The Image of God: Notes on the Hellenization of Judaism, with especial Reference to Goodenough's Work on Jewish Symbols,' *John Rylands Library Bulletin* 40 (1957-58) 473-511). The seven lamps of the menorah are 'the eyes of the Lord' (Zechariah 4.5). Thus, the menorah is identified with God ('Image of God who sees,' *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* 1.697). There were two olive-trees on either side of the menorah (Zechariah 4.3). The two trees were the just (Zechariah 4.13-14). A tree in פַּלְגֵי מָיִם which symbolises the rivers of the garden of Eden (Psalm 1.3; Genesis 2.10-14) denotes the righteous. God's throne is in the tree of paradise (2 Enoch 8.3; Apocalypse of Moses 22.4). Since the tree designates a righteous man, God's throne abides in him. *Bereshit Rabba* 17.6 and 69.3 read, "The patriarchs, they are the throne of God." The Qumran community regarded itself as the 'plant,' which is a 'symbol for the community of the righteous' (Suter, 'Fallen Angel,' *HUCA* 50 (1980) 117, n. 6; Helmer Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (trans. E.T. Sander; New York: Crossroad, 1995) 187-89; 1QS 8.5 (=4Q259 2.12); 1QH 16.20,22; 4Q221 frag. 1 8). Probably 'the harvest or fruit of righteousness' in James 3.18, Philippians 1.11 and Hebrews 12.11 could be interpreted in this light. The fact that the wreath, i.e., the tree of life will be given to the doers of the Word in James 1.12 implies that the throne of God would be established upon them. Thus, the image of God would be restored more to those who practice the Word (love) and walk in the royal law (James 2.8; see Jacob Jervell, *Imago Dei* (Gö ttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960) 60-64). Kittel, *TDNT* 2.397, wrote, "Like all the gifts in which Christians share, the εικών is an ἀπαρχή." If Kittel is right, ἀπαρχή in James 1.18 has ethical overtones.

[75]Johnson, *The Letter of James* 202, lists scholars' views of the objects of the verb, 'Receive': Jesus, apostles, the Holy Spirit, the grace of God, and gospel.

is related with the messianic figure's liberating works.[76] Memra or the Word liberated Israelites from the persecuting Egyptians (N. [=Codex Neofiti I] Exodus 12.12; N. Genesis 17.8; N. Leviticus 26.12; Wisdom of Solomon 18.14-16), which is the backdrop of first fruit in 1.18.[77] The liberation of the Israelites through lambs' blood was simultaneously the judgment of the Egyptians. Thus, liberty in the phrase entails judgment. This liberation is ultimately related to the restoration of the lost glory of Adam.[78] Humans as created in the image of God are entitled to God's paradisiacal blessings which envy, lust and the Devil thwart humans to enjoy. The Word who saves the souls (1.21) is the liberating law (1.25).[79] The Word's liberating works include not only ethical dimension as we have dealt above but also providential and eschatological judgments of those who are addicted to lust and the Devil (2.1-13; 5.1-8). The fact that the Word begets believers as new beings (new Adams) (1.18) is also related to the law who liberates (1.25) in that new Adams are liberated from his own sins and others' sins as well. New Adams are still more entitled to God's blessings. Thus they are not the objects of anger caused by envy and the Devil.

C. Actions in Faith (2.14-26).

Faith itself presupposes divine help. It is legitimate to include James' argument of faith and works in ethical dualism. There is a discrepancy between James and Paul regarding justification because James maintained justification by faith and works (2.24) while Paul held justification by faith (Romans 3.20, 28; Galatians 2.16).[80] Mußner quotes a time-worn harmonisation of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas between James and Paul: "Paul talks

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[76]Melchizedek will liberate Israelites from Belial in 11Q13. Ancient Jews dreamt of a new messianic era (jubilee) of healing and peace free from Satan (Jubilees 23.29; 50.5; 1.29; 1QS 10.9; 4.6, 7).

[77]Gieschen, 252-256 and 311-314, also informs the warrior and judge motif in the Word (Hebrews 4.11-13 and Revelation 19.11-16; further Hebrews 9.27-28; Wisdom of Solomon 18.14; Targum Number 24.23; Targum Isaiah 8.14; Isaiah 63.1-14).

[78]We will deal with humans created in the image of God in Part Two. It does not appear in James that the concepts like the 'redemption of the body' (ἀπολύτρωσις τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν, Romans 8.23) and the 'restitution of all things' (ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων, Acts 3.21) are mentioned.

[79]See Ward, 'The Communal Concern,' 125.

[80]Mußner, Hengel, Luck, G. Eichholz, *Glaube und Werk bei Paulus und Jakobos* (Theologische Existenz Heute 88; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1961) 37-45; P. Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965) 193, n. 1.

about works which precede faith while James talks about those which follow faith."[81] This solution is incorrect because it postulates that sins before conversion are only forgiven. For James, however, sins of believers both before and after conversion are forgiven in justification by faith (1.18; 5.15-16). Augustine and Aquinas' harmonisation is further developed by later scholars: Paul deals with 'initial justification' in the *ordo salutis* while James mentions 'final justification.'[82] This two-staged theory of justification is also supported by P.T. O'Brien who writes, "Justification language appears in Paul in relation to the beginning of the Christian life and to its final consummation."[83] This two-staged theory of justification could be summarised in a table below.

	James	Paul
Initial Justification		faith
Final Justification	faith + works	faith + works

It is supposed that James refers to final justification in 2.24 while Paul maintains initial justification in Romans 3.20, 28 and Galatians 2.16, thus eliminating any notion of disagreement between James and Paul. However, this solution has problems. If someone believes in Jesus just before death without works, could he or she be saved? According to the two-staged theory, he could not be saved because he has no works. Moreover, it is contrary to the gospel nailed down by James in 1.18. In the same vein, reformed theologians who maintain 'the perseverance of saints' would also question, "Once one is saved through the gospel, can he lose his salvation?" This theory thus weakens God's ever-present forgiving power of the gospel in 1.18. This theory may bolster the harmonisation between James and Paul but at the cost of the Christian gospel. Therefore, we reject the two-justifications theory.

Although scholars maintain that James has merely justification by works and faith, we have noticed two justifications in James: justification by faith and works (2.24) and

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[81]Mußner, *Der Jakobusbrief* 148.

[82]R.P. Martin, *James*, 91; D.J. Moo, *James* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985) 109; J. Jeremias, 'Paul and James,' *ET* 66 (1954/55) 368-71.

[83]P.T. O'Brien, 'Justification in Paul and Some Crucial Issues of the Last Two Decades,' in *Right With God: Justification in the Bible and the World*, ed. D.A. Carson (London: World Evangelical Fellowship, 1992) 90; Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* 515-18; idem, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* 105-122.

justification by faith (1.18; 5.15-16). We have argued above that the two-justifications theory is not consistent. If so, what did James mean in 2.24? Above we have already mentioned that faith in the redeeming Christ who saved believers (1.18) could not be separated from actions in Christ because the priestly [justifying] and kingly [sanctifying] Christ could not be torn apart (1.18-25). James questions, "What does it profit, my brethren, if a man says he has faith but has not works? Can his faith save him (2.14)?" Just above we have mentioned that faith is inseparable from works. However, 2.14 postulates that it is possible to distinguish the two. In order to resolve this discrepancy between faith with works and faith without works, scholars like F.W. Grosheide and G.C. Berkouwer propose two kinds of faith:[84] intellectual faith (2.19) and saving faith (1.18). Intellectual faith confesses that God exists[85] while saving faith confesses that God saves believers from death through the Word, Jesus. Although some maintain that faith is subordinate to works[86] and that faith has nothing to do with works[87], saving faith which contains Jesus' life-giving redemption (1.18) *produces* similar actions by the way of imitation (1.23-25). J. Lodge also syntagmatically demonstrates the preeminence of faith over works in 2.14-26.[88] If actions are subordinate to faith, justification by faith and works could be rephrased as justification by saving faith which produces works (see the phrase 'faith working through love' in Galatians 5.6).

However, there still remains a problem of time of justification. When believers first confess faith in Christ, they are saved/justified (1.18). However, 2.24 implies that they are still being justified even after their conversion. To this problem, Dibelius aptly proposes that justification in James is a 'super-historical' (*überhistorisch*) divine announcement, which continues throughout the Christian life.[89] J. Dunn suggests a similar solution to the problem: when he sees such problematic phrases as 'the [future] hope of justification' (Galatians 5.5) and believers' endeavor to be justified after conversion (Galatians 2.17), he

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[84]W. Nicol, 'Faith and Works in the Letter of James,' *Neotestamentica* 9 (1975) 15, 17; F.W. Grosheide, *De Brief aan de Hebreen en de Brief van Jacobus*, 1927; G.C. Berkouwer, *Geloof en Rechtvaardiging* (Dogmatische Studien), 1949, 134.

[85]C.H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* 66; Adamson, 293.

[86]R. Walker, 'Allein aus Werken. Zur Auslegung von Jakobus 2, 14-26,' *ZThK* 61 (1964) 155-192; Nicol, 11.

[87]Nicol, 17.

[88]Lodge, 'James and Paul at Cross-Purposes? James 2.22,' *Biblica* 62 (1981): 195-213.

[89]Dibelius, 202.

proposes that one understand justification from the already-not yet framework.[90] This theory of already-not-yet justification can be adopted in the interpretation of our text. Believers' actions ascertain justification. Nevertheless, their actions are hardly expected to be perfect (3.2). Thus believers' actions are not the condition of salvation. Despite believers' actions they remain 'justified sinners.' Divine grace of justification by faith (1.18) is still prevailing on account of human depravity (1.14-15) in spite of sanctifying grace (1.21-25).

Although the word 'wisdom' does not appear in the faith and works pericope (2.14-26), we can infer from Wisdom of Solomon 7.28; 10.5 that wisdom enabled Abraham to offer Isaac, thus making Abraham love her and 'friend of God' (James 2.23).[91] 2.14-26 is the pericope where James argues for love for the poor in the community. Thus, it is expected that the faith of Abraham and Rahab would be related to their philanthropic actions. So commentators refer to the *First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* 10-12 which relates

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[90]Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* 467.

[91]James identifies Abraham as a 'friend of God' (φίλος θεοῦ, 2.23). Commentators do not appear to give sufficient attention to the phrase φίλος θεοῦ (2.23) except for some quotations from the intertestamental literature (The phrase 'φίλος θεοῦ' is profusely used in The Testament of Abraham: Recension A <1.6;2.3,6; 4.7; 9.7, 15.13, 14; 16.5 (2x), 9>. This custom of calling Abraham the friend of God continues in the Christian literature (1 Clement 10.1; 17.2; etc.). Only François Vouga points out that the phrase could mean either 'l'amitié d'Abraham pour Dieu (génitif objectif)' or 'l'amitié de Dieu pour Abraham (génitif subjectif)' (François Vouga, *L'Épitre de Saint Jacques* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1984) 89). In the Old Testament there are two occurrences which suggest such a notion: firstly in Isaiah 41:8, 'Αβρααμ, ὃν ἠγάπησα.' The Hebrew Bible has 'אַבְרָהָם אֹהֲבִי.' As in Greek a personal suffix in Hebrew could be either the subject or the object of the verb it modifies <Ronald J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*, 2d ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988) 23.> Here in this phrase the Septuagint has the suffix as a subject. Secondly in 2 Chronicles 20:7, 'Αβρααμ τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ σου.' If ἠγαπημένῳ is the middle voice, Abraham's love for God is emphasized. Grammatically it is not clear whether God loves Abraham or Abraham loves God in the phrase φίλος θεοῦ. However, there is a tradition of humans loving God (Deuteronomy 6.5, Matthew 22.37, Mark 12.30, and Luke 10.27). Thus, it is in the phrase 'the friend of God' (James 2.23) that Abraham's faith may be his love towards to God. Faith is not a neutral word, but is penetrated by love. Thus the medieval definition of faith as *fides formata* ("Faith informed by love. Faith active in love and informed by the habit of supernatural love. By definition this faith is only possible in a state of grace" (Heiko Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1967) 469)) may be considered as making a helpful contribution to the debate on faith in James, where *fides demonum* ("Demons' faith. Historical, objective faith held even by the demons" (idem, 468)) is denounced (2.19). The faith and works of Abraham should be understood in terms of Abraham's love toward God although there is no word 'love' in Genesis 22.12. According to Philo 'love' is a synonym of 'fear' when he describes Abraham dedicating his son Isaac "being wholly influenced by *love towards* God . . . although attached to his child by an indescribable fondness" (*De Abrahamo* 170). James enjoins his readers to repent and to draw near to God as a step towards loving God (4.8). Faith, fear, endurance and love may have been understood in terms of union with Christ. By contrast, friendship with the world (φίλος τοῦ κόσμου, 4.4) - desire (ἐπιθυμία, 1.14, 15; ἐπιθυμέω, 4.2), pleasure (ἡδονή, 4.1, 3), doubt about God (δίψυχος, 1.8; 4.8) - is opposed to friendship with God. The materialistic world view generates envy and jealousy, thus making people prisoners of the devil and enemies of God (O.J.F. Seitz, 'Antecedents and Signification of the Term ΔΙΨΧΟΣ,' *JBL* 66 (1947) 213, writes, "It is important to note here that in the scheme of Hermas this ἐπιθυμία πονηρά is called θυγάτηρ τοῦ διαβόου in Mand. XII:ii:2 and that this same epithet is given to διψυχία in Mand. IX:9").

Abraham's faith to his hospitality.[92] However, Abraham was justified specifically by bringing Isaac to the altar (2.21). James' choice of Abraham in the context where care for the poor is discussed appears initially as pointless because Abraham's attempt to sacrifice his son would be absolutely contrary to humanitarian action. Again, Rahab would not have been selected by James as an example here for charity because she betrayed her own people to their destruction, although she offered hospitality to the two spies (2.25). James' choice of Abraham and Rahab rather reveals that faith in God should surpass human expectation. Thus, the Jamesian humanitarianism does not give up the supreme priority of faith in God.[93] Therefore, even in 2.14-26 where works or humanitarian actions are highlighted, faith is still the preeminently controlling factor although 'working faith' or saving faith should be accompanied by works.[94] Even in 1 Maccabbees 2.52 which commentators quote as a classic verse to maintain justification in Judaism, i.e., justification by works,[95] Abraham's *faith* is never slighted; Abraham proved his good relationship with wisdom through faith in his ten trials so that he was called 'righteous' before God.[96] Faith is still paramount in obtaining righteousness although some scholars have thought that James was referring to 'theoretical' or 'intellectual' faith in 2.14-26.[97] Stuhlmacher corrects, "Faith in 2.19 does not actually reveal James' genuine concept of faith, because faith in the verse is dealt with purely polemically. . . . For James' genuine faith concept, verses 1.6; 2.1; 5.15 should be consulted."[98] Despite the fact that the devil also has faith in God in 2.19, faith is by all means the predominant factor in 2.14-26. The vertical relationship of the Jamesian church with wisdom through faith should be primary; the horizontal relationship with other members follows as a visible result of faith. Thus, Abraham who had faith in the wisdom who governed him and excluded all human passions could be named an '**apt exemplar of the** wise

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[92]Dibelius, 205; Laws, 138; G.M. Burge, 39-40.

[93]Contra Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (tr. Joseph W. Swain; New York: Free Press, 1965), maintains that religion is a faith which functions to cohere the members of a moral community rather than a faith in God, a supernatural being, and that God is an embodied society.

[94]Mußner, *Der Jakobusbrief* 144.

[95]This view of Judaism is now questioned by many since E.P. Sanders.

[96]See the word "πιστός": "Αβρααμ οὐχὶ ἐν πειρασμῷ εὑρέθη πιστός, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην;"

[97]Jeremias, 'Paul and James,' 370; Baur, 2.301.

[98]Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit* 193, n. 3 (my translation). Nicol also argues that faith even in 2.14-26 is not intellectual because faith of Abraham and Rahab is genuine (Nicol, 14).

man.'[99]

Philo shows how justice is accomplished by the Word (e.g. *Legum Allegoriae* 1.65ff; *de Vita Mosis* 2.185). He maintained that justice ('what is to be distributed') occurs when passions and appetites are controlled by the reason or the Word. If so, social justice (care for the poor) is obtained by denying selfish desires and by following/imitating/uniting with the Word who sacrificially saved sinners from death. If one has genuine faith in the Word/Jesus, he or she would consequently care for the poor. However, there could be actions without faith. For this Adamson aptly opines, "We are not Christians because we do good works; we do good works because we are Christians."[100]

D. Ethical Dualism Once Again (3.13-4.10).

James enjoins the addressees not to be 'many teachers' (3.1). However, it is those who tend to teach or quarrel that James is concerned about, rather than teachers. Although 'a wise man endued with knowledge among you' (3.13) could be a rival teacher,[101] such a one could simply devoid of wisdom from above. From 3.1ff James, picking up the theme from 1.19, 26, is also dealing with the tongue. The tongue is a fire ignited by 'hell' (3.6). Scholars argue that 'hell' in James is to be a metaphor for Satan.[102] Dibelius writes, "The effect of the tongue on the whole life is described as φλογίζουσα [burning] and derives from Satan."[103] James is skeptical about human ability to control or tame the tongue, when he questions, "How does a spring pour forth from the same opening fresh and brackish water? Can a fig tree, my brethren, yield olives, or a grapevine figs (3.11-12)?" This pericope suggests that humans need divine help in order to produce good works because they themselves cannot produce them. Here wisdom from above is necessary in order to overcome devilish influence on the tongue. In order to control one's tongue, a person should

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[99]J.G. Lodge, "James and Paul at Cross-Purposes? James 2.22,"212.

[100]Adamson, 307.

[101]Tsuji, Adamson, Wall.

[102]Dibelius, 241 and n.1; Laws, 152; William R. Baker, *Personal Speech-Ethics in the Epistle of James* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995) 138.

[103]Dibelius, 240; the Apocalypse of Moses 14.5 ("Say to him, 'May you be the firebrand of the furnace of the earth! Go, Azazel, into the untrodden parts of the earth'") and 31.5 ("For they shall putrefy in the belly of the crafty worm Azazel, and be burned by the fire of Azazel's tongue").

direct himself to meek wisdom from above.

Those who are not informed by wisdom from above distort the truth to lie (3.14) and are controlled by the 'earthly, unspiritual, and devilish' wisdom (3.15) which produces bitter 'jealousy and envy' and 'disorder and every vile practice' (3.14, 16). "Wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, open to reason, full of mercy and good fruits, without uncertainty or insincerity" (3.17).[104] While wisdom from below brings about chaos (division) to the community, wisdom from above generates peace (cohesion) in the community (3.18). Righteousness is almost a synonym for peace (3.18; see also Philippians 1.11; Hebrews 12.11).[105] Selfish pleasure (ἡδονή) brings about conflict in the community (4.1). We have already noted in 1.14-15 that for James desire (ἐπιθυμία) produces temptations, sins, and death. Desire and pleasure (ἡδονή) are synonyms.[106] While 1.2-25 discusses the inner psychology of desire, 3.13-4.10 deals with social consequences of pleasure. James identifies the reason for intragroup conflicts in 4.2: "You *desire* and do not have; so you kill. And you *covet* and cannot obtain; so you fight and wage war."[107] James here discloses that frustrated desire is due to comparisons with successful persons.[108] In order to master frustrated desires, James instructs his readers to pray for what they want (4.2b-3, see also 1.6 and 5.14-18). Thus, James does not teach an asceticism as found in Stoicism[109] nor Gnosticism.[110] At the same time, James condemns a self-centred view of life. Much as the Q-source has Jesus condemn two masters (Matthew 6.24; Luke 16.13), James argues, "Do you not know that friendship with the world is enmity with God? Therefore whoever wishes

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[104]Hartin, 108-9, mentions that such good fruits of wisdom are also the characteristics of Jesus, wisdom incarnate.

[105]1 Clement 3.4 also juxtaposes ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη, showing both words are synonyms; James 1.20 reads, "The anger of man does not work the righteousness of God."

[106]Dibelius, 258, n. 4.

[107]A full stop is inserted between "ἐπιθυμεῖτε, καὶ οὐκ ἔχετε· φονεύετε" and "καὶ ζηλοῦτε, καὶ οὐ δύνασθε ἐπιτυχεῖν· μάχεσθε καὶ πολεμεῖτε" because the same theme is repeated in this verse probably for emphasis (see also 4.4). Repetition has a superlative meaning in Hebrew (e.g. Isaiah 6.3). Commentators discuss much on the word φονεύετε because they surmise that such cruel action could not take place in the Christian community. However, there are no textual witnesses which challenge the text as it is. The strong words, φονεύετε and μάχεσθε καὶ πολεμεῖτε, are not just the repetition of tradition but also the reflection of the sicarii under procurators, Felix and Festus as mentioned previously.

[108]Laws, 169.

[109]Chaine, 98.

[110]Mußner, *Der Jakobusbrief* 180.

to be a friend of the world makes himself an enemy of God" (4.4). Verse 4.5 has produced at least four possible interpretations.[111] Among them, Laws' translation is the most convincing: "The spirit which he made to dwell in us longs enviously" because envy (φθόνος) is not used to describe God.[112] Thus, the spirit is not the Holy Spirit but the human soul which God has instilled in the human being at creation, although the human spirit is also a [common] grace given by God to the human being.[113] The human soul longs enviously (πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ) for the world, which once again ascertains James' *hamartio-* anthropology in 1.14-15. Human depravity anticipates divine grace. Thus Laws writes, "The human spirit is indeed by nature envious but God's help is available."[114] God gives 'a greater grace' (μείζονα χάριν, 4.6) to the believers than the previous gift, i.e., the human soul. From the context, the second greater gift is wisdom from above which supersedes envy, wisdom from below, or the devil. In order to replace the unbelieving materialistic world view as revealed in the word δίψυχοι (4.8; 1.8)[115] with wisdom from above, humans are to *repent* ("Be wretched and mourn and weep. Let your laughter be turned to mourning and your joy to dejection," [4.9]).[116] James also enjoins his audience, "Submit yourselves therefore to God. *Resist the devil* and he will flee from you. Draw near to God and he will draw near to you" (4.7, 8a). A formula similar to "resist the devil" is found in the Testament of Benjamin 7.1 ("Flee from the evil of Beliar"). James is more positive than this by using the positive

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[111]Chaine, 101-103: human soul, God, the Holy Spirit, the corruption of the text.

[112]For the reason for this translation see Laws, 174-179; also Chaine, 101.

[113]Mußner, *Der Jakobusbrief* 182. Justin calls the human soul as the implanted Word (*Apology* 2.8.1). We identified the implanted Word in 1.21 with Jesus. Instead, James calls the human soul as 'the spirit which he made to dwell in us' in 4.5.

[114]Laws, 175.

[115]On the origin of the word, double-mindedness, scholars' opinions are varied. Ropes believes that James originally coined the word. O.J.F. Seitz, 'Relationship of the Shepherd of Hermas to the Epistle of James,' *JBL* 63 (1944) 131-140, argued against Ropes that James did not coin the word δίψυχος, drawing on a common source, perhaps 'the Book of Eldad and Modad,' which 1, 2 Clements and Hermas cited. Following Seitz' early view on it, Laws thinks that the provenance of the epistle of James is Rome because of the link between 1, 2 Clements and Hermas' works and the epistle of James especially via the word, double-mindedness. Later Seitz, 'Antecedents and Signification of the Term Διψυχος,' *JBL* 66 (1947) 211-219, ascribed the origin of the word to rabbinic literature. Again he, "Afterthoughts on the Term 'Dipsychos,'" *NTS* 4 (1957-58) 327-334, shifted his previous view on it and thought that the origin of the word was in 1QH following W.I. Wolverton, 'The Double-minded Man in the Light of Essene Psychology,' *Anglican Theological Review* 38 (1956) 166-175. S.E. Porter, "Is *dipsychos* (James 1.8; 4.8) a 'Christian' Word?" *Biblica* 71 (1990) 469-498, returns to Ropes mentioning that James used the word δίψυχος first.

[116]Rabbinic Judaism also teaches that attacking weapons against Satan and *yeser* are 'repentance, Torah and good works' (Adamson, 329; Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, 313; *b.Baba Bathra* 16a). Qumran literature is unique among early Jewish literature in mentioning Torah as the attacking weapon against the devil (CD 16.5; 4Q286 frag. 2, 2.6-7; 4QMMT 109-116; 1QH4.23-24).

word 'resist' rather than 'flee from.' The word 'resist' visualises exorcism (see also 1.21). From the context of the pericope, the devil is the synonym of anger, envy, hatred and double-mindedness[117] which selfish lust and pleasure produce. Above we have examined the identification of the law and the Word with Jesus. In the messianic dispensation which James believed himself to be in, Jesus takes over divine functions.[118] Thus there is antithesis between Jesus and the devil in this passage which reflects ethical dualism.

Hermas' works, which frequently draw on the epistle of James,[119] echo the ethical dualism which is found in James. The Angel of repentance strongly urges Hermas to resist the devil, who will then flee (*Mandata* 12.2.7,5.2,4). If there is no repentance, divine punishment follows. The angel of punishment punishes some with losses, others with want, others with sickness of various kinds, others with all kinds of disorder and confusion, others with insults, and others with failures in their undertakings because they wander away from God and have walked in the desires and deceits of this world (*Similitudes* 6.3). R. B. Ward understands the disease in James 5.16 as a punishment.[120] By resisting the devil (wisdom from below, anger or strife) the Jamesian community could accomplish the unity of the Jamesian community and the physical health of its members. When the community is

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[117]According to Hermas, "double-mindedness is the daughter of the devil" (*Mandata* 9.9, **γὰρ αὕτη ἡ διψυχία θυγάτηρ ἐστὶ τοῦ διαβόλου**). There is a link between double-mindedness and Satan.

[118]According to Vouga and Frankemölle, Jesus is God and the Lord in 1.1. They see **καὶ** as apposition **καὶ** in the phrase, **θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου**, in 1.1.

[119]Laws, 25, even mentions that the place of the epistle of James is Rome because of the close literary relationship between Hermas' writings and James. Terms used to designate ethical dualism by Hermas are the 'Holy Spirit' and the 'evil spirit' or '[d]evil,' the 'tender spirit' and the 'wicked spirit,' or the 'angel of righteousness' and the 'angel of iniquity.' Hermas was concerned with the maintenance of his church in all his works (Visions, Commandments and Similitudes). He points out what threatens or maintains the church. In Similitude 9.15, Hermas lists these two elements of the church. What maintains the church is faith, continence, power, patience, simplicity, innocence, purity, cheerfulness, truth, understanding, harmony, and love (Similitudes 9.15.2). What threatens the church is unbelief, incontinence, disobedience, deceit, sorrow, wickedness, wantonness, anger, falsehood, folly, backbiting, and hatred (Similitudes 9.15.3). These virtues and vices serve as the group boundary. "He who bears these names (i.e., the virtues in Similitudes 9.15.2) and that of the Son of God will be able to enter into the kingdom of God." "The servant of God who bears these names (i.e., the vices in Similitudes 9.15.3) shall see, indeed, the kingdom of God, but shall not enter into it." Among these virtues and vices, what concerns James and Hermas most is anger and desire. Specifically Hermas devotes Mand. five and six to anger in terms of ethical dualism. Anger is identified with the devil while gentleness and patience, with the Holy Spirit. Mand. 5.1 "For if you be patient, the Holy Spirit that dwells in you will be pure. He will not be darkened by any evil spirit, but, dwelling in a broad region, he will rejoice and be glad. . . . But if any outburst of anger take place, forthwith the Holy Spirit, who is tender, is straitened, not having a pure place, and He seeks to depart. For he is choked by the vile spirit, and cannot attend on the Lord as he wishes, for anger pollutes him. For the Lord dwells in long-suffering, but the devil in anger. The two spirits, then, when dwelling in the same habitation, are at discord with each other, and are troublesome to the man in whom they dwell. See further Mand. 5.2; 6.1-2.

[120]Ward, 'The Communal Concern of the Epistle of James' (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966) 196, n. 101). However, humility and love which, as are exemplified in Jesus' life, build up the community, i.e., the body, produce **σωτηρία**, health (see G.F. Hawthorne, 'Philippians, Letter to the,' *Dictionary of Paul and his Letters* 713).

consolidated by the Spirit or wisdom from above, instead of being spilt by desire, anger, strife and wisdom from below, the community enjoys oneness, harmony, peace or righteousness (James 3.17-18; see also *Similitudes* 9.13.4 which reads, "They who have believed on the Lord through His son, and are clothed with these spirits, shall become one spirit, one body, and the colour of their garments shall be one" and *Similitude* 9.13.7; 9.15.2; 9.18.4). If the community is governed by meek wisdom from above (the Word/Jesus who saved believers through his altruistic love), the community which imitates Jesus enjoys group cohesion and health; if the community is controlled by selfish desire (wisdom from below/the devil), it suffers from division, death and disease. James tries to preserve his community from division by enjoining them to return to truth, Christ (5.19-20; 1.16).[121] L. Thuré n mentions that 'μὴ πλανᾶσθε' (1.16) forms an inclusio with 'ἐάν τις ἐν ὑμῖν πλανηθῇ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας' (5.19).[122] As wisdom cries out to people to follow her way in Proverbs, James enjoins his community to return from pursuing selfish lust to imitating the Word of truth. Ethical dualism in James could be formulated below.

Ethical dualism in James[123]

The Devil\Wisdom from below	The Word\Wisdom from above
Social injustice	social justice
Self-centred desire, sin, death, slavery, impatient tongue, anger, jealousy, envy, earthly, unspiritual, devilish, chaos, every mean practice, murder, conflict, worldly pleasure, friendship with the world, enmity with God, arrogance, disease, group division.	Faith, endurance, life, liberty, controlled tongue, slow to anger, meekness, love, pure, peaceful, gentile, open to reason, full of mercy, peace and righteousness, humility, health, group cohesion.

στρατευομένων (4.1)

Concluding Remarks

[121]Cf. M. Konradt, *Christliche Existenz nach dem Jakobusbrief*, 47-59, who interprets the transfer from death/darkness to life/light as a metaphor for joining a community.

[122]L. Thurén, 'Risky Rhetoric in James,' *Novum Testamentum* 37 (1995) 269.

[123]See also Galatians 5.16-25; 1QS 3.13-4.26.

Dibelius meant by 'entschränktes Diaspora-Judentum'[124] that the epistle of James is profoundly permeated especially by Plato and Philo' thought. Dibelius' observation of this is not groundless, if Philo' assertion that there were some intellectual communications between the translated Bible and some Greek philosophers (see 'flesh' and 'desire' [יצר,בשר, Genesis 6.4, 5]) is correct. Although there would be considerable differences between Plato/Stoics and the Bible/James in the specifications of their contents, it is worthy quoting Plato and Philo to elucidate our understanding of ethical dualism.

Plato believed that gods imprisoned the immortal soul in the body, "which contains within it those dreadful but necessary disturbances: pleasure, first of all, evil's most powerful lure; then pains, that make us run away from what is good; besides these, boldness also and fear, foolish counselors both; then also the spirit of anger hard to assuage, and expectation easily led astray . . . unreasoning sense perception and all-venturing lust" (*Timaeus* 69c-d). He thought that it is philosophers' job to liberate the soul from the body (Phaedo 67d). Plato and Stoics' dualism was basically re-ruminated by Philo in the framework of Judaism.

According to Philo the human being is composed of the head, chest and stomach. The reason resides in the head, passions in the chest, and appetites in the stomach. If the reason governs them, passions turn into courage and appetites, into temperance. If not, passions turn into anger, and appetites, into licentiousness (*Legum Allegoriae* 1.70-73; *De Specialibus Legibus* 4.92). Philo thought that the human reason is not enough to produce virtues. He introduces the Word to enable the weak reason to perform his function properly. Philonism is different from Platonism/Stoicism in that he adds the divine grace (the Word) to the human autonomous reason. Thus, the difference between the two is the difference of nature and grace.[125]

The Dead Sea Scrolls concur with Philonism with respect to ethical dualism because the holy spirit or wisdom assists the human being to produce virtuous actions or to keep the Torah (1QS 4.21-23; 1QH 8.19-20, 12.31; 4Q525 frag. 2 col. 2.3-4). However, despite the divine help, the human being still wallows in sinful flesh/lust (1QS 11.6-11).[126] To use James' word, someone who lives between the two spirits is called 'a double-minded man' (ἀνὴρ δίψυχος, 1.8; 4.8). This predicament of double-mindedness is the dilemma of the

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[124]Dibelius, 42, 64.

[125]Andersen, 339.

[126]Kuhn, 'New Light on Temptation,' 103.

theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls and early Jewish literature as well (Testament of Asher 1.3-8 and Sirach 2.12; 42.24a; 33.15).

If the role of wisdom or the Word in James is the same as the role of early Jewish literature, the epistle is not different from them since wisdom/the Word pneumatology is found in both of them. What distinguishes the epistle of James from early Jewish literature? Kuhn wrote that the New Testament teaches the new being in Christ.[181] How is the new being in Christ achieved? The new being in Christ is the outcome of the sticky union with Christ ('ὁ ἔμφυτος λόγος', 1.21) or the filial relationship ('ἀπεκυέω', 1.18) in antithesis to lust, envy and the Devil stuck to human nature (1.13, 14; 4.5). As the Word [Melchizedek] liberated the Israelites from the Egyptians, from which the phrase 'the Law of liberty' may have derived (1.25), so God liberates or restores believers not only from the slavery of their own passions but also from social injustice, i.e., the consequences of others' passions to the glory of Adam, which we will discuss in the next chapter.

James describes Jesus as "the Lord is much compassionate (πολύ-σπλαγχνός) and merciful" (James 5.11b). Humans' envious spirit (4.5; 1.15) cannot abide with Jesus' meek and merciful spirit. To reduce the gap between Christ's spirit and the human depraved spirit, instead of listing abstract virtues, James encourages his readers to imitate the meek Word and wisdom (1.21-25). James' diagnosis of selfish covetousness and intemperance is the Word who gave his life on the cross to redeem believers from death, as 1.18, 21b, 3.13 point to.[182] The Word or Cross which heals believers and their community is God's gift, divine wisdom, to the humankind. However, human efforts to imitate the Word are not enough on account of human depravity. Thus, supernatural wisdom's assistance (4.6; 1.5) and exorcism from the Devil (4.7; 5.12) are required.

On the other hand, the Word already secured redemption or victory from Satanic oppression to believers as first fruit signifies (1.18). Adamson writes, "Χάρις, grace, has a tinge of the meaning of 'victory'"in 4.6.[183] 'Χαρά' joy in 1.2 and even 'χαίρω' rejoice in 1.1 may adumbrate the victory of Christ.

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[181]Kuhn, 'New Light on Temptation' 105.

[182]Reinhold Niebuhr recognises Christ's altruistic love on the cross as a solution for social injustice; however, he believes that humans could not achieve Christ-like actions because of human self-centredness or depravity (Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963) 2.246). The gist of his sermons has been to master selfishness through self-denial (R. Fox, *Reinhold Niebuhr: A Biography* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985) 23).

[183]Adamson, 339; Romans 4.16; Ephesians 2.5; John 5.4f (cf. James 4.4); 1 Corinthians 15.54-58. Liddell & Scott, s.v., χάρις, wrote, "The Charites or *Graces*, Lat. *Gratiae*, who confer all grace, even the favour of Victory in the games."

Chapter Three: The Image of God and Social Justice in James

To counterbalance the notion of the human as depraved, James introduces another anthropology in 3.9: humans are created in the image of God (cf. Genesis 1.27). We suggested in the previous chapter that the liberation from the Egyptians through the blood of lambs implied in the Word of liberty (1.18, 25) signifies the restoration of believers to the glory of Adam. The glory of Adam recalls the primordial blessings of Eden.[1] This glory may also be associated with the kingdom in 2.5. The kingdom which the glorious Adam is supposed to enjoy is not necessarily a supramundane one in James. Thus the man created in the image of God in 3.9 is, first of all, a believer in the light of 1.18 although it is true that all humans are created in the image of God. There are some insights concerning the image of God culled from our investigation in early Jewish literature[2]: the human being is to be treated with respect on account of the image of God (the Life of Adam and Eve; Apocalypse of Moses); humans created in the image of God are entitled to enjoy material blessings (Sibylline Oracles; 2 Enoch); humans are equal because of the image of God, i.e., the soul (Pseudo-Phocylides). These anthropological views will be applied here as interpretative tools in order to explain verses 3.9; 4.11-12; 1.26-2.12; 4.4; 2.15-16; 5.1-8.

A. The Image of God and Criticism (3.9; 4.11-12)

James exhorts the readers not to curse the human being who is created in the image of God (3.9). Several ways of interpreting the phrase 'image of God' in the epistle have been advanced. Wall suggests that according to James the image of God mean equality

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[1]J. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* 93-94; idem, *Romans 1-8* 168; idem, *Christology in the Making* 105-106; R. Scroggs *The Last Adam* 26f; M. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* 35; see also 1QH 17.15; 1QS 4.23; CD 3.20; 4QpPs^a 2.9-12; 2.26-3.2

[2]The investigation of the image of God in early Jewish literature is placed in Part Three for the sake of a better presentation of the thesis.

among humans.[3] However, according to Johnson, the functions of humans in governing/taming animals is what the image of God refers to (James 3.7; Genesis 1.28).[4] On the other hand, there are scholarly attempts to understand the image of God in terms of Christology. A. T. Cadoux has identified the 'inborn Word' (James 1.18, 21) with the image of God (3.9).[5] Mayor associates the image of God with Jesus by appealing to Hebrews 1.3; Colossians 1.15; 2 Corinthians 4.4.[6] This interpretation is further strengthened by the fact that the Word and the image of God were used synonymously in early Jewish literature (e.g. *de Confusione Linguarum* 146).[7] If we accept the christological framework for understanding the image of God, then there is a direct relationship between not slandering humans created in the image of God and faith in the image of God/Christ. In other words, believers who worship Christ/the image of God/the Word are supposed to show the appropriate respect to humans created in the image of God/Christ. In other words, to respect humans created in his image is a way of worship of the image of God/Christ. Therefore, if one worships the image of God, it is inconsistent to curse humans created in the image of God (3.11).[8] There may be reasons for believers to curse their neighbours who are envious (4.5) and lustful (1.14) and whose tongue is the world of wickedness (3.6) and full of fatal venoms (3.8).[9] Indeed, it is difficult to treat such depraved beings with the reverence which the image of God\Christ deserves. Thus, respecting humans in 3.9 derives from faith in the image of God, the Word.

The notion of cursing brothers is thematically related to slander and criticism against brothers in 4.11-12. 4.11b reads, "He that speaks evil against a brother or judges his brother, speaks evil against the law and judges the law." According to Ropes and Mayor, the law in 4.11-12 is the royal law (2.8=Leviticus 19.18; cf. Matthew 22.39 and Mark 12.31, where it is

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[3]Wall, 176. Emil Brunner, *Justice and Social Order* (London & Redhill: Lutterworth Press, 1945) 34 sees equality in the notion of the image of God. Wall and Brunner are right to find equality in the concept. Equality is one aspect of the concept. We will go one step further. See below.

[4]Johnson, *The Letter of James* 262.

[5]A.T. Cadoux, *The Thought of St. James* 92.

[6]Mayor, 118.

[7]See further ethical dualism and the image of God in Part Three later.

[8]Cf. Adamson, 373; Johnson, *The Letter of James* 262; Mayor, 119.

[9]Humans are also mist (4.14) and grass (1.10-11).

called the second great commandment).[10] Johnson develops their view on the law, arguing that "I can claim to be a 'brother' and to live by the royal law (2.8), while still engaging in secret speech against my associates."[11] Thus Johnson implies that the law in 4.11 should be more inclusive than the royal law. He points out that the law in 4.11 is linked to specifically Leviticus 19.16 ("You shall not go up and down as a *slanderer* among your people").[12] However, scholars view the law in 4.11 to be the synonym of the royal law in 2.8 even if it still includes Leviticus 19.16. We will discuss the royal law which relates to the image of God below. Here, it suffices to say that believers should not slander humans created in the image of God.

4.11-12 may thematically be related to envy and the faction of the previous pericope 4.1-10.[13] In this connection, Johnson describes the inner conflict of the community when he defines slander: "Slander serves the double function of lowering my neighbour and elevating me; it takes away status from another and gives it to me. It is the perfect example of life as competition. Slander is, therefore, a form of *hyperephania* (arrogance) that seeks to assert oneself by destroying another."[14] Although a slanderer intends to destroy another and to raise him-or herself over others, it is not they but God who "is able to save and to destroy" (4.12). God opposes the proud (slanderer/underdogs/judge of the image of God or the law), but gives victory (χάριν) to the humble (James 4.6; Proverbs 3.24). The reversal theme in the epistle may be summarised, "Blessed are poor/humbled/meek losers who do not become angry at their successful/depraved/rich competitors, for God exalts (not necessarily 'will exalt') the humble who are present losers in the economic competition of the survival of the fittest!" The judge is not the grumbler who alleges to take the position of judge of others, but the Lord himself (5.9).[15]

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[10]Ropes, 274; Mayor, 143.

[11]Johnson, *The Letter of James* 307.

[12]Ibid. Johnson, *The Letter of James* 231, associates Leviticus 19 with the whole epistle of James: Lev. 19.18c=Js.2.8; Lev. 19.15=Js.2.9; Lev. 19.16=Js.4.11; Lev. 19.13=Js.5.4; Lev. 19.18b=Js.5.9; Lev. 19.12=Js.5.12; Lev. 19.17b=Js.5.20.

[13]Laws, Wall and Ropes.

[14]Johnson, *The Letter of James* 306-7.

[15]In this juncture, it is meaningful to quote Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Genesis 1.16, which reads, "The Lord made two luminaries; and they were equal in glory . . . And afterwards the moon recited the sun a false report; and she was diminished, and the sun was appointed to be the greater light to rule the day; and the moon to be the inferior light to rule in the night and the stars."

James may be here practising pastoral care for community maintenance by discouraging judgment among the members.[16] Some in the community feel a relative loss of honour, envy, and anger when others have become rich and successful. Temptation (1.2, 12, 13, 14) could be defined as enticing believers to seek the worldly honour or glory of their reference group. James tries to mollify the intragroup conflict or the anger of the relatively deprived poor through the value inversion of wealth. [With such lofty self-images (their citizenship in the kingdom of God [2.5] and their creation in the image of God [3.9] and with the reversal theme that the worldly glory of the rich is ephemeral and God will revenge the rich [1.9-11; 5.1-5]), the humbled poor are to be inspired to overcome depression or anger.] Those who are not converted fully by this value inversion are, in 4.4, designated adulterers who love the world (mammon) and, in 1.8 and 4.8, double-minded. Thus James attempts to prevent the poor of his community from falling away (social immobility).[17]

B. Discrimination and the Image of God (1.26-2.12; 4.4).

James openly uses the word 'worship' (θρησκεία) in 1.26-27. Scholars have associated worship with morality. Bauckham uncovers the temple cult imagery as operative behind such moral injunctions as purity (1.27; 3.17; and 4.8) and perfection (1.4, 17, 25; 3.2; 2.8, 22).[18] Marty also points out that to care for the poor is worship in James.[19] Further, commentators have identified that the word, μάταιος (1.26), is used to denote ido*latry*.[20] Ropes summarily mentioned on morality and worship, "Morality itself is the service and ceremonial (cultus exterior, θρησκεία) of the Christian religion."[21]

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[16]W. Meeks, *The Origins of Christian Morality: The First Two Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), regards the prohibition of judgments/criticisms in the community as 'eschatological reservation' in order to keep the community from division. The author[s] of Proverbs already knew the sociological effect of backbiting, "A perverse man spreads strife, and a whisperer separates close friends" (Proverbs 16.28).

[17]See Esler, 'Social Identity, Group Conflict and the Matthean Beatitudes: A New Reading of Matt 5.3-12' (draft) and idem, 'Group Boundaries and Intergroup Conflict in Galatians: A New Reading of Galatians 5.13-6.10,' in *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. Mark Brett; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996) 215-240.

[18]Bauckham, *James* 146-47; see M. Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran in the Letters of Paul*.

[19]Marty, 66; Romans 12.1, 10; Hebrews 13.16.

[20]Johnson, *The Letter of James* 211; Laws, 88; Wall, 100; Wisdom of Solomon 13.1; Esther 4.17; 3 Maccabees 6.11; Acts 14.15; Romans 1.21; 8.20; Ephesians 4.17.

[21]Ropes, 182.

However, instead of identifying morality with worship theo-centrically, we suggest here that a more Christo-centric approach to treatment of humans with reverence is at work in James. We have pointed out above that for James believers should not use their tongue to curse others because they are created in the image of God (3.9). [As mentioned above, the image of God is Christ whom believers worship (2.1).] So, it is inferred in 1.26 that bridling the tongue is worship (θρησκεία) because of the image of God in humans. Consequently, treatment of humans with respect because of their creation in the image of God is a form of worshipping the image of God, i.e., Christ. From this, we deduce that to care for orphans and widows created in the image of God\Christ is also inextricably tied to worship (1.27).

In 2.1-13 James deals with discrimination of the poor within the community. James intentionally inserts the term, 'Glory' into verse 2.1, at the start of this passage. At the moment we will focus the meaning of Glory in this verse. Commentators have devoted much attention in their attempts to explain the phrase 'τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης' (2.1). There are several translations: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory' (KJV, RSV); 'the Lord Jesus Christ, our Glory' (Adamson, Laws); 'our Lord Jesus, Christ of glory' (Schlatter; Mußner); 'Jesus Christ our glorious Lord' (Martin; Johnson; Chaine; Marty). All these translations share a similar meaning except for 'opinion (δόξα)' (Erasmus, Calvin, Michaelis) and except for the interpolation theory of the words ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ by a Christian editor (Spitta, Massibieau and A. Meyer).[22]

An intertextual survey of this word, Glory (כָּבוֹד), may enhance our understanding of the word in James.[23] It is mentioned in relation to the theophany of God or the angel of the Lord *in a form of clouds* in such historical events as the Sinai desert (Exodus 16.9-10; 24.9-12, 15-8), the tabernacle (Exodus 40.34-38), and the dedication of Solomon's temple (1 Kings 8.10-11). Later כָּבוֹד denotes the theophany specifically *in a human form* upon the throne to visionary prophets (Exodus 33.18-23; 34.5-6; Isaiah 6.1-6; also Isaiah Targum 6.1-6; John 12.41; also Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah 3.8-9, 13-20; 11.41; Ezekiel 1.26-28; 3.22-24; 8.2-3; 10.4, 18; 1 Enoch 14.20-22; 22.14; 36.4; 40.3; 63.2; 83.8). Gieschen writes:

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[22]If our above argument that the author of the epistle of James is the brother of Jesus is correct, James saw the resurrected Jesus (1 Corinthians 15.7). In this case 'Glory' signifies resurrection. Spitta, Massibieau and A. Meyer have argued that the phrase '*tou kuriou hemon Iesou Xristou tes doxes*' is awkward because '*tou kuriou*' is split from '*tes doxes*.' This split puts in relief the resurrection of Jesus than the conventional phrase 'the Lord of glory.'

[23]On further studies on glory, see Jarl E. Fossum, 'Glory,' *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (eds K. van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 659-668; C. Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology: Tradition and Rhetoric* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); G.B. Gray, 'Glory,' *HDB* 2.183-186.

> The Similitudes (1 En. 37-71) show influence from Daniel 7[24] by depicting two figures: the Ancient of Days (also called the Lord of the Spirits) and the Elect One/Son of Man. That the Elect One/Son of Man is to be identified with the Glory of Ezek 1.26 is clear from how he is introduced in the Similitudes: "whose countenance had the appearance of a man" (46.1). This angelomorphic figure is seated on "the throne of Glory" of the Ancient of Days.[25]

Glory in the Targums may also denote God (e.g. Genesis 17.22; Exodus 20.20; 24.10; 33.22; Isaiah 6.5).[26] Although references in early Jewish literature to Glory show a clear distinction between the Lord of Glory (=God, 1 Enoch 27.3,5) and the Son of Man/the Elect One, the Son of Man/the Elect One shares the throne with the Lord of Glory.[27] It is remarkable, therefore, that Glory is applied to Jesus in James 2.1.

There are two interpretations of Glory in the New Testament: the resurrected glorious Jesus and the crucified humble Jesus. Firstly, Ernst Baasland argues that it is not a coincidence that the Lord of Glory and wisdom from above in James are very similar to the Lord of Glory and to God's wisdom crucified on the cross in 1 Corinthians 1-2.[28] Perhaps the phrase in 1 Corinthians 2.8 is associated with Paul's experience of the resurrected Jesus on the road to Damascus (cf. Acts 9.3-4; 22.4-16; 26.9-18). The johannine use of glory may be associated with the experience of throne or the resurrected Jesus. John 12.41 reads that the Glory whom Isaiah saw (Isaiah 6.1) is Jesus. Isaiah was sawed to death by the instigation of Sammael (*blind god*) through king Manasseh because Isaiah saw God and Jesus, which is forbidden to humans (Exodus 33.20), according to *Ascension of Isaiah* 3.8-12; 11.41. Secondly, in John Glory connotes humility and incarnation. Gieschen writes, "His (*Jesus'*) glory is visible in his person (1.14; 12.41; 17.24), miracles (2.11; 11.40; 17.4), and *especially in*

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[24]The Son of Man appears *alongside God* in Daniel 7.13-14. However, the Septuagint tries to translate verse 13 in line with monotheism by inserting *hos* before *palaios hemeron* (compare עַד־עַתִּיק יוֹמַיָּא) (C. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 85; Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 3-59). See also L. Stuckenbruck, "'One like a Son of Man as the Ancient of Days' in the Old Greek Recension of Daniel 7,13: Scribal Error or Theological Translation?" *ZNW* 86 (1995) 268-276, who supports the translation of CP 967 exalting the Son of Man tantamount to God, contra A.Y. Collins, "The 'Son of Man' Tradition and the Book of Revelation," *The Messiah*, 538-542; idem, *Cosmology & Eschatology in Jewish & Christian Apocalypticism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996) 159-97. The monotheistic interpretation by Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord* 279, n. 61 and Rowland, *Open Heaven* 98-102, suggest that "one like a son of man" is Gabriel. The two powers in heaven and relegation of Metatron to the inferior being to God are found in *b. Hag.* 14a and 15a.

[25]Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology* 87.

[26]Kittel, 'δόξα' *TDNT* 2.245.

[27]"There is no Rabbinic reference to a session of the Messiah on the throne of glory" (Kittel, *TDNT* 2.247, n. 58) because of Rabbinic monotheism.

[28]Ernst Baasland, 'Der Jacobusbrief als Neutestamentliche Weisheitsschrift,' *Studia Theologica* 36 (1982) 128-129.

his crucifixion (12.23, 28; 13.32; 17.1, 5)" (italics added).[29] More importantly, 'the Lord of Glory' in 1 Corinthians 2.8 is also used when Paul presents the humble Jesus on the cross as divine wisdom. However, P. Hartin argues, "In Paul the reference to Jesus as the Lord of glory (1 Cor. 2.8) is to the earthly, crucified Jesus. . . . It is in his earthly life that he is to be seen as the wisdom of God. In James the matter is completely different. As the Lord of glory Jesus exercises this role only as an eschatological figure, and not as the earthly suffering Jesus, as in Paul's mind."[30] Contrary to Hartin, the parallelism between the worldly and divine wisdoms (1 Corinthians 1-2) and James' wisdoms from above and below (3.13-18) suggests that the Word's and wisdom's meekness (1.21 and 3.13) may imply the humiliated Jesus, the Lord of Glory. Thus, Glory could be read in an ambivalent way in James 2.1: Glory as ontological, resurrected majesty and Glory as Jesus' humble incarnation and death.[31] Consequently we may read the humbly crucified Jesus alongside the resurrected, exalted Jesus in the phrase, 'the Lord of Glory' in James 2.1. In this light, James questions the faith of the community in 2.1, "If you treat the rich with respect and the poor with contempt judging them from outward appearances, how can you believe our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory,[32] who was also outwardly humiliated in incarnation and death?" Or James implicitly agues, "If you believe Jesus, the image of God (Glory),[33] why do you not respect the poor, the bearer of the image of God?" As Wall puts it, discrimination is the test of faith[34] in the sense that believers should show respect to humans created in the image of God if they believe in the image of God/Christ/wisdom/the Word/Glory.

It is a burning issue whether 2.2-4 reflects a worship or judicial setting. Those who support a judicial setting base their arguments on the sentence, 'Do not be *judges*' (2.4), and an admonition to the court law on partiality (Leviticus 18.15) in 2.9. Further they think that

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[29]Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology* 273, n. 12; Kittel, *TDNT* 2.249.

[30]P. Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus* 96-97.

[31]In this connection it is noteworthy to mention that "the true resting place of the כְּבוֹד יְהוָה was and will be again the temple" (von Rad, 'δόξα' *TDNT* 2.241). Jesus himself is the temple in John 2.19-21.

[32]Thus I translate πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου into 'faith in the Lord' (objective genitive), rather than into 'the Lord's faith[fulness].' Wall, 109, accepts the latter interpretation (subjective genitive) following R.B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ* (SBLDS 56; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983) 170-175.

[33]According to Justin the Word's theophany is Glory (Dialogue 128.2; Laws, 97, n. 1).

[34]Wall, 106, 118.

the rich and the poor do not know each other because they require ushers in the meeting. They surmise that in a worship setting such ignorance amongst believers is unimaginable.[35] However, the judicial setting theory is not without problems: it is very ridiculous in a court to flatter the accusing rich and to discriminate against the defending poor[36]; it is awkward in a court to see one stand and the other sit[37]. What James focuses on is neither court nor gathering of worship, but on partiality itself. The problem of partiality could be in either setting. Malina's view on partiality is helpful to understand 2.2-13.[38] Since James uses plural 'partialities' (προσωπολημψίαι, 2.1), there would have been many other cases for partiality. James criticises his readers' favouritism on behalf of the rich. Here he uses a diatribe. He tacitly asks, "So why are you partial to the rich?" The prejudiced and sycophantic community replies, "We love the rich according to the royal law which records, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself'" (2.8).[39] To this answer, James replies sarcastically, "You do well."[40] James finds fault with their own answer: "If you show partiality, you commit sin, and are convicted by *the [same] law* (i.e. the royal law) as transgressors" (2.9). Thus James does not allow division caused by partiality between the rich members and the poor members in the community.[41] In the honour-ridden first century mediterranean society, it is rare to instruct others to honour beggars. This Jamesian approach towards beggars differs from the Greco-Roman ethos.

God is called 'father' of orphans and widows specifically in terms of creation theology

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[35]For this, refer to R.B. Ward, "The Communal Concern of the Epistle of James," 78ff.

[36]Laws, 107.

[37]Johnson, *The Letter of James* 228.

[38]Malina, 'Patron and Client: the Analogy behind Synoptic Theology,' *Forum* 4/1 (1988) 6, n.7, writes, "Every available good belongs to someone since the only way the 'have-nots' can share in the good is by the 'haves' giving in to them. . . . The person who 'gives in' is in a position to do so, i.e., in some way superior to the one to whom he gives in, either because of possession of something desirable and necessary, such as resources, power, information, etc., or because of the importance of his role in social life (e.g., granting forgiveness to stabilize a social group to avoid tension and conflict)." "Favoritism is the main quality of such relationships" (ibid, 5-6).

[39]Mayor, 88; Ropes, 197.

[40]Duane F. Watson, 'James 2 in Light of Greco-Roman Schemes of Argumentation,' *NTS* 39 (1993) 94-121, offers a solid rhetorical analysis of James 2. However, he, 101, 113, does not highlight the clause 'You do well' in 2.8, 19 to be sarcasm or a diatribe.

[41]Johnson, *The Letter of James* 227; Mayor, 81.

(1.27; see Psalm 68.6).[42] God chose the poor to be heirs of the kingdom (2.5).[43] God's election of the poor for the kingdom demonstrates that God does not count the outward status or possession for his election. Although they confess that they worship Christ/Glory/the image of God (2.1, 19), in actuality they worship not even the rich who are also created in the image of God but mammon. Thus they commit idolatry ('μάταιος' 1.26) and transgress the royal law (2.9).

Scholarly explanations on the meaning of royal law in James are sundry. Jervell maintains that 'royal or the king's way' in Philo is to act like God (the image of God) (ἐξομοίωσις πρὸς θεόν).[44] According to Schrage, the love law is called royal because of the King's (God's) commandment (Leviticus 19.18; 2 Maccabees 3.13; John 15.12, 17).[45] Ropes suggested it is predicated by 'royal' because the wise were called kings by Stoics.[46] However, we suggest that it is called royal (βασιλικός) because of the implication of the image of God/the βασιλεύς in the love law (2.8). God/the image of God is '*the law of the law*' (=the fear of God and consequently the respect of humans in Testament of Joseph 11.1). R. Simeon b. Azzai mentioned that reverence for the image in one's fellow men is the 'most comprehensive principal in the Law'.[47]

Those who practice partiality to the poor and do not worship the image of God/Christ will be punished. Proverbs 17.5 reads, "He who mocks the poor insults his Maker; he who is glad at calamity will *not go unpunished*" (see also Proverbs 14.31). Those

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[42]Jesus identified himself with the worst-off and with feeble children in Matthew 25.40 ("The King (Jesus) will answer them, 'Truly, I say to you, as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me'"). There have been two readings of Matthew 25.31-46: the 'paticularist' interpretation and the 'universalist' interpretation (Graham N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993) 207-231. The Jamesian community is supposed to care *first* for insiders who worship Christ/the image of God. However, outsiders who do not worship Christ/the image of God may not be excluded from the care of the community.

[43]Bauckham, *James* 192-193, writes, "They (the poor) are the paradigmatic members, in some sense the model to which all other members must conform. Thus, just as Old Testament Israel's election was not for herself alone, but for the sake of the nations, so God's choice of the poor is not for the sake of the poor themselves only but also for others." Beggars in extreme poverty humbly rely on God and cannot be arrogant to others. Beggars' such attitudes are chosen for a model of the community. However, believers' model to follow is the meek Word, Jesus. Further, the election of the poor suggests to be understood from the framework of ethical dualism (e.g. grace of God).

[44]Jervell, *Imago dei* 60-64.

[45]Wolfgang Schrage, *Ethik des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin: Evangelishe Verlagsanstalt, 1985) 234.

[46]Ropes, 198.

[47]Genesis Rabba 24.7; Moore, *Judaism* 1.446; 2.85; Laws, 155.

who claim to keep the law but discriminate against the poor (2.4, διεκρίθητε ... ἐγένεσθε κριταὶ) *are* and *will be judged* by the law (2.9, ἐλεγχόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου[48]) or by the law of *liberty* (2.12, διὰ νόμου ἐλευθερίας μέλλοντες κρίνεσθαι).[49] 'Μέλλοντες' in 2.12 does not necessarily mean future. It is also present.[50] Thus partiality or ill treatment to the poor entails providential (e.g. illness, 5.14f; also see 1 Corinthians 11.29-32) and eschatological divine judgments which adumbrate the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70 (5.1ff). God, who cares especially for the poor, judges those who are doing partiality and division in the community. The Second Temple Jewish literature reviewed in Part Three informs us that wisdom (the Word/the Son of Man/the image of God) preserves and cares for her creation while she *judges* and *punishes* it as 'das geschichtliche Dasein'[51] when the world functions contrary to the ecology of her creation. Those who exert themselves to preserve God's creation with perseverance will be rewarded both now and in future by the Lord (1.12 and also see Proverbs 4.9; 5.20). The Jamesian community, which claims to worship the image of God, inconsistently discriminates against the poor even though they are created in the image of God. James enjoins the community to be consistent in their speech and actions ('so speak and so act,' 2.12a).

James' world view may be summarised in a table below.

Two Kinds of Worship (θρῆσκεία)

Kind of Worship	Worship of Mammon/the world: Idolatry (Mt 6.24; *mataios*, Js 1.26)	Worship of Glory/Image of God/wisdom (Js 2.1): pure worship (Js 1.27)
Followers	Lover of the world (Js 4.4)	Lover of God and humans created in His image (Js 1.12; 2.5)

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[48]The tense of the participle ἐλεγχόμενοι corresponds to the tense of the main verb. The judgment is present because the main verb ἐργάζεσθε is present.

[49]This judgment recalls Matthew 7.1 (Μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε).

[50]On this, Chaine, 53, writes, "The verb μέλλειν indicates the certainty of future judgment; it has frequently in the N.T. the meaning of the certainty based on a divine decree or a revelation: ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπον μέλλει πάσχειν (Matthew 17.12; cf. Luke 9.44; John 11.51; Acts 17.31; Hebrews 1.14), sometimes that of proximity, beginning, ἤμελλεν τελευτᾶν (Luke 7.2; cf. Mark 13.4; Revelation 10.4). The Vulgate understands in the sense: *incipientes judicari*, thinking less of the judgment of the second coming of the Lord than of the judgment of God which is executed by the daily events in accordance with the frequent idea in the O.T."

[51]Andersen, 323.

Praxes	Discrimination, lust, uncontrolled tongue, anger, murder, envy, chaos: social injustice	Love, respect, meekness, peace: social justice
Results	Death, judgment, diseases (Js 1.15; 1.9-10; 2.12-13; 5.1-5, 14ff)	Life, ecology and the kingdom (Js 1.12; 2.5)

To conclude, we have examined 1.26-2.13 in the light of worship of the image of God. Bridling the tongue in 1.26 is thematically linked to reverence of the image of God in 3.9. Thus it represents a form of worship. Worship of the image of God permeate topics such as care for orphans and widows, discrimination of the poor and judgment in the subsequent verses (1.27-2.13).

C. Social Justice and the Image of God (2.15-16; 5.1-8)

James, 2.15-16, declares 'distributive justice' presumably because his idea of social justice would have been influenced by the notion that the human being created in the image of God is entitled to enjoying God's material blessing in early Jewish literature.[52] If one ignores the hunger and 'nakedness' of the poor, one also ignores God their Creator who identifies himself with the poor. Although it is believed that the poor were revered in Jewish society,[53] the poor were in fact often despised in first century Palestine (2.2-4, 6, 9; 5.4).[54] In an honour-rating society, the Jamesian community does something good only to those who may, in turn, bring them honour. As long as helping means increasing one's own honour and others' shame, one can offer help. However, one does not help orphans and widows because the socially of-no-accounts could not increase one's own honour. James challenges such an attitude of the community to the poor by mentioning that such workless faith is useless unless it is accompanied by their actions on behalf of the poor. As judgment is measured out by one's attitude to the poor (2.12), so faith in Christ or justification is measured out by it (2.17, 24). In that distributive justice is linked to the faith in the Lord of Glory, the image of God, it is worship, an expression of one's faith, rather than mere almsgiving. The passage

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[52]On this, refer to the image of God in Part Three.

[53]*RCJ* 130.

[54]The poor's dirty clothing shows his status in the first century for "honour is displayed by the clothing worn in public, which signals status and wealth" (Jerome H. Neyrey, 'Loss of Wealth, Loss of Family and Loss of Honour: the cultural context of the original makarisms in Q,' *Modelling early Christianity* 141).

2.15-16 is thematically related to 5.1-6 because both deal with distributive justice.

In 5.1-6 James accuses the rich of two kinds of justice: distributive justice and procedural justice. First James charges the rich with transgressing distributive justice: (a) while the poor are naked (2.15), the clothing of the rich is eaten by moths because of the stockpiling of their clothing (5.2)[55]; (b) while the poor were dragged to courts probably because of debts and would have become landless (2.6), the rich hoarded money by maximising profits from market mechanism and lived safely on their land (5.1, 2, 5); (c) while the poor were hungry (2.15), the rich feasted (5.5). Secondly, James accuses the rich of procedural justice although he is unsympathetic to the procedural justice of the rich against the poor in 2.6. Rich agriculturalists did not pay wages at the right time due to the oversupply of daylabourers specifically before the first revolt in Palestine. It would be here worth quoting Jerusalemites' economic persecutions on a surrounding village Bethar (ביתר):

> The Midrash Rabbah on Lamentations (2.5) describes how small freeholders from a village called Bethar, which was near Jerusalem, would often be cheated out of their fields or vineyards by fraudulent contracts drawn up by 'councilmen' of Jerusalem. . . . Since this passage is explaining why Bethar was destroyed (*b.Gitt* 57a, *j.Taa* 4.5) during the Bar Kokhba war-because its inhabitants rejoiced at the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70-it is quite likely that this account of fraud was attributed to this village after it was destroyed.[56]

Although James appears to ascribe the cries of the poor only to the procedural justice of not giving wages to the workers, the 'cries' (צעק/זעק) may also extend to distributive justice. The disasters prophesied to the rich in 5.1-6 are generated by the cries of the poor in the ears of God at the injustice done to the peasants. According to Pseudo-Phocylides, the human soul is the image of God. Jesus tradition (Matthew 18.10) enjoins the disciples not to despise children because their angels (probably souls) 'always behold the face of' God. God punished Egyptians after "their (Israelites') cry under bondage came up to God" (Exodus 2.23). The cry of the soul (the image of God) to God produces divine judgment. Similarly, James enjoins the community to endure social injustice while expecting the imminent

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[55]Moth or rust eating of the rich' possessions is the result of stockpiling of goods, rather than that of divine judgment.

[56]*SHP* 54; Applebaum, 'Judea as a Roman Province: the Countryside as a Political and Economic Factor,' *ANRW* 1.2.371.

παρουσία[57] of Christ who will render justice (5.7-8). Although judgment does not yet come, judgment is already declared because the rich pursue their own pleasure persecuting the poor in the sense of social justice (5.6). Worship of the world and disdain of the image of God and humans created in the image of God bring about death/destruction/divine judgment, while worship of the image of God/Christ which extends to treatment of humans with respect produces life and ecology. James' prophetic statement on social injustice matches Josephus' description of socio-economic conditions on the eve of the 66-73 revolt of Palestine as will be examined in due course.

Concluding Observations

In this chapter we have dealt with slander (3.9; 4.11-12), discrimination (1.26-2.13), and distributive justice (2.15-16; 5.1-8) in the light of worship of the image of God/Christ. If the epistle of James was written in the first century, the readers of James may have taken for granted that the image of God in James is Christ because the image of God is a synonym of the Word, the law, wisdom, Glory, etc. in early Judaism. The fact that the human being is created in the image of God (3.9) means that he or she should be treated like the image of God/Christ. Thus we have seen that this anthropology is not only applied in 3.9 (4.11-12) where the phrase occurs but also in 1.26-2.13; 2.15-16; 5.1-8 to which the notion of the image of God is alluded. Distributive social justice is highlighted especially in 1.27, 2.15-16 and 5.1-8. James' appeal to humane treatment of the socially marginalised was a new voice in the Greco-Roman world of child exposure and of plutocracy. Beggars were by no means of help to the Jamesian church's finance, but rather a burden to the community. Nevertheless, James pays attention to those whom the world neglects. Nevertheless, James also teaches his community to endure such injustice instead of revenging it.[58] This retains status quo. Regarding status quo, Lenski-Lenski criticises the hypocritic church in the Middle Age which

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[57] *Parusia* (5.7,8) and *ekklesia* (5.14) appear only in Matthew (*parusia*: 24.3,27,37,39 *ekklesia*: 16.18; 18.17) among gospels. Moreover, the oath prohibition appears only in James 5.12 and Matthew 5.33-37. The definition of the word *parusia* may be illuminated by Matthew's use of the word, i.e., the second coming of Christ.

[58] Davids, *The Epistle of James* 182.

was sympathetic to the poor but had a 'symbiotic relationship' with the politico-economic system. The church persuaded peasants not to revolt against political leaders/large estate owners by teaching peasants that to challenge leaders is to challenge God who appointed the leaders. Lenski-Lenski accuse the church of being '*democratic, yet aristocratic; charitable, yet exploitative; generous, yet mercenary; humanitarian, yet cruel; indulgent, yet severely repressive of something; progressive,yet reactionary; radical, yet conservative*' despite her prophetic voice.[59] Therefore, if the church does not express their faith in actions, their faith is dead piety. Although M. Luther called the epistle strawy, even he wrote, "It is impossible to separate works from faith, quite as impossible as to separate heat and light from fire."[60] Similarly E. Brunner wrote, "If a Church produces no living acts of charity for the community as a whole, it is impossible to avoid suspecting that she is sick unto death."[61] Therefore, in this chapter we have discussed that faith should never be divorced from works because faith in or worship of the image of God/Christ is measured by how believers treat humans created in the image of God. If one does not show actions of his faith, we can doubt whether he genuinely believes in Christ/the image of God. The notion of the image of God obliges the community to cultivate worship of or reverence to humans created in the image of God. Thus, James' anthropology of the image of God combines faith with actions.

We saw in chapter two of this part that human depravity calls for divine wisdom. Hatred and anger are the devil's works while love and peace are wisdom's. The devil's works (hatred/envy anger and murder: death) or wisdom's works (love/mercy, endurance and ecology: life) are related to attitudes to humans created in the image of God, ultimately, the Image of God/Christ. Therefore, ethical dualism and the notion of the image of God are weaved or integrated together.

To summarise, there are two kinds of anthropology in the epistle of James: humans created in the image of God; humans depraved by desire. The fact that humans are created in the image of God requires that they should be treated with reverence like the image of God/Christ. The fact that humans are depraved by desire dictates that humans need the Word's redemption and that they imitate the Word in their life. The image of God, the Word, wisdom and Christ are Christological or messianological terms in the first century. James' two kinds of anthropology are inseparably united in Christology. The Jamesian ethic

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[59]Lenski-Lenski, *Human Societies* 206.

[60]*LW* 35.370f; Adamson, 293.

[61]Brunner, *The Divine Imperative* 554; Adamson, 306-307.

or social justice depends upon these two kinds of anthropology which utilises Christology. However, it does not recommend any practical institution or system where social justice is realised.

Excursus: Diachronical Views on Wealth.

There are positive and negative views of wealth in the early Jewish and Christian traditions. Biblical social scientists usually tend to see wealth negatively. Malina remarks that one's loss is another's gain in a limited good society or agrarian peasant society.[62] He quotes fourth-century Mediterranean proverbs: "Every rich person is either unjust or the heir of an unjust person"; "Every rich person is a thief or the heir of a thief." According to him, mammon is also ἄδικος because it is gained by exploiting the poor. In the same manner, Esler understands that 'unrighteous mammon' (μαμῶνα τῆς ἀδικίας, Luke 16.9) is the 'result of oppression and injustice.'[63] The Qumran community had a negative attitude to wealth and riches ('wicked wealth, הוֹן הָרִישְׁעָה' CD 6.15; 8.5).[64] Targum also has negative view on wealth, 'mammon of falsehood,' ממון דשקר (1 Samuel 8.3; Hosea 5.11; Amos 5.12; Isaiah 33.15), 'mammon of wickedness' ממון דרשע (Habakkuk 2.9).[65] Targum may probably have been translated before the first revolt[66] because of the negative view of wealth.

However, this negative view of wealth is not unique in the Bible, since wealth is the blessing of God in Proverbs, which was written when the society enjoyed an economic peak

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[62]Malina, *The New Testament World* 95, 104.

[63]P.F. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts*, 197.

[64]Kosmala, 'The Three Nets of Belial,' 101. Negative concept בֶּצַע (unjust gain, profit) is used in CD 8.7; 10.18; 11.15; 12.7; 1QpHab 9.5.

[65]W.H. Bennett, s.v. 'mammon' *HDB* 3.224.

[66]Cf. Zunz and W. Bacher, s.v. 'Targum' *The Jewish Encyclopedia* 12.57-63.

during the massive construction works under King Solomon.[67] During Solomon's reign, poverty came from laziness, rather than from the oppressive social system of the period. On the relationship between laziness and poverty, look up עצל (lazy) (Proverbs 6.6, 9; 10.26; 13.4; 15.19; 19.24; 20.4; 21.25; 22.13; 24.30; 26.13, 14, 15, 16); רמיה (lazy) (Proverbs 10.4; 12.24, 27; 19.5); מחסור (poverty) (Proverbs 6.11; 11.24; 14.23; 21.5, 17; 22.16; 24.34); ריש (poverty) (Proverbs 24.34); ירש (niphal, to be dispossessed) (Proverbs 20.13; 23.21). Wealth was the result of diligence because the demand for labour was uniquely high under Solomon in the pre-exilic history of Israel.[68]

The poor also become rich through diligence and **God's blessing** in Sirach 11.18, 21-22 although the poor man toils only to diminish (31.4). Although Sirach equates the rich with oppressors and the poor with sufferers (13.3-11, 18-23), the rich are good if they are free from sin (13.24; 31.8), and Sirach himself might have been a rich absentee landlord (38.24-25, "The wisdom of the scribe depends on **the opportunity of leisure**; and he who has little business may become wise. How can he become wise who handles the plow?")[69] Rich Sirach does not automatically regard the rich as wicked although he recognises injustice between the poor and the rich. In that the poor quickly become rich through diligence, it is assumed that economic conditions in Sirach's time were prosperous. The economic prosperity during Ben Sira's time was due to construction works as outlined in Sirach 50.1-4 ("The leader of his brethren and the pride of his people was Simon the high priest (*d. 195 BC*), son of Onias, who in his life repaired the house, and in his time fortified the temple. He laid the foundations for the high double walls, the high retaining walls for the temple enclosure. In his days a cistern for water was quarried out, a reservoir like the sea in circumference. He considered how to save his people from ruin, and fortified the city to withstand a siege"). Simon's construction works were supported by Antiochus the Great III (BC 223-187). Josephus wrote of the support of Antiochus (*A.J.* 12.141):

> I would also have the work about the temple finished, and the cloisters, and if there be anything

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[67]Gleason L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1985) 476, believes that Proverbs was written by Solomon; see also Edward J. Young, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989) 312; cf. Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* 476; S.R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1972) 407. Robert Gordis, 'The Social Background of Wisdom Literature,' *HUCA* 18 (1943-44) 89-91, maintains the early date of Proverbs 10.1-22.16; 25-29 because of the presence of the word *YHWH*.

[68]John Bright, *A History of Israel* 196f.

[69]The Torah study belongs to the rich people. See *m.Abot* 3.17 ("If there is no sustenance, there is no Torah learning. If there is no Torah learning, there is no sustenance, אין קמח. אין תורה. אם אין קמח. אין תורה").

> else that ought be rebuilt; and for the materials of wood, let it be brought them out of Judea, and out of the other countries, and out of Libanus, tax free, and the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious.[70]

The rich have satiated themselves "with food and drink, robbing and sin, impoverishing people and gaining property, seeing good days" (1 Enoch 102.9).[71] There is no economic promotion for the poor in the society of 1 Enoch 102.10-11 ("Have you seen the righteous, how their end comes about, for no injustice is found upon them until their death? - But they perish and became like those who were not, and descended into Sheol-and their spirits too-with anguish"). The poor's hope lies only in the life after death (1 Enoch 103.4b-5 "Your (*the poor's*) lot exceeds even that of the living ones. The spirits of those who died in righteousness shall live and rejoice. . . ."; 1 Enoch 104.2 "Be hopeful, because formerly you have pined away through evil and toil. But now you shall shine like the lights of heaven, and you shall be seen; and the windows of heaven shall be opened for you. Your cry shall be heard"). Although the rich are condemned to destruction (1 Enoch 94.8-9 "Woe unto you, O rich people! . . . In the days of your affluence, you committed oppression, you have become ready for death, and for the day of darkness and the day of great judgment"), they do not receive this damnation until death (1 Enoch 103.6 "They have died now in prosperity and wealth. They have not experienced struggle and battle in their lifetime. They have died in glory, and there is no judgment in their life time"). In this world the poor remain poor while the rich remain rich. The reversal is postponed to the next world. There is no room for the rich in 1 Enoch to be identified as good as in Sirach. The rich remain constantly wicked while the poor continue to be righteous, which shows that the socio-economic setting of 1 Enoch was so oppressed that there was no social mobility.

Probably after the Jewish revolt of Bar Kokhba (AD 135) the Mishnaic period experienced an economic peak because there was much demand for labour (*m.Abot* 2.15 "A. R. Tarfon[72] says, 'The day is short, the work formidable, the workers lazy, the wages high,

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[70]On Antiochus' help and Simon's construction works, Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha*, 227-229; J.K. Aitken, 'Biblical Interpretation as Political Manisfesto: Ben Sira in his Seleucid Setting,' *JJS* 51 (2000) 195, 202. Antiochus III's help has a political implication that the Seleucid's rule was much better than the Ptolemaic. Aitken also identifies in Sirach the theme of peace and comfort for the Jews who were like a 'storm-tossed ship in a sea' during the Fourth and Fifth Syrian wars (idem, 204-5).

[71]Edwyn Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High-Priests* (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1924) 129-31, located the book of the epistle of Enoch (91-107) during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (d. 76 BC) who crucified 800 Pharisees. On the view different from this dating see *JLBM* 149-50; Black, *The Book of Enoch* 22.

[72]"Although R. Akiva (d. AD 135) had once been a student of his, R. Tarfon considered him a colleague."

the employer impatient', רבי טרפון אומר היום קצר והמלאכה מרובה והפועים עצלים. והשכר הרבה. ובעל הבית דוחק:"). At that time, those who kept the Torah became rich (*m.Abot* 4.9 "A. R. Yonatan[73] said, "Whoever keeps the Torah when poor will in the end keep it in wealth, רבי יונתן אומר כל המקים את התורה מעוני. סופו שקימה מעשר:"). In areas where the Roman army stationed, the local economy flourished. At the time of the Mishnaic period, while the province of Judea made up less than 1 percent of the area of the Empire, 8 percent of the whole Roman army was stationed in Palestine with the result that the Palestinian economy was boosted.[74] Moreover the centralization of capital/land was restrained due to two land distributions by the Roman government after the two wars.[75] Thus, Mishnah's problems are the problems of the householders, not the landless.[76] Therefore the attitude to the rich is quite mild and even positive. There was no severe conflict between the rich and the poor in this period. Amid such economic prosperity, messianic expectation was rare in the Mishnah. Hengel also writes, "Among the rabbis we increasingly find once again the high estimate put on riches and the despising of the poor which were characteristic of early wisdom."[77] Here the rich are the pious and righteous, which is the opposite of the view of the wealthy in the other periods. Attitudes to the rich or poor change in accordance with the prevailing economic conditions of the periods in which literary works were created. When the overall economy boomed, great traditions like Proverbs and the Mishnah were produced. When the economy was depressed, little traditions or peasant and apocalyptic literature were composed.[78] In the great traditions, justice implies the right to property; in the little traditions, justice lies in the distribution of wealth. When the economy was depressed, messianic figures appeared in apocalyptic literature; when the economy was thriving and stable, messianic figures were rare as in the Mishnah and 1QS. During an economically depressed period, the poor were identical to the

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[73]R. Yonatan survived great persecutions following the Bar Kokhba revolt and remained in the holy land.

[74]*ERP* 343, 349, 456. After the Bar-Kokhba war there was a Roman army composed of 10,000 Roman regulars and of 10,000 - 15,000 provincial auxiliaries. On the economic effects of the Roman army, see Part Two and the appendix.

[75]*Vita* 425; *EH* 4.6.1.

[76]Jacob Neusner, *The Economic of the Mishnah*, 69. "Most land in Palestine was in the private hands of independent or small farmers" (*ERP* 202, 327).

[77]Hengel, *Early Christianity* 169; Weber, *Judaism* 403.

[78]William R. Herzog II, *Jesus, Justice, and the Reign of God: A Ministry of Liberation* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000) 149-155.

righteous. The poor piety tends to stereotype the connection between the poor and the righteous. However, the rich could be both righteous and pious in a prosperous economic setting.

Commentators of the epistle of James relate ὁδοῖς (1.7) to πορείαις (1.11) and πορευσόμεθα (4.13). All these three words allude to travelling merchants. Although there is an argument as to whether the rich in 1.10-11 are insiders or outsiders, they must be insiders because other travelling merchants (1.7 and 4.13) are already insiders and because the evanescent features of grass in 1.10-11 portray fleeting life rather than judgment. In 1.9-10 James ennobles the lives of the poor in contrast to the evanescent lives of the rich. The evanescence of the rich (travelling merchants) is repeated in the words, 'ἄνθος χόρτου' (the flower of the grass, 1.10) and 'ἀτμίς' (vapour, 4.13). James rebukes travelling merchants for planning without reference to God. James pronounces the impending judgment against the rich through the parousia (5.1-8). Nevertheless, James invites the rich to repent (κλαύσατε ὀλολύζοντες, 5.1; see 4.9), which is different from 1 Enoch 91-107 where no calling to repentance is found and the rich are merely judged. James' request of repentance of the rich may imply that the rich are insiders. Besides, the poor do not spontaneously become the righteous because the poor are modified by ὁ ἀδελφός (1.9) and by ἀγαπῶσιν (2.5). The fact that there were jealousies and strife in the community shows that some became rich through their socio-economic promotion. On balance, the poor piety which identifies the rich with the righteous when the economy is thriving does not suit the socio-economic conditions of the epistle of James although the rich may be insiders in James.[79]

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[79]Contra Dibelius, 58-66.

PART TWO: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF FIRST CENTURY MEDITERRANEAN SOCIETY

The issue to be examined in this part is the economic background against which James' accusations of social injustice may be understood. Despite James' economic concerns about the poor, only two socio-economic descriptions of Jamesian society have thus far been attempted by Pedrito U. Maynard-Reid[1] and James B. Adamson.[2] Apart from the epistle of James there are a number of more general studies which focus the economic conditions of first century Palestinian society. Thus, Oakman explains the miserable state of first century Palestinian peasants in terms of political leaders' appropriation of land from peasants, heavy rents and taxes, and low productivity of wheat.[3] Fiensy examines the economic conditions of first century Palestinian peasants whose land was deprived by the Ptolemies, the Herods, the Roman Empire and other political leaders.[4] Recently, Pastor maintains that after Herod the Great's investment which boosted the Palestinian economy, first century Palestine experienced economic depression.[5] Although Z. Safrai, as J. Jeremias,[6] provides plenty of data on the first century Palestinian economy,[7] he holds that one of variants which immensely influenced the Palestinian economy is the presence of the Roman Army after the first revolt. By contrast, Goodman explains that the first Jewish revolt took place at the

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[1]P.U. Maynard-Reid, *Poverty and Wealth in James* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1987). Maynard-Reid interprets the economy of Jamesian society from the perspective of the manipulation of the market by the power-that-be.

[2]J.B. Adamson, *James: the Man and his Message* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1989) 228-258.

[3]D. Oakman, *Jesus and the Economic Questions of his Day* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986) 1-80.

[4]*SHP* or David A. Fiensy, *The Social History of Palestine in the Herodian Period: The Land Is Mine* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991).

[5]J. Pastor, *Land and Economy in Ancient Palestine* (London: Routledge, 1997).

[6]*Jerusalem* or J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975).

[7]*ERP* or Ze'ev Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

instigation of the young rash high priests, although he acknowledges the critical economic state of first century Palestinian peasants.[8] Hengel traces the revolt to a religious political reason, i.e., Zealotism.[9] Although Galilee has been examined separately by Freyne,[10] Horsley[11] and Goodman[12], the economic conditions of this region were not substantially different from those of Judea despite the fish and glass industries, the construction of the city Tiberius by Herod Antipas and the enlargements of the city Caesarea Philippi by Herod Philip and Agrippa II. For an overall introduction of first century Palestinian economy one may consult S. Applebaum's important article to 'Economic Life in Palestine.'[13]

However, these approaches to the first century Palestinian economy are limited by the fact that there are few attempts to situate first century Palestinian society within the broader *macroeconomic* context of the Roman Empire. As we shall see below, the Roman economy constituted the vital factor for the Palestinian economy that came under its umbrella. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with all aspects of the Roman economy in detail.[14] As M. Rostovtzeff puts it,[15] it is the Roman army in

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[8]*RCJ* or Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judea: the Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome A.D. 66-70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[9]*Zealots* or Martin Hengel, *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D.* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997).

[10]Sean Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander to Hadrian* (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1980).

[11]R. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1995).

[12]M. Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, A.D. 132-212* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld Publishers, 1983).

[13]*ELP* or S. Applebaum, 'Economic Life in Palestine,' *The Jewish People in the First Century: the Foundation Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* (henceforth *CRINT*) (Amsterdam/Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974-76) 2.631-700. See also B. Malina, 'The Perception of Limited Good: Maintaining One's Social Status.' *The New Testament World* 90-116; F.C. Grant, *The Economic Background of the Gospels* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1926); G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983); J. Klausner, 'The Economy of Judea in the Period of the Second Temple,' *The Herodian Period* (ed. Michael Avi-Yonah; New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1975), 179-205; H. Kreissig, 'Die Landwirtschaftliche Situation in Palästina vor dem Judäischen Krieg,' *Acta Antigua* 17 (1909 or 1969) 223-54; idem, *Die sozialen Zusammenhänge des judäischen Krieges* (Berlin: 1970); D. Oakman, 'The Ancient Economy', *The Social Science and New Testament Interpretation*, ed. Richard Rohrbaugh (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996); F.M. Heichelheim, 'Roman Syria,' *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* (henceforth *ESAR*) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938) 4.121-257; G.W. Bowersock, 'Social and Economic History of Syria under the Roman Empire,' *Archeologie et Histoire de la Syrie II* (eds. Jean-Marie Dentzer und Winfried Orthmann; Saarbrücker: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1989) 63-80; Rostovtzeff, 'La Syrie Romaine,' *Revue Historique* 175 (1935) 1-40.

[14]On the huge subject on the Roman economy, see T. Frank, *ESAR I-VI*. For an overview of Roman society, see Géza Alföldy, 'The Social System of the Early Empire,' *The Social History of Rome* (London & Sydney: Croon Helm, 1985) 94-239.

particular that was inseparably related to the Roman and, eventually, the Palestinian economy which suffered from *overpopulation*. We shall investigate whether or not this factor may explain any of the unemployment and poverty of the Jamesian community. Here the army of the first century Roman Empire will be examined in terms of its economic effects on the provinces. After dealing with first century Roman society, Palestinian society during the same period will be examined. Data or numbers here belong to the first century unless otherwise specified. Since we have dated the epistle on the eve of the first Jewish War against Rome, particular attention will, when possible, be given to the early 60s.

Chapter One: First Century Roman Society

As is apparent from the four fundamental articles of trade in Roman society (grain, wine, oil, and slaves)[16], the Roman Empire was a largely agrarian society. Lenski-Lenski suggest that in a simple agrarian society without iron tools, the population does not increase.[17] However, in an advanced agrarian society, agricultural iron tools produce so much surplus that the population is more likely to increase.[18] For example, without iron tools the surplus from the work of peasants was so negligible that the population of larger cities could not exceed 100,000.[19] By contrast, because of surplus made possible by the use of iron tools, the population of the city of Rome may have reached 1,000,000 by AD 100.[20] Nonetheless, denizens of cities in an advanced agrarian society could not exceed 10 percent of the whole population because the ancient economy, without labour-oriented factories,

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[15]*SEHRE* 310.

[16]*Julius Caesar* 38; *m.Yebamot* 15.2; 4Q251, frag. 2, line 1.

[17]Lenski-Lenski, *Human Societies: An Introduction to Macrosociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1982) 181.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid, 183.

[20]So most historians of the Roman Empire. Lenski-Lenski, *Human Societies*, 280, suggests 650,000. Although we cannot estimate exact populations of ancient cities, it is undeniable that the iron plough created surplus produce and a larger population.

could not support such large numbers.[21] More importantly, the working class could not produce consumer power because workers' wages could not rise on account of the existence of slaves and many expandables. In first century Rome the largest shop would thus employ no more than about 50 artisans.[22] The ancient Roman economic structure could not support an overpopulation brought about through a surplus of food in an advanced agrarian society. As early in the 19th century T. R. Malthus (1766-1834) argued that "populations could expand geometrically while resources no more than arithmetically"[23]; this imbalance between population and food supply could be adjusted either by 'deaths from disease and starvation' or 'postponing marriage or sexual abstinence.' In order to resolve the problem of a surplus population, a nation might send its overpopulation to a conquered foreign land, i.e., colonise other countries. The cardinal raison d'être of the Roman army was no doubt to reduce expandables by conquering and sending them to other nations.[24] Thus, Finley firmly believes that the Roman Empire was run by the invasion of other nations to secure taxes and revenues.[25] Lenski-Lenski call such a strategy a 'command economy,'[26] while Carney

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[21]The lack of large urban factories may be explained by the high cost of land transportation. However, because of the low costs of maritime transport, cities were usually developed along river or sea coasts; for example, see coastal cities in Syria and Palestine such as Seleucia (Antioch), Aradus, Tripolis, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolemais, Dora, Caesarea, Apollonia, Joppa, Ascalon, Anthedo, Gaza, and Raphia. See Kevin Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1992) 17-44, specifically 40; *AE* 126-28.

[22]Lenski-Lenski, *Human Societies*, 197. Finley, *AE* 22, quotes Hume, who mentioned, "I do not remember a passage in any ancient author, where the growth of a city is ascribed to the establishment of a manufacture." Concerning the Roman economy, it is necessary to mention two interpretations: M.I. Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*, presupposes the developed Roman economy while M.I. Finley maintains that the Roman Empire was underdeveloped because of such reasons as no exports due to expensive land transport (126, 136, 138, 182), no guilds (137-9; 195), no factories (137, 139), no merchants despite the existence of 'the large-scale maritime trade' (144), no economic growth (no technical progress, no productivity, no efficiency; 147, 108, 113), regressive taxation (96, 149, 165, 176), ports not for commerce but for the transport of tax revenues (160), low volume of coinage (107, 166, 182, 196), a small size of the 'consumer stratum' (182), no working places (186), and consuming (unproductive) cities (139, 144, 194). Finely is critical of Rostovtzeff's development model of the Roman Empire when he states, "We must of course allow for exaggeration: there was wealth in ships, urban house property, warehouses, slave-craftsmen and raw materials, but that represented a small fraction of the wealth of the élite and induced no significant difference in the 'economic' thinking" (116)]. A.H.M. Jones, *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History*, ed. P.A. Brunt (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974) holds the same view as Finley's. On the other hand, K. Hopkins, 'Introduction,' *Trade in the ancient economy*, ed. P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins and C.R. Whittaker (London: Chatto & Windus, 1983); idem, 'Taxes in the Roman Empire (200 BC-AD 400)' *JRS* 70 (1980) 101-25], takes the middle course between the two camps.

[23]'Malthus, Thomas Robert,' in *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology* (1998) 382. Karl Marx sees that social injustice is caused by the rich who do not share their wealth with the poor (ibid).

[24]Cf. *AE* 207; Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 352.

[25]*AE* 175, 204, 206.

[26]Lenski-Lenski, *Human Societies*, 188.

designates it 'Theory X'[27] and Neusner refers to 'distributive economics' by means of 'political commands.'[28]

In the ancient Roman Empire the two main industries were the army and agriculture (*Annals* 11.7,31; 14.51). The presence of the army had to be steadily maintained throughout the Empire. The excess population in the provinces could also be absorbed into the army as auxiliaries. The maintenance of armies was very costly especially during war; it would include the repair of old, and the construction of new roads and bridges (*Annals* 1.20; *BJ* 3.118), the building of ships and sieges, the mobilization of masses of draught animals and drivers, the establishment of quarters for soldiers on the march, the supplying of vast quantities of foodstuffs at special points (which also called for good roads and abundant means of transport), and the provision of a regular supply of countless arms and weapons, clothing, shoes, etc. In the Roman economy, war and the maintenance of the armies strengthened the economies of the provinces where supplies were made. The existence of the army or veterans functioned as a means of redistributing taxes and revenues to the provinces, thus contributing to the relocation of wealth. The result of the wide distribution of the military led, in the first century, to increased wealth of the provinces, provincialism and decentralization. The areas where the army was scarcely stationed suffered poverty. It is noteworthy that in poor places like Italy and Corinth on account of no presence of the army there literature similar to the epistle of James has been found. On the Roman armies and their economic effects in the provinces, refer to the appendix.

However, despite the overall prosperity of the first century Roman Empire due to the presence of the Roman army, the dark side of this development should not be ignored. The goods were usually made by slaves and wage workers. Although merchants earned money through trade, workers could not earn much because of the slavery system, since the slavery system destroyed the labour market.[29] Merchants who became rich decorated their cities beautifully,[30] but the majority of the citizens lived below the level of subsistence. The ruling

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[27]Carney, *The Shape of the Past*, 216f.

[28]Neusner, *The Economics of the Mishnah*, 6 and passim.

[29]Carney, *The Shape of the Past*, 214.

[30]Under pax romana the large commercial centres, such as Alexandria in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, Ephesus in Asia Minor, Carthage in Africa, and Lyon in Gaul, flourished. The policies of insurance and tax-exemption to ships bound for Rome prompted the maritime trade in the Roman East (*Annals* 13.51).

class considered peasants to be barely superior to animals.[31] Peasants were often numbered among subhuman livestock, an attitude which legitimized the ideology of the ruling class. The ruling class was not concerned with peasants' sufferings, but enjoyed 'self-aggrandizement,' which was also the primary motivation of merchants' and artisans' social mobility. There were journeymen and apprentices who could not marry because of their low income. Unskilled male workers were, while young and strong, employed as animal power; they were often injured and usually could not work after five years of hard labour. Such workers were 'quickly replaced by fresh labour and left to fend for themselves usually as beggars or thieves.'[32] Some unskilled and landless women became prostitutes, a 'substitute for marriage.' Such male and female 'expendables' often died young. As Herzog has noted, there was

> " . . . a lower class that was subservient, docile, submissive, servile, lacking character, spineless, masochistic. opposed to an upper class that was dominating, haughty, proud, arrogant, hard, cruel, sadistic."[33]

The expandables appeared more strikingly in first century Palestinian society, as we will now see in the next section.

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[31]W.R. Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech: Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994) 64; John Kautsky, *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982) 99-102; Lenski-Lenski, *Human Societies*, 192.

[32]Lenski-Lenski, *Human Societies*, 198.

[33]William R. Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech*, 70.

Chapter Two: First Century Palestinian Society

Now we turn our attention to first century Palestine from which the epistle of James is widely supposed to have come. By means of an analysis of the social strata of first century Palestinian society reflected in the epistle of James, this chapter aims to explain the socio-economic conditions of Jamesian society prevailing in Palestine. We have noted in the previous chapter that the two largest industries of the Empire were agriculture and the Roman army. The Palestinian agriculture and the effects of the tiny presence of the Roman army in Palestine constituted the important economic conditions of Jamesian society, which will be examined in sections A and B. The merchant class in Palestine needs to be mentioned because of its geographical location of Palestine for the transit trade between Rome and India/China (section C). As J. Jeremias put it, the aristocratic priestly class also requires mentioning because the temple industry formed an important economic variable in Jerusalem and Palestine (section D). Further particular historical and economic conditions of Palestine from the flood of the Nile (AD 45) to the Jewish revolt (AD 66) need to described (section E). We will investigate first century Palestinian society to ascertain whether or not James' ruthless accusations of social injustice were probable in the society.

A. The Palestinian Peasantry

As G. Alföldy puts it, "Nor is it surprising that members of the lower strata of the population worked, for the most part, in agrarian production,"[1] most Palestinians were farmers. There are several agricultural images in James: 'grass' (χόρτος, 1.10, 11), 'fig tree' (συκῆ, 3.12), 'fig' (σῦκον, 3.12) 'olive' (ἐλαία, 3.12), 'olive oil' (ἔλαιον, 5.14), 'vine' (ἄμπελος, 3.2), 'daylabourer' (ἐργάτης, 5.4), 'reap' (ἀμάω, 5.4), 'harvest' (θερίζω, 5.4), 'field' (χώρα, 5.4), 'tenant farmer' (γεωργος, 5.7), 'fruit' (καρπός, 3.17, 18; 5.7, 18), 'early rain' (πρόϊμος, 5.7), and 'late rain' (ὄψιμος, 5.7). 'The rich' (πλούσιοι, 5.1) are either large estate

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[1] Alföldy, *The Social History of Rome* 99.

householders or absentee-landlords. The rich [bankers] (πλούσιοι) dragged peasants (smallholders, tenant farmers and/or daylabourers) to courts presumably for the latter's debt defaults (2.6). In this section we will examine how Palestinian smallholders lost their land and they became landless expandables out of debt defaults.

a. *Householder*. A householder (בעל הבית, οἰκοδεσπότης, *pater familias*) was a farmer who owned a piece of land.[2] We do not know how much land a smallholder had in first century Palestine except for two families mentioned by Eusebius (*EH* 3.20.2). They had 39 πλέθρον (=390,000 feet², 1 πλέθρον be equal to 10,000 feet²).[3] Or each family had 4.45 acres because two families had 8.9 acres. We do not know whether 4.45 acres was the average size of a piece of land owned by a family in the first century. However, we assume that an average family had 6 acres because Caesar gave 6 acres to veterans in Italy.[4] Here we will examine in detail whether or not a peasant family could survive on 6 acres in first century Palestine. Six acres are 24,282 m^2 or ca. 24 dunams.[5] One dunam annually produces 180-360 kgs of wheat when the weather is good or 90-180 kgs when the weather is bad.[6] Roughly, the average annual wheat produce per dunam might be 200 kgs. One dunam requires approximately 10 kabs or kgs of seed.[7] Two hundred kgs of produce in a dunam is about 20 times 10 kgs of seed. Thus a 30-fold production of seed could have been

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[2]בעל הבית occurs 3 times in the Old Testament (Exodus 22.7; Judges 19.22,23);65 in the Mishnah; 260 times in the Babylonian Talmud; 169 times in the Tosefta. *Oikodespotes* occurs 12 times in the New Testament (Matthew 10.25; 13.27,52; 20.1, 11; 21.33; 24.43; Mark 14.14; Luke 12.39; 13.25; 14.21; 22.11). Householders had servants (Matthew 13.27; Luke 14.21), employed daylabourers (Matthew 20.1, 11), and rented their field out to tenants (Matthew 21.33).

[3]390,000 feet² is 624.5 feet x 624.5 feet (190.5 m x 190.5 m = 36,290 m²). 36,290 m² is 8.9 acres (1 acre is 4,047 m²).

[4]Finley, *AE* 81, pointed out that 6 acres could barely provide annual food for 5 or 6 persons. Fiensy assumes that a family in Palestine is composed of 8 or 9 persons (*SHP* 93). According to him (ibid), 6 acres of land can only feed the family for 1/3 of a year. Regarding the size and productivity of land, scholars have various calculations (see *SHP* 194; D.E. Oakman, *Jesus and the Economic Questions of his Day*, 23-78).

[5]1 acre = 4 dunams (*SHP* 42; Shimon Dar, *Landscape and Pattern: An Archaeological Survey of Samaria 800 B.C.E.-636 C.E. with a historical commentary by Shimon Applebaum* (BAR International Series 308 (i); Oxford: B.A.R., 1986) 75.

[6]*ERP* 110.

[7]One kab is 1.05 kgs. Applebaum, *ANRW* 2.8, 365, n. 50, has reported that "one kab's space is sufficient ground for the sowing of a kab of seed, 416 $^2/_3$ cubits²" (= 100 m^2). He also points out that nine kabs of seed are sown in a field 900 m^2. One kab requires 100 m^2. Since 1 acre (4,047 m^2) is 4 dunams, 1 dunam is approximately 1,000 m^2. Thus, 1 dunam requires 10 kabs or around 10 kgs of seed.

possible (Matthew 13.9).[8] Although not certain, there is some evidence that many Jews paid the tithe (*AJ* 20.181; 20.206-207) which could have amounted to 20 per cent of produce.[9] Moreover, every male Jew was required to pay a half-shekel for annual temple tax (two denarii). Usually 10 percent of the harvest went to the Roman government.[10] Twenty percent might be tithes. If a total of 30% collected for tax and tithes[11] was deducted, only the produce of about 17 dunams (24 dunams x 70 %) could be classed as net family income. According to Safrai[12], roughly 52% of land was for grain (17 x 0.52 = 8.84 dunams), 22.2 % was for grapes (17 x 0.222 = 3.74 dunams), and 24.8 % was for olives (17 x 0.248 = 4.08 dunams). Jews were supposed to give an adult beggar half a kab of wheat or 0.525 kgs a day (*m.Peah* 8.5).[13] The annual wheat consumption of an adult might be 189.8 kgs (= 0.525 x 365). One dunam produces almost one adult's food; so for a family of nine persons[14] nine

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[8]According to Eric R. Wolf, *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1966) 5-6, in 14 century and 15 century Germany the harvest was 3 times as great as what was sown. The 100/60/30 fold production in the gospels is 'a figure of speech' according to Klausner, 'The Economy of Judea,' 181. Klausner, idem, 180, believes that a five times' harvest as great as what was sown was general. He also, idem, 181, reports crops of wheat 10-15 times as great as what was sown. However, a rice paddy which is irrigated could produce 86 fold or so according to the knowledge of modern agriculture. Since irrigation was introduced into Palestine in the Hellenistic period, the 100/60/30 fold production is not groundless. Probably 3 times, 5 times, or 10-15 times harvests of what is sown might come from scholars' desks not from fields.

[9]Scholars have discussed about 12 or 14 tithes for seven years. See more E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63BCE-66CE* (London: SCM Press, 1994) 157-169; Jeremias, *Jerusalem* 105f, 130f, 134f and specifically 137, refers to the second tithe.

[10]Caesar ordered the Jews to pay one quarter of what was sown every other year (*AJ* 14.203). Therefore we assume that they paid 12.5 % tax to the government because we have no other evidence of tax rate apart from this information. In AD 17 provincials from Syria and Judea demanded the reduction of taxes (*Annals* 2.42), possibly from 12.5 % taxation to the usual 10 % taxation. On Roman taxation, see D.W. Rathbone, 'The Imperial Finances' *CAH* (1996) 10.309-322. Extortioners were soon prosecuted and exiled. It appears that Herod did not collect taxes on the seventh year of fallow. Applebaum ascribed the 'causes of Judah of Galilee's revolutionary movement' to the 'withdrawal of such remission when Judea became a Roman province' (*ELP* 652). If so, Jews did not pay taxes to the Empire under Herod. Contrary to his own argument, he mentioned that Jews paid taxes not only to Herod but also to the Empire (*ELP* 662).

[11]*ERP* 332. E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice*, 167, maintains that Palestinian peasants paid 28-32 % of their income; Borg (35%); Horsley ("well over 40 per cent").

[12]Z. Safrai introduces several ratios of cultivation e.g. $^1/_3$ for wheat, $^1/_3$ for olives and $^1/_3$ for grapes (*ERP* 104; *b.Baba Mesia* 107a; *ELP* 651); 52 % for grain, 22.2 % for grapes and 24.8 % for olives (*ERP* 108). The ratios could vary.

[13]See *ERP* 106. A husband was supposed to provide his wife with 2 kab of wheat for a week with several cereals (*m.Ketubot* 5.7).

[14]One old robber had a wife and seven children (*AJ* 14.429; *BJ* 1.313). A hypothetical family whom Sadducees posed to trap Jesus was composed of seven brothers (Matthew 22.23-28; Mark 12.18-24; Luke 20.27-33.). If their parents were alive, the family would have had nine members. Hengel, *Zealots* 316 n. 17, relates that "the seven sons point to the Jewish legend: 2 Macc 7; Acts 19.14 and especially AssMos 9: Taxo and his seven sons." Jesus' family was composed of his mother, and five brothers (Jesus, James, Joses, Simon, Judas) and sisters (Matthew 13.55-56;

dunams would have been enough. Therefore 8.84 dunams may be enough for 9 members of a family if children are considered to eat less than adults. There would be a surplus of 3 dunams or 600 kgs of wheat (3 dunams x 200 kgs) if a family consumes 6 dunams' wheat produce. A husband was to provide 26 logs of oil or 9.1 kgs to his wife annually.[15] The total oil consumption of a family averaged 81.9 kgs (= 9.1 kgs x nine persons). The average annual oil production of a family was 100 to 125 kgs.[16] This amount is slightly over the assumed production of an olive orchard. One dunam of a vineyard produces 360 litres[17], and 3.74 dunams were assigned to grapes. Thus the annual wine production of 3.74 dunams would have been 1,346.40 litres (= 360 litres x 3.74 dunams). The consumption of a family would have been 245.7 kgs (= 81.9 kgs x 3).[18] The surplus from the grape is 1,100.70 litres (= 1,346.40 litres - 245.7 litres). Roughly most of the produce from the vineyard could have been surplus. These calculations show the likelihood that wine could have been exported to Egypt.[19] Therefore, again roughly 7.5 dunams of wheat field (3 dunams of wheat field and 3 dunams of vineyard (= 4.5 dunams of wheat field)[20]) could have been used to buy necessities for a man's family: clothing, shoes, agricultural tools etc. According to Alston total living costs are usually five times the food costs[21] or 30 dunams for a family, because roughly 6 dunams would have been used to provide only wheat for a nine-membered family per year. We hypothesised above that the average Palestinian householder would have had net 17 dunams. Roughly 13 dunams are lacking for the family (30 - 17). Although the calculations are hypothetical, a householder's family would have had to sell themselves as daylabourers or to seek other jobs to make ends meet. Even though the first generation could have survived with 6 acres, the second and third generations had a much smaller piece of land because a Jewish family composed of 9 members produced 2 or 3 families in the next

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Mark 6.3), thus totalling at least nine members despite the high death rate of antiquity.

[15]A husband was supposed to provide his wife with a half-log of oil for a week (*m.Ketubot* 5.8). Thus for a year a husband provided his wife with 26 logs. 1 log = 0.35 kgs. 26 logs × 0.35 kgs = 9.1 kgs.

[16]*ERP* 126.

[17]*ERP* 131.

[18]The consumption of wine is thrice that of oil (*ERP* 129).

[19]*ERP* 132.

[20]A vineyard is 1.5 times more profitable than wheat (*ERP* 128).

[21]Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* 106.

generation. The seventh-year fallow did not disappear.[22] Before the harvest the average family had to buy grain at a high cost because they had no more to eat. Necessity drove first century Palestinian Jews to develop offshoot settlements or satellite settlements (each settlement had 2-5 dunams).[23] Rich financiers loaned their money out to householders in order eventually to get their hands on the freeholders' land rather than to earn interest. Moreover, large estate owners with withholding power manipulated the price of crops to fall below the production price. Smallholders who could sell some surplus produce were defeated in the price competition with large landowners. Living on such small settlements led to incessant poverty. This is the process of the peasants' downfall: money loan = default = foreclosure = large estates owners' rise and hoarding of money (James 5.2-3; Matthew 6.19-21; Luke 12.16-21; 13.44) = debt = concentration of land = growth of tenancy or expandables (2.6).[24] In the end, some freeholders sold their land because of debt defaults and became tenants, landless daylabourers, beggars, or even bandits. It is not surprising that in A.D. 66 the rebels burned the debt contracts in Jerusalem. Although Josephus mentioned that the political leaders burned the archives of public records in order to recruit the poor to their cause, the incident should also be considered as a socio-economic phenomenon (*BJ* 2.427).

On the other hand, despite the fact that many smallholders fell into debt, there were still some self-sufficient householders in first century Palestine.

b. *Tenants*. The חוֹכֵר[25]/שׂוֹכֵר[26] contract was generally an arrangement between

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[22]Tacitus, *Histories* 5.4; *ELP* 652 in which Applebaum suggests the 'biennial crop-fallow succession' followed by others like Z. Safrai, Oakman, Fiensy. However, it is not grounded on any evidence. If it were adopted, the situation of peasants would have been unimaginably worse.

[23]*ERP* 448. Also Applebaum wrote, "Second Temple holdings in Western Samaria, indeed, seem to have averaged about 2.5 hectares (10 dunams) according to work carried out in the region by a team of the Israel Archaeological Survey" (*ELP* 659 and n. 3).

[24]Oakman *Jesus and the Economic Questions of his Day*, 77; *AE* 117, 119; *SEHRE*^{2} 516 n. 24; *Zealots* 335. While the interest rate in Rome was 5 % (*Annals* 6.16), interest rates in Palestine were extraordinary 25% or 50% (*m.Baba Mesia* 5.1). If a debtor could not pay his debt in three years, the creditor foreclosed on the debtor's land (*m. Baba Mesia* 5.3). Hillel's ruling on a 'prosbol' must have accelerated commercialisation only to the aggravation of economic conditions. Because in the seventh year debts were to be remitted according to Deuteronomy 15.1-11, they did not lend money especially on the eve of the Sabbatical year. Hillel ordained the prosbol (פרוזבול, προσβολή which actually abolishes the remittance of debts on the Sabbatical year, so that they might lend money (*m.Shebit* 10.3; *HJP*^{2} 2.366-67).

[25]חוכר occurs 3 times in the Mishnah, 9 times in the Babylonian Talmud, and 25 times in the Tosefta. The rare occurrence shows that this type of tenancy was not common.

landlords and plantation entrepreneurs, who paid a designated amount in kind (שׂוֹכֵר) or money (חוֹכֵר) to the contract landlords by employing tenants. Strictly speaking, the שׂוֹכֵר/חוֹכֵר does not refer to tenants or peasants but to certain kinds of business people.[27] There were two kinds of tenant: the קבל[28] and the אָרִיס.[29] The contract involving the אָרִיס is similar to the Roman colonus-latifundia. Here a lease tenant received seeds, tools, and farm animals from the landlord. Since tenants received 'an agreed portion of the produce' as the reward for their labour, labourers did not care for the farm.[30] In Palestine the latifundial type of farm also existed, but rarely, as the Palestinian archaeology of the first century attests.[31]

קבל refers to a tenant who paid a predetermined percentage of his produce to the landlord. This contract was most common among tenant farmers who usually paid a half, sometimes a third, or a quarter of their produce to landlords (*m.Peah* 5.5).[32] קבל is most

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[26]שיכר occurs 32 times in the Mishnah, 194 times in the Babylonian Talmud, and 252 times in the Tosefta. This tenancy is commoner than that of חוכר, but less common than קבל.

[27]Wolf, *Peasants*, 2.

[28]See J. Klausner, 'The Economy of Judea,' 191-192.

[29]אריס occurs 13 times in the Mishnah, 99 times in the Babylonian Talmud, and 103 times in the Tosefta. Relatively it is not common.

[30]Klausner, 192; Finley mentions that in latifundium farms there are in general no agricultural improvements (*AE* 108ff).

[31]See Sean Freyne, 'Herodian Economics in Galilee,' *Modelling Early Christianity*, 32-33; *ERP* 82-99, refers to the 'villas' (=the farmstead, 'the backbone of the settlement system in the western empire,' but 'much rarer phenomenon in Palestine' because slaves were not many there). A villa is composed of a central court yard, a series of rooms around it, the residential section with small rooms for the workers or slaves, an owner's house, the bath house, and storerooms. Villas are found mainly in 'the Caesarea region, the upper Shephelah east of the plain and the Lod area' (*ERP* 263). They were established even before the Persian period and "many of them continued to function in the Hellenistic and Roman period" (*ERP* 85).

[32]The problem of Mishnah is that it describes second century Jewish society rather than first century. The rate of sharecropping varied as the supply of the labour market fluctuated. Various lease contracts of Bar Cochba's administration are found in the caves of Wadi Murabbaat and Nahal Hever (*ELP* 659). Rents of 8 shekels (=16 denarii or drachmae or zuzs), 39 denarii, and 65 denarii are recorded in documents from the Nahal Hever (*ELP* 659, n. 10); rents of 4 kors 8 se'ahs, 6 kors 3 se'ahs and 3.5 kors are recorded in documents from the Murabbaat cave (Milik, *DJD* II 24B, 24 D, 24 E; *ELP* 659, n. 10). Usually 1 se'ah of wheat is 1 denarius (*m.Sheqalim* 4.9; *m.Baba Mesia* 5.1; *m.Peah* 8.7; D. Sperber, *Roman Palestine 200-400 Money and Prices* 114). 16 denarii are 16 se'ahs (= about ½ kors because 1 kor is 30 se'ahs; = about 90 kabs or kgs because 1 kor is 180 kabs); 39 denarii are 39 se'ahs (=1.30 kors; =234 kabs or kgs); 65 denarii are 65 se'ahs (=2.16 kors; =388.80kabs or kgs). 4 kors 8 se'ahs are 128 se'ahs (=128 denarii; 4.26 kors; 766.80 kabs or kgs); 6 kors 3 se'ahs are 183 se'ahs (=183 denarii; 6.10 kors; 1,098 kabs or kgs); 3.5 kors are 105 se'ahs (=105 denarii; 630 kabs or kgs). Since 1 dunam produces 200 kgs, 16 denarii (= 90 kgs) are the produce of about half a dunam. If the ratio of the rent is ½, the tenant farmer was leased only 1 dunam; if $^1/_3$, 1.5 dunams; if ¼, 2 dunams. In case of 39 denarii, if the ratio is ½, the tenant farmer was leased 2.34 dunams; if $^1/_3$, 3.51; if ¼, 4.68 dunams. In case of 65 denarii, if ½, 3.88 dunams; if $^1/_3$, 5.83 dunams; if ¼, 7.77 dunams. In case of 4 kors 8 se'ahs, if ½, 7.66 dunams; if $^1/_3$, 11.50 dunams; if ¼, 15.33 dunams. In case of 6 kors 3

common among others (it occurs 326 times in the Mishnah, 1,340 times in the Babylonian Talmud, and 2163 times in the Tosefta). In James 5.7; Matthew 21.33-41; Mark 12.1-9; Luke 20.9-16, tenants are simply designated by the word, γεωργός (*agricola*, קבל, a farmer). Their landlord was called οἰκοδεσπότης, a householder. If tenant farmers revolted against the householder, the householder would give the vineyard to other tenant farmers in the parable of tenants. The demand for land tenancy on the part of excess landless farmers meant that the householder could raise the rent. The increase in numbers of the unemployed produced a rise in rent that, in turn, decreased the ratio of sharecropping to tenants. Therefore, rent ratios are not determined by the morality of estate owners but by the degree of overpopulation. Thus, the existence of unemployed people led to the boosting of the estate owner's income. When the ratio of sharecropping could not meet the peasants' living costs, the problem of debt would arise.[33] In this way, the gap between the haves and the have-nots was amplified. At times, the tenants suffered from such astronomical debts (Matthew 18.24-35). To make matters worse, estate owners did not rent out their land to tenants but used seasonal daylabourers to maximize profit, increasing expandables.

c. *Daylabourers*. There were two kinds of daylabourer: פּוֹעֲלִם[34] and שכירים[35]. פּוֹעֲלִם includes landless daylabourers (ἐργάται) who depended upon being hired by householders. In James 5.4; Matthew 20.1-16, daylabourers (ἐργάται, *operarii*) appear. The daylabourers largely involve those who worked for wages paid according to specific periods: hours, a day, a week, a month, a year, or even a septante (*m.Baba Mesia* 9.11), as in the Matthean parable. The fact that daylabourers could wait until the last minute to be hired displays the miserable conditions of unemployment of the time. Fiensy surmises that one daylabourer could afford

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se'ahs, if ½, 10.98 dunams; if $^1/_3$, 16.47 dunams; if ¼, 21.96 dunams. In case of 3.5 kors, if ½, 6.3 dunams; if $^1/_3$, 9.45 dunams; if ¼, 12.6 dunams. Even if the tenant farmer with a nine membered family were leased the largest piece of land (21.96 dunams) with ¼ rent rate, their surplus could not cover their living costs as calculated above. In order to meet their needs, the peasant tenant farmers had to do extra works. However, it was difficult for them to find any work due to reasons which will be dealt with below.

[33]If tenant farmers are relatively few, the rent ratio becomes low. If the tenant farmers do not pay taxes and tithes, their income would be equivalent to average householders.

[34]It occurs 41 times in the Mishnah, 22 times in the Babylonian Talmud, and 358 times in the Tosefta.

[35]It occurs 32 times in the Mishnah, 372 times in the Babylonian Talmud, and 584 times in the Tosefta.

to provide for his family if he could work around 200 days in a year.[36] However, if famine or illness occurred, or if the demand for labor was less than 200 days, or if a daylabourer could not find any tenancy, he could not but resort to banditry or beggary.

There were also hirelings, (μίσθιοι (Luke 15.17,19), μισθωτοί (Mark 1.20; cf. John 10.12,13)). They possessed a piece of land insufficient to feed their family so that they hired themselves out to large landlords. In Matthew 13.44 it is a hireling who discovers a hidden treasure in the field while working. He sells what he has, and buys the field from the owner. Thus, some hirelings might have had their own fields, while working in fields belonging to others when there was extra time to work.

As the demand for labour rose during the harvest or sowing season, so the price of labour also went up. So, when wages were high, large landowners did not pay wages (James 5.4). They paid wages when wages were low, or not at all. Unemployment not only deprived the employed workers of their wages, but also brought wages down, which implies, by contrast, an increase in profit for the rich. Landless daylabourers often fell to the brink of mendicancy and banditry.

d. *Slaves*. W. V. Harris surmises that there were two to three million slaves in Italy which had 5,984,072 Roman citizens (*Annals* 11.25, AD 48), that Asia had more than 10 % slaves of its population, and that "the likely proportion of slaves in the *chora* (of Egypt) was about 10 per cent (at Alexandria things may have been different)."[37] According to Finley, slavery was not widespread in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.[38] One of the reason why Italy had such a high rate of slave population is due to its agricultural structure: latifundium which was also called 'slave barracks' (*Augustus* 32; *Tiberius* 8). The first century Palestinian agricultural structure is not a latifundial one although large estate owners were getting more and more land of peasants. The estate owners gave their land to tenant farmers who were

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[36]*SHP* 89. We will discuss in the appendix that the regular income of a private Roman regular soldier was 228.125 denarii. Five modii were a man's consumption of wheat for a month. One year's consumption of wheat for an adult was 60 modii. The usual price of one modius was ½ denarii (Jones, *The Roman Economy*, 193; *ESAR* 4.181 and 183; Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*, 148; Sperber, *Roman Palestine 200-400 Money and Prices* 102). Therefore, one year's wheat consumption for an adult was 30 denarii. A family (nine members including children) might roughly consume 150 denarii (30 x 5). Usually living costs were five times the price of wheat consumption. Thus, 750 denarii was the living cost of a family. Fiensy's 200 denarii for a family per annum was a calculation based on subsistence only.

[37]Harris, 'Demography, Geography and the Sources of Roman Slaves,' *JRS* 89 (1999) 64-65. Brunt, 'Labour,' 2.703, mentions that in Italy slaves were the most numerous section of the population, and also in Spain; in Pergamum one third of the population were slaves.

[38]*AE* 71.

much better than eye-serving slaves (cf. Columella, *On Agriculture* 1.7.6-7). However, tenant farmers could not pay rents, and fell into debt. Sooner or later, leasing their land out to businessman-like sharecroppers was opted for (cf. Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 9.37). Sharecroppers used seasonal daylabourers instead of tenants to maximise profit (James 5.4). Thus, landless and jobless peasants went to cities (cf. Appian, *The Civil Wars* 1.1.7-11).

According to Harris ancient slaves were supplied by "(1) children born to slave-mothers within the Empire; (2) persons enslaved in provincial or frontier wars; (3) persons imported across the frontiers; (4) the 'self-enslaved'; and (5) infants abandoned at places with in the Empire."[39] Harris strongly argues against (1) because male slaves were generally more preferred than female ones in antiquity.[40] War prisoners did not become the main source of slaves because in the first century AD Roman emperors ceased to expand the empire. Indebtedness drove some Jewish peasants to become slaves as we saw above. However, they were released from slavery after six years' service in Jewish society (Exodus 21.2; Deuteronomy 15.12). In addition, Harris calculates that 20 per cent of the new-born was abandoned in the Empire and "one third of these passed into slavery."[41] However, Jews did not abandon infants. Therefore it was very rare to find Jewish slaves in Jewish society. Although there were some evidence that Jews had slaves (*AJ* 20.181=Matthew 26.51; Matthew 24.45-51; 25.14-30; Luke 19.11-27), M. Stern correctly observes that "the majority of slaves in Jewish Palestine in the Second Temple period were of foreign origin."[42]

Because slaves' health was directly connected to their lords' profit, rich landowners sent hired workers, not slaves, to 'unhealthy areas' (Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.17.2,3). The relationship between the lord and his slaves was so congenial that certain householders even gave their marriageable daughters to slaves (*m.Ketubot* 5.5). There were no serious economic problems for slaves such as food and clothing. Therefore, there is hardly any evidence of revolts among slaves.[43] Were landless Jews become slaves, they would have been rather safer in an economic sense.

To conclude, debtors often ended up selling their land to creditors and becoming

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[39]Harris, 'Demography,' 62.

[40]Harris, 'Demography,' 64-72.

[41]Harris, 'Demography,' 74.

[42]Stern, 'Aspects of Jewish Society,' *CRINT* 2.628.

[43]P. A. Brunt, 'Labour,' 2.701-706;Thomas J. Wiedemann, 'The Regularity of Manumission at Rome,' *CQ* 35 (1985) 162-175.

landless. Some lucky men became tenants. Others became daylabourers. If rest of them became slaves, they would have been happier without worrying about their life. However, it was rare for Jews to become slaves in Jewish society. The expandables went to cities and towns where jobs were jealously guarded by artisans, and so they eventually resorted to either mendicancy or banditry.

B. Expandables[44]: the Unemployed.

In the Jamesian community there were 'beggars' (πτωχοί, 2.2, 3, 5, 6). Hungry and naked brothers were beggars (2.15). We will consider here the reasons for how beggars appeared in Jamesian society apart from the bankruptcy of farmers which we discussed above.

Two factors may be noted for the increase in the population of Palestine. Firstly, as scholars frequently point out, Jews according to the law did not abandon or abort their children.[45] Secondly, in contrast to the earlier Persian period, during the Ptolemaic period the Jewish population of Palestine began to increase. The Ptolemaic Greeks introduced new agricultural skills[46] and medicines to Palestine (1 Enoch 7.1; 8.3)[47]. This situation continued under the Seleucids. The Seleucids demanded excessive taxes until Demetrius (a third of sown produce and a half of fruit from trees (1 Maccabees 10.29-30)). This taxation led to the Maccabean revolt.[48] As Seleucid Syrians could not survive financially, they sold coastal cities and inland towns to the indigenous people of Palestine. Since they did not pay

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[44]The word, 'expandables' is borrowed from Lenski-Lenski, *Human Societies*. See David Roads who also lists some reasons for unemployment in first century Palestine in 'Zealots,' *ABD* 6.1043-54;*Zealots* 33-34.

[45]*RCJ* 61-62; *AE* 106, 188; Jack Pastor, *Land and Economy in Ancient Palestine* 150; Tacitus, *Histories* 5.5, wrote, "They (Jews) take steps to increase their numbers. They count it a crime even to kill any of their later-born children." However, infanticide, infant exposure, parents' sale of their own children for slavery were common in Roman society because the second generation at least with two sons could not live with the divided piece of land which could barely feed the first generation.

[46]Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* 47; *SHP* 31-35.

[47]Contra M. Stone, "The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.,"*CBQ* 40 (1978) 488-90, who attributes the scientific knowledge of the time to Babylonian culture. On the date of 1 Enoch 1-36 see Part Three.

[48]Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* 28.

taxes, Palestine's population especially increased.[49] There were more particular factors, which contributed to the increase in expandables in first century Jewish Palestinian society. Overpopulation eventually led to the first revolt before which the epistle of James is considered to have been written.

a. *Hasmonean ex-soldiers and invited Babylonian Jewish solders*. The collapse of the Hasmonean state caused the disbanding of the Jewish army. This resulted in the appearance of expandables or bandits in first century Palestine. As Antipater and his son Herod took over the former Hasmonean state, the Hasmonean soldiers lost their jobs[50] because they did not employ Jews but Idumaeans as soldiers.[51] Hezekias[52] and his band of robbers whom Herod (the Great), then the governor of Galilee, slew (*AJ* 14. 159, 167), would have been ex-Hasmonean soldiers because later the robbers' mothers mourned for their sons' death in the temple of Jerusalem (*AJ* 14.168). This proves that they were more than common bandits.[53] When Antigonus, whose patrons were the Parthians, withdrew from Herod's realm, some of Antigonus' soldiers remained as robbers (in caves near Arbela) whom Herod killed (*AJ* 14. 415). One old man, a bandit who eventually killed his wife, his

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[49]Berlin, 'Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period,' *BA* 60 (1997) 24, 26.

[50]Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People*, 137, writes, "The unusually large numbers of Hasmonean coins (particularly those of Alexander Janneus) found, for example, at Gush Halav, suggest a Hasmonean military presence at one of those very locations." The Hasmoneans set up royal fortresses in the region of Galilee like Sepphoris, Jotapata, and Gischala to gather taxes (idem, 143). Thus we argue that the Hasmonean soldiers were unemployed as Herod the Great began to rule.

[51]After the Herodian dynasty even Idumeans (half Jews) were also disbanded. It is not a coincident that ex-Herodian soldiers, Idumeans, were involved in the Jewish revolt against the Roman Empire.

[52]There are two Judas: Judas who revolted in Sephoris in 4 BC (*AJ* 17.271;*BJ* 2.56); Judas who was the originator of the Fourth Philosophy in AD 6 (*AJ* 18.4;*BJ* 2.118). J. Kennard, 'Judas the Galilean and his Clan,' *JQR* 36 (1946) 281-86, mentioned that Hezekias was the father of Judas who founded the fourth philosophy on the occasion of AD 6 census. However, Horsley, *ABD* 4.793, distinguishes Judas son of Hezekias (*AJ* 17.271;*BJ* 2.57) from Judas the leader of the 'fourth philosophy' (*BJ* 2.118). On whether the two figures are identical or not see *Zealots* 331 and n. 101 and *HJP*^{2} 2.599-606. There seems to have been little difference between the 'Fourth Philosophy' and the Pharisees except the principle of 'No lord but God' (David Rhoads, 'Zealots,' *ABD* 6.1046=*AJ* 18.23).

[53]Hengel, *Zealots* 313-15, guesses that "Hezekiah fought in his own cause and that he may have gathered an armed force around him with the approval of the Sadducees in Galilee in order to form a counterbalance to the increasing strength of the Edomite Antipater and his sons"; see also Sanders, *Judaism: Practice & Belief 63 BCE-66 CE*, 165. Goodman, *RCJ* 38, n. 14, suggests that "the continuous resistance against the Herodian family led by Hezekiah in 46 BC and by his son Judas in 4 BC was possible because Hezekiah was the commander of Hasmonean troops in Galilee and his family had been granted land there for military service" (Seán Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian 323 BCE to 135 CE* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980, 1998) 63; M. Black, "Judas of Galilee and Josephus's 'Fourth Philosophy,'" in *Josephus-Studien, Festschrift O. Michel zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974) 45-54).

seven children and himself, "greatly reproached Herod with the meanness of his (Herod's) family" (*AJ* 14.429-430; *BJ* 1.313).[54] From his slander against Herod's low ancestry, one may surmise that he and his men were more than just bandits.

To preserve frontiers and 'trade' in the bandit-ridden region, Herod tried to crack down on the robbers in Trachonitis (probably Hasmonean ex-soldiers) who "had no other way to get their living, because they had neither any city of their own, nor lands in their possession" (*AJ* 15. 346; 16. 272). Herod dispatched three thousand Idumeans to Trachonitis to restrain the robbers, but the expedition was unsuccessful (*AJ* 16. 285). By offering a tax-exemption, he eventually invited a Babylonian Jewish warrior, Zamaris, and his five hundred horsemen (who were later known as 'Bne Bathyra' in Jerusalem) to exterminate the robbers in Trachonitis.[55] However, the tax-free policy drew "a great number of people from all those parts where the ancient Jewish laws were observed" (*AJ* 17. 23-27), resulting in an increase in population in Palestine. Moreover, Herod's veterans settled down in Sebaste-Samaria (*AJ* 15.296), Gaba, Heshbon, and Ashdod.[56] However, due to Herod's tight control and his massive construction works, bandits among whom Hasmonean ex-soldiers were politically anti-Roman, seemed to disappear.[57]

b. *Refugees from coastal and inland locations*.[58] Pompey invaded Palestine in 63 BC and, consequently, many Jews were driven away from the coastal cities, Samaria and the Greek cities of Transjordan to Judea. Pompey drove out Jews from areas that the Hasmoneans had conquered. These included Hippos, Scythopolis, Pella, Dios, Samaria, Marissa, Ashdod, Jamnia, Arethusa, Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and Strato's Tower (Caesarea)

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[54]Herod knew 'his subjects (were) reluctant to accept him' because a Jewish king was not supposed to be king to Jews (Deuteronomy 17.15). Herod was an Idumean, thus 'half a Jew' (ἡμιουδαῖος) (*AJ* 14.403,8; *BJ* 1.123). Herod Agrippa I wept when he read Deuteronomy 17.15,and Jews comforted him (*m.Sota* 7.8). Nicholas of Damascus flattered that "Antipater (Herod's father) was of the stock of the principal Jews who came out of Babylon into Judea" (*AJ* 14.9). Further see *Zealots* 317 and ns. 25, 26; *Jerusalem* 282 and 331f.

[55]S. Applebaum, *Judea in Hellenistic and Roman Times: Historical and Archaeological Essays* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989) 47-65.

[56]*CRINT* 2.260.

[57]Perhaps Herod's sale of thieves as slaves to foreigners (*AJ* 16.1-5) might have contributed to reducing bandits. However, Herod's economic policy would have been more likely to have effected this disappearance. On the other hand, Herod brought in 'very many foreign mercenaries' (*BJ* 1.290,397, 437, 672; *AJ* 14.394; 15.217; 17.198). The mercenaries in Palestine might have contributed to the redistribution of the wealth. It is not clear about any relationship between the mercenaries and the Roman army stationed in Palestine recruited from anti-Jewish Caesarea and Sebaste, which became the firebrand of the Jewish revolt (cf. *Zealots* 344, n. 166).

[58]*ELP* 632, 656; *ANRW* II, 8.367; *SHP* 77; *Geography* 16.2.46.

which were returned to the previous inhabitants (*AJ* 14. 75-76; *BJ* 1.155-56). Caesar later returned Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's tower to Herod (*AJ* 15. 217). After Herod's death, Augustus annexed Gaza, Gadara and Hippos to the province of Syria (*AJ* 17. 320). The Jews driven out from coastal and inland cities became landless and they formed the seed of the revolution of AD 66-73. These homeless and landless people sought places of refuge in Jewish villages or towns in Palestine, producing overpopulation.

c. *No Jewish soldiers (auxiliaries)*. In Roman society the unemployed could be absorbed by recruitment into the army. Military service enabled provincials to rise even to the senatorial order.[59] Julius Caesar gave his Gallic soldiers Roman citizenship (*Julius Caesar*, 24). Vitellius' brigades were mostly Germans who came to Rome in A.D. 69. Gaius' guard were also German (*AJ* 19.119). Galba created a brigade in the province of Spain. Although young Italians did not want to spend so many years on the frontiers as soldiers, provincials thought that it was a great opportunity for 'social advancement' for them to join the Roman forces.[60] However, the Jews did not join the army on religious grounds:

> . . . his countrymen could not go into their armies, because they are not allowed to bear arms, or to travel on the Sabbath days, nor there to procure themselves those sorts of food that they have been used to eat from the times of their forefathers, I (Julius Caesar) do therefore grant them a freedom from going into the army, as the former prefects have done, and allow them to use the customs of their forefathers, in assembling together for sacred and religious purposes, as their law requires, and for collecting oblations necessary for sacrifices (*AJ* 14. 226-227).

Because of the Jewish ethos, Jews did not join the Roman forces and rarely became Roman citizens; nor could they enter Roman equestrian or senatorial orders.[61] Besides, Hasmonean ex-soldiers and refugees expelled from their towns were so anti-Roman that they would not have entered the Roman army despite their extreme poverty. The fact that Jews would not enroll in the army would have resulted in an increase in the numbers of the expandables.[62] Some of the expendable Jews began to be employed as private soldiers by

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[59]*RCJ* 47.

[60]Lawrence Keppie, 'The Army,' *CAH* (1996) 10.389.

[61]The only exceptions were the Jews of equestrian rank in Jerusalem, whom Florus murdered in A.D. 66 (*BJ* 2.308).

[62]Although there is a report that Gallus, a Roman commander, recruited 500 Jews for the exploration of Arabia by the command of Augustus Caesar (*Geography* 4.23), the recruitment seems to be temporary.

high priestly families or lay leaders during the latter period of Felix' reign when Ishmael was appointed high priest in AD 58 (*AJ* 20.179-80; 20.213; *BJ* 2.275).[63] However, this could not reduce the number of expandables.

d. *Rare construction works*. Although it was possible for Jews to use the treasury of the temple for the outlay of money for public projects such as aqueducts (*m.Sheqalim* 4.2), it was contrary to the Jewish ethos that the temple treasury should not be handled by Roman procurators. The Jews were disgruntled at Pilate who wanted to use the temple money to construct aqueducts for Jerusalem (*AJ* 18.60; *BJ* 2.175).[64] However, under the governor's direct rule, the temple treasury was one fund that could be used for macroeconomic purposes. Agrippa I (A.D. 41-44) planned to repair the walls of Jerusalem at public expense (δημοσίαις . . . δαπάναις) (*AJ* 19.326-327).[65] His plan was frustrated by Claudius and Marsus (the governor of Syria). If his plan to fortify the walls had been allowed, expandables would have been reduced and the economy might have been stimulated. The Jews suggested to Agrippa II (A.D. 48-70) that he rebuild the eastern cloisters of the temple, but he rejected their offer because of the massive expenditure involved. Instead, he had them pave the city with white stone from the treasury of the temple, but the project was short lived. The situation was aggravated when the temple was finished in AD 64, because 18,000 workers lost their jobs (*AJ* 20.219-223)[66]. The temple construction works and the daily cult were two significant industries in Judea.[67] Herod the Great redistributed his wealth through construction works like the temple, rebuilding or building Antipatris and Cyprus (*AJ* 16.142-44), Sebaste-Samaria and Caesarea (*AJ* 15.293, 331-41; 16.136).[68] Herod Philip built Paneas near the sources of the Jordan and named it Caesarea Philippi (*AJ* 18.28). Herod Antipas built Tiberias on the lake of Galilee (*AJ* 18.36-38). Although these

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[63]The fact that the expandables were employed by the rich high priests, lay leaders and even by procurators shows that in their desperate economic conditions they at times neglected the zealot cause and hired themselves to any faction as mercenaries (*RCJ* 214, 226).

[64]J. Pastor, *Land and Economy in Ancient Palestine*, 142.

[65]The indirect taxes such as custom duties were public funds.

[66]Herod employed 10,000 of the most skilful workers, stone cutters, carpenters, etc to build the temple (*AJ* 15.390).

[67]*Jerusalem* 4, 138.

[68]*ELP* 667.

construction works created employment for expandables, the economic effect of the Herods' construction works died out as time passed.

Sand for glass in Sidon, balsam in Jericho, and bitumen in the Dead Sea were mentioned by Tacitus as three famous natural resources in the country of the Jews (Tacitus, *Histories* 5.6-7). The glass industry in Sidon (and Galilee) "*was* once renowned," but now it *is* flourishing in India, Egypt, Italy, Gaul, and Spain (*NH* 35.189-194).[69] The glass industry could not create jobs in the Palestinian region because it belonged to the past. Balsam was produced in Jericho.[70] In view of the fact that the Jews tried to destroy the balsam orchard in Jericho (probably during the revolt), the orchard must have been royal, i.e., did not belong to the Jews but to the Romans (*NH* 12.111, 113).[71] Even "the cuttings and shoots (from the balsam) realised 800,000 sesterces" or 80 talents (*NH* 12.118). There were two balsam orchards in Jericho: "the one was not more than 20 iugera in size, the other even smaller" (*NH* 12.111). The Balsam orchards, a 'mere shrub' (Tacitus, *Histories* 5.6), could not generate a demand for labour despite the high price of balsam perfume. Bitumen was produced in the Dead Sea (*NH* 35.178; *BJ* 4.479-481; *Geography* 16.2.42). It was used for the 'caulking of ships' and the 'cure of men's body.' There were some labourers who worked with bitumen in the lake. However, bitumen was produced in other places like Sidon in Syria, Zacynthus in Greece, Babylon, Apollonia in Asia Minor, and Arigentum in Sicily (*NH* 35.178-180). The traditional industries related to these natural resources in first century Palestine were thus surpassed by other places in the Roman Empire so that they could not reduce expandables in Palestinian society.

From Judas' rebellion in AD 6[72] until AD 46 there are no specific reports of bandits in Josephus save James and Simon (sons of Fourth Philosopher Judas) and Eleazar, the son of Dineus ('son of murderer, בן הרצחן' *m.Sotah* 9.9) who, however, ravaged Samaritans on

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[69]On the glass industry in Palestine, D. Barag, "Glass Vessels of the Roman and Byzantine Periods in Palestine, I-II," (Diss., Jerusalem, 1970) (Hebrew) 273-7. Refer to *BJ* 2.189-191;*Geography* 16.2.25.

[70]It was in Jericho that there were 'many sorts of palm trees' and the profitable balsam which is 'the most precious of all the fruits in that place' (*BJ* 4.468-469). Balsam was only produced in Jericho and Arabia (Nabateans) (*AJ* 15.96). See also *Geography* 16.2.41("It (balsam) is remarkable for its cure of headache and of incipient cataracts and of dimness of sight. Accordingly it is costly").

[71]Herod "acquired the date groves and opobalsam plantations of Jericho first in lease, later as a direct appanage" (*ELP* 657; *SHP* 25-28).

[72]Judas resisted the Roman census for tax assessment in AD 6 when Judea became a province of the Empire.

behalf of Galileans (*AJ* 20.121; *BJ* 2.232-5).[73] The sicarii[74] appeared after "the famine came to the utmost shamelessness, λιμός τε εἰς ὑστάτην ἀνακείμενος ἀνισχυντίαν" (*AJ* 18.8; 20.51-53; 3.320; Acts 11.28; *EH* 2.12) and after the economic effects of Herod's rule waned, because the Palestinian Jews would have suffered particularly severely due to overpopulation. It should be taken for granted that in such a famine most smallholders, having no withholding power of corn, became bankrupt and were driven to become beggars or bandits. Despite scholars' identification of a robber (λῃστής) with a sage (σοφιστής)[75], it is undeniable that the term λῃστής describes the socio-economic phenomenon of expandables at the time. Provocations by the soldiers of Sebaste and Caesarea[76] ignited the revolt against the Empire.

C. The Merchant Class.

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[73]Hengel sees this phenomenon religio-politically rather than socio-economically when he writes, "Since Agrippa . . . was also energetically committed to furthering the interests of the Jewish religion, the Zealots had little opportunity during his reign to be active in promoting their aims" (*Zealots* 342). Hengel suggests, "It is possible that, after the crucifixion of Simon and Jacob, the two sons of Judas the Galilean, Eleazar assumed leadership within the Zealot movement, a position that was later taken over by Menahem" (*Zealots* 349). "It is also significant that he (Eleazar) is named alongside Ben Koseba in the Midrash among those who wanted to 'hasten' the approach of the end" (*Zealots* 350).

[74]M. Smith, 'Zealots and Sicarii, their Origins and Relations,' *HTR* 64 (1971) 1-19, who related the fourth philosophy to sicarii rather than the Zealot party, argued against Martin Hengel who made '*the* Zealots followers of Menahem' in *Die Zeloten* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961) 66. Hengel replies to Smith on this question in 'Zealots and Sicarii' in *Zealots* 380-404. See also David Roads, 'Zealots' *ABD* 6.1046, who suggests "that the term 'zealot' was not a sectarian designation but descriptive of a type of piety which was not limited to one group or sect"; M. Smith, 'Zealots and Sicarii' 12-3, mollified his attack on Hengel when writing, "Fortunately Hengel's book goes on to a full and richly documented exposition of theological positions which may plausibly be attributed to the Zealots or to the Sicarii or to both - and even if the attribution should be incorrect, the exposition would be valuable as an account of themes which were of great importance in the thought of first-century Judaism." On the other hand, Horsley, "The Sicarii: Ancient Jewish 'Terrorists'" *Journal of Religion* 59 (1979) 439, utilising a modern terrorist model, mentions that the sicarii, terrorists, did not attack Roman soldiers or civilians but fellow Jews. However, Horsley's argument could not explain the Jewish revolt against the Roman Empire.

[75]Judas (*BJ* 2.118) and Menahem (*BJ* 2.433,445) were called sophists (*Zealots* 330-41). Religion was not the unique incentive for revolt. If religion had been the paramount reason for the revolt, the Jews should have revolted under Herod who hellenised the country more than the procurators (*RCJ* 17). However, Goodman downplays the socio-economic factor of the revolt when he writes, "The historian's (Josephus) reticence about the precise participants in the *stasis* he deplores can be fully explained by his apologetic attempt to exculpate his own class from blame for the revolt" and to ascribe the blame of the revolt to anonymous robbers (*RCJ* 20).

[76]Before the appearance of sicarii, a soldier insulted Jews by showing his private parts to them in the temple; as the Jews were in a furious rage, Cumanus ordered soldiers to kill more than 2,000 Jews (*AJ* 20.108-112; *BJ* 2.224f). The soldiers also burnt the Pentateuch (*BJ* 2.229f; *AJ* 20.114f). The Roman soldiers were recruited from Caesarea and Sebaste-Samaria (*AJ* 19.357; *BJ* 2.268). It was especially the residents of these areas who hated the Jews. Claudius wanted to replace them with soldiers from Syria but failed to do so (*AJ* 19.364-65). At last, Vespasian removed them from the province (*AJ* 19.365). Josephus wrote that they were the 'very men that became the source of very great calamities to the Jews' (*AJ* 19.365).

In James we can discern mercantile images: 'ways' (ὁδοί, 1.8), 'journey' (πορειαί, 1.11), 'ships' (πλοῖα, 3.4), 'rudder' (πηδάλιον, 3.4), 'pilot' (εὐθύνων, 3.4), 'city' (πόλις, 4.13), 'do business' (ἐμπορεύομαι, 4.13), 'make money' (κερδαίνω, 4.13). The businessmen might have been maritime merchants who took part in the Mediterranean and/or Erythraean maritime trade because it took for them one year for business (4.13). We will examine the merchant class below.

> A large quantity of spices and precious stones and gold is brought to the area (Palestine) by means of the Arabs. The land is agricultural and **well fitted also for commerce**; the city is the home of many crafts, and there is no lack of goods imported from overseas, because of its convenient harbors which supply them, such as Ascelon, Joppa, and Gaza, and also Ptolemais (Letter of Aristeas 114).[77]

This quotation suggests commercial development in Palestine. The fact that Palestine was located in a strategic place for commerce in the first century AD will be illustrated by identifying many significant international trade routes in this region.[78] By contrast, Josephus wrote,

> As for ourselves, therefore, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandise, nor in such a mixture with other men as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains in cultivating that only. . . . Since, therefore, besides what we have already taken notice of, we have had a peculiar way of living of our own, there was no occasion offered us in ancient ages for intermixing among the Greeks, as they had for mixing among the Egyptians, by their intercourse of exporting and importing their several goods; as they also mixed with the Phoenicians, who lived by the seaside, by means of their love of lucre in trade and merchandise (*Against Apion* 1.60-1).

Josephus is describing less the reality of the situation than his own nationalistic emotions, which arose from the fact that Pompey had evacuated the Jews from the mercantile coastal cities. However, the fact that Herod the Great subsidised Greek coastal cities in Greece, Asia Minor and Syria (*AJ* 16.146-49) in order to reduce high customs duties in those cities[79] reveals that Jewish maritime trade was still thriving even during Herod's rule despite the

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[77]As Caesarea is not included in this list, this document seems to have been written at least before the first century AD.

[78]The author of Jubilees (the second century BC) already portrayed Jerusalem as the centre of the world, and alluded to the trade of the western world with India via the Red Sea and Palestine (Jubilees 8.19-21).

[79]The rule that "no king nor people may have leave to export any goods either out of the country of Judea, or out of their havens, without paying customs" (*AJ* 14.250) applied to any port in the Empire.

evacuation of Jewish merchants from some coastal cities.[80]

India was the biggest trade partner of the Roman Empire. Pliny the elder deplored the trade deficit between Rome and the East, specifically India:

> *NH* 12.84 . . . And at the lowest reckoning, India, China and the Arabian peninsula take from our Empire 100 million sesterces every year: this is the amount our luxuries and our ladies cost us. For what fraction of these commodities, pray, finds its way to the gods above or to the gods of the lower world? (see also *NH* 6.101)[81]

Periplus Maris Erythraei[82] 56 lists Indian products exported to the Roman Empire: pepper, malabathrum, peals, ivory, silk-cloth, spikenard, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds, sapphires, and tortoise-shell.[83] Roman exports to India were coins, topaz, thin clothing, figured linen, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead, Barygaza, realgar, and orpiment.[84] As the tension between the Roman and Parthian Empires grew in the first century,[85] the trade routes in the region ([1] India-Persian gulf-Charax-Thapsacus-Seleusia (Antioch) and [2] India-Persian gulf-Charax-Palmyra-Petra-Mediterranean coastal cities on Syria and Palestine) were disrupted. These trade routes flourished particularly after Arabia

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[80]Herod received 'the maritime cities, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's tower' from Caesar of which Pompey had deprived the Jews (*AJ* 15.217). Jews exported 'their goods out of their own havens' (*AJ* 14.249). *m.Baba Batra 5.1* reports the sale of ships; people went overseas (*m.Yebamot* 10.1) because of maritime business. Herod built a fleet (*AJ* 16.16-21). "Coins figuring a ship's prow, an anchor or an aphlaston, were struck by Alexander Jannaeus, Herod, Archelaus and Agrippa II" (*ELP* 679 n. 2). The ararbach Alexander of Alexandria had a branch of his business in Puteoli, Italy (*AJ* 18.159-60;*ELP* 689). There were 'trade stations of Tiberias and Gaza' in Rome (*ERP* 271).

[81]On the trade between the Roman Empire and India, Rosa Maria Cimino (ed.), *Ancient Rome and India: Commercial and cultural contracts between the Roman world and India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1994); Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928); Albrecht Dihle, 'Die entdeckungsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Indienhandels der römischen Kaiserzeit,' *ANRW* II. 9.2, 546-580; Manfred G. Raschke, 'New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East,' *ANRW* II. 9.2, 604-681; Janvier Teixidor, *Un Port Roman du Désert Palmyre et son Commerce d'Auguste à Caracalla* (Paris: Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve, 1984); Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa 30 BC-AD 217* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986).

[82]For this refer to Lionel Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

[83]"Much interesting information about trade between the Roman world and India is furnished by the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, an anonymous work written in Greek" by a Greek Egyptian businessman in the middle of the first century AD (*Ancient Rome and India*, 8).

[84]Ibid.

[85]*NH* 5.88; Teixidor, *Un Port Romain du Désert Palmyre*, 13.

was annexed as a Roman province and the Roman dominance was established in the region in the early second century AD. Therefore, some merchants avoided the Parthian Empire by travelling around the Caspian Sea. Thus "the heyday of their trade was between 130-160 AD."[86] Nevertheless, even before Roman dominance these trade routes were used because of geographical conditions, as is demonstrated by the old law (AD 67-9) in the Palmyran tariff and Adiabene's prince Izates' conversion to Judaism by a Jewish merchant Ananias of Charax-Spasini (*AJ* 20.34-38). Another trade route between India and Rome linked Gerrha via Arabia's capital Thoma to Gaza in Judea.

> Their capital is Thoma, some 1,584 (Roman) miles from the town of Gaza in Judea on the Mediterranean coast. The journey is divided by camel-halts into sixty-five stages[87] (*NH* 12.64).

Arabia became rich through the export of frankincense that was used for funerals.[88] At any rate, some Indian goods were exported to the Roman Empire along this route. The most flourishing routes from India via the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea to the Empire were uncovered as a result of the deteriorating relationship between the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire: (1) India (or Arabia, specifically Gebbanitae (Ocelis))-the Red Sea-Myos Hormose or Berenice-Coptos (the main Nile emporium, *Geography* 17.1.45; *NH* 6.26)-

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[86]M. Gawlikowski, 'Palmyra,' *ABD* 5.136. Before the Roman dominance of the region, Pliny the elder's description of Palmyra shows that it was not as the centre of international commerce: "Palmyra is a city famous for its location, for the riches of its soil and for its pleasant springs. On all sides its fields are surrounded by sand, and it is, as it were, isolated by nature from other lands. It has a destiny of its own between the two superpowers, Rome and Parthia" (*NH* 5.88). Palmyra tariff is composed of the new law (AD 137) and the old law (AD 67-69) (J.F. Matthews, 'The Tax Law of Palmyra,' *JRS* 74 (1984) 175, 179). The old law contains three historical persons: Gaius Mucianus (AD 67-9; Greek Palmyran tariff 150; Aramaic Palmyran tariff 74), Germanicus (Greek Palmyran tariff 181) and Corbulo (Greek Palmyran tariff 194). When Germanicus was looking around the eastern Empire in AD 18-19 (*Annals* 2.57), he sent a letter to Statlilius, Roman official in Palmyra, concerning the tax 'on animals for slaughter.' In AD 60-3 Corbulo also sent a letter to Barbarus, Roman official in Palmyra, concerning the tax on 'pine cones.' Other items in the old law are camel skins, slave girls, bronze images, salt, and grazing rights. Independently of the items in the new law, the items in the old law demonstrate a 'local economy of Palmyra' rather than international trade. Thus, we might infer from the aspects of the local economy of Palmyra that in the first century AD the trade of Palmyra was quite limited and not so much international, because of the tension between the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire as proved by the presence of four brigades of the Roman army in Antioch of Syria. After the Roman conquest of the Nabataean kingdom in AD 108, Palmyra became actively commercial. Inscriptions (*SEG* VII.135; see Matthews, 'The Tax Law of Palmyra,' 166-8) reveals the Palmyran patronage of international merchants in the second century.

[87]Moyat 'Awad (Mo'a), a third century road station between Petra, Oboda and Gaza, was founded and peopled by Nabateans who were embroiled in frankincense trade (Diodorus Siculus 3.42.5;Berlin, *Biblical Archaeologist* 60 (1997) 6; A. Negev, 'The Nabateans and the Provincia Arabia,' *ANRW* 2.8.522-27).

[88]However, as cremation disappeared because of the Christianization of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, the trade in frankincense died out.

through Nile-Alexandria ("the pearl of the Mediterranean"),[89] and (2) India (or Arabia, specifically Gebbanitae (Ocelis))-the Red Sea-Leuce Come ("a large emporium" of the Nabataean kingdom) or Aela (Elath/Ezion Geber)-Petra-Rhinocolura or Gaza[90].[91] It is not certain when these routes were established.[92] The mariners used the monsoons:

> The ships left Egypt in July and taking advantage of the South-West monsoon, could leave the strait of Bab el-Mandeb, and carried by the monsoons, they navigated in open sea to Barygaza on the Indus or to Muziris on the South-Western coast of India. The return trip began in December-January and used the North-East monsoon.[93]

Seneca wrote about the swift maritime travel (by means of the monsoons) from Spain to India:

> Which is the distance that separates the farthest shores of Spain from the Indians? A distance of a very few days, if a favourable wind propels the vessels (*Naturales Questiones* 1.13).

When the Alexandrines took grain to Rome, they harboured in coastal cities in Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, **Delos**[94], Puteoli (='small Delos'; later Ostia). The shipowners were also

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[89]On this route refer to *Geography* 16.4.24;Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa 30 BC-AD 217*, 80-87. There were attempts to construct a canal from the Red Sea to the Nile; but this project was turned down because "the level of the Red Sea is 4½ feet above the level of the land of Egypt"; if connected through the canal, Egypt would be flooded and "making an inlet from the sea would pollute the water of the Nile, which is the sole of drinking water" (*NH* 6.165-66).

[90]'The trade's key-entrepôt' (*ELP* 668).

[91]On this route refer to *Geography* 16.4.23-24. To control the lucrative frankincense trade in this region, the Ptolemies reestablished Rabbath Ammon and changed its name to Philadelphia (cf. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* 41). Presumably the same case would apply to Scythopolis (olim Beth-Shean) which is easily accessible to Philadelphia and to 'the port of Akko-Ptolemais via the Jezreel valley.'

[92]On the discovery of the trade route between the Roman Empire and Taprobane (Ceylon) during the principate of Claudius see *NH* 6.84. Strabo (64 BC-c.AD 24), *Geography* 15.1.4,had already written, "As for the merchants who now sail from Egypt by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf as far as India." Strabo (64 BC-AD 24) and his contemporaries must already have known of the monsoon or the direct maritime route from Arabia to the southern part of India via Mare Erythraeum (the Indian Ocean) because he, *Geography* 2.3-4, wrote, "He (Eudoxus) put music-girls on board, and physicians, and other artisans, and finally set sail on the high sea on the way to India, favoured by constant western breezes." Even Herodutus (484-425 BC) appears to have known this route (*The Histories* 1.1).

[93]*Ancient Rome and India* 55; *NH* 6.104.

[94]"Delos is renowned for its commerce" *NH* 4.66; "Delos was the most important center of international (transit) trade in the Mediterranean. . . . For the classical authors Delos was a model *emporion*" (*Ancient Rome and India* 77).

merchants. Although some merchants did not own ships, they participated in trade.[95] It could take one year or so for maritime or land merchants to make the journey because of winds and slow camel caravans[96]. Therefore, the fact that in James 4.13 it took a year or so for international merchants to travel is proved to be true.[97] There is nothing strange in the fact that the merchant class would have arisen in first century Palestine on account of 'the transit trade.'[98] Jamesian society could provide many merchants because geographically Palestine was at the centre of the trade routes so that mercantile people could easily buy cheap Indian, Arabian, or Alexandrian goods and sell them to the entire Empire at a profit. However, mercantilism could not reduce the number of expandables. For instance, although Arabia became rich through the trade in frankincense, thus earning the appellation "Arabia the Blest, 'Αραβίαν εὐδαίμονα" (*Geography* 15.1.7; see also Diodorus Siculus 19.94.4-5), it was full of bandits:

> Strange to relate, of these countless tribes **half live by trade, half by marauding**. Overall they are the richest of peoples because very great wealth from Rome and Parthia settles in their coffers when they sell what they catch in the sea or forest, and they buy nothing in return (*NH* 6.162).

Thus mercantilism could not reduce expandables.

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[95]Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*, 124-7.

[96]Usually a day's camel journey was 24 Roman miles (38.4 km) over six hours per day (*NH* 12.14). It took only 9 days from Puetoli to Alexandria by ship (Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*, 128), but it took 70 days from Alexandria to Rome by ship (ibid, 129).

[97]There were several kinds of merchants: חנרים who bought and sold the peasants' or craftsmen's produce; shopkeeper; itinerant peddler (רוֹכֵל); סיטון (<σῖτος, a grain wholesaler; e.g. three mercantile tycoons in Jerusalem, *b.Gittin* 56a; *Midrash Rabbah on Lamentation* 1.31); wealthy ship-owners (πραγματεύτης or ἔμπορος) (see *ELP* 688; *ERP* 224-30, 248, 260-61, 273). See *m.Ketubot* 5.6,

> The sexual duty of which the Torah speaks: those without work-every day; workers-twice a week; ass drivers-once a week; camel drivers-once in thirty days; sailors-once in six months, the words of R. Eliezer.
>
> העונה האמורה בתורה/ התילין/ בכל יום. הפועלים/ שתים בשבת. החמרים/ אחת בשבת. הגמלים/ אחת לשלשים יום. הספנים/ אחת לששה חדשים/ דברי רבי אליעזר:

"The camel drivers engaged in international trade" (*ERP* 235). The merchants in James 4.13 traveled on a yearly basis. Thus, the Jamesian merchants were international maritime traders. Sailors were in many cases merchants.

[98]*ELP* 669. Contra Hengel, "Der Jakobusbrief als antipaulinishe Polemik," *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament: Essay in Honor of E.E. Ellis* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr Paul Siebeck, 1987) 256, denies the existence of a merchant class in first century Palestine. See also Kraybill, *Imperial Cult and Commerce in John's Apocalypse*, 93, n. 172.

D. The Jewish Ruling Class: High priests.[99]

There is no mention of high priests in James. However, scholars have suggested that bankers (2.6-7), merchants (4.13-17) and large estate-owners in 5.1ff are Sadducees.[100] We will explore this issue here.

Although not many, some of the poor would have experienced their social mobility in Greco-Roman society partly thanks to the Ciceronian philosophy that lauded agriculture while despising mercantilism.[101] Foreigners and slaves took charge of mercantile and banking businesses, because of the power game among aristocrats who did not employ aristocratic rivals as assistants, but instead appointed ignominious people who could not challenge their position.[102] Some moneylenders or merchants who were usually of low class, or foreigners, became rich and eventually reached high status in the Roman Empire. However, in first century Palestine rich financiers, merchants and agriculturalists were from the upper class of Sadduceans, or high priests.[103] Contrary to the Ciceronian Roman ethos, in Palestine most trades were usually respected. J. Klausner lists many jobs which rabbis recommended that Jews pursue,[104] although there are some despised trades.[105] The Palestinian élite actively participated in trade:

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[99]On the high priests, see *HJP*[2] 2.227-236;*Jerusalem* 190-198; M. Stern, 'Aspects of Jewish Society: The Priesthood and Other Classes,' *CRINT* 2.600-612;E.M. Smallwood, 'High Priests and Politics in Roman Palestine,' *JTS* 13 (1962); R.A. Horsley, 'High Priests and the Politics of Roman Palestine' *JSJ* 17 (1986) 23-55. Some of early Jewish literature and modern scholars accuse high priests of economic injustice. However, their accusations of injustice are very superficial and conventional. It appears that there has not been a study on the high priests and economic injustice.

[100]E.g. Maynard-Reid, Adamson.

[101]*AE* 60; J.H. D'arms, *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981) 149-171; Jones, 'The Economic Life of the Towns of the Roman Empire,' *The Roman Economy*, 35-60.

[102]Carney, *The Shape of the Past: Models and Antiquity*, 59.

[103]U. Maynard-Reid, 69.

[104]Klausner, 'The Economy of Judea in the Period of the Second Temple,' 187, lists such jobs as tailors, cobblers, masons, stonecutters, wood workers, tanners, perfumers, cattle fatteners, butchers, cooks and pastry cooks of both sexes, milkmen, cheesemakers, surgeons, bloodletters, barbers, laundrymen, washer-women, smiths, dyers, weavers, embroiderers, workers in gold thread, carpet weavers, mat-makers, diggers of cisterns and ditches, fishermen, hunters, beekeepers, ceramic workers, potters, and jug makers, coopers, asphalt workers, and glass smelters." 'Sculptors' is not mentioned because of the second commandment.

[105]*Jerusalem* 301-316.

> By the end of the period of the second temple the economy of Palestine was so dependant on commerce that the High Priest used to offer a prayer on the day of Atonement: "May it be thy will, O Lord our God and God of our fathers, that this year be one of cheapness and abundance, **a year of flourishing trade**."[106]

The semitic attitude to commerce was very favourable. Fiensy points out that Origen of Alexandria "tried to deny that Jesus was a carpenter (*c. Cels* 6.36) because of the Roman and Greek elitist view," while Justin of Samaria was "willing to admit that Jesus had been a carpenter" (*Dial. Trypho* 88.8).[107] However, in the eastern Empire, commerce and trade were praised because wealth derived from commerce and trade. A certain Eleazar, son of Harsum, of the families of high priests, after the first revolt, had inherited one thousand villages and one thousand ships from his father.[108] "Probably the most significant class of wealthy landowners was the class of aristocratic priests and especially the High Priestly families."[109] "After annexing much land (*Moses*) apportioned it out, assigning equal allotments to private citizens and **greater ones to priests**." (Hecataeus' statement in Diodorus Siculus 40.37). It was more difficult for Palestinian peasants to rise to the upper class because the class controlled everything, i.e., the temple, trades and land. Although the 'fourth philosophy' of Josephus no doubt fueled the AD 66 revolt, a main factor was the economic oppression of the people by the ruling class. 'The old antagonism between the population of the city and the inhabitants of the country' continued during the revolt.[110] The socio-economic dissatisfaction against the ruling class of high priests is attested to in an early tradition preserved in *b.Pesahim* 57a:

> אוי לי מבית בייתוס אוי לי מאלתן/ אוי לי מבית חנין אוי לי מלחישתן/ אוי לי מבית קתרוס אוי לי מקומוסן/
> אוי לי מבית ישמעאל בן פיאבי אוי לימאנרופן. שהם כהנים גדוכים/ובניהן גיזברין/וחתניהם אמרכלין/
> ועבדיהן חובטין אם העם במקלות.

> Woe is me because of the house of Boethus, woe is me because of their staves! Woe is me because of the house of Hanin, woe is me because of their whisperings! Woe is me because of the house of Kathros, woe is me because of their pens! Woe is me because of the house of Ishmael the son of Phabi, woe is me because of their fists. For they are high priests, and their

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[106]U. Maynard-Reid, *Poverty and Wealth in James*, 76; *j.Yoma* 5.2.

[107]Fiensy, 'Jesus' Socioeconomic Background,' *Hillel and Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997) 239.

[108]*Jerusalem* 99; *SHP* 36-38. *Yr* means a villa or farmstead. On *yr* see *ERP* 82, 87.

[109]*SHP* 51.

[110]*Zealots* 373; Horsley, *Galilee* 135; *b.Gittin* 57a; *j.Taanit* 4.5; *Midrash Rabbah on Lamentations* 2.5.

sons are treasurers, and their sons-in-law are Temple overseers, and their servants beat the people with clubs.

As soon as Herod became king in 37 BC, he πάντας ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ (*AJ* 14.175). *AJ* 15.6 reads, "(Herod) ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ τῆς αἱρέσεως Ἀντιγόνου." Although *AJ* 14.175 mentions that Herod killed all the Sanhedrin members, according to *AJ* 15.6 he killed 45 leading members of the party of Antigonus. Herod would not have killed the Pharisees who made up one part of the Sanhedrin, because the Pharisees had been politically anti-Hasmonean (see *AJ* 13.208-298 and 401). Herod eliminated Hasmonean rulers or high priests from the Sanhedrin on his accession to the throne. Rulers are synonymous with high priests (1 Maccabees 1.2; 7.33; 11.23; *BJ* 2.336 and 405; Acts 4.5, 8, 23). He appointed Hananel, an obscure priest of the Zadok line from Parthia, as high priest (*AJ* 15.22, 40). "Herod was then made the king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint high priests out of the Hasmonean family; but barely of those that were priests" (*AJ* 20.247). The reason for appointing an obscure high priest from Babylonian Jewry was also his policy of drawing his popularity from abroad. Neusner thinks that Herod appointed high priests from the diaspora in order to gain popularity from among the diaspora and thus to establish his own Empire in the Near East.[111] Although Herod appointed Hasmonean Aristobulus (his own son through his Hasmonean wife) as high priest in 36 BC, he murdered Aristobulus shortly afterwards because of the latter's popularity (*AJ* 15.55-56). Then he reinstated Hananel.

After him, Jesus, son of Phiabi, was appointed high priest out of Egypt (*AJ* 15.322).[112] This Jesus was the high priest for eight years. Eight years' office of high priesthood was no short term from 37 BC to AD 70. After Hananel, Alexandrines (the Phiabi and Boethids) were appointed as high priests because Alexandria, among whose population one third or one fourth was Jews, was the second largest city in the Empire in the first century. From this period the high priesthood was usually sold out to the highest bidder.[113] There was rivalry between high priests for high priest nomination (*AJ* 20.213). Those who became high priests through bribes intended to accumulate wealth by any means

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[111]J. Neusner, *History of the Jews in Babylonia: I. The Parthian Period* (Brown Judaic Studies 62; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1984) 36-37; Albert Réville, 'Les Hérodes et le Rêve Hérodien,' *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (1894) 1-42.

[112]*CRINT* 2.274,707.

[113]*Jerusalem* 159.

available like Roman officials. The house of Phiabi filled the high priesthood twice: Ishmael, son of Phiabi I (AD 15-16; *AJ* 18.34) and Ishmael, son of Phiabi II (58-61; *AJ* 20.179, 194-5; *BJ* 6.114). Ishmael b. Phiabi II (AD 58-61) is blamed for their fists (אגרופן), that is, violence (of economic oppression). This may be related to the high priests' persecution of ordinary priests by depriving them of tithes. This persecution seems to have started after the appointment of Ishmael by Agrippa II (*AJ* 20.180-81). One more negative report of Ishmael is that "the mother of the high priest Rabbi [*sic*] Ishmael b. Phiabi (to AD 61) provided him with a tunic worth 100 minas, that is, one talent."[114] However, there is also a positive report on Ishmael b. Phiabi II who was praised in *m.Sotah* 9.15 ("when R. Ishmael b. Phabi died, the splendor of the priesthood came to an end"). This praise is presumably due to Nero's holding him hostage in Rome because he built a wall which blocked the view of the temple from Agrippa II's palace and Antonia the fortress (*AJ* 20.189-196). Agrippa II took his revenge by allowing the singing Levites' request to wear priestly garments to oppose the high priest's will (*AJ* 20.216-18).[115] Thus, there are ambivalent reports about Ishmael b. Phiabi.

The house of Boethus or Kantheras was accused because of their staves, lances or evil-speaking (אלתן) and pens (קולמוסן). Herod also appointed Simon, son of Boethus, who was Herod's father-in-law (23-05 BC; *AJ* 15.320-2). He was high priest for 17 years, and was able to accumulate great wealth, which would have enabled Simon to fill the high priesthood with seven relatives by bribing governors or kings.[116] Jesus b. Gamaliel (AD 63-65) married widow Martha, a member of the high priestly family Boethus (*m.Yebamot* 6.4). It is contrary to Jewish law that a priest who marries a widow should not be a high priest. The 'resentment of the people and of the Pharisaic party' against Jesus b. Gamaliel on account of this disregard of the law is implied in the quotation. Moreover, Martha gave three *qab* (2.02 liters) of denarii to Agrippa II to make her husband high priest (*b.Yeb.* 61a).[117] Further, the fact that "one of the stone weights was incised with an Aramaic inscription: '(of) Bar

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[114] *Jerusalem* 197.

[115] *Zealots* 353.

[116] Matthais, son of Theophilus (5 BC; the father-in-law of Matthais was Simon, son of Boethus (*AJ* 17.164)); Joseph, son of Ellem (5-4 BC; Joseph, son of Ellem, was Matthais' kinsman (*AJ* 17.166)); Joazar, son of Boethus (4 BC; he was appointed by the multitude (*AJ* 18.26)); Eleazar, son of Boethus (4-3 BC); Simon Kantheras, son of Boethus (AD 41-42); Elioenai, son of Kantheras (AD 43-44); Jesus, son of Gamaliel (AD 63-65; Jesus' wife, Martha, was an offspring of Boethus (*m.Yebamot* 6.4)).

[117] *Jerusalem* 98.

Kathros (בר/ר קתרס)'" shows that the place where the measuring stone was found had been the high priest Kantheras' house in Jerusalem; while Herod the Great's house area was some 200 square meters, a high priest's house area was 600 square meters.[118] This shows the high priest' luxurious lifestyle.

The house of Annas was charged on account of their whisperings or calumnies (לחישתן). Annas provided seven high priests.[119] Nepotism in the temple administration is found in the sentence, "they are high priests, and their sons are treasurers, and their sons-in-law are Temple overseers." This nepotism is also corroborated by Acts 4.6 ("With Annas the high priest and Caiaphas and John and Alexander, and all who were of the high-priestly family (ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ)").[120] The high priests' kindred seized all the lucrative posts in the temple. Especially, Ananus b. Ananus who was bold and insolent killed James the brother of Jesus without the Roman governor's consent (*AJ* 20.197-203). Similarly to Ishmael b. Phiabi as noted above (*AJ* 20.179-181) he also deprived the ordinary priests of their tithes:

> He (Ananus) also had servants who were very wicked, who joined themselves to the boldest sort of people, and went to the threshing floors, and took away the tithes that belonged to the priests by violence, and **did not refrain from beating such as would not give these tithes to them**. So the other high priests acted in the like manner, as did those his servants without anyone being able to prohibit; so that [some of the] priests, those of the old were wont to be supported with those tithes, died for want of food (*AJ* 20.206-207).

At the outbreak of the rebellion against Rome in AD 66 he was one of the two commanders in Jerusalem (*BJ* 20.563).

On the other hand, the house of Kami was excluded from the invective (Simon, son of Kami (AD 17-18; *AJ* 18.34); Joseph, son of Kami (44-47; *AJ* 20.16, 103); and Joseph, son of Simon (60-62; *AJ* 20.196)). Jesus (son of See, during 3 BC-AD 6, *AJ* 17.341), Ananias

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[118]On the archaeological evidence of high priests' luxurious residences, N. Avigad, *Archaeological Discoveries in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem: Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1976); idem, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980); idem, 'How the Wealthy Lived in Herodian Jerusalem' *BAR* 2 (1976) 22-35; idem, 'The Burnt House Captures a Moment in Time' *BAR* 9 (1983) 66-72.

[119]Annas, son of Seth, (AD 6-15; *AJ* 18.26; John 18.13-24; Acts 4.6) also provided seven high priests (Eleazar, son of Annas (AD 16-17): Joseph Caiaphas, son-in-law of Annas (18-36; *AJ* 18.35,95; John 18.13,passim); Jonathan, son of Annas (36-37; *AJ* 18.95, 123; 19.313); Theophilus, son of Annas (37-41; *AJ* 18.123); Matthias, son of Annas (42-43; *AJ* 19.316); Ananus, son of Annas (62; *AJ* 20.197-203); Matthias, son of Theophilus (65-67; *AJ* 20.223)).

[120]Nepotism was customary at the ancient time (James the brother of Jesus who was placed as leader of the Jerusalem church and after James' death one of his cousins succeeded him (M. Stern, *CRINT* 2.573-574; *EH* 3.2.1)).

(son of Nedebaeus, during AD 47-58, *AJ* 20.103), and Jesus (son of Damnaeus, during AD 62-63, *AJ* 20.203, 213) were not related to any high priestly house according to the documents available, but they were definitely linked to previously mentioned high priestly houses. These four extended families formed the group of high priests, the Sadducees.[121]

From the time of Herod Agrippa I (AD 41), the high priests were appointed not by Roman governors but by Jewish political leaders (Herod Agrippa I and his son Herod Agrippa II). As Roman governors lost the right of appointment of the high priests, the ex-high priest Jonathan, who was a popular figure, was murdered by Felix through the sicarii. After Jonathan, the high priest Ananias became a mighty figure. Ananias played a double game between the Roman governors and the revolutionary sicarii.[122] The fact that high priests employed gangs (*AJ* 20.180) may be understood from the angle of a military messianology. Eleazar the son of Ananias became the leader of the Jewish revolutionary government. The high priestly messianic ideology presumably worked in the high priests' leadership of the revolutionary government. Hengel sees a conflict between Eleazar son of Ananias and Menahem son of Judas (*BJ* 2.444) as a royal claim 'between the priesthood and the laity.'[123] Judas had 'messianic ambitions' ('ἐπιθυμίᾳ μειζόνων πραγμάτων καὶ ζηλώσει βασιλείου τιμῆς,' *AJ* 17.272).[124] The Jewish revolt was also viewed as a messianic movement by a pagan historian (*Vespasian* 4). There was a clear crash between this ideology and the Roman Empire.

Caesarean Greeks were envious of the Jews who became successful, and persecuted them. Possibly the rich Jews in Caesarea, a maritime port, may have been linked to the high priests who involved themselves in trade (cf. *AJ* 20.177). The Jews gave eight talents (80,000 drachmae/sesterces or 20,000 denarii) to the procurator Florus to resolve this problem. Nevertheless, Florus sent soldiers, some of whom were recruited from the anti-Jewish Syrian province (*BJ* 2.268), to plunder 17 talents (170,000 sesterces) from the temple treasury to indemnify a tax deficit.[125] When the Jews grumbled at this act, Florus killed 3,600 Jews and crucified 'men of the equestrian order' in Jerusalem (*BJ* 2.284-308). The exasperated

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[121] *Jerusalem* 194.

[122] Smallwood, 'High Priests' 46; idem, *The Jews Under Roman Rule* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976) 282; contra Horsley, 'High Priests and the Politics of Roman Palestine' *JSJ* 17 (1986) 46-48.

[123] *Zealots* 364.

[124] *Zealots* 381, n. 4.

[125] *Zealots* 363; *RCJ* 10.

youth of the Jewish provisional government composed of high priests did not pay the tribute to the Empire (*BJ* 2.402).

> At the same time Eleazar, the sons of Ananias the high priest, a boldest (θρασύτατος[126]) youth, who was at that time governor of the temple, persuaded those that officiated in the divine service to receive no gift or sacrifice for any foreigner. **And this was the true beginning of our war with the Romans; for they rejected the sacrifice of Caesar on this account** (*BJ* 2.409; also see *b.Gittin* 56a).

To summarise, the ruling class, the high priests, were psychologically caught among the peasants who lost their land to them, Roman procurators who demanded them (estate owners) to pay taxes, and non-Jews especially in Caesarea and Alexandria who envied their economic success. In this sense, Goodman legitimately ascribes the revolt to the ruling class, i.e., high priests. They increased their property through the temple, land and trade. Although there were some high priests popular among the Jews, instead of caring for the underprivileged, they were greedy to get more at their sacrifice.

E. The Famine and the Sicarii.

If James the brother of Jesus, the Jerusalem church leader, wrote the epistle, we suggest that the social location of the epistle is Jerusalem and its environment. We have examined that Palestine was economically worse than other provinces because of overpopulation caused by no presence of the Roman army and Pompey's evacuation of Jews from the coastal and inland cities to Jewish Palestinian territories. Therefore, a famine severely plagued especially Jerusalem and Judea, although it was worldwide (ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, Acts 11.28; *EH* 2.12; *Claudius* 18). This was during the days of the procurators Cuspius Fadus (AD 45-46) and Tiberius Julius Alexander (AD 46-48; *AJ* 20.101; see also 3.320-321; 20.49-53). However, during Herod Agrippa I's reign (AD 41-44), there was no famine in Palestine; at that time corn was even exported to Tyre and Sidon from Galilee (Acts 12.20). Thus, Luke has Agrippa's persecution (AD 41-44) anachronistically inserted in the relief pericope between Acts 11.30 and Acts 12.25. To save Jews from starvation, Queen Helena of Adiabene gave food to the needy (*AJ* 20.53, 101). Her son Izates also sent 'sums of money to the principal men in Jerusalem' (*AJ* 20.53). The money given to the principal

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[126]Josephus added the superlative suffix -τατος to θρασύς (bold, rash).

men and the conversion of Izates and his loyal family to Judaism could suggest his political interests.[127] The famine was again accentuated by a sabbatical year (AD 48/49). As the famine became even more acute, peasants would have sold their land to rich financiers, i.e., high priests. Thus while the peasants became more and more landless, the rich acquired more and more land. To maximize profit rich agriculturalists would not lease out their land to tenants, but employed seasonal daylabourers. The unskilled expandables could only survive through mendicancy or banditry. The famine during this period was the main reason for debtors, robbers and impostors. Such symptoms started to appear even during the famine: the procurator Fadus (AD 44-46) executed an imposter Theudas (*AJ* 20.97-99; *EH* 2.11); the procurator Alexander (AD 46-48) also crucified James and Simon, the sons of the fourth philosopher Judas (*AJ* 18.4, 23; 20.102; *BJ* 2.118); during the time of the procurator Cumanus (AD 48-52) the robber Eleazar, the son of Dineus, was very active in Samaria (*m. Sotah* 9.9; *AJ* 20.118-121, 161; *BJ* 2.235-36). Eleazar, the head of 'invading robber gangs', was arrested and sent to Rome by Felix (*AJ* 20.161; *BJ* 2.253). Eleazar was popular among Jews, but hated by Cumanus and Felix. As Horsley puts it, the robber Eleazar was a 'Robin Hood' to the Jews. According to *Annals* 12.54, Cumanus and Felix governed Samaria and Judea. Felix, the brother of Pallas who was the powerful ex-slave financial secretary in the *camarilla* of the Claudius court, freely committed any crime because "Pallas had virtually controlled the empire" (*Annals* 13.14). For example, Felix coveted Paul's money (Acts 24.26). Felix purged from his political arena the high priest Jonathan and the robber Eleazar both of whom were beloved by the Jews. The country (χώρα) was 'again' (πάλιν) filled with robbers and impostors under the procurator Felix (AD 52-59) approximately four years after the sabbatical year (*AJ* 20.160). The word πάλιν indicates that previous banditry at the time of Herod the Great had reappeared. During the interval AD 6-41 (the period from Archelaus until Herod Agrippa I), banditry was not so widespread as in the subsequent period. In the days of Felix, sicarii moved from the country to the cities, especially Jerusalem, by Felix's invitation of them to Jerusalem to abduct the popular high priest Jonathan in order to bring Palestine under his tight control. The above events is summed up in the following table.

Historical Events during James' Time

Procurators (king)	Dates	Emperors	Church Events	Social Events

[127]Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia: I. The Parthian Period*, 69.

Herod Agrippa I (king)	41-44	Claudius	Herod's persecution of the Jerusalem church which changed the leadership from Peter (apostles) to James (elders) (Acts 11.30).	Export of Grain to Tyre and Sidon (Acts 12.20).
Cuspius Fadus	44-46	41		Flood in Egypt (AD 45; *NH* 5.58). Famine in Judea and Jerusalem started. Proselytes Helena and Izates' relief (*AJ* 20.51-53,101; Acts 11.28). Theudas' revolt (*AJ* 20.97).
Tiberius Alexander	46-48	-	Barnabas and Paul ministered the Antioch church for one year (AD 47-48; Acts 11.26). Paul visited Jerusalem with the relief from the Antioch church (AD 48; Acts 11.25-30;12.25; Galatians 2.10) and discussed mission boundaries (Galatians 2.6-9).	The Sabbatical Year (AD 47-48). 14 times the regular price of corn (*AJ* 3.320). Revolters James and Simon (sons of Fourth philosopher Judas) executed (*AJ* 20.102).
Ventidius Cumanus	48-52	54	Paul's first missionary journey (AD 48-49; Acts 13-14); the table fellowship problem arose (Acts 15.1-2; Galatians 2.11-14). This led to the Jerusalem council which gave full membership to Gentile Christians (AD 50; Acts 15.1-29); Paul's second and third journey (AD 50-57). In Corinth Paul stood before proconsul Gallio (June 51-May 52) in the summer of 51 (Acts 18.12; Dio 57.14.5).	Jews expelled from Rome by Claudius because of disturbances owing to Christ (Acts 18.2; *Claudius*, 25). Claudius, however, found it difficult to expel Jews from Rome; he prohibited them from assembling, which was a source of great pain to them (Dio 60.6). Eleazar, a robber, executed (*BJ* 2.232-5; *AJ* 20.121).
M. Antonius Felix	52-59	Nero	Paul came to James in Jerusalem with the relief from Gentile churches (AD 57; Acts 21.18f); Paul's arrest (AD 57); Paul was misunderstood as the Egyptian leader **τῶν σικαρίων** (Acts 21.38).	Felix introduced **σικάριους** to Jerusalem to kidnap Jonathan (*AJ* 20.162-4; *BJ* 2.254-6). An Egyptian and his followers scattered (*AJ* 20.169-72; *BJ* 2.261-2; Acts 21.38). High priests' persecution of **ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ πλήθους Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν** (*AJ* 20.180-1).
Porcius Festus	59-61	54-68	Paul's appeal to Caesar (AD 58-59); Paul in Rome (AD 60).	The conflict in Caesarea, the firebrand of the revolt, started; Sicarii infested Judea.
Albinus	61-65		Before the new governor Albinus came to Jerusalem, the high priest Ananus killed James the brother of Jesus (AD 62).	Temple construction works finished (AD 64); a hyper unemployment rate caused the revolt in AD 66.

This table shows the close relations between church events and secular events: Paul's relief visit to Jerusalem and the famine; Paul's being misunderstood as a sicarius and the presence of sicarii in Jerusalem in the days of Felix; the high priests' persecution of ordinary priests and the martyrdom of James who was probably the leader of some ordinary priests (Acts 6.7; the Ascents of James 1.70.1; cf. *EH* 2.23)[128]; Paul's arrest and James' martyrdom took place nearly contemporaneously.

Many commentators of James have been troubled by such words "you kill" (**φονεύετε**), "you fight and wage war" (**μάχεσθε καὶ πολεμεῖτε**) in James 4.1-2 because it is hardly conceivable that Christians would kill each other. Even Paul used **φόνου** alongside **φθόνου** in Romans 1.20; 13.9; Galatians 5.21. The word **φονεύω** occurs 4 times (James 2.11

[128]There is a speculation that James was the head of ordinary priests (Adamson, 245, n. 99).

(2x); 4.2; 5.6). The frequent use of this word in James reflects the socio-economic conditions rather than just repeating the tradition or a literary hyperbolic locution. Because of the difficult word φονεύετε, scholars have changed the word into φθονεῖτε, you envy (Spitta, Windisch, Belser, Dibelius, Hauck, Chaine, Marty). Dibelius lists μάχεσθε καὶ πολεμεῖτε from Plato, *Phaed.* 66c; Cicero, *Fin.* 1.44; Lucian, *Cynicus*, 15; Philo, *Decal.* 151ff.[129] Comparison between Josephus and James provides some link between Jamesian killers (φονεύετε; 4.2) and Josephus' sicarii (*BJ* 2.254):

> BJ 2.254, "A new species of banditti was springing up in Jerusalem, the so-called sicarii, *who murdered people* (φονεύοντες ἀνθρώπους) in broad daylight in the heart of the city."
> James 4.1-2, "What causes wars, and what causes fightings among you? Is it not your passions that are at war in your members? You desire and do not have; so *you murder* (φονεύετε). And you covet and cannot obtain; so you fight and wage war. You do not have, because you do not ask."

Josephus indicates the motive of murder as 'greediness of gain' (ἡ πλεονεξία) (*BJ* 2.464). Similarly James ascribes it to ἡδονή and ἐπιθυμία. See also *AJ* 20.163-5, 186-7. Therefore, the probable date of the epistle ranges from AD 52 to 62 as indicated by the reference to sicarii in James 4.1-2.[130]

Concluding Observations.

Lenski-Lenski say that overpopulation, i.e., the problem of the unemployed/expandables, could have been a chronic social problem in an advanced agrarian society.[131] Even modern macroeconomists have slowly started to recognize this 'disequilibrium'.[132] Unequal economic distribution hampered creative inventions on the

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[129]Dibelius, 216.

[130]Cf. M.J. Townsend, 'James 4.1-4: A Warning against Zealotry?' *Expository Times* 87 (1976) 211-213; R.P. Martin, 'The Life-Setting of the Epistle of James in the Light of Jewish History,' *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies* (ed. G.A. Tuttle; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 97-103; idem, *James* 146.

[131]Gerhard Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984) 147-169; Fiensy, 'Jesus' Socioeconomic Background,' *Hillel and Jesus*, 241.

[132]Landreth-Colander, *History of Economic Thought*, 195.

part of peasants, which delayed technology and industrialization in ancient society.[133] An advanced agrarian society would produce overpopulation. However, there were no factories or institutions to employ the expandables. The army was the largest institutions which could absorb them except agriculture. We have dealt with the economic conditions of first century mediterranean society (the Roman Empire at large and Palestine) in terms of expandables and the army. In antiquity, the station of the army in the provinces created jobs, and thus reduced the expandables. The recruitment of the provincials to the army also reduced expandables. Where the Roman brigades were stationed, the local economy was boosted. Thus the Roman army could be an answer to the socio-economic problems in the provinces.

Italy suffered from the inflation caused by too much influx of taxes, revenues and annona. Its poor people were agonised due to few soldiers resident in it. Greece also experienced poverty because of no army in it. It is not a coincidence that the epistle of James' sibling works, Hermas' works and the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, were addressed to Rome and Corinth respectively.

The expandables unusually increased numerically during the first century in Palestine due to the disbandment of ex-Hasmonean soldiers, no Jewish auxiliaries, refugees from coastal and inland cities, bankrupt smallholders, and rare construction works. The number of the Roman regular and auxiliary army stationed in Palestine was 3,000 in the period from AD 44 to 66.[134] The ratio/effects of the presence of the Roman army compared to the Jewish population and taxation was/were negligible. Especially the auxiliary army was recruited mostly from anti/non-Jewish Caesareans or Sebastenes (*AJ* 20.176). Thus, the Jewish expandables could not help resorting to banditry or beggary to survive. If the Roman army had been stationed in first century Palestine as it was in the second and third centuries, first century Palestinian economy would have been better.

The poor were treated as 'subhumans,' 'people without heart' who were 'driven with a stick like cattle' (James 2.2ff). Peasants were even listed with the 'livestock.'[135] The peasants grew dissatisfied with rich priestly landowners/financiers who tried to expand their landholding by gaining control over the smallholders' land through debt defaults. Moreover, first century Palestine saw the emergence of a merchant class as Alexandria became the trading centre of the empire. Some Jews were involved in trade and became successful, but

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[133]Lenski-Lenski, *Human Societies*, 178; *AE* 107.

[134]*HJP*[2] 1.363-64

[135]Lenski-Lenski, *Human Societies*, 192.

this did not reduce the expandables. Some economic successes generated envy and jealousy in the society. Such poverty, envy, anger or dissatisfaction seems to have been addressed in the epistle of James.

PART THREE: HISTORY OF TRADITIONS-INTERMEDIARY FIGURES AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN EARLY JEWISH LITERATURE.

In Part Two we investigated the first century Palestinian society. In the context of our investigation, we observed that provinces characterised as advanced agrarian peasant societies were able to flourish economically under the Roman Empire. The situation in Palestine, however, was different. Most inhabitants there suffered harsh poverty because of overpopulation while the few upper strata and some maritime merchants involved in transit trade enjoyed wealth. James formulated instructions which would help maintain a community which was in turmoil because of anger, dissatisfaction, envy, jealousy, and poverty. In responding to the problems of his community James would quite naturally have drawn on Jewish traditions with which he was acquainted.

This part consists of three chapters. Firstly, we will examine economic and military messianic figures in early Jewish literature to inquire whether or not such figures provide a background against which the function of Christology in James can be explained. This Jewish background, however, will show that Christology in James is not predicated on the notion of an economic and military messianic figure, and that it thus becomes necessary to search for another sort of a messianic figure.

In the second chapter, it will be suggested that the Jamesian messianic figure is better understood against the framework of an ethical dualism which serves as to reinforce social justice in the changing society reflected in the epistle. Social justice or injustice is the result of human actions which are not autonomous but controlled or governed by either one of two antithetical spiritual powers. These cosmic powers vie for control over the human being (see especially e.g. Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan to Genesis 3.15; 6.3). Although all passages of the epistle are permeated by ethical dualism, James 4.7 in particular gives an unmistakable expression to the idea: "Submit yourselves therefore to *God*. Resist *the devil* and he will flee from you." Although commentators often refer to dualism as operative in James, there have hardly been any studies which offer an adequate analysis of it. Since Jamesian dualism reflects the influence of early Jewish tradition, we shall discuss ethical dualism in early

Jewish literature in order to ascertain how this has shaped James' own approach to social justice in the epistle.

In the third chapter, to counterbalance the status quo which ethical dualism functions to preserve, James advances an anthropology; according to 3.9 the cursing of other human beings is implicitly condemned because humans have been made 'in the likeness (image) of God.' Significantly, the notion of the image of God occurs in relation to social justice in early Jewish literature, and the influence of this pattern on James will be explained.

Chapter One: Militant, Political and Economic Messianic Figure.[1]

Messianic expectations in second temple literature proliferated during times of economic and political oppression. The poverty problem mentioned in the epistle of James (1.27; 2.1-26; 5.1-6) might lead one to expect a Robin Hood-like savior who wields the sword to snatch treasures from the rich and redistribute them to the poor. We will examine if such an eschatological figure, who was expected to resolve socio-economic problems, appears in early Jewish literature. To understand the extent to which the Jamesian Christology reflects such traditions, we examine here the relationship between the militant, political messianic figure in early Jewish literature and the economic problems which he is to rectify.

Recently J. H. Charlesworth has proposed that *Psalms of Solomon* (first century BC), *2 Baruch* (early second century AD), *4 Ezra* (late first century AD), and *1 Enoch* (especially the Book of the Similitudes, mid-1st century BC or later) are messianic documents.[2] These

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[1]Concerning messianic figures in early Jewish literature, see Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (ed. Hugo Gressmann; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1926) 213-242; *HJP*[2] 514-47; P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1934) 173-203; D.S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964) 304-352; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956) 280-450; Anders Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Partriarches: I. Interprétation des texts* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977) 300-326; J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel from Its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah* (London: George Allen and Unwin LTD, 1956).

[2]Charlesworth, 'From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects,' *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, (ed. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 3-35. Scholars engaged in the original quest for the historical Jesus argued that as teacher and healer, Jesus could not have been a militant, political and economic messianic figure. According to William Wrede, the inconsistent 'messianic secret' is a falsification devised by early Christians to make Jesus glorious (*The Messianic Secret* (trans. J.C.G. Greig; Cambridge and London: James Clarke & Co. Ltd., 1971) 125, 128, 139, *passim*). Wrede argued that Jesus never announced himself as Christ before the Sanhedrin prior to his death (Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede*, trans. W. Montgomery [New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1968] 340). Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* 359, argued that Jesus believed the messianic

four documents are, however, those (politico-economic) writings most used by scholars like Hengel and Horsley in order to explain expectations surrounding the first Jewish revolt.[3] In addition, the Enochic Similitudes (1 Enoch 37-71) will be investigated, though not until the next chapter, because ethical dualism is more prominent in this document, as will be shown. We will consider here the four 'messianic' documents to see whether the economic and political eschatological figures therein could contribute to an interpretation of the epistle of James, which has a special concern for the poor.

Contemporary research on Christology usually concentrates on distinct christological and messianological titles (e.g. J.D.G. Dunn[4], Ferdinand Hahn[5], Oscar Cullmann[6]). However, especially in our four documents, several titles, such as 'Christ'/'anointed one,' the 'son of man,' the 'righteous one,' the 'elect one,' are used sometimes synonymously (see the table below). Therefore, this thesis will examine two types of messianology[7] rather than Christological names. The absence of a given 'messianic' title does not mean that the

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kingdom would arrive when he sent his disciples out. According to Schweitzer (ibid) as the kingdom was not realised, Jesus changed his strategy and resolved to die (de-eschatologisation). It is according to the opinion of politico-militant messianology (the original quest for the historical Jesus) that Jesus was not Christ. The politico-militant messianology influenced scholars to confess that gospels' Christ is the later Christians' creed put in Jesus' mouth (e.g. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1968) 26-32; N. Perrin, 'The *Wredestrasse* Becomes the Hauptstrasse: Reflections on the Reprinting of the Dodd *Festschrift*,' *Journal of Religion* 46 (1966) 297-98; J.D.G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980) 254; C. Brown, 'Historical Jesus, Quest of,' *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (Leicester: InterVarsity, 1992) 326-341). However, a paradigm shift in Christology has taken place in scholarship from the notion of a politico-militant messianology to a heavenly messianology. In the light of the heavenly messianology Jesus could historically pronounce himself as Christ. This will be discussed in the next chapter from the perspective of ethical dualism. Thus attempts to ascribe Jesus' death to the clash between Jews and Jesus who rudely cleansed the temple (E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985) 77-90) should be modified. Again, Schweitzer's failed-political messiah model which produced the '*Interimesethik*' still dominant in current New Testament ethics (e.g. J. Sanders, *New Testament Ethics* [London: SCM, 1986]) should be altered. We suggest that ethical dualism is the controlling principle of New Testament ethics.

[3]See *Zealots* 302-12; Horsley, "'Messianic' Figures and Movements in First-Century Palestine" in *The Messiah* 276-95; idem, 'Messianic Movements in Judaism,' *ABD* 4.791-800;R.A. Horsley and J.S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis/Chicago/New York: Winston Press, 1985) 89-134). Scholars tend to add more documents such as the Assumption (Testament) of Moses, the War Scroll and the Sibylline Oracles to the documents. Although the 'eagle' in the Testament of Moses 10.8 is claimed to refer to the Roman Empire (*Zealots* 303), J. Priest proposes an alternative interpretation that "the author is referring to Israel's exaltation being achieved by being borne aloft as by an eagle" (*OTP* 1.932,n. e). Thus, the Testament of Moses will not be dealt with in this chapter. The War Scroll will be examined in the light of the two-spirits model in the next chapter.

[4]J.D.G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1980).

[5]Ferdinand Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995).

[6]Oscar Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (trans. Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A.M. Hall; London: SCM Press, 1983). See also Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology:Antecedents and Early Evidence* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[7]I.e., militant and heavenly messiahs.

document does not imply a certain messianology. Thus, the document will be dealt with, if a messianic meaning is found in it. Unless otherwise specified, the English translations of the early Jewish writings in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* by J.H. Charlesworth ed., will be cited throughout this thesis.

Messianic Titles in Messianic Documents

	1 Enoch	Psalms of Solomon	4 Ezra	2 Baruch
Christ, Messiah, Anointed One	48.10;52.4	17.32;18.7	7.28,29;12.32	29.3;30.1;39.7;40.1;70.9; 72.2
Son of Man	46.3;48.2;62.5,7,9,1463.11; 69.27,29(2x);70.1;71.17		13	
Son of God			7.28,29;13.32,37,52;14.9	
Son of David		17.21	12.32(Posterity of David)	
Righteous One	38.2,3;53.6;91.1;92.3,4			
Elect One	39.6;40.6;45.3(2x),4,5;48.6;49.2,4; 51.3,4;52.6;53.6;55.4;61.5,8			
Lord		17.32;18.7		
King		17.21,32,34,42		

A. 1 Enoch.

Scholars agree unanimously that the entire Ethiopic Enoch is composed of originally independent writings written at different times (3rd BC - 0): e.g. I. the Book of the Watchers (1-36; 330 - 170 BC), II. the Book of the Similitudes (37-71; mid-1st century BC or later), III. Astronomical Book (72-82; 587 - 330 BC), IV. the Book of Dreams (83-90; 167 BC), V. the Epistle of Enoch (91-105; 103-64 BC) plus additions (106-7, 108).[8] 1 Enoch is 'like an intricately devised jigsaw puzzle, or rather a collection of such puzzles.'[9] I will try to place each book of 1 Enoch in its own historical background, which is the most difficult task among the four documents. For convenience sake, I will rearrange 1 Enoch chronologically. The book of Heavenly Luminaries (72-82) comes from the Persian period.[10] It will not be discussed here because a messianology does not occur in this document.

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[8]J.T. Milik and M. Black, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976). It would require another chapter to sort out 1 Enoch.

[9]Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985) 12.

[10]G.W.E. Nickelsburg, 'Eschatology (Early Jewish),' *ABD* 2.509.

a. The Book of the Watchers (1-36).

In this document a messianic hope is found although a messianic figure is not featured. In 10.19 an eschatological/messianic hope of ample agricultural produce is ripe:

> And they shall plant pleasant trees upon her-vines. And he who plants a vine upon her will produce wine for plenitude. And every seed that is sown on her, one measure will yield a **thousand** (measures) and one measure of olives will yield **ten measures of presses of oil**.

See also 4Q204 col. v; 1Q23 frags. 1 + 6 + 22; 2 Baruch 29.5; Irenaeus, Against Heresies 5.33.3. The huge eschatological harvest of crops is characteristic of the messianic kingdom.[11] The expectation of this abundant harvest developed under economic oppression (see below).

> 7.3-6. These (giants) consumed the produce of all the people until the people detested feeding them. So the giants turned against (the people) in order to eat them. . . . And then the earth brought an accusation against the oppressors (or 4Q531 frags. 1 + 5).
>
> 9.10. And now behold, the Holy One[12] will cry, and those who have died will bring their suit up to the gate of heaven. Their groaning has ascended (into heaven), but they could not get out from before the face of the oppression that is being wrought on earth (or 4Q530 frag. 6, 4-5).

The righteous and the wicked are classified according to their practice of economic justice in this document. The giants (the Watchers) are designated wicked because they performed economic injustices (10.15, 16, 20; 13.2 [2x]) and iniquities (10.20).

There are two competing interpretations on the Watchers: Alexander and Greeks; the corrupt high priestly class. Nickelsburg suggests that the Watchers could be Alexander

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[11]It is also noteworthy here that during the messianic era flesh will also be lavishly provided through killing Behemoth and Leviathan which God "created on the fifth day of creation" (2 Baruch 29.4; 1 Enoch 60.7-10,24; 4 Ezra 6.49-52). J. Priest attempts to read the slaughter of the animals as an eschatological meal of *judgment* and joy (Priest, 'A Note on the Messianic Banquet,' *The Messiah* 222-238). However, the slaughter of the animals does not indicate the eschatological judgment in the documents cited here.

[12]R.H. Charles has 'the souls of those who have died' instead of 'the Holy One.' E. Isaac, *OTP* 1.17, n. r, also writes, "This phrase (the Holy One) is attested neither in other Eth. MSS nor in the Gk. fragments."

the Great and his successors who brought the Hellenistic civilization to the Jews.[13] The Watchers' teachings are described: "Azazel taught the people (the art of) making swords and knives, and shields, and breastplates; and he showed to their chosen ones bracelets, decorations, (shadowing of the eye) with antimony, ornamentation, the beautifying of the eyelids, all kinds of precious stones, and all colouring tinctures" (8.1). Other angels had the knowledge of medicine and magic, "They taught them magical medicine, incantations, the cutting of roots, and taught them (about) plants" (7.1; 8.3). Although 1 Enoch 1-36 negatively describes the Watchers who taught these skills, Jubilees 10.12 favourably describes God's angels who taught Noah how to heal all illnesses by means of the herbs of the earth. However, in that 1 Enoch 1-36 and Jubilees were dissident documents because both of them observed the solar calendar condemning the Jerusalemites who would have perhaps observed the lunar calendar,[14] there is some common denominator between them with the reservation that 1 Enoch is antipathetic to the priestly class[15] while Jubilees does not categorically reject the class.[16]

On the other hand, Scholars suggest that the Watchers or giants are the corrupt priesthood in Palestine.[17] Their argument that the Watchers are the priestly class is based on 'the correspondence of heaven and temple.'

The identification between heaven and temple also occurs in 4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400). The Essenes "imagined the heavenly angels themselves as invisible participants in their own prayer services."[18] "Le service de Lévi et de ses descendants dans le sanctuaire du Seigneur est le même que celui que les anges assurent dans les cieux (Jubilees 30.18; 31.14)."[19] Aaron was called angel of God by his father Amram (4Q545 17).

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[13]Nickelsburg, 'Enoch, First Book of,' *ABD* 2.510 and *JLBM* 52.

[14]H. Najman, 'Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and its Authority Conferring Strategies,' 394. F.G. Martínez, 'The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees,' 251, maintains that Jubilees, Qumran, and 1 Enoch had the solar calendar.

[15]Significantly, in the Book of Watchers as elsewhere in 1 Enoch, Enoch is not called a 'priest,' but rather a 'scribe.'

[16]In Jubilees 4.25 Enoch is a priest. Moreover the invectives on the Watchers who are supposed to teach human beings as priests are not so pointed in Jubilees 4.15,22; 5.1-2 (cf. Malachi 2.6-7).

[17]David Suter, 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: the Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6-16,' *HUCA* 50 (1979) 115-35; J.J. Collins, 'Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of Watchers,' *CBQ* 44 (1982) 91-111.

[18]H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran* 99.

[19]Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Partriarches* 1.23.

The high priest who blesses is called the angel of face (1Q28b 4.25). Melchizedek is a 'grand-prêtre du sanctuaire céleste.'[20] Josephus described the Jerusalem temple in the light of the cosmic universe: e.g. the menorah (the seven lamps) signifies the seven planets (*BJ* 5.217; cf. Revelation 1.20: "As for the mystery of the seven stars which you saw in my right hand, and the *seven golden lampstands*, the seven stars are the angels (*ministers*) of the seven churches and the seven lampstands are the seven churches"); the garment of the priest is decorated with a mixture of bells and pomegranates and Josephus interpreted that the bells signify thunder and the pomegranates lightning (*BJ* 5.231).[21] Hengel points to the 'existence of a *mantic-magic medicine*' among Essenes who were led by the dissident priestly class (*BJ* 2.136).[22] Usually herbs were used 'for purposes of medicine or witchcraft' (*AJ* 8.47). All these considerations lend credence to the identification of the fallen angels with the priestly class who were involved in trades like metallurgy, mining, medicine and magic, through which they became extremely rich and through the temple business as well.

Not only the indictments here in 1 Enoch 7.3-6; 9.10; 10.9 but also in other early Jewish literature (Testament of Levi 14; CD 4.15-19; 6.15-16; 8.3-7; 19.17-19; 1QpHab 8.8-13; 9.3-7; 4Q390 frag. 2 col. 1.8-10; Psalms of Solomon 8.8-12) also accuse the Jerusalem priests of their sins.[23] The polarisation between the rich business priestly class and the agricultural peasants from whom scribes might be recruited was aggravated. Peasant dissenters contend that rich, materialistic and immoral priests should be 'spiritual, (having) eternal life, and immortal' (15.6). Their dwelling place is to be heaven (temple) (15.7). The writer of the Book of the Watchers utilises the Watchers who were punished by Noah's flood because of their sins, as a cipher for the rich priestly class, who should be punished by God. This document has no messianic figure who usually revenges the Gentiles with the sword, because its opponents were the compatriots of corrupt priests. However, the expectation of an abundant agricultural harvest alludes to a messianic era.

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[20]Hultgård, idem, 39, n.2; 11Q13; 4QVisions of Amram; Milik, '4Q Visions de Amram et une citation d'Origène,' *RB* 79 (1972) 77-97.

[21]Further see 1 Enoch 14; 1Q28b 4.24-27:John Strugnell, 'The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran. 4QSerek Shirot Olat hashshabbat,' *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 7 (1959) 318-45.

[22]Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* 240. However, A. Lange, 'The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,' 377-435 argues against magic, mantic practices in the Qumran community except for casting the lot.

[23]Hans Kosmala, 'The Three Nets of Belial,' 91-113.

b. The Epistle of Enoch (91-105).

Milik proposed that this epistle was at least written before the middle of the first century BC on orthographic grounds: 4Q212 or 4QEnoch^{g} contains *zy* instead of *dy*.[24] Charles suggested that it was written 95-79 BC or 70-64 BC 'during which periods the Pharisees were oppressed by both rulers and Sadducees' (104.14-15 in which the righteous were murdered).[25] However, Charles did not consider the gentile setting of this document. On the other hand, Nickelsburg suggests that "the epistle might well have been written early in the second century BC" because Jubilees 4.17-19 already knew the written works of Enoch.[26] However, Nickelsburg's ground for the early date can be challenged by the fact that there had already been other Enochic documents before 91-105 was written (see 104.10-13).[27] Milik's dating and scenario of the Epistle of Enoch appears to be likely when we reconstruct this document historically. See below.

Milik's suggestion may be right that the epistle was written in a maritime city (97.7-8; 101.4-9).[28] Although Halévy suggested that the Ethiopic 'kings' derives from the Hebrew *malkey*,[29] one might argue, to the contrary, that 'sailors' in 101.4 has been rendered as 'kings' in G^{p} (the Greek papyrus as edited by Bonner) and most Ethiopic manuscripts because sailors (merchants) were already being designated as kings (Isaiah 23.8; see Revelation 18.23). This shows that the maritime merchants were extremely rich like kings. The city may be Gaza,[30] the 'trade's key-entrepoˆt,'[31] from which Arabian frankincense was exported to the western world. Although Alexander Janneus conquered Gaza (*AJ* 13.356-364), he appointed an Idumean governor Antipas (Herod's father or grandfather) over

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[24]J.T. Milik, 'Problèmes de la Littérature Hénochique à la Lumière des Fragments Araméens de Qumrân,' *HTR* 64 (1971) 361.

[25]*APOT* 2.171.

[26]*JLBM* 150.

[27]Milik, 'Problèmes,' 362.

[28]Milik, 'Problèmes,' 362-363.

[29]*OTP* 1.82 n. h.

[30]Milik, 'Problémes,' 363.

[31]*ELP* 668.

Idumea and Gaza (*AJ* 14.10).[32] Perhaps some dissident Jews moved to Gaza which belonged to the Jewish state but had mostly Gentile residents (99.5-child exposure; 99.6-9-idolatry). Their dissident disposition is evidenced by the expectation of a new house (temple)[33] (1 Enoch 91.13) and a new heaven (91.16) because the wealth of the temple was regarded by them as having been stolen from the poor of the people (102.9). There were also some Jews in Gaza who were assimilated to the Gentile way of life (96.6; 99.7, 14). Probably they were Sadducean international merchants, friends of Alexander Janneus who was involved in trade.[34] We can surmise from dissidents' criticisms in this document that the dissident Jews felt serious relative deprivation vis-à-vis the rich Jewish renegades (Sadducean merchants) and Gentile residents. Oppression and injustice described in this document are the experiences which the dissident Jews could likely have undergone. They stereotyped the rich as wicked and themselves as righteous. The author denied any influences of the Watchers on the actions of their opponents (98.4-5) because the opponents themselves became 'la *fons et origo*'[35] of wickedness by which the author ascribed sins to the opponents, not to angelic beings like the Watchers. Although the Jews appealed to the authorities in Gaza (e.g. governor of Gaza, Idumean Antipas), the appeals were not replied; moreover there was an occasional pogrom of the Jews on the part of the Gentile majority (103.14-15). They comforted themselves by the false notions of their resurrection (92.3-4; 103.1-4; 104.2). Further, the author thinks that he belongs to the seventh week[36] and waits for the eighth week in which the 'righteous/wise one' (a messianic figure) shall arise from his sheep (91.10). In the eighth week, a '**sword**' is also given to 'all the just' (plural, 4QEnoch^{g} 4.15) which anticipates a **revolt** (91.12). Although a messianic figure is promised in the Apocalypse of Weeks 91.10 ('the righteous one' and 'the wise one') and 92.3-4 ('the

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[32]A. Kasher, 'Gaza (Greco-Roman),' *ABD* 2.916.

[33]Theologically, the justification of a new temple is found in the heavenly temple in Exodus 25.9,40;2 Baruch 4; 4 Ezra 7.26, 13.36; *b.Taanith* 5b; *b.Baba Bathra* 75a; Galatians 4.25-26; Hebrews 11.10, 12.22; Revelation 21.2, 10.

[34]*ELP* 679, n. 2.

[35]Milik, 'Problèmes,' 364.

[36]An earlier document (the Apocalypse of Weeks [1 Enoch 93.1-10;91.11-17]) is inserted into the later Epistle of Enoch (91-105). Vanderkam believes that the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93.1-10;91.11-17) which is *vaticinia ex eventu* was written before or slightly after 167 BC ('Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93.1-10;91.11-17),' *CBQ* 46 (1984) 521-523). Scholars unanimously agree the order of the chapters according to 4QEnoch^{g} or 4Q212 col. 2 (1 Enoch 91.18-92.2);col. 3 (1 Enoch 92.5-93.4);col. 4 (1 Enoch 93.9-10 + 91.11-17);col. 5 (1 Enoch 93.11-94.2)reconstructed by Milik. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Charles suggested the similar order of the chapters: 92; 91.1-10, 18-19; 93.1-10;91.12-17;94 (*ATOP* 2.170).

Righteous One'), the reward for the righteous and the punishment of the wicked (judgment/reversal) are postponed to the next world or the eschatological judgment day.[37] In any case, the judgment day is coming when God flings his voice against the oppressors by the mighty sound (102.1).[38] It is through the ten weeks of the history (1 Enoch 93.1-10; 91.11-17) and the 'heavenly tablets' (81.1; 106.17) that the Epistle of Enoch is designed to comfort the oppressed who are now in despair but will be rewarded in the future.[39] The oppressed were dreaming of the new world: "Then after that there shall be many weeks without number forever; it shall be (a time) of goodness and righteousness, and sin shall no more be heard of forever" (91.17).[40] The author of the Epistle uses the Apocalypse of Weeks in this way.

Esler and S. Aalen associate the Epistle of Enoch with the gospel of Luke to highlight conflict between the rich and the poor.[41] However, the radical sword or revolt (91.11-12) could not be legitimated in the New Testament, especially in James which teaches meekness, because the sword is always against the Gentiles in early Jewish Literature.

c. The Book of Dream Visions (83-90).

The second vision of the Book of Dreams (83-90) is alternatively called the 'Animal Apocalypse' (85-90) because Israel's salvation history is retold by referring to many of the main characters as various kinds of animals. Scholars have suggested that in 90.2-5 Israel

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[37]102.5-6:"Be not sad because your souls have gone down into Sheol in sorrow; or (because) your flesh fared not well the earthly existence in accordance with your goodness; indeed the time you happened to be in existence was (a time of) sinners, a time of curse and a time of plague. When you die, the sinners will speak over you: 'As we die, so do the righteous die. What then have they gained by their deeds?'"; also 103.9-15. At the same time, oppressors or sinners face no plagues on earth (103.6: "They have died now in prosperity and wealth. They have not experienced struggle and battle in their lifetime. They have died in glory, and there was no judgment in their lifetime").

[38]G. Zuntz, 'Enoch on the Last Judgment (ch. cii.1-3),' *JTS* 45 (1944) 169, reconstructed this verse considering Papyrus Chester-Beatty, " Καιόταν δῳ ἐφ' ὑμας φωνην αὐτου ἐν ἠχῳ μεγαλῳ." Zuntz' insertion of the phrase 'by the mighty sound' (ἐν ἠχῳ μεγαλῳ) is an important feature of the last judgment (1 Corinthians 15.52; 1 Thessalonians 4.16; 4 Ezra 6.2, 13, 24; Sibylline Oracles 5.344). E. Isaac (*OTP* 1.82) and Charles did not consider the adverbial phrase, ἐν ἠχῳ μεγαλῳ, in their translations.

[39]Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. James D. Martin; SCM Press Ltd., 1972) 263-284.

[40]Vanderkam holds 91.17 is a conclusion of the Apocalypse of the Weeks ('Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks,' 518).

[41]Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts* 189-91; S. Aalen, 'St Luke's Gospel and the Last Chapters of 1 Enoch', *NTS* 13 (1966) 1-13.

(sheep) were harassed[42] by Greeks (eagles), the Diodochi after Alexander the Great (vultures), the Ptolemaic Egyptians (kites), and the Seleucid Syrians (ravens).[43]

Of particular note is the allusion to the Ptolemaic oppression of Israel. The Ptolemies adopted for themselves the Egyptian land concept that all land belongs to the Pharaoh. They made Ptolemaic Palestine their private 'agribusiness.'[44] Large estates across the state in Jericho, the plain of Esdralon, Western Samaria, Batanea, Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, Galilee, and Perea belonged in their private hands.[45] As the Ptolemies secured large estates in Palestine, smallholders gradually became landless tenant farmers.[46] Moreover, although the previous Persian administration received revenues from 'King's land,' the Ptolemies innovated 'regulation and heavy taxation imposed on all commercial exchange' and 'tax farming.'[47] This land foreclosure by the Ptolemies through debts caused by heavy taxation and tax farming is implied in 90.4: "I kept seeing till those sheep were eaten by the dogs, the eagles, and the kites; and they left neither flesh, nor skin, nor sinew on them absolutely, until their bones stood there bare; then their bones fell to the ground, and the sheep became few."[48]

After the kites' oppression, the ravens (the Seleucids/Syrians) afflicted the sheep (Jews) (90.8). The Jews with open eyes, i.e. religious reformers (90.6), resisted the ravens unsuccessfully (90.9). 'One great horn' (Judas Maccabeus) sprouted on one of the sheep and

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[42]Contrary to Josephus who "presents Alexander as benign to the Jewish people" (*AJ* 11.304-39;Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) 345, n. 8).

[43]Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 286. Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* 346 and 31-32, suggests to see 'eagles and vultures' as synonyms. The phrase may be either a 'translation doublet' or an 'Ethiopic doublet of similarly spelled words (*'ansert* and *'awest*).'

[44]*SHP* 21-22; Freyne, *Galilee* 171.

[45]*SHP* 21-73. Numerous towers which have been discovered in central Palestine were made by the Ptolemies for wine fermentation (*SHP* 34; Shimon Dar, *Landscape and Pattern* 107-111). The Hefzibah inscription in the Jezreel valley (201-195 BC) shows that Ptolemios, who was'military governor and chief priest' under the Ptolemies and himself deserted to Antiochus III, received royal land from the Egyptian king (*BA* 60 (1997) 13).

[46]Absentee landlords lived luxuriously in Jerusalem (Shimon Applebaum, *Judea in Hellenistic and Roman Times* 31-32).

[47]*BA* 60 (1997) 4; M. Austin, *Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 407-10; P. Cairo Zen. 59.012.

[48]The Greeks oppressed native barbarians 'pressés de s'enrichir' (see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* 1.38-39).

opened the eyes of the sheep to a religious cause (90.9).[49] The Greeks (eagles and vultures) and the Ptolemies (kites) wanted the Seleucids (ravens) to strike Judas Maccabeus (the horn of that ram) (90.13, 16).

Tiller proposes that eschatological divine intervention begins at verse 17; the verse "is the dividing line between the present age and the age to come."[50] The Lord of the sheep came and destroyed those beasts (the Gentile nations, not Belial) with the rod of his wrath (90.17f). J. Collins suggests that the *sword* given to the sheep is an allusion to the Maccabean *revolt* (90.19; 2 Maccabees 15.15-16), and these sheep subdued all the animals i.e. the Gentiles (90.30).[51] The sword is then returned to God. As Collins puts it, Judas Mattathias (a horned ram) fought and won the battle against the Seleucid Syrians (90.18; *AJ* 12.265ff). However, here in the Animal Apocalypse Mattathias' death is not recounted (Mattathias died in 166 BC [*AJ* 12.285]). Thus the apocalypse might have been written before 166 BC. The writer expected that a messianic kingdom would be imminently established in Palestine (90.20). M. Black argues that the old house, i.e. temple, will be replaced by the new one (90.28-29) because Antiochus IV had set up the 'abomination of desolation' in December 168 BC (*AJ* 12.250-251; *BJ* 1.32,34).[52] The Gentiles will submit themselves to the Jews (90.30). The diaspora and Gentiles will gather together in the house (90.33). According to Tiller and Dillmann, the Jews returned the sword which was sealed, to the house (90.34), which implies that Israel will have won the victory and that a time of peace will be inaugurated.[53]

During this eschatological era of peace, a messianic figure (a snow-white cow with huge black horns) will reign with the Jews (now transformed into snow-white cows) over the Gentiles (all the beasts) (90.37-38):

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[49]Klausner suggested that the great horn would be either Judas Maccabeus or John Hyrcanus (*The Messianic Idea* 286). A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch. Übersetzt und erkärt* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1853) 277, maintained that it is John Hyrcanus. However, J. Hyrcanus was criticised by the Pharisees as a bastard (*AJ* 13.292). Moreover, he was called 'an accursed man, one of Belial, איש ארור אחד בליעל' in 4Q175 23 (A. Lange, 'The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,' 427). Thus Judas Maccabeus is more preferred (with Tiller, 355).

[50]Tiller, 364.

[51]J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* 56.

[52]Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 20. After three years of desolation, the temple was rededicated by Mattathias' third son Judas in December 165 BC (*AJ* 12.316-326). Jews celebrate the *Hanukkah* (dedication) in mid-December to commemorate Mattathias' son Judas' rededication of the temple which had been desolated by Antiochus Epiphanes. "Originally the festival was called 'Tabernacles (*Sukkot*) of the month of Kislev'" (E. Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees* 120).

[53]Tiller, 381; Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch* 286.

> Then I saw that a snow-white cow was born, with huge horns; all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the sky feared him and made petition to him all the time. I went on seeing until all their kindred were transformed, and became snow-white cows; and the first among them became *something*, and that *something* became a great beast with huge black horns on its head. The Lord of the sheep rejoiced over it and over all the cows.

E. Isaac here translates the Ethiopic word, *nagar*, into 'something.'[54] In the footnote he specifies this 'something' as 'a thing,' 'a word' and 'a deed.' The Dead Sea fragments (4Q205 frag. 2. col. 3) of the Animal Apocalypse, which end at 1 Enoch 89.44, are in Aramaic, the original language of the document.[55] Thus, suggested Hebrew terms ראם (buffalo)[56] or טלה (lamb)[57] behind the Ethiopic word *nagar* would be less convincing.[58] Lindars suggests that the Aramaic word for *nagar* would be אמר (lamb or word).[59] Lamb and the Word are applied to Christology in early Christian tradition (John 1.1f, 29, 36; Revelation 5.6; Testament of Joseph 19.8). However, the problem is that the Ethiopic usual word for the Word is *qal*, not *nagar*.[60] Thus, Tiller writes, "The problem remains unsolved. . . . This figure is not a messiah but an eschatological patriarch of a restored race."[61] Perhaps the Ethiopic translator[s] might have missed the allusion to the Word. Moreover, the transformation of 'the beasts of the field and all the birds of the sky' into 'snow-white cows' is analogous to the function of wisdom which makes holy people friends of God (Wisdom of Solomon 7.27, further see the next chapter). In the Animal Apocalypse various colours and animals symbolise sins and violence.[62] The change of various animals of many colours into 'snow-white cows' through the catalyst of the 'snow-white cow' signifies the restoration of humankind to the primordial Adam (=the snow-white cow, 85.3), which will be discussed

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[54]'A thing,' (Tiller, 383); 'a wild ox,' (M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* 2.216); 'a buffalo,' (M. Black, *The Book of Enoch* 83; 'a word,' Barnabas Lindars, 'A Bull, a Lamb and a Word: I Enoch XC. 38,' *NTS* 22 (1976) 484.

[55]Barnabas Lindars, 485.

[56]Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch* 287f.

[57]Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Das Buch Henoch aus dem Aethiopischen* 90f; *APOT* 2.177.

[58]See Lindars, 484-485.

[59]Lindars, 485.

[60]See Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae cum indice Latino* (New York: Ungar, 1955).

[61]Tiller, 388.

[62]Tiller, 385.

below in the next chapter of the heavenly messiah.[63] To conclude, despite such a transformation of all the animals, the **sword** in 90.34 indicate that the messianic figure was expected to wage war against the gentiles.[64]

B. Psalms of Solomon.

Psalms of Solomon is the first monumental document among second temple literature which uses the word **Χριστός** to denote a political and economic messianic figure. Scholars have observed a number of historical references in the text. Special attention will here be paid to historical details in order to identify in what circumstances the Jews expected their messiah.

The Hasmonean dynasty began to rule by taking advantage of the declining Seleucid kingdom. Eventually Hyrcanus (135/4-104 BC) enjoyed a period of immense peace and wealth (*AJ* 13.273). Josephus reported that due to their envy of the rich and powerful Hyrcanus, the Pharisees slandered him to his face (*AJ* 13.288f; cf. Testament of Moses 5.4).[65] Hyrcanus had already procured two offices for himself: high priesthood and kingship. In addition, he was repeatedly recognized as a prophet through his telling of the

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[63]Tiller, 383f; Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* 45. Wisdom restores Qumran covenantors 'all the glory of Adam' (כול כבוד אדם) (1QS 4.23; also CD 3.20). The glory of Adam is the state of Adam before the fall (M. A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* 35). In the new house (the new temple) they (Jews and the Gentiles) are transformed into snow-white cows (Animal Apocalypse 90.28-38). God atoned Qumran covenantors' sins and built them a 'safe house in Israel' (בית נאמן בישראל 'refers to the replacement of the priestly dynasty' from the Hasmoneans to the Zadokites in Qumran (M. A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* 35)) in which eternal life and all the glory of Adam are bestowed to them (CD 3.18-20) (Tiller, 388). See Romans 3.23 ("All have sinned and fall short of the glory of God"); Morray-Jones, 'Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition,' 17.

[64]On the other hand, the Animal Apocalypse is generous to believing Gentiles who will join Jews (90.33).

[65]Scholars like Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, 610-613, mentions that the Psalms of Solomon were written by the Essenes rather than by the Pharisees. In the same way, R.B. Wright, 'Psalms of Solomon,' *OTP* 2.648-649, maintains the close relationship between the Qumran community and the Psalms of Solomon by showing similarities between the two documents: e.g. 1QS 8.12-14=Psalms of Solomon 17.15-17; CD 4.15-18=Psalms of Solomon 8.8-12. However, the messiah of the Psalms of Solomon is only the son of David while the messiah of the Qumran community is an Aaronic and Davidic messiah as well. The difference between the messiahs of the two groups demonstrates that the writers of Psalms of Solomon might not be identical to the Essene groups. The Pharisees could be sympathetic with the Qumran community because both of them were dissidents under the Hasmonean dynasty although the Pharisees were in favour under Alexandra (*AJ* 13.405; *BJ* 1.110-111).

future.[66] The Pharisees could not, however, acknowledge Hyrcanus as their king/priest/prophet. Similarly, the psalmist's attack on the Hasmonean kings was closely related to the socio-economic imbalance between the Hasmonean ruling class and those whom they ruled, for the Pharisees were poor in comparison with the Sadducees and the Hasmoneans (*AJ* 13.298). The Pharisees grumbled at the wealthy Hasmoneans (Psalms of Solomon 1.4, 6). Strong Pharisaic antipathy against the Hasmoneans is found in such invectives as Psalms of Solomon 8.9-13. Concerning the Hasmonean illegitimate usurpation of the throne of David, which should have been reserved for Davidic descendants according to Pharisaic opinion, the psalmist wrote in 17.4-6,

> Lord, you chose David to be king over Israel, and swore to him about his descendants forever, that his kingdom should not fail before you. But because of our sins, sinners rose up against us, and drove us out. Those to whom you did not make the promise, they took away from us by force; and they did not glorify your honourable name. With pomp they set up a monarchy because of their arrogance; they despoiled the throne of David with arrogant shouting.

Hyrcanus' son, Alexander Janneus, killed about six thousand Jews, who were probably influenced by the Pharisees (*AJ* 13.298). However, according to Alexander Janneus' will, his wife, Alexandra, was to give the full reins of government to the Pharisees. Her first son, Hyrcanus II, did not want to meddle in politics; he was content to be only the high priest. Antipater (Herod's father), a powerful Idumean, who wanted to be rid of political Aristobulus, provoked unpolitical Hyrcanus II to fight for the throne against his brother Aristobulus. Both of them wanted the Roman general Pompey as their ally. Pompey came from Damascus to Jericho[67] and proceeded to march against Jerusalem.[68] "Pompey went

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[66]Josephus wrote, "He (Hyrcanus) was esteemed by God worthy of the three privileges, that is, the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy" (*AJ* 13.299).

[67]Jericho was the lucrative place (*AJ* 14.54).

[68]Aristobulus' party exhorted people to shut the gates, seize the temple, and cut off the bridge which reached from the temple to the city; however "others (*Hyrcanus' party*) admitted Pompey's army in and delivered up both the city and the king's palace to him" (*AJ* 14.59). This delivery of Jerusalem to Pompey is depicted vividly in Psalms of Solomon 8.16-18:

> The leaders of the country met him with joy. They said to him (*Pompey*), "May your way be blessed. Come, enter in peace." They graded the rough roads before his coming; they opened the gates to Jerusalem, they crowned her city walls. He entered in peace as a father enters his son's house; he set his feet securely.

Pompey attacked the temple which Aristobulus' party occupied. Bringing "his mechanical engines, and battering rams from Tyre, and placing them on the bank, he battered the temple with the stones that were thrown against it" (*AJ* 14.62). In Psalms of Solomon 2.1 the self-same incident is portrayed dynamically,

into it, and not a few of those that were with him also, and saw all that which it was unlawful for any other men to see, but only for the high priests" (*AJ* 14.72). On this occasion, the author of Psalms of Solomon 2.2 deplored how

> Gentile foreigners went up to your place of sacrifice; they arrogantly trampled (it) with their sandals!
>
> 8.20. He killed their leaders and every man wise in counsel; he poured out the blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem like dirty water.

The main economic blow Pompey inflicted on the Jews was their evacuation from the Mediterranean coastal cities such as Gaza, Azotus, Jamnia, Joppa, Apollonia, Arethusa (Apek), Strato's Tower, and Dora[69] (*AJ* 14.75-76) as well as from inland Palestine. The Jews also lost control of Coele-Syria. Finally, the Jews lost their "liberty, and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country" which they had gained by their military might from the Syrians under Alexander Janneus (*AJ* 13.324), and were compelled to restore it to the Syrians (*AJ* 14.77). Indeed, the most pronounced concern of the psalmist was the loss of his country. As a symbol of the fall of the Jewish state, Aristobulus and his children were deported to Rome to participate in a parade to celebrate Pompey's victory over Judea (*AJ* 14.79).[70] Concerning this parade in Rome, the psalmist wrote,

> 8.21. He led away their sons and daughters, those profanely spawned.
>
> 17.12. In his blameless wrath he expelled them to the west (*Rome*), and he did not spare even the officials of the country from ridicule.

The writer believed that the fall of the Hasmonean dynasty was a divine and just judgment against the sinners (Hasmoneans), while on the other hand the loss of his country to the Romans was heart-breaking. Anger against Pompey who brought about the collapse of the Jewish state is expressed in their gloating over Pompey's death in Alexandria at the hands of

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> Arrogantly the sinner broke down the strong walls with a battering ram and you did not interfere.

The assault finally came on the Sabbath apparently on the Day of Atonement, 63 BC, following a three month siege. The towers and the wall gave way, and the Romans invaded the Temple, but the priests continued the service as if nothing had happened. Twelve thousand people died on this one day.

[69]The Mediterranean coastal cities were trade centres. Since land transportation was extremely expensive, maritime transportation flourished. The fact that Jews were driven out from those trade centres implies a big catastrophe to the Jewish economy.

[70]The parade appeared to occur more than once (*AJ* 14.97). See Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 317.

Ptolemy XIII.[71]

> 2.26-27. And I did not wait long until God showed me his (*Pompey's*) insolence pierced on the mountains of Egypt, more despised than the smallest thing on earth and sea. His body was carried about on the waves in much shame and there was no one to bury him, for he (*Pompey*) had despised him (*God*).

The psalmist believes that the death of Pompey was also God's just judgment (Psalms of Solomon 2.32; 8.23-26, passim). Nevertheless, Hyrcanus II became a puppet king of the Roman Empire. A state of dejection at the loss of their country coincided with an increased hope in a messiah who would usher in the messianic kingdom. Psalms of Solomon portrays three expectations of the messiah: the purge of the Gentiles from the land of Palestine, the redistribution of land to the landless poor, and the return of the Jews from the diaspora. In the first place, the psalmist's Davidic messiah is supposed to liberate the Jews from the Gentiles (the Romans):

> 17.22-23: Undergird him (*Messiah*) with the strength to destroy the unrighteous rulers, to **purge Jerusalem from gentiles** who trample her to destruction; in wisdom and in righteousness to drive out the sinners from the inheritance; to smash the arrogance of sinners like a potter's jar;
>
> 17.28b: The alien and the foreigner will no longer live near them (*Jews*).

Secondly, the psalmist's society suffered from poverty, as related in 15.1; 16.13; and 18.2. The demise of the Hasmonean dynasty includes the disbandment of the Jewish army and the independence of other states from Hasmonean rule. Jews who were driven out from those cities and from inland, and veterans who were disbanded because Herod used Idumeans for his army, formed increasing numbers of 'expandables' who contributed gradually to the social unrest that eventually led to the great revolt in AD 66 to 70. Since overpopulation produces a polarization between the rich and the poor,[72] the problem of poverty became severe. References in Psalms of Solomon to the poor and to poverty are more than theological *anawim* piety. As the number of large estate owners rose, the landless poor majority increased. As the most important means of production in an agrarian society is land, the messiah of this society should distribute land to poor landless peasants. Thus Psalms of Solomon 17.28a reads,

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[71]Julius Caesar killed Ptolemy XIII and then entrusted Egypt to Queen Cleopatra and her younger brother (*Julius Caesar* 35).

[72]As argued in Part Two.

He will distribute them upon the land according to their tribes.

The third function of the messiah is to bring back the diaspora to Palestine:

17.26a: He will gather a holy people.
17.31b: nations . . . to bring as gifts her children who had been driven out.

None of the three messianic roles described in Psalms of Solomon came to be associated with the works of Jesus. Although the messianic titles in Psalms of Solomon such as 'son of David,'[73] 'Christ,' 'Lord,' and 'king' were each applied by synoptic gospel writers as titles for Jesus, Jesus would not have fulfilled the expectations of a messiah, at least from the perspective of the writer(s) of Psalms of Solomon. Unsurprisingly, the Pharisees of Jesus' time could not on these grounds have identified Jesus as their expected Messiah. The titles 'son of David' and 'Lord Messiah' occur here for the first time in Jewish literature.[74] The contribution of the messianology of the Psalms of Solomon to the kingdom of God in the New Testament and in James lies mainly in the designated titles for Christ. It is also significant to observe that unlike after apocalyptic literature the messianic kingdom in the Psalms was not expected to be marked by a state of bliss (13.8-10; 16.13-14; 18.7).

C. 4 Ezra.

The earliest specific quotation from 4 Ezra appears in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*

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[73]The DSS peshers which interpret the Son of David as the messiah, are 4Q252 col.5 (Genesis 49.10); 4Q174 frags.1-3, col.1, 10-13 (2 Samuel 7.12-14; Amos 9.11); 4Q161 frags. 8-9, col.3, 11-25 (Isaiah 11.5) and also 4Q285 frag.5 (Isaiah 11.1). However, it will be demonstrated in the next chapter that the Aaronic messianic figure in the DSS prevails over the messianic figure from the Davidic line. Besides, Solomon, the son of David, was also known to be an ingenious exorcist in the first century AD. In front of Vespasian, Eleazar exorcised a demon from a man through making "mention of Solomon, reciting the incantations, . . . " (*AJ* 18.46-47). See Testament of Solomon and 11Q11 col.1. Refer to D. Duling, 'Solomon, Exorcism and the Son of David,' *HTR* 68 (1975) 235-52; idem, 'The Eleazar Miracle and Solomon's Magical Wisdom in Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* 8 42-49,' *HTR* 78 (1985) 1-25; idem, "Matthew's Plurisignificant 'Son of David' in Social Scientific Perspective: Kinship, Kingship, Magic, and Miracle,' *BTB* 22 (1992) 99-116.

[74]R.B. Wright, 'Psalms of Solomon,' *OTP* 2.647. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 321, n. 10, maintains that χριστὸς κύριος (Psalms of Solomon 17.32; Messiah who is God) is the alteration of χριστὸς κυρίου ('the anointed of the LORD,' construct form). His opinion is not supported by manuscripts.

3.16, 100.[75] Thus the upper limit of the date is the time of Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-215). There is internal evidence for an earlier date: the thirtieth year after the destruction of the city[76] and the eagle's three heads.[77] Scholars unanimously agree that 4 Ezra was pseudonymously written after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in AD 70.[78] The phrase 'the thirtieth year after the destruction of the city' (3.1) would imply around AD 100 (70 + 30) although the expression is simply assumed just to follow the tradition of Ezekiel 1.1.[79] Accordingly the lower limit of the date of this apocalypse is AD 70.

To compensate for the massive war expenditures, after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in AD 70, Vespasian doubled or increased the 'tribute due from the provinces' and tried to meet the crumbling deficits of the Empire's Treasury and the Privy Purse through plundering or robbery (*Vespasian* 16). Suetonius also wrote, "Domitian's agents collected the tax on Jews with a peculiar lack of mercy . . . the imperial agent had a ninety-year-old man inspected to establish whether or not he had been circumcised" (*Domitian* 12). 4 Ezra 11.40-42 accuses the three emperors of such oppression:

> . . . you have held sway over the world with much terror, and over all the earth with grievous *oppression*; and for so long you have dwelt on the earth with *deceit*. And you have judged the earth, but not with truth; for you have afflicted the meek and injured the peaceable . . .

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[75]"Διὰτί γὰρ οὐκ ἐγένεντο ἡ μήτρα τῆς μήτρος μου τάφος, ἵνα μὴ ἴδω τὸν μόχθον τοῦ Ἰακὼβ καὶ τὸν κόπον τοῦ γένους Ἰσαραήλ;' Εσδρας ὁ προφήτης λέγει." This quotation is from 4 Ezra 5.35 ("Why did not my mother's womb become my grave, that I might not see the travail of Jacob and the exhaustion of the people Israel.").

[76]4 Ezra 3.1 ("In the thirtieth year after the destruction of our city"); 11.42 ("You have destroyed the dwellings of those who brought forth fruit, and have laid low the walls of those who did you no harm"); 10.47-48 ("As for her saying to you, 'When my son entered his wedding chamber he died,' that misfortune (*the death of her son*) had overtaken her, that was the destruction which befell Jerusalem"). Although the earthly Jerusalem was destroyed, the seer saw that the heavenly temple, Jerusalem or Zion was not destroyed (10.27). After the messiah destroyed the enemy, the heavenly temple "carved out without hand" will be revealed (13.35-36). Ezra did not, however, develop the heavenly temple into the idea of Paradise as in 2 Baruch 4.6. 2 Baruch was written in economic conditions more aggravated than 4 Ezra.

[77]The eagle is a symbol of the Roman empire. E.g. Herod, the client king of the Roman empire, erected a large golden eagle in the temple as the token of a Roman vasal king (*AJ* 17.151). B.M. Metzger, *OTP* 1.550, n. b, comments on 4 Ezra 12.10-11 ("He said to me, 'This is the interpretation of this vision which you have seen: The eagle which you saw coming up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in a vision to your brother Daniel'"), writing, "In Daniel's vision (Dan 7:7) the fourth kingdom symbolized the Greek or Macedonian Empire; here it is reinterpreted (vs. 12) as the Roman Empire." Scholars believe that the eagle's 'three heads' in 4 Ezra 11.23ff are important references to three Flavian emperors (Vespasian, Titus, Domitian). Domitian also took part in the war against Judea ("While taking part in their Judean triumph, he (Domitian) rode on a white horse" [*Domitian* 2]). See Michael E. Stone, 'Esdras, Second Book of,' *ABD* 2.612; idem, *Fourth Ezra* 10; *HJP*^{2} 3.1.299-300; Eisfeldt, *The Old Testament* 626.

[78]See M.E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra* 9, n.75; Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament* 626; B.M. Metzger, *OTP* 1.520; *HJP*^{2} 3.300.

[79]"In the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month, as I was among the exiles by the river Chebar, the heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God."

> 5.35. . . . Or why did not my mother's womb become my grave, that I might not see the travail of Jacob and the exhaustion of the people of Israel?

Despite such accusations against the political oppression of the Flavian emperors, "the *material prosperity* of the messianic kingdom which occupied such a large place in the Ethiopic Enoch and in the Syriac Baruch is *hardly mentioned* in the Pseudepigraphic Ezra at all."[80] There are no specific economic features mentioned of the messianic kingdom which, once come, is expected to continue for four hundred years (4 Ezra 7.28-29). 4 Ezra 6.52b - "You have kept them (*Behemoth and Leviathan*) to be eaten by whom you wish, and when you wish" - may imply an eschatological banquet. Palestinian peasants were so poor that one messianic expectation would be the filling of hungry stomachs. However, the banquet in 4 Ezra is not as vivid an image as in other messianic documents like 2 Baruch 29.4 and 1 Enoch 60.24. The reason lies in the fact that the poor and rich polarisation in Palestine had not progressed to such a noticeable extent at the time, probably because of the relatively immediate land redistribution after the first revolt despite Flavian high-rate taxation.[81] Domitian was also pleased to be entitled 'Our Lord and God' (*Domitian* 13).[82] Our text reads, "And so your insolence has come up before the Most High, and your pride to the Mighty One" (4 Ezra 11.43). In the face of Gentile dominance, Ezra continues to question theodicy in the first three visions (3.1-5.19; 5.20-6.34; 6.35-9.25): Why does God bless the Gentiles while punishing his own people?[83]

The messianology of 4 Ezra may be understood against such an ideologico-political background. The messiah is referred to in 7.28-29 (the temporary messianic kingdom), 11.1-12.34 (the eagle vision and its interpretation) and 13.1-52 (the Son of Man vision and its

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[80]Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel* 364.

[81]For example, Josephus received 'from Vespasian no small quantity of land, as a free gift, in Judea,' (*Vita* 425).

[82]See David Aune, *Revelation 1-5* lx-lxx; Lorenzo DiTommaso, 'Dating the Eagle Vision of 4 *Ezra*: A New Look at an Old Theory,' *JSP* 20 (1999) 3-38; cf. L. Stuckenbruck, 'Revelation: Historical Setting and John's Call to Discipleship,' *Leaven* winter (2000) 27-31.

[83]On the one hand, 2 Baruch does not question God's governance over the world, but jumps directly into the visionary solution without the gradual pilgrimage of an agonized soul through questions to God as in 4 Ezra. G.H. Box, *APOT* 2.549, surmised that 4 Ezra is a composite work by several authors. However, its composite authorship is rejected, because the combination of different sources/themes rather reveals the psychological stresses within the personality of the author (H. Gunkel, 'Das vierte Buch Esra,' in E. Kautzsch, ed., *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1900) 2.239-42). The fact that 2 Baruch skips the logical jump demonstrates that 2 Baruch was written after 4 Ezra or dependant upon 4 Ezra. At least, seven visions and a similarity in phraseology in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra show their interdependency. Further, the expectation of an economic messianic kingdom in 2 Baruch reveals that 2 Baruch was written later when the poor and rich polarization progressed eventually into the second revolt (AD 132-5).

interpretation).[84]

> For my son the Messiah shall be revealed with those who are with him, and those who remain shall rejoice four hundred years. And after these years my son the Messiah shall die, and all who draw human breath (4 Ezra 7.28-29).

The messiah is here called 'my son.' Stone maintains that the word, 'servant,' should be used instead of 'son.'[85] However, Stephen Gero suggests that the original Hebrew phrase would be ברי משיח.[86] The word בר could mean either 'son' or 'excellent, elect.'[87] These ambivalent meanings are reflected respectively either in 'son' in the Latin and Syriac or in 'elect one (ἐκλεκτός)' in the Georgian version. Unfortunately, the Georgian text ends at 7.59. Although it is not attested that the word 'son' in 13.32, 37, 52; 14.9 derives from the Hebrew word בר or בחיר, the word 'son' may be opted for because God's son rather than his servant is preexistent (12.32; 13.26; also 2 Baruch 30.1; 1 Enoch 46.1-2; 48.3; 62.7)[88]. Moreover, the messiah is called the son of God probably as a response to Domitian's claim to God and the Lord. The son of God as messiah appears more frequently four times in 4 Ezra 7.28, 29; 13.32, 37, 52; 14.9, while the messiah appears twice in 7.26 and 12.23. The son of God is related to the 'posterity of David' (12.32). There is no mention in this pericope (7.28-29) that the messiah will destroy the Roman Empire. He and the survivors will rejoice, but he will not rule over them. It is unprecedented in Jewish literature that he will die four hundred years later. The messiah's death occurs only in the sister work 2 Baruch 30.1. Thus messianic rule is insignificant in this pericope.

The second messianic passage is the eagle vision and its interpretation (11.1-12.35). The seer saw an eagle coming out of the sea in his dream (11.1). The eagle, the fourth among four beasts, is the most wicked. A lion who came out of the forest indicted the eagle (11.38-46). In this indictment there is an explanation of the reason for the existence of the eagle that "the end of my (*God's*) time might come through them" (11.39). The eagle is the last eschatological woe of necessity which would bring in the new era. God says to Ezra that

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[84]M.E. Stone, *Selected Studies* 318; idem, 'The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra,' 295.

[85]M.E. Stone, 'Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra' (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1965) 71-5, followed the Ethiopic text of 7.29 (*qwile'e*=servant).

[86]S. Gero, "'My Son the Messiah': A Note on 4 Esr 7 28-29," *ZNW* 66 (1975) 266.

[87]Gero, 266, n. 19. E.g. Amos 5.11.

[88]A.F. Klijn, '2 Baruch,' *OTP* 1.631, n. b.

the eagle is the fourth kingdom which Daniel mentioned (12.11). Thus Ezra thought that he was living in the last days of world history. The preexistent Davidic Messiah (the lion) will come to judge the eagle forensically (12.32-33). And so, the messiah is a judge rather than a warrior.[89] Under the messiah, survivors will live a joyous life, and then face the final judgment (12.34). Thus the transient messianic kingdom is dealt with in passing. The whole emphasis of the vision and its interpretation lies in the legal sentence on and execution of the Roman Empire.[90] The redemptive messianic activities as in the Similitudes and 11QMelchizedek are not vivid in this vision.[91] Although the messiah in the eagle vision takes legal action against the Roman Empire, he is not the judge in the final judgment as is the messianic figure in the Similitudes.[92]

In the Son of Man vision, a man came out of the sea and flew on a great mountain (13.3; 6), and fought those who came against him, weaponless but with fire from his mouth, and made them the dust of ashes (13.8-11). God calls the man 'my son' (13.32, 37, 52) instead of servant[93] because the messiah is called 'son' in 7.28, 29. From the top of Mount Zion he is to reprove, reproach and destroy his enemies through the law (=fire), save only the ten tribes who return and "are found within *my* holy borders" (13.39-40; 48). As Ezra perceives through the vision and its interpretation that God will vindicate his people against their enemy (the Roman Empire), he can now confess that "he (*God*) governs the times" (13.58). The fact that the messiah will save only the ten tribes and other Jews within the holy borders satisfied Ezra. Although there is speculation that the man from the sea would be Adam or *Urmensch*[94], he is a Jewish messiah who will only liberate Jews from foreign oppression.[95] Thus, Stone concludes, "The paucity of information about the nature of the Messianic age given in the two visions of chapters 11-13 highlights their emphasis on the end of the present world order (*the Roman Empire*), to the exclusion of any real interest in the

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[89]Stone, *Selected Studies* 321.

[90]Stone, *Selected Studies* 320.

[91]Ibid.

[92]Stone, 'The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra,' 302, n. 1.

[93]Contra Stone.

[94]G.H. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse* 283; P. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie* 214ff.

[95]4 Ezra 1.24 ("What shall I do to you, O Jacob? You would not obey me, O Judah. I will turn to other nations and will give them my name, that they may keep my statutes") is Gentile-oriented. However, it is well known that 4 Ezra 1,2 and 14,15 are later Christian additions.

nature of the times of the Messiah."[96]

D. 2 Baruch.

A.F.J. Klijn locates 2 Baruch in the post 70s because the prophecy of the destruction of the *second* temple (32.2-4) is a *vaticinium ex eventu*.[97] Moreover, we may infer this late date from the abandoning of any hope of an earthly Jerusalem and also from the expectation of a heavenly Jerusalem or temple (4.2-6; 8.2; 10.18). The relinquishing of the earthly temple and the expectation of the heavenly temple securely place 2 Baruch after AD 70.

The 'anointed one' (messiah) and his activities in 2 Baruch occur in chapters 26-30, chapters 35-40 (the forest vision and its interpretation) and chapters 70-74.

After eschatological tribulations/woes (27) the messiah will come only to protect inhabitants in Palestine and to provide abundant food for them.

> The Anointed One will begin to be revealed. And Behemoth will reveal itself from its place, and Leviathan will come from the sea, the two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation and which I shall have kept until that time. And they will be nourishment for all who are left. The earth will also yield fruits ten thousandfold. And on one vine will be a thousand branches, and one branch will produce a thousand clusters, and one cluster will produce a thousand grapes, and one grape will produce a cor of wine. And those who are hungry will enjoy themselves and they will, moreover, see marvels every day (29.3-6; see also 1 Enoch 10.19; 1Q23).

Then the messiah will leave Palestine and return to where he came from (30.1). Thus, the messianic kingdom is limited in time. In 4 Ezra the messianic blessings are not mentioned. Perhaps the eschatological blessings are reserved for the final world in 4 Ezra. However, in 2 Baruch it is hard to draw a line between the two.[98]

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[96]Stone, 'The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra,' 311.

[97]Klijn, *OTP* 1.616.

[98]A Christian document, Irenaeus' Against Heresies 5.33.3which was quoted from Papias, repeats the same idea of the verses: "The days will come, in which vines will be produced, each one having a thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and on each twig ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand clusters, and in each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed will give twenty-five metretes of wine. And when one of the saints takes hold of a cluster, another will cry, 'I am a better cluster, take me, bless the Lord through me.' Similarly a grain of wheat will produce ten thousand grains, and each grain [will yield] ten pounds of clear pure flour; and the other fruits and seeds and grass will produce in the same proportion, and all the animals, using the foods which come from the earth, will be peaceful and harmonious with each other, and perfectly subject to man" cited from Cyril C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers* (New York: Collier Books, 1970) 394-95. However, Irenaeus ascribed this agricultural blessing to the future, not to the present Christian messianic age. Although the earliest

In the forest vision (36.1-37.1), the forest is uprooted by a vine and by the fountain under it. Then a cedar remained there alone. The vine and fountain sentenced the cedar for wickedness. The cedar burned to ashes, but the vine grew. The forest and cedar represent four kingdoms (Daniel 7): Babylon, which 'destroyed Zion,' Persia, Greece, and Rome, 'whose power is harsher and more evil than those which were before it' (39.2-5).[99] The Anointed One (the vine or fountain) will convict the Roman Empire (the cedar) and kill it on Mount Zion while protecting his own people in the land (40.1-2). However, the messianic kingdom will be 'of a limited time' (40.3). This vision and its interpretation are similar to the eagle vision and its interpretation (4 Ezra 11-12) in content. Here again the main activities of the messiah are to crush the Roman Empire.

The seer saw the seven sign curves of black and white waters, which summarise Jewish history from Adam to the messianic kingdom (chapters 55-74). The thirteenth black waters (the Roman Empire) are the darkest among other black waters. Preposterous incidents which form eschatological woes will take place (70.2-6; see *m.Sotah* 9.15). People on earth will be tormented by wars, earthquakes and famine; survivors will be handed over to God's servant, the Anointed One (70.7-9). The messiah will first save Palestine and its inhabitants (71.1). However, 2 Baruch's messiah is a little bit more generous than the one of 4 Ezra because "every nation which has not known Israel and which has not trodden down the seed of Jacob will live" in 72.4. The Romans who have ruled the Jews will be delivered to the sword (72.6). In the messianic kingdom there will be health and joy; illness, fear, tribulation, lamentation, birth pains and all kinds of evil will pass away; wild animals will serve men (73). There will be agricultural blessings and incorruptible things in that era (74).

Summary

We have dealt with four documents which refer to and describe messianic figures: 1 Enoch, Psalms of Solomon, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch. Again, the massive work, 1 Enoch, breaks into five sections with their own respective historical settings. The results of our investigation may be observed in the table below.

Christians believed that they experienced the Holy Spirit and the messianic kingdom, the eschatological, consummated blessings still lie in the future, in some sense, similar to 4 Ezra.

[99]Klijn, *OTP* 1.633 and n. 39 a.

No	Documents	Date	Messianology
1	The Book of Astronomical Writings (1 Enoch 72-82)	The Persian Period (587-330 BC)	No Messianology
2	The Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1-36)	After Alexander's Conquering of Palestine (c.330 BC→)	Miraculous agricultural harvests which were used as a sign of the messianic age in later messianic documents are promised to occur in the future without any messianic figure. An embryo of messianology.
3	The Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 83-90)	Maccabean Revolt (c. 167 BC)	*A snow-white bull with huge black horns* (a messianic figure) on his throne reigns with Jews (sheep turned into snow-white bulls) over the Gentiles (all the beasts) (90.37-38). The author dreams a messianic kingdom after Mattathias.
4	The Book of the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91-105)	103-64 BC	A messianic figure, 'the righteous/wise one' will revenge the wicked/rich through the sword with the righteous/poor.
5	Psalms of Solomon	Pompey's Conquering of Jerusalem (63 BC)	The author presents the messianic *king, Son of David* who would liberate Jews from Roman rule. A military, political and purely earthly messiah.
6	4 Ezra	During Domitian's reign (81-96 AD)	The *Son of God* is supposed to eclipse the would-be god Domitian. The messianic kingdom is 'temporary' (7.29). Messiah's weapon is supernatural (fire from his mouth, 13.10).
7	2 Baruch	Just before Jewish Revolt of Bar-Kochba (→AD 132)	The warlike *Anointed One* will destroy the Gentiles (39.7-40.2;72.2), and bring the ample harvest (29.4-7;74). Paradise/temple is stated.

Greek civilization brought overpopulation and social unrest to Hellenistic and Roman Palestine. During the Hellenistic period, economic, religious and political stresses acted as a catalyst for a messianic idea. Apocalypticists dreamt of ample harvests (the Book of the Watchers, 2 Baruch) and land redistribution (Psalms of Solomon). The Book of Dream Visions or the Animal Apocalypse alludes to Mattathias who revolted against the Seleucids although some Gentiles will join Jews. A sword in the Epistle of Enoch, taken up from the Apocalypse of Weeks, would emerge as opposed to rich Gentile rulers and Sadducean merchants in Gaza since the reign of Alexander Janneus (103 BC). Hasmonean dissidents in Psalms of Solomon felt an acute economic gap between themselves and the priestly class or large estate owners. However, a new concept of the heavenly temple in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch was formed after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple AD 70. The sword is introduced in the book of Apocalypse of Weeks and Animal Apocalypse, on account of the sharp rich and poor polarization, specifically against the Gentiles. The idea of the sword in Animal Apocalypse developed from Judas Mattathias' militarism specifically on the occasion of Antiochus IV's desecration of the temple. Eventually a military messiah appears in Psalms of Solomon.[100] Thus, being fuelled by messianic militarism, military messianic pretenders

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[100]Along with messianic militarism, the messiah "will strike the earth with the word of his mouth forever" (Psalms of Solomon 17.35; see also 33, 35, 36b, 43). The word of his mouth is law and wisdom (Psalms of Solomon 17; 4 Ezra 13.38). This imagery comes from Isaiah 11.4 (cf. 4Q161). It also appears in 2 Thessalonians 2.8 and Revelation 1.16; 2.16; 19.15,21.

multiplied during the first revolt (*BJ* 6.312-3; Tacitus, *Histories* 5.13; *Vespasian* 4.5). Menahem and Simon bar Giora fought against the Gentile Roman Empire with the *sword*.[101] Because of the defeat of the first revolt by the Romans, the sword is spiritualised to be a supernatural [s]word from the mouth of the messiah in 4 Ezra 13.10.[102] After the first revolt the Romans imposed the *fiscus Judaicus* on the Jews in Egypt and Cyrene. This oppressive taxation led the Jews to revolt against the Empire through Lukas or Andreas during AD 115-117. On the atrocious Jewish militant messianism, J. Collins quotes Cassius Dio who was presumably exaggerating:

> They (Jews) would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two, from the head downwards; others they gave to wild beasts, and still others they forced to fight as gladiators. In all two hundred and twenty thousand persons perished.[103]

However, again before the Bar Kochba revolt (AD 132-135) the sword in Palestine turns into a physical one (2 Baruch 72.6) because of 'Hadrian's decision to transform Jerusalem into a pagan city, Aelia Capitolina, and his ban on circumcision'[104]. Bar Kosiba minted his coins with the legend 'for the freedom of Jerusalem'; he had the messianic title 'prince of Israel' נשיא ישראל.[105]

To conclude, the Jewish messiah must liberate the Jews from the Gentiles with tangible and/or intangible weapons. Some Jews expected a messiah who would bring vast harvests and land distribution, free them from Gentile rule, and bring a new temple which would not recreate a two-tiered society. In these respects the Jamesian Jesus seems to reflect another paradigm, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[101]J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* 200.

[102]The sword in Hebrews 4.12; Revelation 1.16; 2.12, 16; 19.15, 21 is recommended to be interpreted in terms of the messianic warfare of ethical dualism.

[103]Idem, *The Scepter and the Star* 201; Cassius Dio 68.32.1-3.

[104]Idem, 201-202.

[105]Idem, 202.

Chapter Two: Ethical Dualism and Social Justice

James quotes Leviticus 19.18 in 2.8: "You shall love your neighbour as yourself." Although the Jamesian community was probably familiar with this verse, the community did not put it into practice. The community was entangled by intramural envy, jealousy and self-centredness. It would have been nearly impossible for James to be persuasive in his argument had he simply repeated the love law. It was necessary for the author to apply this law in a more thoroughgoing way. Dualism presupposes that humans need divine assistance to live according to the law because they are inherently depraved.

The previous chapter suggested that the notion of a militant messianic figure, however significant among some of the early Jewish writings, does not fit into the messianic figure of James. It is necessary for an alternative model to be chosen for the interpretation of James. The epistle contains significant christological designations like 'Christ' (1.1; 2.1), 'wisdom' (1.5; 3.13, 15, 17), 'the Word' (1.18, 21, 22, 23), 'the Lord of Glory' (2.1) and 'name' (2.7).[1] These christological terms are to be interpreted in relation to the ethical life of the

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[1]It has been a burning issue as to whether to read the terms personally or impersonally. The impersonal reading of the terms could currently be represented by James D.G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1980); P.M. Casey, *From Jewish Prophet to Gentile God: The Origins and Development of New Testament Christology* (Philadelphia: Westminster/John Knox, 1991). The personal reading of those words has plenty of adherents among contemporary scholars such as Richard N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1970) 26-32; Alan Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1977); Christopher C. Rowland *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982); idem, *Christian Origins: From Messianic Movement to Christian Religion* (Minneapolis: Augusburg, 1985); Jarl E. Fossum *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1985); idem, *The Image of the Invisible God: Essays on the Influence of Jewish Mysticism on Early Christology* (Schweiz: Universitätsverlag Freiburg; and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); R. Bauckham, *God Crucified: Monotheism and Christology in the New Testament* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1998); Larry W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Suffolk: SCM Press LTD, 1988); Loren T. Stuckenbruck *Angel Veneration and Christology* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1995); Peter R. Carrel, *Jesus and the Angels: Angelology and the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Crispin Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1997); Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). For an encyclopedic overview of these christological arguments with short explanations, consult Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 3-25. The problem of the personal reading of

community, although New Testament Christology has usually been examined apart from ethical dualism. For instance, as examined in the exegetical part (Part One), James holds that 'wisdom from above' and 'the Word' enable, liberate depraved humans from the Devil to do the law. On the other hand, desire, envy, jealousy, wisdom from below, and the Devil continually cause conflicts and strife for individuals and the community.

Similarly, wisdom and the Word occur in contrast to Belial or Mastema in early Jewish literature. Usually in this literature 'ethical dualism'[2] is related to the two conflicting spiritual powers. As will be shown below, two spiritual powers or two ways control are seen to govern the ethical life of the religious community. Especially Sirach, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Jubilees, Wisdom of Solomon, some of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo, and the Similitudes (1 Enoch 37-71) will be examined to ascertain ethical dualism and how these documents are relevant for the epistle of James. Although the epistle of Barnabas 18-21 and Didache 1-6 contain this kind of dualism, they are omitted here because they are documents written subsequent to the epistle of James.

A. Sirach.

Sirach contains the convenient catchphrase, '**two ways**' (2.12; see also 42.24a - "All things are *twofold*, one opposite the other" and 33.15 - "Look upon all the works of the Most High; they likewise are in *pairs*, one the opposite of the other."[3] In addition, Sirach has two occurrences of יצר (impulse) with a *neutral* meaning in 15.14 and with a negative meaning in

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those terms is that it tends to threaten Jewish-Christian monotheism. Philo integrated Platonism, Stoicism, and Pythagoreanism into his theological argument. Syncretic Philonism separates the invisible from the visible. Thus, God is separated into the invisible and visible God. The visible God becomes the second and lesser god (e.g. the Word, Yahoel, Metatron). Scholars argue that this hierarchical view of Godhead specifically infiltrated into second and later rabbinic literature (David Winston, 'Philo's Ethical Theory,' *ANRW* (1984) II.21.1,388; Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 18). However, in the Jewish writings before Philo, the division of Godhead was not obvious so that terms like wisdom, the Word, the Glory, would denote God himself, although in Proverbs wisdom is a divine entity different from God. Probably because of the Second Commandment, wisdom, the Word, the Glory, or the Spirit, were used to designate God himself without any later philonic and hierarchical development of the doctrine of God (with Robert Eppel, *Le Piétisme Juif dans les Testaments des Douze Partriarches*(Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1930) 53; *contra* Margaret Barker, *The Great Angel: A Study of Israel's Second God* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1992)). It is suggested that the christological terms were simply used to denote God in some second temple literature and James. Thus, group maintainers like wisdom and the Word in James may imply God himself.

[2]For an introduction to the dualism see W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums* 331-342; J.G. Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism in Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic Literature,' *JBL* 93 (1974) 356-385.

[3]Paul Winter, "Ben Sira and the Teaching of 'Two Ways,'" *VTSup* 5 (1955) 315-8. Although John G. Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism,' 375, mentions that there is no cosmic dualism in Sirach, the dualism is at least implicit, as will be discussed below.

37.3. Sirach also uses the word desire (ἐπιθύμια, חמד) both positively and negatively. The unfavorable connotation of ἐπιθύμια, lust, is found in 5.2; 18.30-31; 23.5. On the opposite side of the evil inclination are the law, wisdom, and God (see 1.1-30; 4.11-19; 15.1-8; 19.20; 21.11; 24.1-29; 25.10-11; 32.23; 39.1). Sirach ascribes sinful human actions not to God but to humanity.

> Do not say, "Because of the Lord I left the right way";for he will not do what he hates. Do not say, "It was he who led me astray" (15.11-12a; cf. James 1.13).
>
> It was he who created man in the beginning, and he left him in the power of his own inclination. If you will, you can keep the commandments, and to act faithfully is a matter of your own choice (15.14-15).

If Satan is found in Sirach, what is his function in dualism? "When an ungodly man curses Satan, he curses his own soul" (Sirach 21.27). On this verse Heinisch comments that although tempted by Satan, a human being also remains responsible for his evil deeds, and that he "may not cast all the blame upon the devil." This reveals that Satan's attack is not irresistible.[4] Again W. O. E. Oesterley ascribes the possible origin of sin to the devil in "'lion' and 'serpent' as metaphors for temptation" (37.10; 22.2-3a).[5] The human life is determined and predestined by God, which reduces human autonomy and increases divine grace:

> Some of them he blessed and exalted, and some of them he made holy and brought near to himself; but some of them he cursed and brought low, and he turned them out of their place. As clay in the hand of the potter -- for all his ways are as he pleases -- so men are in the hand of him who made them, to give them as he decides (Sirach 33.12-13).

This idea of predestination is related to the 'question of salvation.'[6] Sirach's wisdom does not function directly as a contender against the evil inclination, but implicitly through dwelling in her followers by means of the law. Although Sirach emphasises free will ("Whoever keeps the law controls his thoughts," 21.11), he prays that God will remove from him 'evil desire' (Sirach 23.5). Wisdom is showered upon human beings from above (Sirach 1.9) in opposition to the devil or evil inclination. Free will and predestination work

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[4]Paul Heinisch, *Theology of the Old Testament* 143, 144.

[5]Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* 90.

[6]Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* 268.

synergistically in Sirach.[7] Thus, Sirach's life instructions[8] are able to be fulfilled concretely through divine and human cooperation. Divine help comes through wisdom from above (Sirach 1.26; 4.11; 19.20). Although wisdom already produces goodness in a human's ethical life, Sirach still awaits the culmination of wisdom at the end time[9]:

> Rouse your anger, pour out your wrath, overthrow the adversary, destroy the enemy. Hasten the end (καιρὸν, קץ), establish the time (Sirach 36.7f).[10]

However, Ben Sira's eschatology is strongly regulated and controlled by his nationalism[11] and by the *Sitz im Leben* under the Seleucids, even under Antiochus III.[12]

Scholars have attempted to find some similarity between Sirach's wisdom and the

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[7]O.S. Rankin, *Israel's Wisdom Literature: its Bearing on Theology and the History of Religion* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936) 28, n. 1. Sirach's combination between free will and predestination was followed by Pharisees who "attribute everything to Fate (εἱμαρμένη) and to God" (*BJ* 2.162). The same idea is found in *m. Abot* 3.15 ("Everything is foreseen, and free choice is given, הכלצפוי.והרשות נתונה).

[8]Sirach chiefly lists life instructions relating to such matters as: patience, honour of parents, humility, almsgiving, care of orphans, faith in God instead of wealth, industry, honour of priests, caution of strangers, self-respect, warning of greediness, warning of extravagance, honour and shame, control of tongue, danger of debts, harmonious life with neighbours, fear of the Lord, misogynist attitudes, negative attitudes to business, forgiveness, prohibition of loans because of difficult business on the part of the poor, ban of surety, warning of gluttony, moderation in drinking wine, humanitarian treatment of servants and the poor and respect for the dead, a good wife's role, respect for doctors and medicines, wisdom reserved in the elite class, etc.

[9]Contra Winder, "Ben Sira and the Teaching of 'Two Ways,'"315-17, who wrote, "In DSD the word קץ (period) has, as it were, a 'vertical' aspect: all periods are focussed to the last one, קץ נחרצה ועשׂוה ועשׂוה חדשׁה (DSD iv 25), and are never repeated. In Ben Sira the aspect is a 'horizontal' one . . . We might say that the outlook of the writer of the Manual was *dynamic*, governed by a sense of time, while that of Ben Sira was *static*, governed by a sense of space. Ben Sira's outlook differs profoundly from that of the writer of the Manual of Discipline; he is not burning with a passionate desire to place all things in relation to the last things." Also contra Hurtado, *One God, One Lord* 20, who mentions, "Wisdom and Logos are not connected with eschatological redemption."

[10]The translation was quoted from Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* 279. Although the priestly messianic figure, wisdom, already rules through the law (Sirach 24.1-17), in the end time Sirach still anticipates the consummation through the rule of God or wisdom (Sirach 36.1-17).

[11]See Sirach 35.18-20;36.1-17;Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 252-8.

[12]P.W. Skehan and A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987) 421-22; Hengel, 'The Political and Social History of Palestine from Alexander to Antiochus III [333-187 B.C.E.]' and 'The Interpretation of Judaism and Hellenism in the pre-Maccabean period,' in W.D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein ed., *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1989) 2.35-78, 167-228; Burkes, 'Wisdom and Law: Choosing Life in Ben Sira and Baruch,' 268, n. 37, who mentions that Ben Sira praises Zerubabel, Jeshua, and Nehemiah in his historical review hoping for a return from exile. Burton L. Mack, *Wisdom and Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in the Praise of the Fathers* 143-150, mentions that wisdom was personified on account of the lack of Jewish monarchs.

Egyptian Isis or Maat and the Stoic Word.[13] Although the idea of the personified lady wisdom in Sirach might be attributed to the strong influence of the Egyptian goddess Isis[14], wisdom had already been personal rather than personified in the earlier Proverbs 1.20; 8-9.[15] Sirach's wisdom or God resides in Jerusalem in Sirach 24.11[16] and 36.13b, while the Enochic wisdom (1 Enoch 42.1-2) does not find a dwelling place among the 'children of the people.'[17] When we understand wisdom as the ordering of society, we may infer that the society of the Similitudes was chaotic, while Sirach's society was peaceful, possibly composed from the perspective of an estate owner. Sirach, however, was written during the priesthood of Simon, son of Onias (Sirach 50.1). Simon's time was a prosperous and peaceful one, and his society was relatively well ordered (223-187 BC).[18] Therefore, the description of the

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[13]See Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 153-175; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* 49-61. Stylistically Sirach is similar to the Greek Theognis and the Egyptian Phibis (idem, 40, 57).

[14]For the Nysa inscription on the Isis cult see Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927) 139-41; France Le Corsu, *Isis Mythe et Mystères* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1977) 106-7. Although wisdom is localized in Jerusalem (Sirach 24.10-11), wisdom rules the whole world (Sirach 24.6b; 4.15a) perhaps as a reaction to Isis' claim: Moi, je suis Isis, la reine de la terre entière. Because Sirach traveled a lot (Sirach 34.10; 34.11; 51.13), he might have found the Isis cult everywhere (R.E. Witt, *Isis in the Greco-Roman World* (London and Southampton: Thames and Hudson, 1971) 259; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 158). Usually two kinds of Isis are distinguished: the Egyptian Isis and the Hellenistic Isis. The Egyptian Isis is of course the original. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts: Relating to the Old Testament* (ed. James B. Pritchard; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969) or *ANET* 12-13, contains a folk tale about the Egyptian Isis (1350-1200 B.C.): Re who created the world spat during his daily journey in his sun barque. With Re's spittle Isis made a snake, which bit Re. Isis healed Re on condition that Re let her know his secret name. In *ANET* 14-17 (1200 B.C.), Horus the son of Isis is crowned as the great Ruler. Her role in his rise is minor. Thus, Isis seemed to be known as a healer, saviour, and giver of the ruling power to kings. But such faith in her healing, saving, and giving of the ruling powers to kings is based on such negligible stories. The Isis myth was embellished by later generations.

[15]The date of Proverbs are very arguable. See R.N. Whybray, 'The Social World of the Wisdom Writers,' R.E. Clements ed., *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political PerspectivesEssays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 227-238. Previously we argued that the date of Proverbs is Solomon's time because of its evidence of flourishing economy due to construction works.

[16]"In the beloved city likewise he gave me a resting place, and in Jerusalem was my dominion." Note that Isis aretalogy also has the line: "La ville de *Boubastis* a été édifiée pour moi (Isis)." In terms of the sociology of knowledge, it is undeniable that the personification of wisdom in Sirach might be put into intense relief because of the popular Isis cult, though personification of wisdom had appeared already in Proverbs.

[17]See also Sirach 24.7 ("Among all these I sought a resting place (ἀνάπαυσιν); I (*wisdom*) sought in whose territory I might lodge"). Jewish Christian literature sees wisdom/the Holy Spirit residing in Jesus Christ. The resting of the Spirit is not just 'inspiration but complete and final union of the Spirit with his son' (*NTA* 1.174; The Gospel of the Hebrews 2 in *NTA* 1.177; ps. Clem. Hom. 3.20.2).

[18]J. J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 23, 28; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities Books XII-XIV* (trans. R. Marcus; London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1986) 743-66; cf. J.K. Aitken, 'Biblical Interpretation as Political Manifesto: Ben Sira in his Seleucid Setting,' *JJS* 51 (2000) 190-208. See construction works in Sirach 50.1-3; tax-exemption policy on the part of Antiochus III in *AJ* 12.138-144. Antiochus III's financial clemency to the conquered Palestine in 200 BC was designed to gain support from that place in case of war with the Romans. The economic prosperity of this period is evidenced by the fact that only 10 % of 450 Rhodian handles of imported amphoras does not belong to the period

high priest Simon in Sirach 50 resembles the idealistic description of wisdom in Sirach 24. From the comparison between Simon and wisdom, Simon the high priest appears as *a* temporary representation of wisdom.[19] Further, the word ἐλειτούργησα (Sirach 24.10), which is a cultic term for temple worship, is used to describe wisdom's function in the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries. Wisdom was created before creation (Sirach 1.4). Wisdom has her own throne in the heavens (Sirach 24.4; 1.8). Wisdom is an 'angelic being' (Sirach 24.1-2).[20] Wisdom requires worship/love (Sirach 4.14), and faith (Sirach 4.16) on the part of human beings. Wisdom disciplines her followers (Sirach 4.17-18).[21] Especially, wisdom is identified with the law (24.23; 15.1; 19.20; 21.11; 34.8; 39.1). Thus, this identification

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from 260 BC to 175 BC (D. Ariel, *Imported Stamped Amphora Handles, Coins, Worked Bone and Ivory, and Glass* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Institute of Archaeology, 1990); *BA* 60 (1997) 17).

[19]The diagram below is borrowed from Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis, 'The Worship of a Divine Humanity as God's Image and the Worship of Jesus,' in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism. Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

Sirach 24 (Wisdom)	Sirach 50 (Simon the high priest)
Tabernacle image v. 8-11	
v.10 "In the holy tent I ministered before him"	Simon comes out of the sanctuary v.5
v.12 "I took root in an honoured people"	v.8c 'like a green shoot'
v.13a "I grew tall like a *cedar in Lebanon*"	v.12c 'like a young *cedar on Lebanon*'
v.13b 'like a *cypress* on the heights of Hermon'	v.10b 'like a *cypress*'
v.14 'like *rosebushes* in Jericho'	v.8a 'like *roses* in the days of first fruit'
v.14 'like a fair *olive tree* in the field'	v.10a 'like an *olive tree* laden with fruit'
v.14 'like a plane tree *beside water*'	v.8b 'like lilies *besides a spring of water*'
v.15 'like galbanum, onychia, and stacte, and like the odour of incense in the tent'	v.9 'like fire and incense in the censer'

[20]J.J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 50.

[21]There are also some similarities between Jesus and Sirach's wisdom. Jesus is identified with the wisdom of God in Matthew 23.34 and its parallel verse Luke 11.49 (Matthew 23.34 "Therefore I send you prophets and wise men and scribes, some of whom you will kill and crucify, and some you will scourge in your synagogues and persecute from town to town"; Luke 11.49 "Therefore also *the Wisdom of God* said, 'I will send them prophets and apostles, some of whom they will kill and persecute.'") It is very interesting that J.J. Collins associates wisdom allegorised as food in Sirach 24.19-22 with Jesus as food in John 6.35 (reminiscent of the eucharist in which Jesus functioned as both the high priest and the sacrifice). Hebrew Sirach manuscripts were found in the Cairo Geniza in 1896 to 1900. Their authenticity was questioned, but recently after the discovery of the Massada scroll its date goes back to the 1st century B.C (Alexander A. Di Lella, 'Wisdom of Ben-Sira,' *ABD* 6.935; Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1965)). Perhaps because of the contribution of Sirach's wisdom theology to Christology, the important Hebrew pericopes (Sirach 1.1-10; ch. 24) might have been intentionally omitted along with the Similitudes. Sirach was condemned by Rabbi Akiba possibly because of the wisdom pericopes.

suggests that wisdom's main function is to enhance the observance of the Torah, one of the two ways. We have shown that Sirach has cosmic and ethical dualism and that the controlling centre of Sirach's envisaging community is wisdom who implicitly helps to overcome self-centredness, economic injustice.[22]

B. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs presents dualism most explicitly among Jewish second temple literature.[23] The following are two of the most well known examples:

> God granted two ways to the sons of men, two mind-sets, two lines of action, two models, and two goals. Accordingly, everything is in pairs, the one over against the other. The two ways are good and evil; concerning them are two dispositions within our breasts that choose between them. If the soul wants to follow the good way, all of its deeds are done in righteousness . . . but the mind is disposed toward evil, all of its deeds are wicked; driving out the good it accepts the evil and is overmastered by Beliar, who, even when good is done, perverts it into wickedness (Testament of Asher 1.3-8).

> So understand, my children, that two spirits await an opportunity with humanity: the spirit of truth and the spirit of error. In between is the conscience of the mind which inclines as it will (Testament of Judah 20.1-2).

John G. Gammie writes, "At the head of the spirits of evil stands Beliar, Mastema, or Satan;

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[22]Sirach radically exposes economic injustice among other instructions which also occur in James: "The bread of the needy is the life of the poor; whoever deprives them of it is a man of blood. To take away a neighbor's living is to murder him; to deprive an employee of his wages is to shed blood" (34.21-22). This charge recalls James 5.1-5.

[23]Eppel, 'La Doctrine de Dieu et la Conception Dualiste du Monde des Esprits,' *Le Piétisme Juif dans les Testaments des Douze Patriarches*,53-89. H.C. Kee, 'The Ethical Dimensions of the Testaments of the XII as a Cult to Provenance,' *NTS* 24 (1977-78) 259-70 and Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* 1.229-30;2.153,n. 776 ascribe dualism in second temple literature to Iranian teaching and Stoicism with some reservation. However, Gammie 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism' tries to associate the dualism with sapiential literature (ibid, 356f) rather than with the Persian religion. Moreover, Paul Heinisch, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 145, ascribes dualism to Genesis, writing, "Since opposition to God is found already in Genesis, there is little logic in deriving the antithesis between good and evil from the Persians. Biblical demonology would have developed without the concurrence of Persian concepts and would have developed in the very manner it did" (also Eppel, 79-80). A.P. Hayman, 'The Survival of Mythology in the Wisdom of Solomon,' *JSJ* 30 (1999) 125-39, ascribes dualism to the Ugaritic myth. The problem in ascribing the dualism to the Iranian and Ugaritic myths is that God did not create good and evil spirits (Wisdom of Solomon 1.13, "God did not make Death (*Mot*)"), and this undermines God's sovereignty. If so, God is not the author of sin. However, if God created them, God is indirectly responsible for sin and death although God's sovereignty is established. Satan is put under God's control because in 1QS 3.25, 1QM 13.11 (also 1QH 9.9 [formerly 1.9], former 1QH 13.8) God created the spirits of light and darkness. On the other hand, 1 Enoch 6-11 and Jubilees 5.1-11 ascribe the origin of evil to the fall of the watchers (Genesis 6.1-4).

at the head of the forces of good stand the angels of the presence (Jub 5), the Messiah (T Levi 18:12; T Jud 25:3), or Michael (T Dan 6), but ultimately, of course, God."[24] Cosmic dualism forcefully regulates the ethical life:

> If promiscuity does not triumph over your reason, then neither can Beliar conquer you. (Testament of Reuben 4.11; also Testament of Simeon 3.5).

> If anyone flees to the Lord for refuge, the evil spirit will quickly depart from him, and his mind will be eased. (Testament of Simeon 3.5; also Testament of Dan 6.2).

> The Lord I loved with all my strength; likewise, I loved every human being as I love my children. You do these as well, my children, and every spirit of Beliar will flee from you. (Testament of Issachar 7.6-7; also Testament of Gad 4.7; Testament of Asher 1.8-9; 3.2; Testament of Benjamin 3.4; 6.1; Testament of Dan 4.7; 5.1).

> Anger and falsehood together are a double-edged evil, and work together to perturb the reason. If you achieve the good, . . . the devil will flee you. . . . The one who does not the good, . . . the devil will inhabit him as his own instrument. Every wild animal will dominate him. (Testament of Naphtali 8.4,6; also Testament of Benjamin 5.2).

> So I tell you, my children, flee from the evil of Beliar, because he offers a sword to those who obey him. And the sword is the mother of the seven evils. (Testament of Benjamin 7.1-2).

All these sayings relating to dualism could be summarised in a few lines: 1. if one is filled with wrath, anger and hatred, one is controlled by Beliar or wild animals; 2. good works, love, forbearance, reason and the fear of the Lord drive away Beliar and invite God's presence; 3. relying on the Lord (Simeon 3.5), the angel of intercession (Dan 6.2), and the angel of peace (Benjamin 6.1) are the means by which to resist Beliar. Ethical life is tightly bound up with two supernatural powers: "So understand, my children, that two spirits await an opportunity with humanity; the spirit of truth and the spirit of error. In between is the conscience of the mind which inclines as it will" (Testament of Judah 12.1-2). Those whose ethical life is agitated by Beliar await the eschatological consummation where Beliar will no longer afflict them. Eppel writes,

> On a même l'impression que pour ce qui concerne les choses terrestres, Béliar est plus puissant que Dieu. L'eschatologie sauvera l'omnipotence du créateur; dans la lutte gigantesque qui mettra fin au conflit, Dieu remportera la victoire définitive et rétablira l'unité du pouvoir suprême dans l'éon nouveau.[25]

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[24]John G. Gammie, 'Spatial and Ethical Dualism,' 369.

[25]Eppel, *Le Piétisme Juif*, 87-88.

The saviour or priestly king who is [God and man][26], will come from Levi and Judah (Testament of Simeon 7.1-2).[27] Noah's blessing in the Testament of Simeon 6.5 is followed shortly afterwards by the phrase 'God and man' in 7.2. However, the author in passing engages in an interpretation (פֵּשֶׁר) of Genesis 9.26-27.

Testament of Simeon 6.5 Then Shem shall be glorified; because God the Lord, the Great One in Israel, will be manifest upon the earth as a man.	Genesis 9.26-27 (He also said,) Blessed by the LORD my God be Shem (RSV); (and let Canaan be his slave. God enlarge Japheth, and) he shall dwell in the tents of Shem (KJV)

Genesis 9.27 in Hebrew reads, "יַפְתְּ אֱלֹהִים לְיֶפֶת וְיִשְׁכֹּן בְּאָהֳלֵי־שֵׁם." Because God is in the first clause (יַפְתְּ אֱלֹהִים לְיֶפֶת), the subject of the second clause is also supposed to be God himself. Thus, the second clause may be read: "God will dwell in the tents of Shem."

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[26]Commentators have bracketed 'God and man' in order to show that it is a Christian interpolation (H.C. Kee, 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' *OTP* 1.787 especially n. 6.c, following Charles, *Testaments*, 24; H.W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs:a Commentary* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985) 126). It is a burning issue whether this document (Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) is Christian or Jewish. M. de Jonge is a contemporary proponent of Christian redaction of the document. He strongly believes that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were written by a Christian redactor who utilized the Old Testament and Hellenistic Jewish traditions. Marinus De Jonge, 'Patriarchs, Testament of the Twelve,' *ABD* 5.183, mentions, "Because the Christian passages cannot be removed without damaging the fabric of large sections of the work, we must assume at least a thoroughgoing Christian redaction." Again he writes, "Especially in the ethical passages, so many particularly Hellenistic words and phrases are found that it is practically impossible that they could have been written in any other language but Greek" (ibid). Howard Clark Kee, 'The Ethical Dimensions of the Testaments of the XII' 259-70, writes that the author of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs *stoicised* the Jewish patriarchal stories, providing 'a document that was ready-made for Christian adaptation, a process which required only minor midrashic modification.' Such a stoicisation of the patriarchal stories is also found in Wisdom of Solomon, 4 Maccabees and Philo's works. Most scholars surmise its Christian interpolation rather than Christian redaction. Refer to *HJP*^{2} 3/2.770f; Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament*, 634-36; Charles, 'Testaments of the XII Patriarchs,' *HDB* 4.721; Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches* 2.173-81. Customarily redaction theorists put the date in the second century AD while interpolation theorists, in the second or first century BC. Redaction theorists believe that our documents are Christian Testaments, while interpolation theorists believe they are Jewish Testaments. It goes without saying that Jewish sources in the document are not a Christian invention, in that Testaments, especially the Testament of Levi, are found in Dead Sea Scrolls (1Q21 [1QTLevi ar]; 4Q213 [4QTLevi^a ar]; 4Q214 [4QTLevi^b ar]; 4Q540 [4QAhA = 4QTLevi^c]; 4Q541 [4QAhA = 4QTLevi^c]; 3Q7 [3QTJuda]; 4Q215 [4QTNaph]). It should be noted that 1Q21 [1QT*Levi* ar] frag.1 should be renamed 1QT*Jud* because the sentence (line 2), "The sovereignty of the priesthood will be greater than the sovereignty of . . . " only appears in the Testament of Judah 21.2. When we compare the manuscripts of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs with the Qumran counterparts, the redactor/author did not use verbatim Qumran scripts which are probably close to the original texts. While 4QTestament of Naphtali is a testament close to the original text, the Testament of Naphtali discovered in the Cairo Genizah was a Hebrew *translation* from the Greek Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs 'which contains fragments of the original testament' (R.H. Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* 221). Although Milik hypothesizes the composition of the Testament of Levi in the third century BC (J.T. Milik and M. Black, *The Book of Enoch* 24), the priestly messianic figure in the Testaments probably appears during the Hasmonean period (167 to 63 BC) (J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 109).

[27]On 'le prêtre-sauveur' of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarches refer to Hortgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Partriarches* 1.268-300.

Either the author used the Hebrew versions rather than the Septuagintal versions here,[28] or just adopted the interpretation from the older tradition such as that preserved in Jubilees 7.12; 8.18b. Besides, the author identified Shem with Israel. Consequently it could be read, "God will dwell in Israel." The Jewish author[s] might intentionally have placed God's dwelling in Israel immediately prior to the phrase 'God and man' in the Testament of Simeon 7.2. Thus the phrase God and man may be pre-Christian. God will be revealed through Levi and Judah in the Testament of Levi 2.11[29] while in the Testament of Naphtali 8.3 only through a Davidic messianic figure will God appear.[30] On the other hand, Levi's posterity will not only be the anointed high priest (ἀρχιερέως χριστοῦ, Testament of Levi 6.8; cf. 8.3) but also an eternal king (Testament of Levi 6.12). There is no statement that Judah or his posterity will take over both priesthood and kingship. Levi or his posterity has two offices, priesthood and kingship, while Judah or his posterity has only one, i.e., kingship. The balance tips towards Levi against Judah. Again, Judah declares that God subjected Judah's kingship to Levi's priesthood (Testament of Judah 21.2; Testament of Naphtali 5.3). The diadem is given only to the priest (Testament of Levi 8.9-10). Hence the idea of a priestly messianic figure is predominant over and against that of a kingly figure, as in other early Jewish literature.[31] The figure will function as a high priest binding Beliar and granting 'peaceful release to the saints' (Testament of Levi 18.9-13). In order to highlight the *new* messianic priestly figure, the author relativizes the importance of previous or current priests:

> You will bring down a curse on our nation, because you want to destroy the light of the Law which was granted to you for the enlightenment of every man, teaching commandments which are

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[28]The Septuagintal text reads, "Let him (Japheth) dwell in Shem's houses." The LXX text does not have the Greek verb for שָׁכַן. John intentionally chose the Greek word *eskenosen* for שָׁכַן in John 1.14 in view of the incarnation. Our author's interpretation is one evidence of a Hebraism.

[29]The verse, "For the Lord will raise up from Levi someone as high priest and from Judah someone as king God and man" (Testament of Simeon 7.2) gives the impression that there are two messianic figures: high priest and king. However, the two messianic figures are combined into a single person, God and man. The verse Testament of Simeon 7.1b reads, " . . . from them (Levi and Judah) will arise the Saviour . . ." Thus, two stocks, Levi and Judah, are combined to produce a Messianic figure (Testament of Gad 8.1; Testament of Benjamin 11.2).

[30]Testament of Judah 24 reveals the messianic and eschatological figure from the 'Shoot' as being implicitly of the David line (vs. 4, 5). However, the phrase, the Shoot **of God**, shows the divine origin of the figure. This figure is referred to as 'a Star' and 'the Sun of righteousness,' which are impressions of heavenly beings (see the Testament of Levi). The epithets might imply the angelic nature of the messianic figure. Further, see Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology* 176-178.

[31]E.g. wisdom officiates as a high priest (Sirach 24.10) and the Word functions as a high priest (intercessory mediator) between God and humanity (*de Fuga et Inventione* 108; *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres* 205).

> opposed to God's just ordinances. You plunder the Lord's offerings; from his share you steal choice parts, contemptuously eating them with whores. You teach the Lord's commands out of greed for gain; married women you profane; you have intercourse with whores and adulteresses. You take gentile women for your wives and your sexual relations will become like Sodom and Gomorrah. You will be inflated with pride over your priesthood, exalting yourselves not merely by human standards but contrary to the commands of God. With contempt and laughter you will deride the sacred things. (Testament of Levi 14.4b-8).[32]

After the old Levite priesthood ends, the new eternal priestly messianic figure is introduced in the Testament of Levi 18. The priestly mediatorial work between God and humanity is attributed to the priest or to 'the angel who intercedes' for the peace (the ideal state) of the community (Testament of Levi 5.6; Testament of Dan 6.2).[33] The intercessory angel is also called 'the angel of peace' (Testament of Benjamin 6.1). Perhaps the angel of peace/intercession is identical to the priest.[34] In this regard, the priest is an angelic being. Through the priestly, messianic, angelic figure's works, sin ceases to exist (Testament of Levi 18.9b). Through the spirit men become his sons (Testament of Judah 24.3). The priest gives 'the majesty of the Lord' to his sons (Testament of Levi 18.8a). Eventually he will lead them to paradise, i.e. Eden or the New Jerusalem (Testament of Levi 18.10; Testament of Dan 5.12), through the priestly king's crushing of Beliar.[35] Beliar, by creating jealousy, hatred and promiscuity among humanity, brings about devastation, dispersion, and sickness to the community.

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[32]See also Testament of Levi 16.1-2; 17.11; Testament of Dan 5.6-7; CD 4.15-18; Psalms of Solomon 8.8-12; the Watchers in 1 Enoch 1-36 and Jubilees 4.15, 22; 5.1-11. Sirach has no invectives against the priestly class under Simon II the high priest (220-198 BC) and Antiochus III (223-187 BC). However, the criticism of the Jerusalem priests appears outspokenly after Antiochus Epiphanes IV and Hellenized Jason the high priest (175 BC; see 1 Maccabees ch. 1 and 2 Maccabees 4.7-7.42). Hasmonean high priests began to deprive the Zadokites of the high priesthood from the time of Jonathan (159-152 BC). The community of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is similar to the Qumran community in that both communities denounce the corrupt priestly class, expect the priestly messiah, and both have dualism. On the other hand, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs has a Levite messiah which could accommodate the Hasmonean high priests and kings in Jerusalem (Hultgård, 1.40 n. 2) while the Qumran library has the Aaronide messiah which could not accommodate the Hasmoneans. Therefore, the community of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs was presumably in Jerusalem. The criticism against the priestly class revived after the reign of John Hyrcanus (135-104 BC) and especially at the time of Alexander Jannaeus 103 BC. The date of our document may be around 100 BC.

[33]Testament of Dan 6.2 reads, "Draw near to God and to the angel who intercedes for you, because he is the mediator between God and men (μεσίτης θεοῦ και ἀνθρώπων) for the peace of Israel. He shall stand in opposition to the kingdom of the enemy." The intercessory angel is juxtaposed with God, showing his divine status. Possibly the intercessory angel, warrior against Satan, could be Shem's God (Testament of Simeon 6.5).

[34]See L.T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration*, 176-177.

[35]Testament of Simeon 5.5; Testament of Dan 5.10-11; Testament of Zebulon 9.8; Testament of Levi 18.12. Levi is a warrior in the sense that he conquers Beliar. Charles, 'Tests. of XII Patriarchs,' *HDB* 4.721-725, missed this point, and understood the warrior Levi as Maccabean warriors, reading the text historically. Again Charles, ibid, understood 'two heads' and 'two kings' (Testament of Zebulon 9.4-5) as Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II. But the two heads should be the warrior priest and Beliar or the spirit of truth and the spirit of error (Testament of Levi 20.1).

To summarise, the priest in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is an angelic and eschatological messianic figure. He will appear as a human being, make sins disappear, and bridle, judge Beliar and restore Adam's glory or paradise to the community. The priest keeps his community holy (the Testament of Levi 18.6, 7).

Similarly, forgiveness of sins through the Word (Jesus) is implied in James 1.18; liberation from the Devil is signified in 1.25, 2.12, and *passim*; and the kingdom is launched (2.5). Forgiveness of sins through a messianic figure will be further noted below in the discussion of Jubilees and 11Q13.

C. Jubilees

Chapters 20-22, 25, 30, 7 and 36 enjoin Israel to separate from the Gentiles. Jubilees might have been written between Alexander the Great's invasion and the appearance of Mattathias in 167 BC. The upper limit of this document's date is the Book of Astronomical Writings (1 Enoch 72-82 which was written during the Persian period) because the solar calendar in Jubilees 6.32 (also 4.16-19) conforms to the solar calendar of the Book of Astronomical Writings (1 Enoch 72.32). Because this document is found in the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q216 [4QJub^{a}]; 11Q12 [11QJub]; 4Q220 [4QJub^{c}]; 4Q219 [4QJub^{d}]; 4Q221 [4QJub^{f}]; 3Q5 [3QJub]; 2Q19 [2QJub^{a}]; 4Q176fragments 19-21 [4QJub^{f}]; 1Q17 [1QJub^{a}]; 1Q18 [1QJub^{b}]; 2Q20 [2QJub^{a}]; 4Q227 [4QPsJub^{c}]), Jubilees is Essenic, but chronologically pre-Essenic on account of the presence of the name of Jubilees in the pre-Qumranic CD 16.3 (ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם).[36] In view of the hostility to Gentile nudity (3.30-31), to Gentile uncircumcision (15.26, 33), to mixed marriages with Gentiles (30.7) and to Gentile language (12.25-27), it seems to have been written perhaps after the Antiochus Epiphanes persecution (169 BC; see 1 Maccabees 1.10-15). Although there is no reference to erecting 'a desolating sacrilege upon the altar of burnt offering' (1 Maccabees 1.54; 167 BC), Jubilees 23.16-25 may reveal some aspects of the Maccabean revolt against the Greeks. The discovery of the sea route from Europe to India via the Red Sea (Erythraeum) in Jubilees 8.21 might be motivated by the fact that the Seleucid empire was in conflict with Rome under Antiochus III and his successors. This also confirms that Jubilees was written during the Seleucid supremacy in this region.

Zeitlin conjectures that Jubilees was competing with Genesis for nomination in the

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[36]On the date of CD see below.

canon.[37] Although the Mosaic laws begin to be in Exodus, Jubilees tries to interpret the patriarchs as the origins of Jewish laws. Thus, Jubilees 'judaises' the history of Genesis. Moreover, "the book is permeated by a chauvinistic spirit."[38] VanderKam ascribes the interpretation of the patriarchs as the origins of Jewish laws to the fact that renegade Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes said, "Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles round about us, for since we separated from them many evils have come upon us" (1 Maccabees 1.11.[39] Jews believed that they separated from the Gentiles after Moses.[40] If so, their patriarchs before Moses would have lived like the Gentiles without Mosaic laws, which is the point that renegades might have used to justify their forsaking Mosaic laws. Therefore, the author of Jubilees argued that their patriarchs had already kept the heavenly tablets. Moses was merely one of those like Enoch who received the heavenly tablets.[41] Najman writes, "By claiming that the law is already on the heavenly tablets, Jubilees further advances its argument that the narratives of Genesis are in fact crypto-legal texts."[42] Such tradition was transmitted to the Mishnah (see *m.Qiddushin* 4.14, "We find that the patriarch Abraham kept the entire Torah even before it was revealed"). On the other hand, the predestined human history is already written in the heavenly tablets. For instance, it is written in the heavenly tablets that Isaac blessed Levi and Juda (Jubilees 31.32b). That blessings produced 'the eternal priesthood through the line of Levi and the throne and arrival of the Messiah through the line of Juda' prior to their meritorious works of destroying Schemites.[43] Here we read divine initiative or grace in the dealings with humans.

Scholars identifies dualism present in this document.[44] Mastema or Belial is the

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[37]Solomon Zeitlin, 'The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and Its Significance,' *Studies in the Early History of Judaism* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1974) 2.143f.

[38]Ibid.

[39]VanderKam, 'The Origins and Purposes of the Book of *Jubilees*,' in Matthias Albani, J. Frey and A. Lange ed., *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 65; Tübingen: Mohr, 1997) 19-22.

[40]Elias Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees* (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 83-88.

[41]F.G. Martinez, 'The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees,' *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* 243-59; H. Najman, 'Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and its Authority Conferring Strategies,' *JSJ* 30 (1999) 379-410.

[42]Najman, 396.

[43]Martínez, 'The Heavenly Tablets,' 250.

[44]See Michel Testuz, *Les Idées Religieuses du Livre des Jubilés* 93-99; Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial* 197-200.

chief of the demons or spirits (10.7-9). Moses prayed, "Do not let the spirit of Beliar rule over them (Israelites) to accuse them before you (*God*) and ensnare them from every path of righteousness so that they might be destroyed from before your face" (1.20b). Noah prayed against demons/spirits, the children of the Watchers, who would mislead and eventually destroy his descendants (10.1-6). Specifically, shedding human blood and jealousy are related to the activities of demons against human beings (7.26-27). 11.4b-5 elaborates this a little bit further: "Cruel spirits assisted them and led them astray so that they might commit sin and pollution. And the prince, Mastema, acted forcefully to do all of this. And he sent other spirits to those who were set under his hand to practice all error and sin and all transgression, to destroy, to cause to perish and to pour out blood upon the earth." Mastema and his demons try to cause human beings to hate each other. Abraham prayed to God to deliver him from evil spirits (12.20). Mastema destroys not only the ethical relationship with God and other humans, but also their practical lives (11.10-11). Mastema stirred God to test Abraham to sacrifice Isaac to God (17.16). Mastema tried to kill Moses on his way from Median to liberate his people from the Egyptians (48.1-4). Mastema empowered the magicians of the Egyptians to make Moses fall into the hands of Pharaoh (48.9). Mastema killed all of the firstborn in Egypt (49.2). Interestingly the author of Jubilees introduces two methods to overcome Belial: sacrifices and God.

Firstly, faced with the gust of blasphemous hellenization, the author of Jubilees appears to attempt to save his country by appealing to the exodus experience through the sacrifice of pascal lambs. Instigated by Mastema, God tested Abraham's faith by challenging him to sacrifice Isaac on mount Zion (17.16). Abraham obeyed God and was on point of sacrificing his son, but at that very moment, God provided a ram to sacrifice instead of Isaac. Israelites are called to celebrate this event for seven days (18.19) in the first month of the year (17.15). This feast is celebrated on exactly the same day as the passover because the passover also falls in the first month (49.1), and the festival continues for seven days (49.22). In this event it is a sacrifice that saves the life of Isaac.

In order to deceive Jacob, Jacob's sons killed a kid and dipped Joseph's garment in its blood. They said to their father, "A cruel beast has eaten Joseph" (34.12-13). Unwittingly Joseph's brothers were performing the atonement for their sins through the blood of the kid. The author attributes the institution of the day of atonement (the tenth day of the seventh month) to this incident (34.18-19). This incident also shows that a sacrifice delivers men from their sins.

Forty nine jubilees have passed from the days of Adam to the entry into the land of

Canaan (50.4). One jubilee is composed of 49 years. 49 jubilees are 2,401 years (49 X 49). It would have been 2,401 years from the creation before the entry into the land of Canaan. Now nine further years (one week (*seven years*) and two years) have elapsed before the crossing of the Jordan river (50.4). Thus this year is 2,410 (2,401 + 9). Forty years are to pass before the Israelites cross over the Jordan river in 2,450 (2,450 - 2,410 = 40). During these forty years they are supposed to learn the commands of the Lord (see CD 20.15). Thus, the fiftieth jubilee in particular (the year of 2,450) marks an actual jubilee. The jubilee commemorates liberation because landless Israelites would be liberated from Egyptian slavery and the **new land**, which is free from Mastema, will be distributed to them (50.5). The entry into Canaan from the wilderness represented a symbolic act of liberation by demagogues: an Egyptian led 4,000 sicarii out into the wilderness (Acts 21.38; *AJ* 20.167-72; *BJ* 2.261-63); Theudas enticed some people (into the wilderness) by promising that he would divide the Jordan river (like Joshua) under Fadus (*AJ* 20.97-98); the remaining Jews in Jerusalem would negotiate with Titus that "they would go into the desert" (*BJ* 6.351) probably on account of their eschatological hope that God would lead them from the wilderness to the promised land.[45] The author dreams of 'national freedom and possession of the land' which is now in the hand of the Seleucids and was in the hand of the Ptolemies.[46] The proleptic joy of the jubilee started earlier at the passover which saved the Israelites from the fatal attacks on the firstborn by Mastema:

> There was a great plague in Egypt. And there was no house in Egypt in which there was no corpse and weeping and lamenting. And all of Israel remained eating the flesh of the Passover and drinking wine and praising and blessing and glorifying the LORD the God of their fathers. And they were prepared to depart from the yoke of Egypt and from evil slavery (49.5-6).

The jubilee (e.g. emancipation from slavery and the occupation of the new land) is celebrated by the pascal lamb (49.3). The well-observed sacrifice of the pascal lamb results in the blessing of the year and in the elimination of plague (49.15). Surrogate death or the blood of sacrifices saves life as in the cases of Abraham, Joseph's brothers and the exodus. The blood brings about both emancipation from slavery and the new and free land, i.e., the Jubilee. The author perhaps claims the emancipation (jubilee) of his country from the hands

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[45]W.D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Berkeley: University of California, 1974) 96; Ben Zion Wacholder, 'The Date of the Eschaton in the Book of Jubilees: A Commentary on Jub. 49: 22-50:5, CD 1:1-10, and 16:2-3,' *HUCA* 56 (1985) 99, n. 43.

[46]VanderKam, 'The Origins,' 22.

of Antiochus IV by means of the cultic atonement through blood. Jubilees 49.15 conclusively summarizes this point,

> The plague will not come to kill or to smite during that year when they have observed the Passover in its (appointed) time in all (respects) according to his command.

Secondly the author promises the indwelling of God among his people, which would save them from Mastema. The 'tablets of the division of years' have existed from old (1.29). Enoch wrote 'everything which is on earth and in the heavens' (4.21) on the heavenly tablets. Jacob gave all of his books and his fathers' books to Levi (45.15). All these facts show that world history was sovereignly predetermined by God before the creation. The fact that world history was predetermined, or periodised, serves as a window for the eschatological hope. As regards this periodisation, von Rad wrote, "One (*an apocalyptist*) can recognize his own place in history, namely at the end of the world's first age and immediately before the dawn of the new. It has been rightly said that the exact function of these historical apocalypses is to act as a proof that the end is near, and God has things firmly in hand. With this realization they dispense consolation."[47] The Apocalyptic hope of a new dawning age or eon free from Mastema is also found in 1.29:

> And the angel of the presence, who went before the camp of Israel, took the tablets of the division of years from the time of the creation of the law and testimony according to their weeks (of years), according to the jubilees, year by year throughout the full number of jubilees, from [the day of creation *until] the day of the new creation when the heaven and earth and all of their creatures shall be renewed* according to the powers of heaven and according to the whole nature of earth, *until the sanctuary of the Lord is created in Jerusalem upon Mount Zion*. And all of the lights will be renewed for healing and peace and blessing for all the elect of Israel and in order that it might be thus from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

Also,

> And jubilees will pass until Israel is purified from all the sin of fornication, and defilement, and uncleanness, and sin and error. And they will dwell in confidence in all the land. And then *it will not have any Satan or any evil (one)*. And the land will be purified from that time and forever. (50.5)

In addition to the dawning of the new age, the angel of presence is promised to come to save Israel (1.29). The already-not yet pattern also appears here in Jubilees. Already the presence of God has been realised through the mediator, the angel of presence, the upright spirit (1.20), a holy spirit (1.23) and a spirit of truth (25.14), through whom Mastema would be driven out. Nevertheless, they still anticipated an era in which God would come into the

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[47]Von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 274.

midst of Israel:

> I shall descend and dwell with them in the ages of eternity (1.26). The Lord will appear in the sight of all (1.28).
>
> May the Lord, the God of Shem, be blessed. . . . May the Lord enlarge Japhet, and may the Lord dwell in the dwelling place of Shem (7.11-12; 8.18).

If God would choose one of Israel's sons in whom to dwell or appear himself, Levi's seed would be chosen for that position, because sacrifices are conducted by him. The author makes Levi prominent among his brothers. For "the seed of Levi was chosen for the priesthood and levitical orders to minister before the LORD" as a reward for his revenge of the Sechemites (30.18). Jacob brought Levi and Judah to Isaac to bless them; Isaac "took Levi in his *right* hand and Judah in his left hand." Isaac's blessings of Levi and his **seed** far exceed those of Judah and his seed (31.11-20). Levi conducts priestly duties for his family at Bethel (32.1-9).

It is striking in early Jewish literature that Jubilees contains forgiveness of sins and their consequences through the blood of sacrifices. Although not clear,[48] the angel of presence or God will come perhaps through the Levite seed to achieve forgiveness of sins. Jubilees dreams of the new era (23.26-31) warded off from Mastema through the sacrifice of the passover lamb.[49] While Mastema killed the firstborn sons of the Egyptians in Jubilees 49.2, the Word as a warrior killed them in Wisdom of Solomon 18.14-16 and N. Exodus 12.12.[50] The passover lamb liberated Israel from 'the yoke of Egypt and from evil slavery' (Jubilees 49.6). The garden of Eden is identified with the temple and Mount Zion (Jubilees 8.19).[51] This identification implies that the liberation from Mastema or the restoration of the lost paradisiacal blessings is related to the sacrifice of the temple. We discussed in Part One that first fruit is associated with the exodus signifying the Word's redemption (James 1.18). We suggested that the law of liberty (James 1.25; 2.12) is to be understood from the perspective of the exodus.

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[48]B.F. Westcott, *An Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* (Cambridge and London: Macmillan and co., 1881) 121.

[49]Martínez, 'The Heavenly Tablets,' 249.

[50]R. Hayward, *Divine Name and Presence:the Memra* 120.

[51]See also Jubilees 3.10-12;Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan 2.7; R. Hayward, *Divine Name* 124-125.

D. The Dead Sea Scrolls.

Several scholars have examined dualism in relation to the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament. J. H. Charlesworth dealt with dualism in relation to the Gospel of John.[52] W. D. Davies also examined ethical dualism and 'flesh and spirit' in the Pauline corpus.[53] W. I. Wolverton investigated ethical dualism in the epistle of James.[54] Recently Jörg Frey has surveyed the dualism in the Dead Sea Scrolls in an extensive article.[55] In this thesis 1QS, CD, 1QM, and 11Q13 will be dealt with specifically from the perspective of dualism.

a. The Rule of the Community (1QS).

The Qumran community was started by Zadokite high priests whose high priesthood

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[52]Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS III, 13-IV, 26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Fourth Gospel," *NTS* 15 (1968-69) 389-418.

[53]W.D. Davies, 'Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit,' *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; London: SCM Press LTD, 1958) 157-82; also see A. Culpepper, 'Ethical Dualism and Church Discipline, Ephesians 4:25-5:20,'*Review and Expositor* 76 (1979) 529-39.

[54]W.I. Wolverton, 'The Double-minded Man in the Light of Essene Psychology,'*ATR* 38 (1956) 166-175.

[55]Jörg Frey, 'Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library' *Legal Texts & Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organisation for Qumran Studies, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (eds. M. Bernstein, F.G. Martinez and J. Kampen; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 274-335; also see A. Lange, 'Die Zwei-Geister-Lehre,' *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) 121-70; P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969); J. Duhaime, 'Le dualisme de Qumrân et la littérature de sagesse vétérotestamentaire,' *Eglise et Théologie* 19 (1988) 401-22; idem, 'Dualistic reworking in the Scroll from Qumran,' *CBQ* 49 (1987) 33-56; idem, 'Rédaction de 1QM XIII et l'évolution du dualisme a Qumrân,' *Revue biblique* 84 (1977) 210-38; Catherine Trautmann, 'L'instruction sur les deux esprits: le dualisme dans la doctrine et la pratique des Esséniens,' *Foi et Vie* 80 (1981) 26-40; J.J. Collins, 'Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of transition in Jewish Apocalyptic,' *Vetus Testamentum* 25 (1975) 596-612; idem, 'Dualism and Eschatology in 1QM: A reply to P.R. Davies,' *Vetus Testamentum* 29 (1979) 212-15; P.R. Davies, 'Dualism and Eschatology in the Qumran War Scroll,' *Vetus Testamentum* 28 (1978) 28-36; idem, 'Dualism and Eschatology in 1QM: rejoinder,' *Vetus Testamentum* 30 (1980) 93-97; J.J. Enz, "Origin of the Dualism expressed by 'sons of light' and 'sons of darkness,'" *Biblical Research* 21 (1976) 15-18; Benedikt Otzen, 'Old Testament Wisdom Literature and dualistic thinking in late Judaism,' *Congress Volume: Edinburgh 1974* (eds., A. Alonso-Schökel, et al) 146-57; Hans Hübner, 'Anthropologischer Dualisme in den Hodayoth?' *NTS* 18 (1972) 268-84; P. Wernberg-Möller, 'Reconstruction of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1QS 3.13-4.26),'*RQ* 3 (1961) 413-41; Marco Treves, 'Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community,' *RQ* 3 (1961) 449-52; K.G. Kuhn, 'Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion,' *ZTK* 49 (1952) 296-316.

was usurped by Jonathan of the Hasmonean dynasty (152 BC).[56] The Hasmoneans continued to occupy the high priesthood until Herod killed the high priest Aristobulus III (36 BC). It is a possible hypothesis that there was a substantial influx adding to the population of the small-scale Qumran community due to Alexander Jannaeus' (103-76 BC) persecution. Thus, three big new cisterns, a tower, storehouses, and workshops were added to accommodate the increased population (100 BC) (de Vaux's period Ib).[57] The tradition involving dualism in CD evidences the intergroup conflict between Zadokite priests and Hasmonean priests at a nascent stage of the community. The conflict had them deny the Jerusalem temple cult, and drove them to believe themselves to be the temple.[58] The increased population in Qumran required more specific community rules to maintain the group (e.g. 1QS 5.1-13a; 6.8b-7.25).[59] As the community became firmly established, it began to turn its attention to its members. As time elapsed, intergroup conflict between Qumran priests and Jerusalem priests became a fantasy or a more remote problem in 1QS although 1QS contains some references to the conflict between them.

The real concern of 1QS became the maintenance of the group. Dualism was an

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[56]Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994) xxxix;J.C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1994) 13-14. On the history of the Qumran community refer also to R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973); J.T. Milik, 'III. History of the Essenes,' *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea* (London: SCM Press LTD, 1959) 44-98. The 'Teacher of Righteousness' was also the priest (4Q171 2.18;3.13; 1QpHab 2.8), thus was also the high priest who was deposed by the wicked priest, Jonathan (J. Murphy-O'Conner, 'Teacher of Righteousness,' *ABD* 6.340;*HJP*^{2} 1.605-6). Therefore the year when the teacher of righteousness joined the Qumran community was around 152 BC. On the other hand, in the pesher on Habakkuk the Kittim were the Roman army who invaded all the nations (1QpHab 2.14;3.4-6) and took revenues from the conquered land (4QpHab 6.5-7). Kittim's invasion appears to have been led by the Roman general Pompey because the Jerusalem residents voluntarily delivered themselves into their hands out of fear (1QpHab 4.8; Psalms of Solomon 8.16-17;*AJ* 14.59). The problem in the Habakkuk pesher is the time gap between the teacher of righteousness (c. 152 BC) and Pompey's invasion (63 BC). Thus, scholars suppose that there had been several teachers of righteousness 'at various stages of the sect's history' (G.W. Buchanan, 'The Priestly Teacher of Righteousness,' *RQ* 6 (1969) 553-58; I. Rabinowitz, 'The Guides of Righteousness,' *VT* 8 (1958) 391-404). However, it seems that there was a two-staged composition of the Habakkuk pesher: first there was a sectarian exegesis on Habakkuk at the time of the deposition of the priestly teacher of righteousness in Jerusalem around 152 BC; then a later hand interpreted Pompey's invasion as a divine judgment on the wicked priest around 63 BC.

[57]On the periodization of the Qumran community, see J. Murphy-O'Conner, 'Qumran, Khirbet,' *ABD* 5.590-94; R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* 1-44.

[58]The fact that the community calls itself the Temple and sons of Light rids it of its inferiorities, and provides the community with the identity of the dominant group. The community believes that the world is blessed because of being themselves a corporate human temple (1QS 4.6c-8; 1QS 8.5-7a(=4Q258 [4QS^d] frag. 2, 1.1; 4Q259 [4QS^e] 2.11b-13); 1QS 9.3-5 (=4Q258 [4QS^d] frag. 2, 2.4-5)). The priestly functions of the community produce health and peace (1QS 4.6c-8), atonement for sin on earth (1QS 8.6=4Q258 [4QS^d] frag. 2, 1.1; 4Q259 [4QS^e] 2.13; 1QS 9.4=4Q258 [4QS^d] frag. 2, 2.4-5).

[59]J. Murphy-O'Connor, 'Community, Rule of the (1QS),' *ABD* 1.1110-1111;idem, 'La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté,' *Revue biblique*, 76 (1969) 528-49; J. Pouilly, *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumran: Son évolution littéraire* (Cahiers de la Revue biblique 17; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1976).

efficient device for reducing intragroup conflict in the community. By stereotyping dissidents or aberrant members as evil or sons of Darkness, the author[s] sought group maintenance or immobility of its members to other different group. Their ethical life was controlled either by the Prince of Light (the angel of truth) or by the Angel of Darkness (Belial or the spirit of deceit). The *classic formula* of dualism is in 1QS 3.13-4.26.

> Control over all the sons of righteousness lies in the hand of the prince of lights, and they walk in the ways of light; complete control over the sons of injustice lies in the hand of the angel of darkness, and they walk in the ways of darkness (1QS 3.20-21; see also 1QH 4.48).[60]

The ontic two-spirits model results in the sociological dimension of group cohesion and division. What the Prince of Light does for members lies in the area of group cohesion or group maintenance language:

> For all shall be in a single Community of **truth (or faithfulness), of proper meekness, of compassionate love and upright purpose, towards each other** in the holy council, associates of an everlasting society (1QS 2.4-5; see more 1QS 4.2-8).[61]

What the spirit of deceit or the Angel of Darkness does for them falls into the category of group division:

> However, to the spirit of deceit[62] belong **greed, frailty of hands in the service of justice, irreverence, deceit, pride and haughtiness of heart, dishonesty, trickery, cruelty, much insincerity, impatience, much insanity, impudent enthusiasm, appalling acts performed in lustful passion, filthy paths for indecent purposes, blasphemous tongue, blindness of eyes, hardness of hearing, stiffness of neck, hardness of heart in order to walk in all the paths of darkness and evil cunning** (1QS 4.9-11).

The agent who maintains the community is the Prince of Light (like the mediator in Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs). The fact that a spiritual

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[60]M.A. Knibb's translation, *The Qumran Community* 94.

[61]On the virtues of the Qumran community refer also to Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 83; *BJ* 2.134-6; Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea*, 118, n. 2.

[62]See also 'Geist der Hurerei, רוּחַ זְנוּת' (E. Lohse's translation, 1QS 4.10; cf. πνεῦμα τῆς πορνείας, Testament of Reuben 3.3; 5.3; Testament of Levi 9.9) and 'the unclean spirit, רוּחַ נִדָּה' (1QS 4.22).

being controls a community with ethical codes is known as predestination or determinism.[63] The Qumranic ethics have a metaphysical dimension (1QS 3.13-4.26). In 1QS 3-4 the men are predestined to live according to either one of two spirits, i.e., the Prince of Lights or the Angel of Darkness.[64] The two spirits want to win souls to themselves. The spirit of 1QS 4.3-6[65] could be compared to Dame Wisdom (4Q185 2.6-15; 4Q525 1-4) whilst the spirit of 1QS 4.9-11, to Dame Folly (4Q184). Wisdom (of the sons of heaven who "will teach those of perfect behaviour (וחכמת בני שמים להשכיל תמימי דרך)") in 1QS 4.22 and the spirit of holiness or of truth (רוח קודש or רוח אמת) in 1QS 4.21 and 3.6-8 perform the same function in sanctification or group cohesion.[66] 1QS 4.12-14 introduces the judgment theme after dualism. The judgment theme protects the community from division or mobility to another group. The community believed the eschatological triumph of the Prince of Light over the

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[63]On the attitudes of three sects to predestination or human freedom, Josephus, *AJ* 13.172-3, wrote:

> "Now the Pharisees, they say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate, and some of them are in our own power, and that they are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate. But **the sect of the Essenes affirm, that fate governs all things, and that nothing befalls men but what is according to its determination**. And for the Sadducees, they take away fate, and say there is no such thing, and that the events of human affairs are not at its disposal; but they suppose that all our actions are in our own power, so that we are ourselves the cause of what is good, and receive what evil from our own folly" (further see *AJ* 18.13, 18; *BJ* 2.162-6).

Recently there is an attempt to combine predestination and cosmic/spiritual dualism: A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination* which is summarised in 'Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995) 340-354. Lange relates cryptic concepts like the mystery of becoming (רז נהיה, 4Q417 2; 1Q27 1; 1QpHab 7.5-14), sapiential language (דעת/בין/בינה, 4Q402 4), heavenly tablets (1QH 1; 4Q180 1) to cosmic dualism by means of the connection between cosmic/spiritual/ethical dualism and predestination in 1QS 3.13-4.26.

[64]Although human life and activity were regulated by the Princes of light or of darkness, the members of the community could use their freewill to resist Belial (1QS 9.21) and pray for themselves to be in the presence of God (4Q264 1.4). J.J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* 130, writes, "There is a synergism between the psychological realm and the agency of the supernatural angels or demons." Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran* 108-109, associates dualism with the horoscope of 4Q186, following J.M. Allegro, 'An Astrological Cryptic Document from Qumran,' *JSS*, 9 (1964) 291-4. J.H. Charlesworth, 'A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS III, 13-IV, 26' 398f, argues for the cosmic dimensions of dualism against the psychological interpretation of the model by P. Wernberg-Moeller, 'A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1QSerek iii, 13-iv, 26),' 422f.

[65]"It is a spirit of meekness, of patience, generous compassion, eternal goodness, intelligence, understanding, potent wisdom which trusts in all the deeds of God and depends on his abundant mercy; a spirit of knowledge in all the plans of action, of enthusiasm for the decrees of justice, of holy plans with firm purpose, of generous compassion with all the sons of truth, of magnificent purity which detests all unclean idols, of unpretentious behaviour with moderation in everything, of prudence in respect of the truth concerning the mysteries of knowledge."

[66]Whilst A.S. van der Woude, 'Wisdom at Qumran,' *Wisdom in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 255-256, connects wisdom to the revelation given to the teacher of righteousness, J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 112-113, links wisdom to dualism.

Angel of Darkness (1QS 4.18).[67] On the other hand, the fact that the prophet and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel (9.11)[68] occur only once in the Rule of the Community shows that the Qumranic messianism in 1QS is relatively insignificant and in the 4QS ms. this section (8.15-9.12) is entirely absent.[69]

To conclude, the CD community was incipient because CD has little group maintenance, (i.e. dualism with ethical codes). However, the group envisioned in 1QS was a fully developed community in comparison with that of CD because it contains the most classic form of dualism.[70] CD deals with intergroup conflicts because it levels sectarian invectives against the opponent group (CD 4.15-17; 6.16 (=4QD[a] 3, 3.8); 8.3f). 1QS chiefly deals with *intra*group conflict while CD, with *inter*group conflict.

b. The Damascus Document (CD[71]).

According to CD, the Righteous Teacher appeared 390 years after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (CD 1.5-7; 4Q266 [4QD[a]] frag. 1, 13-14a; 4Q267 [4QD[b]] frag. 2, 1.9-12). Thus, the teacher started work in 197 BC (587 (the year of the destruction of Jerusalem) minus 390). CD 1.9-10 and its parallels imply that the teacher formed his community 20 years after his appearance (177 BC). Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) began to rule in 175 BC. Antiochus IV's sacrilegious actions brought into relief the 'three nets of Belial' in CD 4.15-18 (fornication, riches and profanation of the Sanctuary) although they were already latent in invectives against the Watchers of earlier Jewish literature.

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[67]Schiffman, 'Messianic Figures and Ideas in the Qumran Scrolls,' *Messiah*, 119-120, detects the messianic expectations in the word, קץ (end, 3.23; 4.16-17).

[68]The prophet is also a messianic figure. See I Maccabees 4.46; 14.41 (Schiffman, ibid, 120, n. 10). As time passed, the Zadokite priests decreased and lay people increased in the community. Thus, in addition to the priestly messiah, another messianic figure from Israel represented the congregation (idem, 121).

[69]Messianic expectation in 1QS remains peripheral because they experienced to some extent a *realised* eschaton, believing themselves to be the Temple and practicing communism in an economic sense as well. Qumran is located six miles away from Jericho. Jericho is famous for its revenue from balsam. "Qumran was an agricultural villa (?) where balsam was produced." 560 Tyrian silver coins have been discovered in Qumran. The massive library in the caves proves the opulence of the community because most impoverished and illiterate peasants could not afford so copious a library. Josephus reports, "They are long-lived also; insomuch that many of them live above a hundred years" (*BJ* 2.151). The longevity of life span also reveals the affluence of the community. Perhaps their wealth might have reduced the messianic expectation among the community of 1QS.

[70]Murphy-O'Connor and Stuckenbruck suppose that IQS reflects the different stages of growth and change in a community.

[71]CD is the abbreviation of Cairo Document because it was found in the genizah of the Ezra Synagogue in Cairo.

Because those who followed the Teacher of Righteousness were the sons of Zadok, they are not *Maccabean* Hasidim. Because CD still acknowledges the temple cult (CD 12.1; passim), it is pre-Qumranic and pre-Essenic. Because CD accepted the temple cult, the human temple concept does not exist explicitly as in 1QS. The only one possible implication of the human temple ideology is 4Q265 [4QSD] frag. 2, 2.9 ("It (*the community council*) shall be the aroma of a pleasant fragrance **to atone for the land**").

CD has 'Belial' (4.13, 15; 5.18; 8.2; 12.2; 19.14), 'angel of hostility' (16.5), 'angels of destruction' (2.6), and 'spirits of Belial' (12.2).[72] Belial and his angels implicitly influence the ethical life of the group only in 4.13, 15; 16.5. On the other hand, the Prince of Lights occurs only once in CD 5.18. However, 'the Prince of Lights and Belial' empowered Moses and Aaron, on the one hand, and Jannes and Jambres, on the other. This means that they are not concerned with ethical or group-maintaining codes but with magical powers.[73] Although the plural 'holy angels' is found in the community (CD 4.16-17, "[None of these] should enter [the congregation, since the holy angels are in its midst]"), the angels do not assist the community to choose the better of two ways like the Prince of Light in 1QS. Instead, the human can resist the angel Mastema by *observing the law of Moses* (CD 16.5). Abraham and the covenantors became friends of God again by 'keeping God's precepts' (CD 3.2-4). After the death of the Teacher of Righteousness, the assembly, as king, decided everything according to the Mosaic law without the mediation of an angelic being (CD 7.16-17). The fact that CD did not refer to the mediator figure who fights against Belial demonstrates that CD's community was still a nascent one, perhaps before the influx of people resulting from Alexander Jannaeus' persecution.[74] In this respect, CD's community is quite a bit smaller than the community of 1QS. Thus, the group maintaining tool of the dual world view is not clear in CD, although 'messiah' does occur in CD.[75]

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[72]M.J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992) 334-337.

[73]Lange, 'The Essene Position on Magic and Divination' 415-20; Knibb, *The Qumran Community* 46.

[74]On Qumran messianic development, see J. Starcky, 'Les quatres étapes du messianisme à Qumran,' *RB* 70 (1963) 481-505; Raymond E. Brown, 'J. Starcky's Theory of Qumran Messianic Development,' *CBQ* 28 (1966) 51-57.

[75]Frey, 'Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library,' 333-4, writes, "Many sectarian texts are not dualistic at all, e.g. the early Community, Rule 1QSa, the fundamental halakic document 4QMMT, the Hymns Scroll 1QH, especially in the individual hymns which have been ascribed to the 'teacher of righteousness', and even many of the preserved Pesharim." The fact that a specifically ethical dualism is not found in these documents indirectly demonstrates that they could possibly have been written before the community started a communal life or while the community was still a formative, nascent one which was more involved in *intergroup* conflict than in *intragroup* conflict.

c. The War Scroll.

In the War Scroll dualism is projected onto two nations, Israel and the Kittim[76]. Although the community was itself divided into those who followed the Prince of Light and those who followed the Angel of Darkness in 1QS, nationalistic zeal identified Israel wholesale with the sons of light, and the Kittim with the sons of darkness in order to obtain the help of the Prince of Light in the War Rule. In the eschatological warfare against the Kittim, the Prince of the congregation or the Prince of Light (1QM 5.1; 13.10=4Q495 [4QM^{e}] frag. 2, 1; 4Q285 [4QM^{g}] frag. 4, 2, 6; frag. 5, 4) is named either by his own name, or as 'the bud of David', or 'the High Priest' (1QM 15.4; 19.11=4Q492 [4QM^{b}] frag.1 10). The term 'high priest' frequently occurs among the other three designations. Through triumphing over Belial and its hordes, the High Priest would eventually bring physical blessings to Israel.[77] To conclude, dualism of 1QS was shifted from a spiritual one to a physical one in the War Rule to accommodate the war with the Romans.[78]

1QS 3.13-4.26 (intragroup conflict)	the War Rule (intergroup conflict)
sapiential, ethical[79] dualism	eschatological, militaristic dualism.

d. The Melchizedek document (11Q13; 4Q544).

This document is an interpretation of Leviticus 25.13 and Deuteronomy 15.2 which deal with the Jubilee, i.e. release from debts. The author spiritualizes and transforms the release of debts idea in the Jubilee into the idea of release from iniquities or sins on the **day**

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[76]Kittim is the Roman empire (P.R. Davies, 'War Rule,' *ABD* 6.875-877;*HJP*^{2} 3/1.403).

[77]4Q285 [4QM^{g}] frag.1-2 1-11, "[...]before Israel [...][...]for eternal centuries. [And blessed (be) ...][And blessed be all his holy angels. May] the Most High God [bless] you, [may he show you his face,] [and for you may he open his] good [treasure] which is in the heavens, [to cause to fall upon your lands rains of] [blessing, dew and] frost, late and early rains in their season, to give [you fruit, the harvests of] [wheat, of wine and of] oil in plenty. And for [you] the land will yield [superb fruit. And you shall eat them] [and be replete. In your land] there will be no miscarriages or [illness; drought and blight] will not be seen in your harvests; there will be no disease [or stumbling blocks in your congregation, and evil will vanish] from the land. There will be no pestilence [in your land.] For God is with [you and the holy angels are in the midst of your community. And his] holy [name] is invoked over [you ...][...]and within you [...]interior."

[78]Frey, 'Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library,' 331.

[79]As Charlesworth, 'A Critical Comparison,' 399, puts it, the community was thought of as a kind of 'antichambre du ciel'. Thus, the ethical life of the community rests on the metaphysical, cosmic powers rather than on purely psychological phenomena.

of Atonement which "is the end of the tenth jubilee"[80] (lines 7 and 8). This atonement was obtained by means of Melchizedek's war against Belial. Belial's rebellious activities are to turn 'aside from the commandments of God [to commit evil]' (line 12). "But, Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of God's judgment [on this day, and they shall be freed from the hands] of Belial and from the hands of all the sp[irits of his lot]" (Line 13). Again, the war between Melchizedek and Belial emulates dualism.

Melchizedek is אלוהים and judges like God in line 10.[81] Melchizedek is also identified with Yahweh in line 9. "The year of the LORD's favour, שְׁנַת־רָצוֹן לַיהוָה" in Isaiah 61.2 is altered to 'the year of Melchizedek's favour, לשנת הרצון למלכי צדק' in line 9.[82] Lines 9 and 10 suggest that Melchizedek is identified with God who judges. Melchizedek is suggested to be the Danielic Son of Man[83] and the messiah as well (11Q13 2.18).[84] Melchizedek is the redeemer from sins, as noted above. In CD 14.19 the redeemer from sins is the messiah of Aaron and Israel. Melchizedek's work of atonement as the high priest[85] and his warfare against Belial/Melkiresha as a warrior are closely combined

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[80]According to 1 Enoch 93.1-10 and 91.11-17 world history is divided into ten weeks. One week is composed of 490 years (= a jubilee). Thus ten weeks are 4,900 years. "This number would coincide with our supposition of the number of years from creation to redemption, or from Adam to the time of the construction of the eschatological sanctuary" (Wacholder, 'The Date of the Eschaton in the Book of Jubilees,' 91, n. 21; Klaus Koch, 'Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte: Die sogenannte Zehn-Wochen-Apokalypse (1 Hen 93:1-10 91:11-17) und das Ringen um die alttestamentlichen Chronologien im späten Israelitentum,' *ZAW* 95 (1983) 403-30). See also Milik, 'Pesher sur les periodes (4Q180, 4Q181, ?et 11QMelch),' in 'Milki-sedeq et Milki-resa,' *JJS* 23 (1972) 109-26.

[81]Line 10 reads, "Concerning him (*Melchizedek*) in the Psalm of David (*Psalm* 82.1), which says: 'Elohim has [ta]ken his place in the cou[ncil of God]; in the midst of heavenly beings he holds judgment.'
."עליו בשיר דויד אשר אמר אלוהים [נ]צב בע[דת אל]בקורב אלוהים ישפוט ועיו אמ[ר ות]ליה
The cited Psalm 82.1 reads, "God has taken his place in the divine council; in the midst of the gods he holds judgment, "אֱלֹהִים נִצָּב בַּעֲדַת־אֵל בְּקֶרֶב אֱלֹהִים יִשְׁפֹּט"). F.L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) 74-76, who reads עליו as 'concerning it' instead of 'concerning him.' However, P.J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresa* (CBQMS 10; Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981) 54, reads Melchizedek here; Darrell D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999) 70, n. 84, reads Melchizedek but only as an angel to link Melchizedek to the angel Michael.

[82]Kobelski, *Melchizedek* 16; Anders Aschim, 'Melchizedek and Jesus.'

[83]Kobelski, 130-37.

[84]Stuckenbruck, "'Messias' Texte in den Schriften von Qumran," 137.

[85]Melchizedek's atonement for his people in 11Q13 2.7 is corroborated by the atonement by 'the spirit of true counsel or God' (=the prince of light) (1QS 3.6; 4.21; 10.14; passim). Melchizedek may be a heavenly high priest (4Q401 11.3 reads '[...Melchi(?)]zedek, priest in the assemb[ly of God ...]')(Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1985) 33-38; Hannah, *Michael and Christ* 74).

together here.[86] Melchizedek as a warrior high priest releases the sons of light from iniquities, i.e. works of Belial, on the day of atonement, and thus accomplishes the atonement to God of his lot, i.e., community.

Dualism is found in another Melchizedek document (4QVisions of Amram). In 4Q544 [4Q^{c}Amram^{b} ar] frag.3, instead of Belial, Melki-resha (king of wickedness) is used to denote the counterpart of Melchizedek (king of righteousness). The two spirits "were quarrelling over" Amram (4Q544 frag.1 10); they said, "[We have received] control and control all the sons of Adam. . . . Which of us do you [choose . . .?]" (4Q544 frag.1 12).

To conclude, from the angle of dualism, the Prince of Light (1QS) and Melchizedek (11Q13) could be classified in the same category of angelic figure who fights against the Prince of Darkness, Belial and Melkiresha.[87] If Melchizedek is identified as אלוהים, the Prince of Light may be inferred to be a divine being although the Prince of light is a created being (1QS 3.25). 1QS 4.18 expresses the eschatological messianic dream that God will exterminate injustice (and Belial). The fact that "the day [of atonem]ent is the end of the tenth Jubilee" in the ten-weeks scheme of the world history (11Q13 2.7) signifies that the new era breaks in through the atonement. In the new era the glory of Adam will be restored (1QH 17.15; 1QS 4.23; CD 3.20; 4QpPs^{a} 2.9-12; 2.26-3.2). In the same way, the priestly angelic messianic figure, warrior Melchizedek, "willexact the vengeance of Go[d's] judgments" (11Q13 2.13); the earthly Davidic messiah is identified both with the community leader (נשיא העדה) and with the 'warrior messiah' (1QSb 5.20, see also 4Q285 frag. 5; 1QSa

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[86]Aschim, 'Melchizedek and Jesus,' explains the warrior image of Melchizedek by the fact that Abraham won the war against five kings with the help of the angelic Melchizedek, which is reflected in Psalm 110. Jesus is also found as warrior and redeemer as well in Hebrews 2.14 ("Through death he might destroy him who has the power of death, that is, the devil") (Aschim; Revelation 12.11a). Usually the warrior image has been ascribed to the Davidic messiah. Thus, the Davidic and priestly messiah is reflected in two messiahs in the scrolls as in other second temple literature. As Milik puts it, "the historical situation brings the messianic king, of Davidic origin, into greater prominence" (Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery* 123-128). The number of messiahs is singular in CD 12.23-13.1;CD 19.10-11 (=4Q267 frag. 18, 3.12), CD 14.19 (=4Q271 frag. 13, 2) (משיח אהרן ו ישראל) and in CD 20.1 (משיח מאהרון ומישראל). The one messiah, priest and king, was perhaps emulated by the Hasmonean priest-kings. Thus CD may have been written during the Hasmonean period. However, the number of messiahs is two in 1QS 9.11 (משיחי אהרון וישראל) and in 1Q28b. In comparison with CD, 1QS has only one reference to messiahs. 1QS may be written under Herod's rule or later when Jews simultaneously had secular kings or governors and high priests. As in 1QS, 1QM 11.7-8 which has two messiahs (משחיכה) may have been written around the time of the war between Jews and the Roman Empire (AD 60-70).

[87]J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 46; Hannah, *Michael and Christ* 64-74.

2.14, 20-21; 1QS 9.11).[88] On balance, the angelic Melchizedek would come as the bud of David to redeem his people from the Prince/Angel of Darkness. The Qumran community waited for Melchizedek in 11Q13 who will restore the lost paradise or glory of Adam to it by destroying Belial and through forgiveness of sins. In Wisdom of Solomon 18.15; 10.15 wisdom/the Word was a warrior in the exodus like Melchizedek who saves the souls afflicted by Belial in 11Q13. When James enjoins the readers to ask for wisdom (James 1.5), exorcism is implied through the warrior wisdom who vanquishes the Devil. The new era has already dawned in James. Thus the kingdom of God (James 2.5) already dawned, which entitles believers to claim his blessings in his kingdom through the Word's atonement (1.18) and liberation from the Devil by destroying him (1.25; 2.5).

E. Wisdom of Solomon.

Wisdom sits by God's throne (τὴν τῶν σῶν θρόνων[89] πάρεδρον σοφίαν, 9.4). Wisdom is the mirror or image of God (7.26). Wisdom and the Word participated in the Creation (7.22; 9.1-2). Wisdom liberated Israel from the Egyptians (10.15). Wisdom preserved Israel in the wilderness (10.1-11.1).[90] In addition to wisdom, the Word healed people (16.12), and the Word preserves those who trust in God (16.26). The all-powerful Word is a stern warrior (ἀπότομος πολεμιστὴς) who punished the Egyptians (redeeming the Israelites) (18.15-16). In the desert Moses saved the Israelites from the punisher through the Word (18.22). The Word and wisdom have the same function in this document. In addition to this cosmic dimension, wisdom also has an ethical dimension: "In her there is a spirit that is intelligent, holy, unique, manifold, subtle, mobile, clear, unpolluted, distinct, invulnerable, loving the good, keen, irresistible, beneficent, humane, steadfast, sure, free from anxiety, all-powerful, overseeing all, and penetrating through all spirits that are intelligent and pure and most subtle" (7.22-24). Wisdom, in those verses, shows aspects of *group maintenance*.

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[88]J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* 60-61. The use of נשיא in 1QSb derives from Ezekiel 34.24 and 37.25. Usually the messiah of Aaron is called the Star or the Interpreter of the Law whilst the messiah of Israel is called the Sceptre, the נשיא or the Prince of congregation (Brown, 'J. Starcky's Theory,' 56).

[89]"*Thronon* is the plural majesty" (D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (New York: Doubleday, 1979) 202).

[90]The same content appears in 1 Corinthians 10.1-4 in which Jesus replaces wisdom. See Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 152-153.

Wisdom dwells in holy people:

> . . . in every generation she (wisdom) passes into holy souls and makes them **friends of God**, and prophets; for God loves nothing so much as the man who lives with wisdom (7.27-28).

People who welcome and live with wisdom become friends of God.[91] On the other hand, those who hate wisdom become enemies of God. For example, Cain forsook wisdom:

> When an unrighteous man departed from her (*wisdom*) in his anger, he perished (συναπώλετο) because in rage he slew his brother (Wisdom 10.3).

Cain was full of anger because his sacrifice was not accepted by God while his brother's was. The anger, hatred and inferiority which Cain felt towards Abel prompted him to murder Abel. This ethical and psychological phenomenon also has a metaphysical dimension in that Cain departed from wisdom. Wisdom does not enter a soul full of jealousy and hatred (1.4) because she is a benevolent spirit (1.6). Although this document does not explicitly show that Cain belonged to the evil one as in 1 John 3.12, Cain's 'anger' or 'rage' reveal that he did not belong or adhere to wisdom.

Scholars have argued about the meaning of 'death' in the Wisdom of Solomon. Although some read 'death' as impersonal, others read it as personal. K. M. Hogan interprets 'death' as spiritual death, following Philo's interpretation.[92] However, A. P. Hayman reads 'death' as a personal being against the background of the Ugaritic myth.[93] Death is personified as Mot in the myth (*ANET* 129-142). There is also Yamm (*sea*) which appears to be identified with the Dragon, Serpent or Leviathan.

> Crushed I (*Anath*) not El's Belov'd Yamm? . . . Did I not, pray, muzzle the Dragon? I did crush the crooked serpent, . . . (*ANET* 137).

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[91]Although Abraham is not called a friend of God in this document (10.5), Abraham is known as friend of God in James 2.23 and other Jewish documents because of the wisdom in him.

[92]K.M. Hogan, "The Exegetical Background of the 'Ambiguity of Death' in the Wisdom of Solomon," *JSJ* 30 (1999) 1-24; also see Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 185-189; John R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism from Sirach to 2 Baruch* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988) 51-52. Hogan accepts Philo's slight change of Genesis 4.8 from ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν (*Cain* killed him (*Abel*)) into ἀπέκτεινεν ἑαυτόν (*Cain* killed himself) (*Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat* 47). Thus Cain was already spiritually dead although he was physically alive after the murder of Abel.

[93]A.P. Hayman, 'The Survival of Mythology in the Wisdom of Solomon,' *JSJ* 30 (1999) 125-139.

> If thou smite Lotan (*Leviathan*), the serpent slant,
> Destroy the serpent tortuous,
> Shalyat of the seven heads[94] (*ANET* 138).

These primordial beings are referred to again in the Wisdom of Solomon 2.24.

> Through the devil's envy death (*Mot*) entered the world, and those who belong to his party experience it.

As in Revelation[95] or as with wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon,[96] the devil and death could be distinguished from one another while at the same time representing a single being.[97] The interchange between the devil and death is attested to by Wisdom of Solomon 1.16.

> But ungodly men by their words and deeds summoned death; considering him a **friend**, they pined away, and they made a covenant with him, because they are fit to belong to his party.

Just as believers who love wisdom become friends of God (7.27), so the ungodly who summon death (*Mot*) become his friend. Thus, dualism is found in the Wisdom of Solomon. Wisdom, who preexisted and is a group maintainer, created the universe and preserves her people, and dwells among her people who seek, desire and love her (6.12-14). On the other hand, she withdraws her presence from those who hate others out of jealousy or envy thus summoning the devil. Humanity is not the object of hatred or oppression because humans were created by God who "takes thought of all alike" (6.7). God transcends particularism because God spares and loves all the living (11.24, 26). The verse 12.1, "Thy immortal spirit is in all things," shows the love of God towards all his creatures, rather than the Stoic

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[94]Revelation 12.3; 13.1; 17.3. It appears that the author of Revelation utilised the contemporary symbols found in the Ugaritic myth, Isaiah or Job.

[95]Although God and the Lamb are numerically two, they are referred to as if a single divine being as in Revelation 22.3. Likewise, the Devil (beast) and serpent/dragon (Revelation 12.2,3, 4, 7, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17; 13.2, 4, 11; 16.13; 20.2), or the Devil and death/Hades (Revelation 1.18; 6.8; 20.13, 14) also are expressed in terms of a single diabolical being.

[96]The author of Wisdom of Solomon subtly substitutes wisdom for God from 11.7 on. It is clear that wisdom and God are synonyms, and that wisdom is personal.

[97]With Yehoshua Amir, "The Figure of Death in the 'Book of Wisdom,'" *JJS* 30 (1979) 154-78.

impersonal presence of the world principle.[98] Even Canaanites were judged little by little by God because God gave 'them a chance to repent' (12.10). God overlooks 'men's sins, that they may repent' (11.23). Humans should be dealt with not as objects of hatred, anger and rage, but as objects of the love and long-suffering which God has shown.

We have observed from the perspective of ethical dualism that wisdom and Mot (death) are battling against each other claiming dominance over human souls. Wisdom or the Word *liberated* the Israelites from the Egyptians (10.15; 18.15-16). The image of warrior in the Word presupposes that there is a cosmic warfare between the Word and the Devil as in 11Q13. The perspective of the Word's liberation and victory over the Devil is alluded to in the phrases, 'law of liberty' in James 1.25 and 2.12 and 'πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε' in 1.2. The Word/wisdom in Wisdom of Solomon is creator, warrior (*liberator*), preserver, healer and savior by vanquishing the Devil (Genesis 3.15). Thus the writer of Wisdom of Solomon prays, "Send her forth from the holy heavens, and from the throne of thy glory send her, that she may be with me and toil, and that I may learn what is pleasing to thee" (Wisdom of Solomon 9.10; 'wisdom from above' in James 1.15; 3.13, 3.17). Presumably this verse may suggest the expectation of the messianic figure.

F. Philo

The Romans divided the provincials in Egypt into three classes: Greek citizens who did not pay the poll tax; the Hellenes who paid a lower rate of the tax; the native Egyptians who paid in full.[99] It is not clear when the Jews was classified as the second class Hellenes. Although Josephus mentioned that the Jews were equal with the Greeks in Alexandria under Roman rule (*BJ* 2.487; *AJ* 14.188) and Philo's encomium of Augustus and Tiberius (*In Flaccum* 106) also indirectly shows that the Alexandrian Jews enjoyed full citizenship during

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[98]J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 199, mentions, "The idea of creation *in Wisdom of Solomon* requires a clear distinction between God and the world, which is closer to Platonism than to Stoicism" (italics inserted). On the other hand, the Hellenistic Word is impersonal whilst wisdom in Jewish literature is personal (Burton L. Mack, *Logos und Sophia: Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie im hellenistischen Judentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973) 64). Despite the distinctive features of wisdom in Wisdom of Solomon, it is suggested that wisdom has many traits similar to the Stoic Word (J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 196-219; H. Hübner, 'Die Sapientia Salomonis und die antike Philosophie,' *Die Weisheit Salomos im Horizont Biblischer Theologie* (ed. H. Hübner; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1993) 55-81; C. Larcher, *Le Livre de la Sagesse ou la Sagesse de Salomon* (Paris: Gabala, 1984) 479-518; D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*).

[99]Peder Borgen, 'Philo of Alexandria: A critical and synthetical survey of research since World War II,' *ANRW* 2.1.108;Pliny, *The Letters of the Younger Pliny* 10.6.

their rule, scholars believe that Augustus imposed the poll tax on the Alexandrian Jews as 'the general principle of Roman rule in the provinces.'[100] The Jews disputed over the citizenship against the Greeks. Specifically the tragedy of the Jews started by the occasion of Agrippa I's visit in Alexandria in AD 38 because Alexandrian residents feared that Agrippa I (their king, friend of the emperor Gaius) would work for the Jews' citizenship (see *In Flaccus* 29ff). The Egyptian governor Flaccus was also not pleased with Agrippa I's visit in Alexandria because he felt overruled by Agrippa I who was passionately welcomed by the Alexandrian Jews. Flaccus was displeased with the Jews' letter submitted to him to pass it to the emperor. At the accusation of demagogues that Jews did not participate in the ruler cult which Gaius unprecedently demanded of the provincials, the Roman prefect Flaccus completely deprived the Jews of their citizenship (*In Flaccum* 53); he treated the Jews as 'strangers' (ξένοι) and 'foreigners' (ἐπήλυδες).[101] Flaccus regarded Jewish elders as Egyptian perpetrators; "thirty-eight members of the Sanhedrin, which numbered seventy-one, were arrested".[102] Agrippa I would have sent a letter to the emperor accusing Flaccus who was eventually deposed from the governorship by the emperor.[103] The persecution lasted from May/June to September/October in 38. In AD 41 there was a Jewish military uprising in Alexandria against the pogrom in AD 38. Philo was not radical but moderate because he defended Jews' civic rights by pen instead of sword.[104] Philo's emphasis that Israel (אִישׁ רֹאֶה אֵל, man who sees God and thus achieves virtues)[105] is real citizens of the world (κοσμοπολίται)[106] could be understand against this provocative anti-semitic background.

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[100]Borgen, 'Philo of Alexandria: A critical and synthetical survey' 109; Victor A. Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks, *CPJ* 1.60.

[101]Barraclough, 464.

[102]Barraclough, 466.

[103]On the possibility that Agrippa I's accusation of Flaccus and Gaius' banishment of him could take place within such a few months see Alla Kushnir-Stein, 'On the Visit of Agrippa I to Alexandria in AD 38,' *JJS* 51 (2000) 227-243.

[104]Borgen, 'Philo of Alexandria: A critical and synthetical survey' 111.

[105]C.T.R. Hayward, "Philo, the Septuagint of Genesis 32.24-32 and the Name 'Israel': Fighting the Passions, Inspiration and the Vision of God," *JTS* 51 (2000) 209-226, argues that the etymology of Israel ('the man who sees God) does not derive from the change of the name from Jacob to Israel but from Philo's ecstatic experience (Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria. An Exegete for his Time* 18)). Rather the etymologies of Jacob and Israel show that Jacob means wrestling or tripping up (Genesis 27.36) and Israel, he who strives with God and men (Genesis 32.28). Philo elicited the image of an athlete in fighting against passions from Jacob-Israel. Fighting against passions leads to Visio Dei through the Word[s].

[106]Borgen, 'Philo of Alexandria: A critical and synthetical survey' 113.

Moreover, Philo's mention that the Greeks' revered philosophers were fundamentally indebted to the Jews' heritage by their drawing on the Septuagint (*Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres* 214; *Legum Allegoriae* 1.108; *De Specialibus Legibus* 4.61; *De Posteritate Caini* 133; *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 57)[107] demonstrates that the Jews with their Law were better qualified citizens of heaven than the Greeks who deprived the Jews of any equal rights. Thus Philo stresses, "Justice [is] . . . to assign every man his due according to his deserts" (*De Vita Moses* 2.10), which means that the full citizenship is to be returned to the Jews. Injustice or inequality brings forth foreign and civil wars (*Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres* 161-2). God is the maker of equality (*De Specialibus Legibus* 1.265). Even slaves should be treated well because slaves and masters are equal according to nature (φύσις), the Law and justice (*De Specialibus Legibus* 3.137).[108]

Philo taught Jews in Alexandrian synagogues and implicitly the Greek-outsider audience that humans should not be controlled by the body (passions, desire, arrogance) but by the soul (conscience/reason/nature/the law) in order to establish equality/justice in the Alexandrian mixed community (*Legum Allegoriae* 1.72). In order to transcend from the body to the spiritual life (*Legum Allegoriae* 2.55; *De Gigantibus* 14; *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres* 239-240; *De Vita Contemplativa* 34; *De Migratione Abrahami* 9, 16; Plato *Phaedo* 67d), Philo introduces an intermediary being, i.e. the Word, because humans could not achieve virtues by themselves.[109] Although the cosmic governance of the Word is merged with the governance of the microcosmic human mind in Philo[110], Philo's real concern is not just in the government of the universe but in morality.[111] Reason is also the high priest between God and the human kind (*de Gigantibus* 52) and it is at times used by Philo synonymously with the Word (*de Agricultura* 51; *de Migratione Abrahami* 102, 174). Winston maintains that

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[107]It is also suggested that Plato's idea of the Word derived from Genesis 1 (Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 163 and n.372). Immortality of the soul is also imported from the Jews to the hellenistic sages (Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees* 48). "The political organisation of the Jews was viewed from the same standpoint, as the realisation of an ideal state, governed by the Sages, the philosophers according to Plato and the priests according to the Palestinians" (idem, 49). The temple city (Jerusalem) run by the high priest was Plato's ideal model of the nation (idem, 50). It is not a coincidence that Alexander the Great worshiped the name and high priest of Jerusalem (*AJ* 11.331).

[108]On the Philonic justice see Barraclough 512ff.

[109]D. Winston, 'Philo's Ethical Theory,' *ANRW* II, 21.1,378.

[110]The officiating space of the Word is two-fold (*de Somniis* 1.215; 1.149: "For there are, as it seems, two temples belonging to God; one being this world, in which the high priest is the divine Word, his own firstborn son. The other is the rational soul, the priest of which is the real true man").

[111]Jenny Morris, 'The Jewish Philosopher Philo,' *HJP*^{2} 3/2.831.

concerning human responsibility for ethical life "from the human viewpoint, mind is a portion of the divine, radiant and immortal, but from the eternal perspective of God, it is but a minute fragment of Divinity, enveloped in darkness and mortality."[112] Although right reason or conscience is 'une grâce que Dieu envoie à l'âme pour l'améliorer',[113] "the soul of the more perfect man is nourished by the whole Word" (*Legum Allegoriae* 3.176). Although reason is called the 'chastener' (*de Abrahamo* 243), reason is not enough to conquer passions. Thus Philo wrote, "We are the instruments, now tensed now slackened, through which particular actions take place, and it is the artificer who effects the percussion of both our bodily and psychic powers, he by whom all things are moved" (*de Cherubim* 128; *De Ebrietate* 107).[114] Therefore, the Word is necessary to control passions in addition to reason or mind. For instance, Abraham is called a σοφός (*de Abrahamo* 110, 118, 229, passim) because he conquered the four Chaldean kings (ἡδονῆς, ἐπιθυμίας, φόβου, λύπης) and the five kings of the area of Sodom (sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch, *de Abrahamo* 236) through 'truly divine and holy Word' (*de Abrahamo* 244). It is by means of the Word that Abraham became 'friend of God' (*de Somniis* 1.195-196), wise king (*De Virtutibus* 216; *De Mutatione Nominum* 152-3; *De Abrahamo* 261; *De Somniis* 2.243-4; Genesis 23.6; see *SVF* 3.589ff).[115] The Word/the image of God is called the king's road because it helps humans to escape passions.[116] Although Philo does not articulate a spiritual being antithetical to the Word like Belial, Mastema,[117] the Word's opponent is allegorically called e.g. Egypt (*Legum Allegoriae* 3.175). Laban, whom Jacob was supposed to leave, is a metaphor for 'passions.' Borgen writes, "Importantly, both Philo and mystical Judaism combine ideas of

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[112]Winston, 'Philo's Ethical Theory,' 377.

[113]Bréhier, *Les Idées Philoniques et Religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 302.

[114]Winston, 'Philo's Ethical Theory,' 378. Further refer to ibid, 390, n. 58; *Legum Allegoriae* 1.5; *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat* 90; *de Confusione Linguarum* 136; *de Gigantibus* 27.

[115]Philo does not refer to David and Solomon as wise kings. Moses (*De Praemiis et Poenis* 54; *De Vita Mosis* 1.149, 158; 2.2-7) and Adam (*De Opificio Mundi* 148) are also called kings. Especially Philo calls Moses as the living Law (*De Vita Mosis* 1.162).

[116]Jervell, *Imago Dei* 61. Philo also calls the Aristotelian mean the king's road (see *De Specialibus Legibus* 4.102; *De Posteritate Caini* 101; *De Migratione Abrahami* 147).

[117]Günter Mayer, *Index Philoneus* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974) who has no entry to σατανᾶς and διάβολος as adjective 'slanderous' once in *de Sacrificiis Abelis et Cain* 32; Hogan, 20, n. 58. In order to establish the origin of evil in the human being, Philo indirectly implied the Devil in the pronoun 'we' who created Adam (*de Opificio Mundi* 75; also *de Confusione Linguarum* 181; Jervell, *Imago Dei* 58; H.A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948) 273f; E. Bréhier, *Les Idées Philosophiques et Religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie* 99f).

heavenly beings, concepts and vision with moral/legal ideas and precepts."[118]

Although the philonic Word oscillates between the impersonal (Platonic, Stoic) concept[119] and the personal angel[120], its function is similar to that of wisdom in James 1.5. An ethical action in Philo is a synergistic one through human reason and the Word. Humans will be saved through their 'divine vision,' visio dei.[121] In a similar way James enjoins readers to 'look into' the law/the Word as into a mirror to imitate the law/the Word (James 1.23-25). However, in Philo there is no difference between the image of God/the Word/the Mosaic law and the Stoic nature (φύσις) although Philo specified the image of God (the Word) who delivered Israel from the Egyptians (*De Vita Mosis* 1.66; 2.254).[122] When Philo maintained that anybody who imitates either the Word or the Stoic nature becomes a cosmopolitan or saved, it is clear that the taxonomy between grace and nature is blurred in Philo. In James 1.5; 1.21 the Word or wisdom comes from above (*extra nos*), not from human conscience or nature. Thus, Philo's soteriology is distinguished from that of James and other books of the New Testament. Philo's thought world may be better formulated below by ethical dualism than by any other paradigms.

The perishable Body: prison	The imperishable Soul: freedom

[118]Borgen, 'Philo of Alexandria: A critical and synthetical survey' 153; Émile Bréhier, *Les Idées Philosophiques et Religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie* 302; Hogan, 'The Exegetical Background of the 'Ambiguity of Death' in the Wisdom of Solomon,' 7-11.

[119]Some scholars argue that Philo's Word is 'impersonal' by paying more attention to its cosmological function of the Platonic and Stoic Word. E.g. C.H. Dodds, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 67.

[120]The Word is described as a personal angel. When we read in *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres* 205-206 that the Word is acting as a suppliant for the humans and that it feels and speaks, it is obvious that the Word is no longer being treated as an impersonal object. This Philonic concept of the Word reminds us of the high priestly prayer of Jesus and the Spirit (Romans 8.26; Hebrews 7.25) and of the mediator as well (1 Timothy 2.5; cf. Hebrews 8.6; 9.15; 12.24). Philo believed that Jacob saw the angel Word in his dream (*de Somniis* 1.238-239). In *de Fuga et Inventione* 94-102, the Word is the first among the other angels. God created the human being and the world through the Word. In Philo's exegesis of Genesis 9.6 ("ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον") the fact that God created the human being in the image of God instead of in ὁ ὤν (God named himself 'ὁ ὤν,' 'I am' (*de Somniis* 1.231; Exodus 3.14 (LXX)) states that God created the human being in the image of God, i.e. 'after the pattern of *the second deity* (δεύτερος θεός) who is the Word of the supreme Being' (*Quastiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 2.62). Since the Word created the world, the Word preserves the world by assuming the cosmic administration of the world (*de Somniis* 1.241; Hebrews 1.3; Colossians 1.17).

[121]Barraclough, 486; C.H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* 62; Hayward, 'Philo,' 218.

[122]Barraclough, 481; J. de Savignac, 'Le Messianisme de Philon d'Alexandrie,' *NT* 4 (1959) 321ff.

Passions, desire, greed, envy, covetousness, vice, injustice, insolence, slander, wild, disputation, ignorance, wars, confusion (disorder, anarchy), arrogance (source of all social evils), plundering, robbery, falsehoods, adulteries, senselessness, selfishness, lawlessness, unsocial, rule by despotic compulsion and decree, temptation by gluttony and wealth and dictatorship, child exposure.	The Word (the image of God)/Reason/Nature/the Mosaic Law/conscience, visio dei, virtues, kindness, love, justice, equality, goodness, humility, altruism, self-control (temperance, endurance), social life, joy, concord (unity, peace), rule by persuasion and suggestions and admonitions with parental affection for the welfare of the governed (leadership), obedience to such ruler, crown obtained through defeating senses and greed, companionate (merciful).
Nations, crowds, polytheists, atheists, skeptics, sophists, materialists, mobs, tyrants, troublemakers, Egyptians, Potiphar, Laban, Edom, Hittites, Canaanites, Syria, Amelek, the boastful and self-satisfied.	God the author of equality, monotheists, children of God, Jews, king-philosopher like parents and shepherd, the wise/sage (ruler), the friend of God (Abraham), heir, Adam, Melchizedek, Moses (the living Law), Jerusalem, the open-eyed contemplators of the world, cosmopolitans, heaven (=country, kinsfolk, parental hearth, franchise, boldness, glorious and unalienable wealth), Therapeutae.

└ transference from the body to the soul via the Word ┘

G. The Book of the Similitudes (1 Enoch 37-71).

Usually the sword, the symbol of a militant revolt, is directed to the Gentiles in early Jewish writings (Apocalypse of Weeks, Animal Apocalypse, Psalms of Solomon, the War Scroll and 2 Baruch). If the enemy of an early Jewish writing are compatriots, its messianic figure tends to be a heavenly figure. Thus it is important to know whether the enemy in an early Jewish writing are Gentiles or Jews.

The book of the Similitudes contains a number of indictments against economic injustice. The conflict between insiders and outsiders is evidenced by the word 'oppression' and its cognates (49.2, 50.4, 53.7, 54.6, 63.10), and by the terms 'the righteous' and 'the wicked' (passim). The oppressors of the community of the Similitudes are 'all the kings, the governors, and the high officials and the landlords' (62.3, 6, 9; 63.1; see also 48.8; 53.5). Traditionally the chief oppressor is suggested by scholars to be Jannaeus Alexander who killed his people (*AJ* 13.376, 380; *BJ* 1.96-98).[123] However, Black argues for the Seleucids

[123]Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 292; Charles, *HDB* 1.707; idem, *The Book of Enoch* 108.

against the Hasmonean hypothesis because 46.7 reads, "Their devotion is to the **gods** which they have fashioned with their own hands."[124] However, Black did not consider the next verse (46.8: "Yet they like to congregate in his (God's) houses and (with) the faithful ones who cling to the Lord of the Spirits"). So the phrase, 'the gods which they fashioned with their own hands,' may be a figurative formula for wealth. Thus the upper limit for the date of the book of the Similitudes is suggested to be 95 BC when Janneus killed his people rather than the Seleucid period. The lower limit would be either the Parthian invasion (40 BC) (55.5-6; *AJ* 14.330-333; *BJ* 1.248-9) or the rule of Herod the Great who was sick and took bath in the hot springs of Callirrhoe which is described in 67.5-13; *AJ* 17.168-72[125]. By the help of the Romans Antipator appointed his older son Phasaelus as governor of Judea and his younger son Herod as governor of Galilee. Governor Herod killed Hezekias and his men (*AJ* 14.159-160). In 40 BC Parthians invaded Judea and appointed pro-Parthian Antigonus as king instead of the previous puppet king of Rome Hyrcanus II (Herod's father-in-law). In 37 BC Herod was appointed king of Judea by the Romans. The Similitudes appears to have been written during this period of Palestine when there were 'kings and governors' (62.3, etc), i.e. king Hyrcanus II, king Antigonus, governor Phasaelus, governor (later king) Herod in Judea.[126] Because the enemy, kings and governors, are Jews and half Jews (Edomites), it is more likely that the messianic figure in the document would be a heavenly one, rather than a militant one. This hypothesis will be confirmed to be true below. If the Similitudes was written about 40 BC during the transitional period between the Hasmoneans and the Herods, the son of man or the Word in this document could serve as a bridge between the son of man of Daniel 7 and the son of man or the Word in the gospels and James.[127]

Nevertheless, scholars think that the son of man in the Similitudes is problematic to contribute to the use of the son of man in the gospels. Recently VanderKam writes that

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[124]Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 196.

[125]*JLBM* 220.

[126]See also *JLBM* 223.

[127]*JLBM* 223. Nickelsburg argues that the messianology of the book of the Similitudes would be "the fruit of speculations on the Biblical texts about 'one like a son of man' (Daniel 7), the Deutero-Isaianic servant of the Lord (esp. Isaiah 42, 49, 52-53), and the Davidic king (Psalm 2 and Isaiah 11)" (Nickelsburg, *ABD* 2.512; also M. Black, *The Book of Enoch* 189). On the other hand, some scholars who believe that this book was written by a Christian suggest the later date of this document; Milik's view that the book of Similitudes originated among Christian writers has been challenged by Klausner who argued that the Son of Man is certainly Jewish since the Son of Man in the book does not suffer (Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 292).

Enoch had two modes of existence, i.e. an earthly Enoch and another celestial counterpart of Enoch, emulating Jacob who had a heavenly counterpart as in Genesis Rabbah 68.12 and Prayer of Joseph.[128] M. Casey suggests us to read the entire occurrences of the son of man in the Similitudes in the light of 71.14 that Enoch is the son of man.[129] If we read it as he recommends, we will discover below that the son of man in the Similitudes is other than Enoch.

T. W. Manson argued that the son of man is a corporate body rather than an individual because the interchangeability between singular and plural (e.g. the righteous one and the righteous ones, the elect one and the elect ones).[130]

M. Black accepts that Enoch is the son of man as it is in 71.14, 15 because Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan[131] and 3 Enoch also call Enoch Metatron.[132] He suggests that the original 70-71 was written first and then chapters 37-69, which have a different concept of the son of man from that of 70-71, were later added.[133]

All these haggling answers of scholars concerning the identity of the son of man in the Similitudes derive from the fact that Enoch is called the son of man (70-71). Casey implausibly argues that Enoch is preexistent (48.3, 6).[134] According to Black and Martin, such an idea as Casey's does not fit into or appear in both Judaism and the usual Christian view.[135] How do we harmonise these two disparate sons of man? Verse 70.1 suggests a solution: "It came to pass after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that

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[128]VanderKam, 'Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71,' *Messiah*, 183.

[129]Casey, "The Use of Term 'Son of Man' in the Similitudes of Enoch," *JSJ* 7 (1976) 11-29; M.D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark* 37-48.

[130]Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939) 228-229.

[131]Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis 5.24, "Hanok served in the truth before the Lord; and, behold, he was not with the sojourners of the earth; for he was withdrawn, and he ascended to the firmament by the Word before the Lord, and his name was called Metatron the Great Saphra (scribe)" (J.W. Etheridge *The Targums* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, INC, 1968) 175).

[132]Black, 'The Eschatology of the Similitudes of Enoch,' *JTS* 3 (1952) 6-7. Morray-Jones also writes, "The identification of Enoch with Metatron is not found in the Talmuds of the early midrashic literature" (Morray-Jones, 'Transformational Mysticism,' 10; Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn im äthiopischen Henochbuch* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946)). Monotheistic Rabbinic trends apotheosised Jewish patriarchs (Enoch, Moses) to 'the lesser Jahweh (יהוה הקטן)' instead of using metatron (Morray-Jones, 6).

[133]Black, 'Eschatology,' 8-10.

[134]Casey, "The Use of Term 'Son of Man'" 21.

[135]Black, 'Eschatology,' 4.

Son of Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth."[136] Charles attached the title of this chapter as 'The *final* Translation of Enoch.' Thus this translation or transformation is to mean for Enoch to imitate the Son of Man and the Lord of Spirits. We already above discussed the transformation of 'the beasts of the field and all the birds of the sky' (sinners) into 'snow-white cows' through a snow-white cow (the Word) (1 Enoch 90.37-38). We noted above that Adam, Abraham and Moses were transformed into wise-kings in Philo.[137] The transformation in Philo has ethical connotation. The son of man in the Similitudes is also the Word (67.1).[138] The Word is praised or worshipped like God, 'Him, the First **Word**, they shall bless, extol, and glorify with wisdom' (61.7). The 'Great Glory' said to Enoch, "Come near to me, Enoch, and to my holy Word" (1 Enoch 14.20, 24; cf. Revelation 22.3). Here is a clear distinction between Enoch and the Word whom Enoch was supposed to be transformed to. Thus it is understandable that Charles translated 70.14-16 so that Enoch is not to be the son of man by changing the second person singular to the third person singular, although we do not accept his translation.[139] Thus, we suggest that the son of man in the Similitudes is a preexistent heavenly messianic figure rather than Enoch.

The dissenters' divine patron is also called 'the Righteous One' (38.2, 3; 52.6), 'the Elect One' (39.6; 45.3,4,5;48.6; 51.4; 55.4; 61.5, 8), the judge (41.9), 'the Son of Man' (46.3; 48.2; 62.5, 7, 9, 14; 63.11; 69.27, 29 (2x); 70.1; 71.17), 'a staff for the righteous ones' (48.4), 'the light of the gentiles' (48.4), and 'the Messiah' (48.10; 52.4), and the 'Word.' Initially we should observe that God and the Son of Man are distinct persons:

> 46.1. At that place, I saw **the One** to whom belongs the time before time. And his head was white like wool, and there was with him **another individual**, whose face was like that of a human being. His countenance was full of grace like that of one among the holy angels.

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[136]Charles, *The Book of Enoch* 92.

[137]C.R.A. Morray-Jones, 'Transformational Mysticism' 13; W. Meek, 'Moses as God and King,' in (ed.) J. Neusner, *Religions in Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 1968) 334-371.

[138]See also *de Confusione Linguarum* 146 ("Even if there be not as yet any one who is called son of God, nevertheless let him labour earnestly to be adorned according to *his first-born Word, the eldest of his angels, as the great archangel of many names; for he is called, the authority and the name of God, and the Word, and* **man** *according to God's image, and he who sees Israel*"). Man here is none other than the heavenly man, i.e., the Son of Man (Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* 71).

[139]R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 94-95.

Nevertheless, it is hard to distinguish one from the other. The Son of Man was given the name, i.e. of the 'Before-Time' (48.2; 46.2; cf. John 17.11; Philippians 2.9) or of the 'Antecedent of Time' (cf. 55.1; 60.2; 71.10). The Son of Man sits in the throne of Glory as God (51.3; 55.4; 60.2; 61.8; 62.5; 69.29). The Son of Man is found among the angels (61.10). The Son of Man is the 'source' of thrones and kingdoms (46.5) and judge of the world (passim).[140] Thus the Similitudes confirms our contention that the son of man is an angelic, transcendental, supernatural messianic figure. On the other hand, the Son of Man is a *human* messianic figure when prophesied to Noah (1 Enoch 65.12b, "He (*God*) has preserved *your righteous seed* for kingship and great glory; and from *your seed* will emerge a fountain of the righteous and holy ones without number forever").[141] The righteous or poor landless peasants believed in the Son of Man.

On the other hand, the opponents oppressed the righteous, persecuted leaders of the community ('the stars of heaven,' 46.7; cf. Revelation 1.20, CD 7.18 and Daniel 12.1-3), and even killed them (47.2). The kings and landowners (48.8; 62.1, 3, 6; 63.1) did not believe in the son of man. "They (rich landowners) have denied the Lord of the Spirits and his Messiah"(48.10) which recalls James 5.6. Rather, they believed in the sceptres of their empires, and also in metal (gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, and coloured metals (52.2)) because gold and silver, they thought, brought about wealth, and iron served as armour (52.7-8). The kings and landowners were led astray by *fallen angels* (55.4b; 56.4; 69.1-12) who taught 'secret things' (the materialistic view of life) to them (65.6; 69.1).[142] As the fallen angels were punished, their followers will also be punished. Their faith in the metal in the mountains will be made worthless (53.7). It is the angels of punishments who will execute the vengeance on them (62.11). Rewards to the righteous and punishments to the wicked will take place after resurrection or judgment (51.1f). Righteousness, a relationship with God or with the Son of Man is also called the 'mysteries of righteousness' (58.5; also see 49.2; 51.3). There is another secret or mystery which is the Son of Man's judgment of the wicked and his reward to the righteous (38.3; 52.5). Briefly, there are three mysteries or secrets in the Similitudes: mysteries of faith in God and the Son of Man, secrets of faith in worldly things or the fallen angels and secrets of God's eschatological governance. 'The

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[140]Marius Reiser, *Jesus and Judgment: Jesus' Eschatological Proclamation in Its Jewish Context* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997) 67, writes, "According to 47.3 the judge is God, but elsewhere it is always the 'Elect One' (45.3; 51.3; 61.8; 62.2), the 'Son of Man' (62.5, 7, 9; 63.11; 69.27)."

[141]See also Genesis 9.27 (BHS); Testament of Simeon 6.5; Jubilees 7.11-12; 8.18.

[142]Metallurgy, mining, magic, and medicine were taught by the Watchers in 1 Enoch 7-8.

mysteries of the righteous or righteousness' is opposed to the 'secrets of the (fallen) angels' (65.6, 12; 69.1). Now the Son of Man and evil spirits or fallen angels in the Similitudes reflect dualism.[143]

Two opposing foci of worship in the Similitudes is analogous to the two loves in James 4.4. As especially the son of man (the Word) in the Similitudes is the heavenly judge who will liberate the poor believers from the persecutors, so the Word or the law of liberty in James will save believers by punishing persecutors (James 1.25; 2.12; 5.1-8).

Concluding Observations.

Each document examined thus far suggests an analogous pattern of two cosmic powers and ethical codes. The distinctive feature of Sirach is that Simon the high priest is identified with the glorious angelic being, wisdom. Although Simon was a sinful human being as a priest, his exaltation demonstrates the possibility that humankind could be exalted and revered as both he and wisdom were revered.[144] Sin is defined as the 'dominion of alien powers'[145] as when 'wild animals' are mentioned in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Sin could be overcome through non-retaliating love, i.e. a graceful reaction to sin, no *lex talionis*. However, consummation and exalted status to humans will be achieved through the coming of the priestly man-God messiah. Joseph's brothers showed their father Joseph's garment stained with kid's blood, which ironically served as the forgiveness of their sin in Jubilees. The day was commemorated by Jews as the day of Atonement. This incident dramatically combines sin and divine forgiveness/grace. Although the angel of the presence was with the Israelites in curbing Mastema's destructive works, it is promised that God himself will come to bring in a new era. Wisdom is another name for God in the Wisdom of Solomon. Wisdom's tender dealings with humankind in general provide an example of human relationships with one's neighbour. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Prince of Light/Melchizedek fights spiritual warfare with the Angel of Darkness/Melki-resha/Belial.

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[143]See also Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach* 37-38, 48.

[144]Fletcher-Louis, 'The Worship of a Divine Humanity as God's Image and the Worship of Jesus'; wisdom is related to the image of God.

[145]See Dorothy W. Martyn, 'A Child and Adam: a Parable of the Two Ages,' in *Apocalyptic and the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. Louis Martyn* (eds. Joel Marcus and Marion L. Soards; JSNTSS 24; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989) 317-333.

In the Similitudes the righteous were governed by the Son of Man while the wicked were controlled by evil spirits, the Watchers. Philo introduced the Word to pacify the turbulent society of Alexandria. The Word is a heavenly grace securing peace in the community. The human being is born in an aggressive hostile world without the feeling of acceptance. When the human being does not feel full acceptance, he also becomes hostile to his surrounding world, wild and antisocial. His antisocial actions bring him criticism and punishment (*lex talionis*). The human being needs another grace-unconditional forgiveness for past sins. God's response to his lost world is not an apathetic militant punishing warrior full of enmity and revenge, but the softly caring wisdom which accepts sinners through his graceful love. The weapons of war against the devil and his demons are love and forgiveness. Not by conquering others, which only makes humans like wild animals, but by loving others and dwelling in the Word, they acquire the glorious image of God and reach the apex of wisdom. On the other hand, wisdom outwardly or sociologically produces group maintenance in contrast to group division, and inwardly or spiritually governs human souls in contrast to the devil. Dualism with its ethical codes tends to preserve the corporate body, i.e., *status quo*. The image of God will balance the social injustice which dualism may condone. We will examine the image of God in the next chapter.

Chapter Three: The Image of God and Social Justice

This chapter will deal with the anthropological approach to social justice in terms of the image of God. The image of God is mentioned in James 3.9 (τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς **καθ' ὁμοίωσιν** θεοῦ γεγονότας). The phrase 'καθ' ὁμοίωσιν' occurs in the Septuagint at Genesis 1.26 ("καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ **καθ' ὁμοίωσιν**"). The notion of the image of God is not confined to James 3.9 alone. Just as a transgression of a law is counted to be that of the whole law (2.8-11), so treating humans as created in the image of God permeates the whole epistle of James as we examined in the exegetical part. Here we will investigate the early Jewish writings in which the notion occurs.

Gerhard von Rad reads the 'representative of God' in the image of God.[1] Some scholars read the idea of king in the image of God.[2] Overall, Millard J. Erickson categorises the image of God into three possible interpretations: the substantive view (e.g. Philo)[3], the relational view (e.g. Barth)[4], and the functional view (Eichrodt)[5].[6] Erickson argues against

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[1]Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 1.146-147;idem, '**εικών**,' in *TDNT* 2.392.

[2]D.J.A. Clines, 'Image of God,' *Dictionary of Paul and his Letters* 427 and Edward M. Curtis, 'Image of God,' in *ABD* 3.390-91 suggest that all persons after the exodus could identify themselves with the image of God which had been applied only to the pharaohs in the New Kingdom in Egypt; M. Smith, 'The Image of God,' 473-81, pointed out that rabbis during the Roman rule linked the image of God with Roman emperors; see also Kittel, 'The Divine Likeness in Judaism,' *TDNT* 2.393.

[3]Philo views the image of God as reason (*De Opificio Mundi* 69).

[4]Karl Barth uncovers the relationship in the meaning of the image of God (CD III, 1, 196; O. Flender, 'Image, εἰκών,' *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* 2.286-288).

[5]Walter Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Leipzig: Verlag der J. C. Hinrichs'schen Buchhandlung, 1935), 2.61, relates human 'Herrschaftsstellung in der geschöpflichen Welt' in the image of God; J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1,26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960); Robin Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A Study in Pauline Anthropology* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966). N.T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 23, n. 20, highlights the fact that Jews and Israelites developed "the theme of the 'subjugation' of the land (*or the world by Israel*), recalling the subjugation of the world to Adam in Gen. 1.28."

all three views of the image of God because even though a man or woman has little intelligence he or she still has the image of God (contra the substantive view); even unbelievers whose relationship with God is not good have the image of God (contra the relational view); mentally or physically disabled persons still possess the image of God (contra the functional view).[7] He writes, "It refers to something man *is* rather than something he *has* or *does*."[8] Here we confine ourselves to five relatively earlier Jewish documents for examination. Later rabbinic literature or documents influenced by it are not included here because they show biblical heroes as exalted divine agents. The documents to be examined are: Life of Adam and Eve, 2 Enoch, Sibylline Oracles, Pseudo-Phocylides, and Josephus' works.

A. Life of Adam and Eve

Among the early Jewish apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings, the phrase 'the image of God' occurs most frequently in the Life of Adam and Eve and Apocalypse of Moses.[9] The image of God in these documents may contribute to the understanding of the image of God in the epistle of James.[10]

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[6]Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1993), 495-517.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid, 513.

[9]Life of Adam and Eve 13.3; 14.2; 15.2; 27.1(?); 37.3; 39.2,3; Apocalypse of Moses 10.3 (2x); 12.2; 29.10; 33.5; 35.2. Apocalypse of Moses and Life of Adam and Eve 'contain much material in common, and they also contain unique materials.' For a brief comparison of the two see John R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism from Sirach to 2 Baruch* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988) 63-64; *JLBM* 256. Apocalypse of Moses is a misnomer by Tischendorf who translated the first line of the preface: The narrative and life of Adam and Eve the first-made, revealed by God to Moses (ἀποκαλυφθεῖσα παρὰ θεοῦ Μωϋσῇ). "One point at which the other versions differ from the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* is in the story of the fall of Satan (fullest in Latin, Armenian and Georgian, chs. 11-17)" (M.E. Stone, *JST*, 44, 1 (1993), 144). For various versions of the Life of Adam and Eve, see ibid, n. 3; for more see idem, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

[10]There are no references in these documents which point to a specific historical event. Although M.D. Johnson, *OTP* 2.252, refers to 'the second temple without mentioning its destruction' in Life 29.8, there is no such verse in his translation. On the other hand, Paul remarks that Satan masquerades as an angel of light (2 Corinthians 11.14, cf. 1QS 3.20; 1QM 13.10; Testament of Abraham 16.6). The same episode appears in Life of Adam and Eve 9.1 and Apocalypse of Moses 17.1; 29.15. The third heaven in 2 Corinthians 12.2 also occurs in Apocalypse 37.5. The contribution of a woman's pains in childbirth to her salvation in 1 Timothy 2.15 appears in Apocalypse of Moses 25.3 as well. Although there are differences concerning the life of Adam between the Life of Adam and Eve (or the Apocalypse of Moses) and Josephus (*AJ* 1.37-71), there are important similarities: Adam's story is to be written respectively on a stone tablet, preserved in the flood judgment, and a clay tablet in the fire judgment (Life of Adam

The story starts with the miserable conditions of Adam and Eve after the fall. Adam appealed to God to deliver him from death on the basis of his having been created in the image of God, 'the name that reminds of your majesty' (Life of Adam and Eve 27).[11] Eve asked Adam to kill her because through her death Adam would probably be relieved of the curse of starvation caused by Eve's sin. Adam told her that he could not kill her as she was created in the image of God (Apocalypse of Moses 29.10), and that if he killed her God would bring about further curses (Life of Adam and Eve 3.2). Adam and Eve[12] still retained the image of God after the fall, although they forfeited glory or righteousness as a result of their sins (Apocalypse of Moses 20; 21.5-6; cf. Romans 3.23; CD 3.20; 1QS 4.23).[13] Because of the image of God in her, to kill Eve would, by implication, be to defy God.[14] Again, the fact that Satan refused to worship the image of God implies that he would defy God (Life of Adam and Eve 15.3b: "I (*Satan*) will set my throne above the stars of heaven and will be like the Most High").[15] Although Cain is the first born, Seth becomes the representative of Adam's posterity in our narrative, in that Genesis 5.3 has the same phrase, בִּדְמוּתוֹ כְּצַלְמוֹ, to describe the relationship between Adam and Seth as in the relationship between God and Adam (Genesis 1.26).[16] At the age of 930, Adam was dying of the seventy plagues, for Adam (and Eve) ate of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Life of Adam and Moses 34.1; Apocalypse of Moses 8.2). Adam sent Eve and Seth to fetch the

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and Eve 49-50 and *AJ* 1.70-71). Paul, Josephus, and the original authors of the Life of Adam and Eve (the Apocalypse of Moses) lived 'in the same cycle of ideas' (M.D. Johnson, *OTP* 2.255; L.S.A. Wells, *APOT* 2.130; John R. Levison, 'Adam and Eve, Life of,' *ABD* 1.65).

[11]'The name that reminds of your majesty' alludes to the image of God (Levison, *Portraits* 180).

[12]Contra Jervell, *Imago Dei* 40-41. Genesis 5.2 demonstrate that Eve is also called Adam and she bears the image of God: זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בְּרָאָם וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתָם וַיִּקְרָא אֶת שְׁמָם אָדָם בְּיוֹם הִבָּרְאָם. Even though Eve retains the image of God, Adam is portrayed as a righteous person at the expense of Eve (Levison, *Portraits* 84-85). Paul used the image of God in several ways, for which see Kittel, *TDNT* 2.395-397; Jervell, *Imago Dei* 171-336.

[13]On Adam's glory Knibb, *The Qumran Community* 35, writes, "They will be restored to the state which Adam enjoyed before the fall." Levison, *Portraits of Adam* 169, suggests that 'glory' consists of either immortality ("He (*Adam*) said to me (*Eve*), 'O evil woman! Why have you wrought destruction among us? You have estranged me from the glory of God,'" (Apocalypse of Moses 21.6)) or righteousness ("I was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed. . . . I have been estranged from my glory with which I was clothed," Apocalypse of Adam 20.1-2). Adam's glory refers to the paradisiacal life in the garden of Eden.

[14]Although the first human being who killed the image of God is Cain, Cain is not mentioned in Life of Adam and Eve. On the angelic origin of Cain, see A.F.J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977), 3-4 and ns. 5-7; Targum of Pseudo Jonathan Genesis 4.1.

[15]Refer to Isaiah 14.13; Daniel 8.10; Obadiah 4; Job 22.12; Jude 9.

[16]On the traditions of Seth, see ibid, 16-19; E.C. Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1962).

oil of mercy from the garden of Eden to heal the plagues. On the way to Eden a serpent attacked Seth. Eve and Seth mentioned 'the image of God' to the serpent in order to protect themselves from the serpent's attack (Life of Adam and Eve 37.3; 39.2,3; Apocalypse of Moses 10.3; 12.3). J. Levison argues that "no longer is Satan's enmity against Adam alone; it is against all who are the image of God, presumably the human race."[17] As man should not hurt his comrade because of the image of God in him, animals are not supposed to hurt human beings for the same reason, although the animals' nature, which had been created in the beginning to be docile to human rule, had been changed since Eve's sin (Apocalypse of Moses 11.2; 24.4). At Adam's death all the angels entreated God with the odour of incense to forgive Adam because he had been created in the image of God (Apocalypse of Moses 33.5; 35.2).[18] As a result of the angels' prayers, God pardoned Adam, and handed over Adam's soul to Michael, to place him in the third heaven (Apocalypse of Moses 37). Levison again maintains that "the angels appeal to the image as a human, not a peculiar Adamic, possession."[19] Because the human being was created in the image of God, animals, human beings, angels and even God should give to him what he deserves. The image of God procures for the human being the worship of angels, human rights, protection from natural disasters and the prospect of paradise. In particular, human beings should treat other human beings with respect. If not, they treat God with disdain. Thus, to treat humans with respect is related to faith (James 2.14-26).

When Eve was again deceived by the devil, Eve asked the reason for the devil's importunate persecution of the human being. The devil said to Eve (Life of Adam and Eve 14.1-3):

> Et egressus Michahel vocavit omnes angelos dicens: adorate imaginem domini dei, sicut precepit dominus deus. Et ipse Michahel primus adoravit, et vocavit me et dixit: adora imaginem dei Jehova. Et respondi ego: non habeo ego adorare Adam. et cum compelleret me Michahel adorare, dixi ad eum: quid me compellis? non adorabo deteriorem et posteriorem meum. in creatura illius prius sum. antequam ille fieret, ego iam factus eram. ille me debet adorare.
>
> And Michael went out and called all the angels, saying, "Worship the image of the Lord God, as the Lord God has instructed." And Michael himself worshiped first, and called me (Satan) and said, "Worship the image of God, Yahweh." And I answered, "I do not worship Adam." And when Michael kept forcing me to worship, I said to him, "Why do you compel me? I will not worship one inferior and subsequent to me. I am prior to him in creation; before he was made, I was already made. He ought to worship me."

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[17]Levison, *Portraits* 182.

[18]Levison, *Portraits* 171, specifies, "Adam receives mercy because: 1. the angels intercede for him; 2. he is God's image; 3. he is the work of God's hands."

[19]Levison, *Portraits* 172.

Because the devil and his followers did not worship Adam for the reasons just cited, they were expelled from their heavenly dwellings and cast onto the earth; eventually the devil plotted to banish Adam and Eve from Eden by allowing them to transgress God's commands (Life of Adam and Eve 13-16).[20] Although Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden on account of their sin through Satan's deceit, they still retained the image of God after the fall. Despite the devil's wiles against Adam, Adam will finally sit 'on his (*the devil's*) glorious throne' in the heavens on the last day (Apocalypse of Moses 39.3). It is very programmatic in the Life of Adam and Eve for the understanding of early Jewish literature that Satan does not worship Adam as the image of God. The most direct and spectacular stereotypical characteristic of the devil in early Jewish literature is 'anger or hurt' against the human being.[21] Satan's inexorable malice is 'exercised against the *imago dei*.'[22] Satan's characteristics such as envy, jealousy and murder are James' predominant keynotes. If one continues in envy, jealousy and murder, he is thought to belong to Satan (James 3.15; 4.7). Such envy and jealousy derive from desire/covetousness ("ἐπιθυμία γάρ ἐστι κεφαλὴ πάσης ἁμαρτίας" Apocalypse of Moses 19.3; also James 1.15). However, the lofty throne of Adam of which the devil was deprived in the heavens would eventually be given again to Adam after his resurrection despite the devil's frantic schemes (Life of Adam and Eve 47.3; Apocalypse of Moses 39.2-3).[23]

These two documents teach readers to worship the human being instead of having covetousness and envy towards him (James 1.27). If they do not, they follow the tracks of Satan who defied the worship of the image of God.

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[20]See also Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, 4.40,3; Wisdom of Solomon 2.24; in *AJ* 1.41 Satan envied Adam and Eve's happiness in Eden; in 3 Baruch 4.8 out of envy Samael/Satan planted the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; W.C. van Unnik, 'Der Neid in der Paradiesgeschichte,' *Essays in Honour A. Böhlig* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 120-132.

[21]See the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in ethical dualism, Part Two. See Testament of Dan 4.7; 5.1; 6.2; Testament of Naphtali 8.4, 6; Testament of Gad 4.7; Testament of Asher 1.8-9; 3.2; Testament of Benjamin 7.1-2. Ethical dualism is closely related to the image of God especially in the Life of Adam and Eve.

[22]Levison, *Portraits* 182.

[23]Adam's resurrection and dominion/enthronement 'to those who guard themselves from evil' are the gospel of the Apocalypse of Moses (Nickelsburg, 'Some Related Traditions in the Apocalypse of Adam, the Books of Adam and Eve, and 1 Enoch,' *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism, II: Sethian Gnosticism*, ed. B. Layton (Leiden: Brill, 1981) 517; Levison, *Portraits* 173).

B. 2 Enoch[24]

There are no manuscripts of this document in Greek or Hebrew or in any other language except for Old Slavonic.[25] However, one may infer that the original document was written in Greek because 2 Enoch 30.13 "gives an explanation of the name Adam by an acrostic possible only in Greek."[26] R.H. Charles suggests a Semitic background by mentioning that 2 Enoch 18.3 may be the source of the Testament of Dan 5.6; H.C. Kee has argued, however, that this background is unlikely.[27] Nevertheless, Charles may be right because the Grigori in 2 Enoch contemporaneously emulated the Watchers in earlier literature such as Enoch and Jubilees. Thus, some portions of our document at least were pre-Christian. The Melchizedek narrative in 2 Enoch 69-73 reflects a Semitism as in 11QMelchizedek and Hebrews 5-7.[28] Since temple worship is recommended (2 Enoch 51.4; 59.1-2; 61.4; 62.1), some portions of our document suggest that they were written before the destruction of the temple in AD 70.[29] The text of oath (Matthew 5.37 and James 5.12) also reappears in 2 Enoch 49.1.[30] To conclude, 2 Enoch is theologically Jewish, and chronologically prior to 70 AD. Despite the fact that only one, Slavonic, version of 2 Enoch exists, 2 Enoch may illuminate the idea of the image of God in James.[31]

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[24]Andersen has two textual types A and J reversely in *OTP* 1.102-221. Here usually J is quoted unless specifically noted.

[25]F.I. Andersen, *OTP* 1.92.

[26]Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament*, 622. 2 Enoch 30.13 reads, "I assigned to him a name from the four components: from East, ἀνατολή-(A), from West, δύσις-(D), from North, ἄρκτος-(A), from South, μεσημβρία-(M)." See further *HJP*^{2} 3/2.748.; R.H. Charles, 'The Book of the Secrets of Enoch,' *APOT* 2.426. The Hellenism of this document is so predominant that the Platonic idea of the preexistence of pure souls is found in 2 Enoch 23.5 ("For all the souls are prepared for eternity, before the composition of the earth"). Because man forgets the previous nature of his soul, he sins (2 Enoch 30.16). For this see *APOT* 2.450, n. 16.

[27]*OTP* 1.809, n. 5b

[28]*JLBM* 188; *HJP*^{2} 3/2.749

[29]*APOT* 2.429; also *HJP*^{2} 3/2.748; for late first century AD, see *OTP* 1.91.

[30]On the related verses of 2 Enoch to the New Testament see *APOT* 2.428.

[31]Stone, 'The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve,' *JTS* 44 (1993) 144-148, tries to connect Enoch with Adam. By taking W.R. Morfill's phrase, 'making a trial of them' (*The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896] 28) instead of Andersen's 'sounding them out' in 2 Enoch 22.6, he perceives the feasibility of the angels' rebellion against Enoch's angelic change. In the Life of Adam and Eve, Satan refused to worship Adam. However, in 2 Enoch there is no order to worship Enoch. That angels did obeisance at the order in 22.6 does not mean that they worshipped Enoch, but that their obeisance was to God. There was no angels' revolt when Enoch was placed closer to God than Gabriel in 24.1 [A]. However, in that Enoch

2 Enoch 43 lists the qualifications of an honourable person. The chapter concludes, "Even though these sayings are heard on every side, nevertheless there is no one better than he who fears God." 2 Enoch 44.1-2 explains what the fear of the Lord is:

> The Lord with his own two hands created mankind; in a facsimile of his own face, both small and great, the Lord created them. And **whoever insults a person's face, insults the face of a king, and treats the face of the Lord with repugnance. He who treats with contempt the face of any person treats the face of the Lord with contempt.**
>
> And cursed is every person who opens his heart for insulting, and insults the poor and slanders his neighbor, because that person slanders God (2 Enoch 52.2).

Faith in God is revealed through the humane treatment of a human being. The faith of those who insult others created in the image of God is dead and useless. On the one hand, the fact that the human being is created in the image of God encourages intended readers to treat the poor reverently; on the other hand, the threatening eschatological judgment discourages humans from inhumane treatment of the poor.

> He who expresses anger to any person without provocation will reap anger in the great judgment. He who spits on any person's face, insultingly, will reap the same at the Lord's great judgment. Happy is the person who does not direct his heart with malice toward any person, but who helps the offended and the condemned, and lifts up those who have been crushed, and shows compassion on the needy (2 Enoch 44.3-4).

The criterion for entering paradise or entering hell is based on actions toward the poor. Enoch visited paradise, the third heaven, and he was told (2 Enoch 9):

> This place, Enoch, has been prepared for the righteous, . . . who give bread to the hungry, and who cover the naked with clothing, and who lift up the fallen, and who help the injured and the orphans, and who walk without a defect before the face of the Lord, and who *worship him* only--even for them this place has been prepared as an eternal inheritance.[32]

It is pointed out that caring for the poor is identified as worshiping God (James 1.27), and that to oppress the poor is not to glorify God. Enoch visited hell, and he was also told (2 Enoch 10.4-6):

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who was 'created exactly equal to' other humans in 39.5 dwells in the highest tenth heaven while the righteous people live in the third heaven in 9.1, Enoch is not a democratised representative of humanity like Adam through the image of God. Enoch is simply the heavenly scribe or a divine mediator figure. Thus, Enoch will not be examined here in the discussion of the image of God.

[32]The similar theme is found in 2 Enoch 42.7-11;44.4;50.5-51.3;63.1.

> This place, Enoch, has been prepared for those who do not *glorify God*, . . . seizing the poor by the throat,[33] taking away their possessions, enriching themselves from the possessions of others, defrauding them, who, when they are able to provide sustenance, bring about the death of the hungry by starvation; and, when they are able to provide clothing, take away the last garment of the naked; who do not acknowledge their Creator, but bow down to idols which have no souls, . . . for all this place has been prepared as an eternal reward.

Mistreatment of the poor created in the image of God will result in the eschatological judgment of the persecuting rich. In our document, creation and eschatology are closely associated.[34]

C. Sibylline Oracles

The image of God and social justice appear predominantly in the Sibylline Oracles 8.402-406 and 441-445. Moreover, only the Sibylline Oracles Books 8, 1-3.96 contain the term, 'the image of God,' and each of them expresses a poignant concern for the poor.[35]

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[33]This image reminds us of the rich who "are dragging you into court" (James 2.6) by seizing the poor by the throat.

[34]"Such conduct is based on the double rationale of creation and eschatology" (*JLBM* 187).

[35]The problem is the date of Sibylline Oracle 8. Hadrian (AD 117-38) is referred to in 8.50-67 and 131-138. In this same book, the views of Hadrian are not consistent: vs. 8.50-67 are negative and vs. 8.131-138 are positive. J.J. Collins suggests that "Rome will have completed 948 years" after the foundation of Rome, i.e. AD 195 before it would be destroyed by the mythic Nero who would return from Asia (J. Collins, 'Sibylline Oracles,' *OTP* 1.416;421, n. u). J. Collins also points out, "Verses 8.68-72 envisage the return of Nero during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-80) and must have been written before the death of that emperor in 180 C.E" (*ABD* 6.5; *OTP* 1.419, n. j). Sibylline Oracle 8 proves to be a Christian writing (see 8.251-358;456-479), although it concerns 'the nation of the Hebrews' (8.140-1). Usually, Sibylline Oracles 1 and 2 are considered as one literary unit, and they are also considered Christian documents (see particularly 1.324-386)(*ABD* 6.5). Again Sibylline Oracle 3.1-96 is considered to belong to Sibylline Oracles 1 and 2 (*HJP*^{2} 3/1.630, 633; Collins, *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997), 186, n. 31; V. Nikiprowetzky, *La Troisième Sibylle* (Paris: Mouton, 1970), 60-66). The manuscripts of Sibylline Oracles are classified into three classes (**Ω**, **Φ**, **Ψ**). The third class **Ψ** has the order book 8, books 1-7 (*HJP*^{2} 3/1.630). This order in **Ψ** appears to be based on the fact that Book 8 and Books 1-2 are predominantly Christian in comparison with the other Sibylline Oracles. If we accept the universal opinion that each Sibylline Oracle involves heterogeneous sections, miscellaneous passages of Hadrian and the return of Nero may have been added later to Sibylline Oracle 8 because "as a rule, they are made up of smaller passages which have been strung together quite loosely, often without any connection" (*HJP*^{2} 3/1.632). With such date pointers being eliminated, Book 8 may contain earlier traditions like Books 1-3.96 (*ABD* 6.5). Sibylline Oracles 3.46-92 "clearly date from the Roman era (after the battle of Actium in 31 BCE)" (Collins, *Seers* (1997), 201).

Although the provenance of Sibylline Oracles Books 8, 1-3.96 is not explicitly mentioned, several features suggest they were composed in Alexandria during AD 38-40. Sibylline Oracle 2.104 refers to class conflict between strangers and citizens. Such a class conflict could be found particularly in Alexandria (see *AJ* 18.257-260;*In Flaccum* 53-54). Sibylline Oracle 2.96 reads, "Do not eat blood. Abstain from what is sacrificed to idols" (see also 3.29-38 and 8.378-398). These two injunctions are contained in four prohibitions of Acts 15 for Gentile Christians. These prohibitions are also offered to God-fearers. This shows the Gentile provenance of the documents. On balance, it is possible that the document (8, 1-3.96) may be that of a Jewish and Gentile Christian community of Alexandria in the first century AD.

> For he (*God*) is self-begotten looking down from heaven. Under him the world has been brought to completion. And then later he again fashioned an animate object, making **a copy from his own image**, youthful man, beautiful, wonderful. He bade him live in an ambrosial garden, so that he might be concerned with beautiful works (1.20-25).

The reference to the image of God in man is directly associated with Creation. Creation by God implicitly challenges idolatry (see 3.8-35). Adam created in the image of God is youthful, beautiful and wonderful. The adjectives reveal that the human being is born as an object of respect. The fact that Adam's residence was an 'ambrosial garden' reveals the fact that the human being created in the image of God is entitled to enjoy food. Further see,

> Man is my image, having right reason. Set for him, you, a pure and un-bloodied table, having filled it with good things, and give the bread to the hungry and drink to the thirsty and clothes to the naked body, supplying them from your own labours with holy hands. Accept the afflicted and stand by the suffering and provide for me, the living one, *a living sacrifice*. Sowing now on water, so that I also may one day give you immortal fruits, and you will have eternal light and unfading life, when I test all by fire (8.402-411).

In this classical pericope, the image of God is combined with social justice. Caring for the poor is considered to be 'a living sacrifice,' in other words, a kind of worship (James 1.27). Merciful actions also secure immortal fruits, eternal light and unfading life in the Judgment. The criterion of the judgment is mercy to human beings (James 2.13). Here again works have the eschatological dimension. Man as an image of God is entitled to primordial blessings. But in this world, such blessings are realised through merciful actions to the poor.

> "Look, let us make a man like in all respects to our form, and let us give him the life-supporting breath to have. Though he is mortal **all things of the world will serve him**; when he is fashioned of clay we will subject all things to him." These things you said to the *Word*, and all was done in your heart. All elements together obeyed your command, and **eternal creation was arranged for a mortal creature** (8.442-448).

In this pericope everything in the world is created to serve the human being created in the image of God. It continues, 'Heaven, air, fire, earth, land, and sea current, sun, moon, chorus of stars, mountains, night, day, sleep, waking, spirit and motion, soul and intellect, skill and voice and strength . . .' (8.449f). However, the reality is different. All things are appropriated by the rich:

> Earth will have boundaries and all the sea guards, craftily divided among those who have gold. As if wishing to have the much-nurturing earth forever they will ravage the poor, so that they themselves may acquire additional land and subject them by imposture. If the huge earth did not have its throne far from starry heaven, men would not have equal light but it would be marketed

> for gold and would belong to the rich, and God would have prepared another world for beggars (8.28-36).

How sarcastic is the notion here that if light had not been separated from the earth, light itself might have become the rich's possession through the market mechanism! The world which was created to serve the human being would be inverted in function so that it oppresses him. However, through creation theology, the author[s] teaches the equality which everybody should espouse: "Every life of men is common, but falls out unequally" (2.90)[36]. This equality is the most important ideal of social justice:

> The earth will belong equally to all, undivided by walls or fences. It will then bear more abundant fruits spontaneously. Lives will be in common and wealth will have no division. For there will be no poor man there, no rich, and no tyrant, no slave. Further, no one will be either great or small anymore. No kings, no leaders. All will be on a par together (2.319-324).
>
> And life and wealth will be common to all. The earth will equally belong to all, not divided by walls or fences . . . (8.203-210).

The concept of human equality derives from the original status of the human being, that of being created in the image of God.

D. Pseudo-Phocylides

It is important here to locate the date of Pseudo-Phocylides to see whether this document can be related to the epistle of James. From an economic perspective, the condition of the society of our document was not so grave because there was work available if anyone wanted to work:

> Work hard so that you can live from your own means; for every idle man lives from what his hands can steal. [A craft maintains a man, but an idle man is oppressed by hunger.] Eat not the leavings of another man's meal, but eat without shame what you have earned yourself. And if someone has not learned a craft, he must dig with a hoe. **Life has every kind of work if you are willing to toil. If you want to sail and be a mariner, the sea is wide. And if you want to cultivate land, the fields are large.** There is no easy work without toil, (neither) for men, nor for the blessed themselves (153-162).

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[36]3.247 reads "The Heavenly One gave the earth in common to all." Sibylline Oracles 3.218-264 appears to belong to our grouping (8; 1-3.96), because the image of God and social justice appear in this pericope. The line 3.235, "And not love of money, which begets innumerable evils" shows that this section may be contemporaneous with Paul who writes, "For the love of money is the root of all evils" 1 Timothy 6.10; cf. Hebrews 13.5. Elsewhere, we cannot find any reference to social justice in the Sibylline Oracles.

Although there are instructions for the poor regarding social justice in 9-41 and 83, this pericope shows more demand than supply in the labour market of the society. P. W. Van der Horst maintains that our document would have been written before 'the anti-Jewish pogroms in Alexandria during the reign of Caligula (A.D. 37-41)' who urged the empire to worship his own image because Pseudo-Phocylides maintained 'so great an openness toward pagan culture.'[37] It might have been composed earlier than Rome's takeover of Egypt (30 BC). It might have been written during Cleopatra VII's rule (52-30 BC) when the Egyptian economy was thriving.[38] Augustus regulated the free *annona* of the Egyptian corn to Roman citizens, and the Roman government minimized expenditure through a small government in Egypt. So, the Egyptian economy was at the incipient stage negatively affected by the Roman rule in Egypt. However, because the economy was prosperous when our document was written, there were some who became very rich (60-62) so that social mobility among economic classes caused social unrest and strife. In order to reduce such social strife, the author writes,

> Do not envy (your) friends their goods, do not fix reproach (upon them). The heavenly ones also are without envy toward each other. The moon does not envy the much stronger beams of the sun, nor the earth the heavenly heights though it is below, nor the rivers the seas. They are always in concord. For if there were strife among the blessed ones, heaven would not stand firm (70-75).[39]

Despite no explicit polemic against idolatry[40] the location of the document must be Alexandria because "it is only in Alexandria that human anatomy was studied by applying dissection" (see v. 102). Despite the differences of date and place between James and Pseudo-Phocylides, both James and Pseudo-Phocylides described life as a wheel (James 3.6 and Pseudo-Phocylides 27); both of them condemn favouritism, and show concern for the

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[37]P.W. van der Horst, 'Pseudo-Phocyclides,' *OTP* 2.567. The virtue which was most influenced by 'hellenistic commonplaces' is moderation (Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* 164). However, although Pseudo-Phocylides at times appeals to the law of nature when he teaches Jewish tenets, it is very clear that Pseudo-Phocylides posits strong Jewish teachings against abortion, child exposure, and homosexual activities and behaviour which Hellenistic ethics did not reproach.

[38]S. Kent Brown, 'Egypt, History of (Greco-Roman)' *ABD* 2.372.

[39]Sibylline Oracles 2.62-148copies Pseudo-Phocylides 10-80. However, this pericope (70-75) is omitted in the oracles, perhaps intentionally. The author of the oracles might not accept a statement which maintains the status quo, because of the critical bifurcation in the society between the poor and the rich after Roman rule in Egypt.

[40]Collins, *Jewish Wisdom* 165, reads v. 54 "The only God is . . . " (*OTP* 2.576) as "The one God (*heis theos*) is." Thus, his translation recalls the Shema (Deuteronomy 6.4). Pseudo-Phocylides implicitly argues against idolatry.

poor. Given these similar facts between them, the image of God in Pseudo-Phocylides may also contribute to an understanding of the Jamesian idea of the image of God.

When Pseudo-Phocylides deals with death and the afterlife, the human spirit or soul is referred to as the image of God.

> 103-115 For we hope that the remains of the departed will soon come to the light (again) out of the earth; and afterward they will become **gods**. For the souls remain unharmed among the deceased. For the spirit is a loan of God to mortals, an (**his**) **image**. For we have a body out of earth, and when afterward we are resolved again into earth we are but dust; and then the air has received our spirit. When we are rich, do not be sparing; remember that you are mortal. It is impossible to take riches and money (with you) into Hades. All alike are corpses, but God rules over the souls. Hades is (our) common eternal home and fatherland, a common place for all, poor and kings. We humans live not a long time but for a season. But **(our) soul is immortal and lives ageless forever**.

Although there are contradictory statements about the souls of the dead (verse 105 "For the souls remain unharmed among the deceased" vis-à-vis verse 108 "The air has received our spirit"), the human soul remains immortal after the death of the body (verse 115). It does not matter how rich or poor one is. What matters is the soul. The soul is the image of God and a loan from God[41]. Human value is in the soul itself, not in wealth. Pseudo-Phocylides declares intrinsic human value on the grounds of the soul, and opposes the hierarchical view of the value of the human being as based on wealth. As long as a human being has a soul, he/she is equal to other human beings. The equality concept based on the democratic anthropology in Pseudo-Phocylides encourages equal sharing of wealth with the poor,

> When you have wealth, stretch out your hand to the poor. Of that which God has given you, give of it to the needy. Let all of life be in common, and all things be in agreement (28-30).

In verse 104 human beings are after death called 'gods' or angels.[42] This understanding of humans as 'gods' elevates the state of human beings to that of immortal beings. This view of humans as gods is also substantiated in Josephus by the Roman emperors who openly or implicitly attempted to be recognised as divine beings by setting up their own temples and images.

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[41]*OTP* 2.578,n. h, mentions that a 'loan from God' in Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.295,is the human soul. However, a 'loan from God' in Philo, *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.295,is indeed the 'interval between (your) birth and death.'

[42]Cf. M.J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran* 185ff. The Qumran community already here and now participates in the fellowship with angels by way of a cult (CD 15.15-17;1QH 3.21-23etc; Ephesians 2.6;Revelation) whilst Pseudo-Phocylides 104 refers to the soul's immortality after death.

E. Josephus

In Josephus the image of *a god* is mentioned in relation to the ruler cult. Roman religion is as polytheistic as Greek religion.[43] If an emperor or ex-emperor is worshipped, he is not the supreme unique God, but a god among other gods. Jewish monotheism could not tolerate such a polytheistic ruler cult. Usually an emperor was worshipped as a god after death. Even Nero refused to be apotheosised while alive because he believed a man becomes a god after death. However, demented Gaius forced the Empire to worship him as a god. Emperors acknowledged that they were sons of an apotheosised god (Augustus) and thus that they ultimately wanted to put the Empire under their control. Therefore, the ruler cult, the worship of an apotheosised god, met with strong resistance by the Jews in Josephus. The ruler cult is not democratised as the image of God in Judeo-Christian literature. However, the image of a god will be dealt with here in that it was worshipped.

Goodman writes, "A temple to *Divus Julius* was built in the forum itself, and dedicated in 29 BC. Octavian, as Caesar's adopted son, exploited the relationship with enthusiasm, proclaiming himself on his coins as *divi filius* (son of a god)."[44] Although Augustus was deified after his death, during his lifetime he allowed the provincials 'to consecrate precincts to himself' (Cassius Dio, *History of Rome* 51.20.6-8). Herod built temples to niche the emperor's images in Caesarea (Καισάρεια=temples of Caesar; *AJ* 15.328; *BJ* 1.407), Samaria (or Sebaste (Σεβαστός=Augustus); *AJ* 15.298; *BJ* 1.403) and Panias (or Caesarea Philippi; *AJ* 15.364; *BJ* 1.404): these were built to please the emperors.[45] For instance, he rebuilt Strato's Tower (Caesarea), erected a temple and had in it two statues, one of Rome, the other of Caesar (*AJ* 15.339). Herod got into great trouble, specifically when he brought into the circus the 'trophies of those nations which he

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[43]Although Judaism was acknowledged as *religio licita* (see *AJ* 14.190-267),Judaism, the Egyptian Isis cult, Christianity (*Annals* 15.44), British Druids (*Annals* 14.30; existent even in Gaul, *Claudius* 25), and Stoicism (*Annals* 14.57) differed from the Greco-Roman religion, and thus they were detested. The Greek gods, Roman and even German gods are same (Aphrodite (Greek)=Venus (Roman); Apollo=Apollo; Ares (Greek)=Mars (Roman)=Tiu (German); Hermes (Greek)=Mercury (Roman)=Wotan (German), etc., see *Annals* 13.56). However, the Greek culture was not favoured unconditionally by the Romans who were suspicious of gymnasts, etc. (*Annals* 14.20). Such polytheistic and anthropomorphic Greco-Roman religion could accommodate the imperial cult.

[44]Martin Goodman, *The Roman World: 44 BC-AD 180* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 129; *Zealots* 101.

[45]Refer to Hengel, 'Palestinian Judaism's Encounter with the Cult of the Emperor,' *Zealots* 99-107; *HJP*^{2} 2.29, 34-35, 39-40.

had conquered in his wars' (*AJ* 15.272) because there were 'images of men' in the trophies (*AJ* 15.277). The Jewish monotheism could not bear such foreign objects of worship.

Pilate brought ensigns which bore Caesar's images, but he met with strong opposition from the Jews. Eventually he had to remove the images from Jerusalem to Caesarea (*AJ* 18.55-59; Philo, *Quod Est De Legatione Ad Gaium* 299). Although Tiberius hated deifying himself and hated even being called 'my master' or 'my lord' (*Tiberius* 26-29), he allowed the inscription on coinage that "Tiberius is the heir of the deified Augustus."[46] Philo pointed out that there was "some necessary inscription, which mentioned these two facts, the name of the person who had placed them there, and the person in whose honour they were so placed there" (*Quod Est De Legatione Ad Gaium* 299). The inscription on the ensigns placed in Jerusalem might have been 'Tiberius the son of God Augustus', which might have upset Jewish monotheistic sentiments. Jews could not tolerate an image with a divine name on account of their monotheism and the second commandment.

Herod Antipas divorced the daughter of Aretas, the king of Arabia, after falling in love with Herodia. Herod Antipas was defeated by Aretas. So Vitellius, the Roman general of the Syrian legions, came to avenge Aretas. He and his two legions tried to cross Judea. The Jews persuaded Vitellius not to go through Judea with the images on the ensigns (*AJ* 18.109-122).

In Alexandria, there was a riot between the Jews and the Greeks concerning the cult of the ruler (*AJ* 18.257-260; *In Flaccum*; *Legatio ad Gaium*). Caius who was so demented as to replace the head of Jupiter at Olympia with the head of his own statue (*Gaius* 22) sent Petronius to erect his statue in Jerusalem. Of course, there was consistent opposition from the Jews to his plan (*AJ* 18.257-309). Although the Jews could sacrifice for the emperor Caius in their temple, they could not let the statue of Caius be erected in Jerusalem.

On Herod's trophies, Pilate's shields, Vitellius' ensigns, and Caius' statue, emperors' images and names were inscribed as the images and names of gods. It is highly significant to note that the emperors were understood to be the images of a god in the works of Josephus. The people of Caesarea flattered Herod Agrippa I, "Be thou merciful to us; for although we have hitherto reverenced thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature" (*AJ* 19.345). "Upon this the king did neither rebuke them, nor reject their

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[46]Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars* (London: Penguin Books, 1989), 319; the obverse of silver denarii reads, 'TI(berius) CAESAR DIVI AVG(usti) F(ilius) AVGVSTVS', and the reverse, 'PONTIF(ex) MAXIM(us)'; on some examples of emperors as θεός or θεοῦ υἱός see Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* 343-47.

impious flattery" (*AJ* 19.346). Josephus ascribed Agrippa I's death to this blasphemy.[47] Alexander the Great obtained in Egypt the title "'son of Ammon' (a deity accepted by the Greeks as identical with Zeus)" because the Egyptians believed Alexander delivered Egypt from Persian rule.[48] After defeating Anthony and Cleopatra VII, thus terminating the second triumvirate and civil war, Octavian was able to provide the citizens of Rome with free corn (*cura annonae*) from Egypt, and was named Augustus and *pater patriae* (father of his country).[49] As is mentioned above, Augustus enjoyed being deified in the provinces, and was eventually apotheosised in Rome by the senate after his death.[50] Being benefactors or patrons to cities or country, Alexander and Augustus became sons of gods, thus objects of worship.

However, the Jewish ethos did not ascribe such high honour to human patrons. When James refers to the image of God, he is thinking of *God* himself not of a human being. Usually in antiquity such great benefactors had the honour of being called by divine titles.[51] However, in the epistle of James the balance between benefaction and the honourable title is broken, because although the poor could never be benefactors, they too can be called the image of God.[52]

Concluding Remarks

There is some argument as to whether the motive for writing 'the image of God' in

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[47]Luke does not explain why Agrippa died (Acts 12.20-23). We have an impression that Agrippa died as a punishment of killing James the brother of John with the sword (Acts 12.2).

[48]E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990) 157.

[49]Goodman, *The Roman World*, 123-127.

[50]His successor, Tiberius, built a temple to Augustus at Nola (*Tiberius* 40).

[51]The town council of Ephesus (48 BC) revered Julius Caesar as 'the God made manifest, offspring of Ares and Aphrodite, and common saviour of human life' (τὸν ἀπὸ Ἄρεως καὶ Ἀφροδε[ί]της θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ καὶ κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου σωτῆρα). Further see Deissmann, 344, n. 5.

[52]The honour and shame model in Biblical social scientific criticism should be reconsidered in applying the model to James.

Genesis is to raise esteem for humankind, because the sacerdotal author (Genesis 1.1-2.3) under the post-exilic plight of persecution claimed the image of God, which Egyptian (or Babylonian) monarchs called themselves, for all humanity. However, in the Jamesian context, the image of God is taken for granted as this notion coheres with traditions about humans in the image of God found in contemporary Jewish (and Christian) literature. The Life of Adam and Eve demonstrates that the human being created in the image of God is an object of worship rather than of anger and hatred. According to 2 Enoch, maltreatment of the human being created in the image of God is maltreatment of God himself, incurring punishments at the Last Judgment. In the examination of the Sibylline Oracles, the concept of the image of God facilitates equal or common sharing among other humans (distributive justice). Pseudo-Phocylides teaches human dignity in that human value does not lie in wealth but in the soul (the image of God) which both the poor and the rich commonly possess. The fact that James applied the image of God, which the emperors or kings in Josephus claimed to be, to the human being in general, suggests that human beings are equal, whether rich or poor, high or low.

While wisdom or the Word is used by James to pacify the turbulent Jamesian community, the image of God is utilised by James as a motif by which to effect equal treatment among members of the community. At this juncture, it should be pointed out that wisdom and the image of God could be integrated into a corollary. In the Life of Adam and Eve, Adam is to be worshipped by angels because he bears the image of God. In 2 Enoch 44.1-2, to insult a person's face is to insult the Lord's face. In other words, to revere the human being is to revere God because the human being is created in the image of God. In James 1.27 true worship (θρησκεία) is to take care of the socially despised, orphans and widows [who are created in the image of God (cf. James 3.9; Wisdom of Solomon 2.23; Sirach 17.3)].

Although evidence of the wisdom cult has never been found in early Jewish literature, wisdom is hypothesised to be the object of worship in Sirach 4.14-6 and 24.10 (also see Sirach 1.8; 24.4; Wisdom of Solomon 9.4) as a reaction to the worldwide Isis cult. Wisdom is the image of God (Wisdom of Solomon 7.26). The Son of Man shares the throne of Glory with God in 1 Enoch 51.3; 55.4; 60.2; 61.8; 62.2; 71.10. The Son of Man is identified with the Word/wisdom in 1 Enoch 67.1; 14.20, 24. Wisdom, the WORD, the Son of Man and the image of God designate a figure. In addition, the relatedness between humans created in the image of God and wisdom/WORD/the Son of Man as the image of God is found in Philo.

> Even if there be not as yet any one who is worthy to be called a son of God, nevertheless let him labour earnestly to be adorned according to **his first-born word, the eldest of his angels, as the great archangel of many names; for he is called, the authority and the name of God, and *the Word, and man according to God's image*, and he who sees Israel** (*De Confusione Linguarum* 146).

Then, what is the relationship between God, the image of God/wisdom/the Word, and man created in the image of God? Philo specifies that the relationship among the three is that God created Adam in the image of God, not God himself (*Quastiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 2.62). Philo also mentions that God makes himself visible through the Word because God is invisible ("I am the God who was seen by thee in the place of God, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ (=the Word)" Genesis 31.13 (LXX); *De Somniis* 2.227). Philo's analysis of God, his Image (the Word) and the human being is echoed in the New Testament. Jesus Christ is the visible image of God (Colossians 1.15; John 1.18; 2 Corinthians 4.4; Hebrews 1.3). Thus the relationship between the three can be defined:[53]

Invisible God = Father (Js. 1.17, 27)
||
God's Image (wisdom/the Word/the law/glory) = Jesus Christ (Js. 2.1)
||
Humans created in the image of God (Js. 3.9)

The worship of human beings in James 1.27 and James' presentation of Jesus as Glory in the next verse (James 2.1) are intentionally juxtaposed by James to highlight the relatedness between humans and Glory through the image of God and, thus, to underscore human dignity. In that humans are created in the image of God (wisdom/the Word/the law/Glory/Christ) they are to be worshipped/revered especially, regardless of their socio-economic status, in the epistle of James.

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[53]See Jervell, *Imago Dei* 55, wrote, "Wichtig ist nun weiter, daß Philo mit einer scharfen theologischen Distinktion zwischen εἰκών und κατ' εἰκόνα arbeitet . . . Man darf von dem Menschen nicht sagen, daß er εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ ist; denn das ist nunmehr nur der Logos"; *Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres* 230-32. On how Philo interpreted Genesis 1.27-28 and 2.7 concerning the creation of the human being refer to Jervell, *Imago Dei* 52-68.

Conclusion

This thesis has arisen out of a perceived neglect of social justice as a framework within which to interpret the epistle of James. It is of course true that some commentators have mentioned this issue in passing. However, it is here argued that the problems between the poor and rich are not of marginal, but rather of central importance in the document. The present thesis, in my attempt to demonstrate the value of such a framework, has been structured around an introduction and three major sections (here called 'parts').

In the **introduction**, the particular focus of this thesis emerged as we provided an overview of contemporary scholars' approaches to the epistle of James. The usual sorts of issues considered by scholars have most frequently, and rightly so, included the following interrelated questions: (1) How could James the brother of Jesus (a poor artisan) have written such a fine Greek treatise? (2) Although the epistle appears to contain an anti-Pauline emphasis on justification by works (2.14-26), in fact, 'works' in the passage by no means refers to circumcision or dietary regulations. How could James who belonged to the anti-Pauline circumcision party have mentioned 'works' without reference to circumcision? (3) Is not the letter an essentially Jewish one, with Christian interpolations at 1.1 and 2.1, because it mentions neither Jesus' death on the cross nor his resurrection?

With regard to the first question, we have argued that James could have written a fine Greek letter because of the predominant bilingualism in Palestine at that time and his already lengthy ministry to the Hellenists in the Jerusalem church. On the second question, we have argued on the basis of our examination of the relationship between James and Paul relationship in the New Testament that James belonged to the moderate party, not to the circumcision party. Thus, he could have written the epistle without having had to mention ritual laws in the context of his argument about faith and works (2.14-26). Concerning the third question, we have maintained that in Jerusalem James could not explicitly mention Jesus' sacrificial death which would ultimately replace the Jerusalem temple because of circumstances of persecution of Jewish Christian in Jerusalem before the first Jewish revolt.

We have here defended authorship of James and have therefore been able to identify the socio-economic location behind the language of the epistle.

A particular problem for our approach to the epistle of James was likewise raised in the introduction, namely the identity of the addresses. In the epistle these addressees are variously referred to as: 'the twelve tribes in the dispersion' (1.1); 'the lowly brother' and 'the rich' (1.9-11); 'the rich' and 'the poor' (2.1-7); the 'you' who kill (4.2); the merchants (4.13-17) and the large estate owners (5.1-6). The address to 'the twelve tribes in the dispersion' in 1.1 shows that the epistle would have been sent from Jerusalem to Jews in the diaspora. One must thus ask, if the language of the epistle reflects social conditions and problems known from Palestine during the years preceding the first Jewish revolt, how is it that the epistle is addressed to 'the twelve tribes scattered abroad,' that is, to those who apparently lived outside of Palestine? The solution suggested here has been to distinguish between the community of James' experience and the broader community he addressed. The problems faced among the Palestinian Jewish Christians known to James furnished him with language to describe problems which were likely to be faced by the Christian communities outside Palestine. We suggested that 'the lowly brother' in 1.9-10 may refer to losers in a market competition. The censure of those who kill in 4.2 would have been levelled against the landless expandables. By contrast, the financiers in 2.6-7, the merchants in 4.13-17 and the large estate owners in 5.1-6 constituted the rich in Jamesian society. We are informed from this investigation that the society as known to James was two-tiered, polarised between the rich and the poor. This corresponds to what we know about the socio-economic conditions of Palestine in which James wrote the epistle. However, some scholars have argued that the poor in the epistle are rather to be understood on the basis of a 'poor' piety or spirituality. The circumstances of the poor are thus spiritualised, and James' accusations of social injustice are relativised. This relativisation of James' provocative accusations may have its origin in a worldview taken for granted in modern middle class society. Although James used Jewish traditions to describe and respond to issues in the epistle, we have accepted James' economic descriptions at face value. We saw how the references to social classes require an investigation into Jamesian society in which James indicted the rich for attitudes and practices leading to social injustice.

Lastly we discussed the methods adopted in this thesis. Although one could utilise social scientific models for the analysis of Jamesian society, we have chosen an 'emic' approach because social justice, as an issue dealt with theologically in the epistle, is itself concerned more with values than with 'the science of relationship.' If we may accept that

James the brother of Jesus wrote the epistle and that the treatise reflects the socio-economic conditions of his time, we are in a position to deal with the problem of social justice in the epistle.

Having established the focus of this thesis, the setting of the epistle, and the methodology to be followed, we moved on in **Part One** to ask how James has dealt with the issue of poverty or social justice in the epistle. Part One consists of three chapters: a preliminary consideration on some social justice theories and the poor in the Jamesian community (1), and discussions of the social justice of James in relation to ethical dualism (2), in the one hand, and the image of God (3), on the other.

Before launching into an exegesis proper, we evaluated several theories of social justice. James did not propose the formation of a utopian community that might take the form of a collective farm (e.g. the Qumran community). Moreover, James challenged sycophantic euergetism (the patron and client relationship) in 2.2ff. The Jamesian social ideal particularly has room for beggars, much in contrast to Aristotelian friendship which is hesitant to involve the worst-off of society. James was more engaged in changing depraved humans to achieve actions or social justice rather than in confining the limits/degrees of social justice as Nozick and Rawls' theories do. In a section on 'the poor in the Jamesian community' we argued that the poor, who lost the primary kinship (the traditional extended family) through becoming landless, migrated to cities and went to the Jamesian community to find a 'fictive kinship.' In the end, however, the community disappointed them through their perfunctory behaviour, and this is the sort of situation James wished to address.

James' thought weaves between two anthropological views discussed respectively in exegetical chapters two and three: one that regards the human being as essentially sinful (cf. 1.14; 4.1f, 5) and another that stresses that humans bear the image of God (cf. 3.9). James attributes to innate human selfishness the problem of social justice. A hamartio-anthropology is closely related to the larger framework of ethical dualism in which the human being suffers essentially under the sentence of death (1.15). On the other hand, new life or rebirth through Christ is introduced in 1.18. A sanctified life is made possible through union with the Word (Christ) (1.21) and by imitating the law (Christ) (1.25). There are two opposing principles in James which govern human behavior: lust (or the devil) and the Word (cf. 4.7). Since human efforts to achieve good works are in themselves not enough, James introduces wisdom from above (1.5; 3.13, 17). Wisdom from above/the Word/the law exorcises lust and anger (the devil/self-centredness), and helps to make the kingdom of God

tangible even here and now (2.5). In this sense, wisdom is also described as a kind of liberating principle (1.25; 2.12). By being liberated from covetousness, the believers could distribute their wealth to the poor. However, this stoicised understanding of wisdom is not all central to the message of James. The law of liberty (wisdom/the Word) functions as *heavenly* warrior or judge who corrects social injustice in human history on behalf of the persecuted (1.25; 2.12; 4.12; 5.1-8). The language referring to 'first fruit' (1.18) and 'the law of liberty' (1.25) alludes to the tradition of the Israelites' deliverance from Egypt. This exodus involved two aspects which are picked up in James: Israel's liberation through the blood of lambs (implied in the phrase 'first fruit' [1.18]) and the judgment, punishment and destruction of the Egyptians (through 'the law of liberty' [1.25]). In the same way, the Word/Christ acts as the liberating law in history, and is the bringer of justice.

James balances the notion of human depravity with another anthropology, that is, with one based on the image of God (3.9; 2.1). In chapter three, we examined 'the image of God and slander' (3.9; 4.11-12); 'discrimination and the image of God' (1.26-2.12; 4.4); 'social justice and the image of God' (2.15-16; 5.1-8). In addition we devoted an excursus to diachronical views of wealth. We argued that in James humans, because they are created in the image of God, are not to be slandered or discriminated against. Humans created in the image of God are entitled to enjoy God's created world, and this includes the sharing of wealth. We argued that the Word (1.18, 21), the law (1.25; 2.12), wisdom (1.5; 3.13, 17), Glory (2.1), and God's image (3.9) are interlocking concepts and all may be ultimately read as designations for one person, Christ (1.1; 2.1). Glory (wisdom/the Word/the law of liberty/the image of God/Christ) is the recipient of worship of the Jamesian community (2.1). If the community worships God's image (read: Christ), it is also supposed to respect humans created in his image irrespective of their socio-economic status. However, James criticised the community (as he knows it) for showing partiality toward the rich (2.2ff), for ignoring the tangible needs of its beggar members (2.15-16), for cursing fellow believers (3.9), for being angry at each other (1.19-20, 26; 4.11-12) and full of envy and hatred (3.14-4.3). Although the community confessed belief in Christ, James argued that in practice they did not so much worship Christ as the world (4.4; 1.26-27). One who lives inconsistently in this manner is called a 'double-minded man' (1.8; 4.8) or an 'adulterer' (4.4). Actions towards others are a function of the inherent value attributed to the human being. These actions determine whether believers' worship (θρησκεία) is futile (μάταιος) or pure (καθαρός) (1.26-27) and whether or not their faith (πίστις) is useless (ἄργος)/dead (νεκρός) (cf. 2.17, 20, 26). True worshippers who recognise (παρακύψας) God's image (1.25) and the wisdom

from above (1.5) are expected to be able to control selfish covetousness and to produce just actions (social justice) that do not discriminate according to social status. The result of respecting humans created in the image of God is identical to what wisdom from above/the Word achieves. It is here that we argue that ethical dualism and the notion of the image of God are merged. Two types of anthropology which seem logically opposed to one another are integrated into one system in James. We argued that the Word (1.18, 21), wisdom (1.5; 3.13, 17), Glory (2.1), and God's image (3.9) cohere in one person, Christ (1.1; 2.1). In this way the messiah in James 1.1; 2.1 becomes the key principle according to which justice is measured (cf. Isaiah 9.7; 16.5; 42.1, 3). In the excursus we argued that views in early Jewish tradition on wealth would have varied with socio-economic conditions, and that the poor piety (a spiritualising understanding of 'poor') which may function to vindicate the rich as righteous does not suit the socio-economic conditions reflected in the epistle.

In **Part Two** we attempted a description of the society which underlies the accusations made in James. We argued here that there were two main industries in the Roman Empire: agriculture and the military. In an advanced agrarian economy the population increases at a rate faster than agriculture alone can employ. The army could employ the expandables by inaugurating projects in the provinces. The presence of the Roman army in the provinces could thus boost provincial economies in the agrarian Empire.

In the second chapter we discussed the reasons for the largely impoverished economy during the second half of the first century AD, chiefly drawing attention to overpopulation and unemployment. First century Palestine was overpopulated with Jews because they made no allowance for child exposure or infanticide and because Pompey had driven the Jews away from the coastal and inland cities. The largely inland population led to high unemployment because there were no Jewish involvement in the Roman army and rare construction works. The overpopulation resulted in cheap labour which, in turn, produced higher rents to estate owners as we argued in the thesis. Since the income of the poor was not sufficient, they sold their land to pay debts. Eventually many poor peasants became beggars and bandits, despite the flourishing mercantilism in the Roman East. To make things even more miserable, the economic conditions of Palestine were further plagued by the flood in Egypt in AD 45 and the sabbatical year in AD 47-48. This is the society which shaped the language James used to address his readers.

In **Part Three** we examined early Jewish writings to see whether the approach taken

by James is rooted in antecedent patterns already attested in Jewish writings from the Second Temple period. This part consists of three chapters: one on militant, political and economic messianic ideas and figures; another on the relation of ethical dualism to social justice; and, finally, one on the image of God and social justice. In the first chapter (militant, political and economic messianic ideas and figures), we examined in turn the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1-36), the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91-105), the Book of Dream Visions (1 Enoch 83-90), Psalms of Solomon, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch. A messianic hope of ample agricultural produce is found in 1 Enoch 10.19 and 2 Baruch 29.3-6. In Psalms of Solomon, 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch a messianic figure is expected to liberate Jews from the Roman Empire. The author of the Epistle of Enoch who integrated the Apocalypse of Weeks into the Epistle of Enoch waited for a military messianic figure who would take revenge against Gentile oppressors. The Book of Dream Visions (more specifically, the Animal Apocalypse) alludes to a military messianic figure who also functions as a catalyst for sanctification. Such economic and militant messianic concepts eventually inspired militant messianic pretenders during the first and second centuries AD. As apparent from the exegetical section in Part One, these ideas do not match James' messianic perspective.

In chapter two, we examined Sirach, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Jubilees, the Dead Sea Scroll (1QS, CD, the War Scroll, 11Q13, 4Q544), Wisdom of Solomon, Philo, and the Similitudes (1 Enoch 37-71) in terms of ethical dualism. Although all these documents generally bear witness to ethical dualism, each document has specific features (the warrior motif of wisdom/the Word/Melchizedek in 11Q13 and Wisdom of Solomon; the notion of a heavenly judge in the Similitudes; a theme of sacrifice which wards off Mastema and his attacks in Jubilees; the incarnation of the messianic figure in the Twelve Patriarchs and vaguely in Jubilees). Generally in these documents, human actions are governed and controlled by two cosmic powers. The messianic warrior crushes Belial from whom he redeems his people. He also functions as the heavenly judge who corrects social injustice. The messianic figure controls human ethical life by exorcising Belial/Melki-resha/the angel of Darkness. He liberates the oppressed by providing the atonement or forgiveness for them in order to usher in a new era while he judges, punishes, and destroys the devil and restores a just society.

In chapter three we examined the Life of Adam and Eve, 2 Enoch, Sibylline Oracles, Pseudo-Phocylides, and Josephus in relation to the motif of the image of God. In the Life of Adam and Eve, Satan refused to worship Adam created in the image of God and caused Adam and Eve to be banished from the garden of Eden. However, even after the fall Adam

and Eve retained the image of God. Because of the image of God in them, they could be protected from attacks of animals, humans, and angels. Because of it God could not even send Adam's soul to hell but preserved him in the third heaven until the resurrection. Significantly in this document it is an expression of faith in God to respect humans created in the image of God. 2 Enoch adopts the same view, but expresses it in a different way. The author of 2 Enoch intensifies the theme found in Proverbs 17.5: "He who mocks the poor insults his Maker; he who is glad at calamity will not go unpunished." Sibylline Oracles 8, 1-3.96 constitutes one unit integrated by the notion of the image of God. The author criticised an economically unequal society which operated through a market mechanism. He advocates the equal distribution of wealth because humans are created in the image of God. Pseudo-Phocylides regards human souls as God's image. The fact that human souls are God's image informs equality among humans rich and poor and, thus, should lead to the equal distribution of wealth as well. According to Josephus the Roman emperors wanted to be honoured by calling themselves a son of a previously apotheosised emperor although they themselves appeared to refuse to be called a god. Faithful Jews did not tolerate the image of a human god because of their monotheistic devotion to God. To summarise this chapter, we observed in these documents that even humans could be the objects of reverence since they bear the image of God. Moreover, humans created in the image of God are entitled to enjoy God's creation equally. These social ideals are permeated in the whole epistle of James, especially in 3.9 and 2.15-16.

Human depravity and the notion of the image of God are two principal agenda in contemporary discussion by Christian scholars of social justice. This thesis dealt with these two types of anthropology which correspond to Christology for the issue of social justice in the epistle of James.

This thesis limited its scope to early Jewish writings in its examination of the background for the message of social justice in James. However, further comparisons between social justice in James and, respectively, Greco-Roman literature and modern theories of social justice would in the future offer an even fuller picture of the assumptions underlying James' argument. In particular, one may perform a comparison between the image of God in James and the Stoic understanding of 'nature' (φύσις). Although we examined Philo's Word, a further study on the Word in Stoic philosophy may be required in contrast with the Word in James.

On the other hand, although the epistle of James has been despised as 'a strawy epistle,' we hope that in the future social justice in James may receive increasing recognition as an issue with which James was theologically engaged. If this thesis can in some way contribute to such a development, its objective will in part be realised. We also hope that the issue of social justice in the epistle would more generally acquire a proper appreciation within the discipline of New Testament ethics.

Appendix: The Roman Army and Economy

Here we will examine the economic effects of the Roman army in the provinces. There is some research on the Roman army.[1] However, they are not concerned about the economic effects of the army in the empire.

Italy: the number of armies stationed in Italy was small comparing to the population of the country: three battalions of city police and nine battalions of the Guard were quartered in Rome; one fleet in Misenum, and another in Ravenna 'to command respectively the Western and Eastern Mediterranean' (*Annals* 4.5). The economic effect of the presence of the army in Italy was insignificant. Annona and tax revenue from the provinces (the fruit of conquest of the army) had detrimental effects on Italy: a decline in householders and the appearance of latifundia (large estates with slaves); a strong sesterce currency; the decline of exports and industry; the imperial cult.

The Roman citizens received free corn from 58 BC until the early third century AD.[2] Augustus subdued Antony's fleet at Actium in 30 BC, expelled Antony and Cleopatra in Alexandria, and made Egypt a Roman province (*Augustus* 18). Augustus became *princeps* (emperor) by winning the goodwill of both soldiers and people by providing bonuses and *annona* which was brought from Egypt (*Annals* 1.2).[3] Approximately 500,000 citizens who were domiciled at Rome ate the dole wheat among residents in Rome who amounted to approximately 1,000,000. 80,000-100,000 tons of wheat were distributed freely out of a total

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[1] P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225-AD 14* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army from Republic to Empire* (London: Bartsford, 1984); G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries* (London: A. & C. Black, 1985); A.K. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC-AD 200* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

[2] *AE* 170-171. On the other hand, Italians did not pay taxes until the early fourth century (idem, 96).

[3] *Sibylline Oracles* 13.43-45,48-49; 11.118-119,300-305; on the other hand, Josephus remarks that Africa maintained 'the multitude of the Romans for eight months in the year' (*BJ* 2.383) which is unlikely, and that Egypt supported Rome 'for four months in the year' (*BJ* 2.386); Gaul, the Chersonese, Spain and Cyprus sent grain to Rome (*NH* 18.66-8). Although Egypt was not a single grain provider to Rome, Egypt must be the main corn provider to Rome.

demand for 200,000 tons of wheat.[4] However, annona had a detrimental effect on Italian agriculture. Augustus worried, "I had a good mind to discontinue permanently the supply of grain to the city, reliance on which had discouraged Italian agriculture" (*Augustus* 42). As the sale price of corn fell below its production costs because of annona, small freeholders who had no withholding power of wheat could not overcome the low price of wheat, fell into debt, and eventually became beggars, some of whom drifted to Rome where annona was distributed,[5] while big estate owners who had the withholding power of wheat survived the low price, and sooner or later took advantage of the high price of corn which usually resulted from frequent food shortages caused mainly by uncertain maritime transportation. In order to supply corn efficiently and to promote the overseas transportation of grain, in AD 58 merchant ships were exempted from assessment and property-tax under Nero (*Annals* 13.51).[6] Consequently while large estate owners survived and became richer and richer thanks to the high corn prices occasioned by the shortage of corn, small householders gradually declined and disappeared in Italy. A new agricultural structure, *latifundium*, developed in Italy.[7] Thus, in Italy due to annona some smallholders eventually became permanent tenant farmers. Annona reduced the size of agriculture of Italy enormously so that a portion of the previous agricultural population migrated to other trades in cities.[8] The increase in the supply of labourers, some of whom had recently flowed into the cities from the fields, lowered the labour price so that the workers, unable to live on the low wages, were forced to have recourse to crime (*Augustus* 32). Despite the cheap labour costs brought about by the influx of labourers from the agricultural sector, the strength of the Italian sesterce due chiefly to the flow of annona and combined with tax revenue and rents from the provinces into Italy[9], meant that the export of Italian goods declined rapidly even

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[4]Garnsey & Saller, *The Roman Empire* 84.

[5]Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*, 174.

[6]J. Nelson Kraybill, *Imperial Cult and Commerce in John's Apocalypse* 120 and n. 102.

[7]Kevin Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy*, 140-141. Latifundial agriculture in Italy should be distinguished from the agriculture of the provinces.

[8]See Appian, *The Civil Wars* 1.1.7-11;Jo-Ann Shelton, *As the Roman Did*, 151-152.

[9]Senators had land in Sicily, Narbonese Gaul, Africa and Egypt (Jones, *The Roman Economy*, 125; *Annals* 6.19; Cassius Dio 58.22; *SEHRE* 670-1).

in the first century BC.[10] When the wealth of Alexandria was transferred to Rome, because of an oversupply of currency, the price of houses rose, interest rates fell from 12% to 4%,[11] and the qualification of senators was raised from 8,000 gold pieces (800,000 sesterces) to 12,000 gold pieces (1,200,000 sesterces) (*Augustus* 41).[12] In AD 59-60 veterans were forced to settle down by the government in Antium and Tarentum in Italy, but most of them returned to the provinces where they had served (*Annals* 14.27) because of the higher living costs in Italy.

As provincialisation progressed mainly due to the presence of the Roman army and as the wealth of the provinces increased, the Romans felt oppressed by provincials richer than they. Such a sense of inferiority sped up the imperial cult among the provinces. One of the efficient ways of avoiding the Romans' jealousy was to set up an Augustus cult in the provinces. Through the ruler cult, the provincials diplomatically constructed a relationship between them and the emperors.[13] In earlier years such as AD 14-15 temples dedicated to Augustus were erected in the Ubian capital (later Cologne, Germany) and the settlement of Tarraco in Spain (*Annals* 1.39, 78).[14] In AD 25 rich Spaniards requested permission to build a temple to Tiberius as a political gesture (*Annals* 4.37). In AD 25 Cyzicus in Asia lost freedom and tax-exemption on account of 'neglecting the worship of the divine Augustus and of using violence against Roman citizens' (*Annals* 4.36). The same year eleven cities in Asia appealed to build a temple to Tiberius, but only Smyrna was allowed to do so (*Annals* 4.55-56). There had been an Augustus temple in Pergamum since Augustus' time (*Annals* 4.37). Herod the Great also built temples for emperors in Caesarea and near Panium, the origin of the river Jordan, in order to curry favour with the imperial government (*AJ* 15.328, 339, 363-64).

On the other hand, the imperial cult is a politico-ideological device to check the

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[10]*SEHRE* 150, 163, 165, passim. On the inflation of the whole Empire, see A.H.M. Jones, 'Inflation under the Roman Empire,' *The Roman Economy*, 187-227.

[11]*ESAR* 3.512.

[12]1 aureus (gold piece) = 100 sesterces. The "financial qualification for the senate became *a million sesterces*" (Jones, *The Roman Economy*, 126). Equestrians' capital assets should amount to 400,000 sesterces (*NH* 33.32).

[13]Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treaty in the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Penguin Books, 1991) 110-46; P.L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990) 3-51.

[14]The ruler cult was usually prevailing in the rich provinces like Gaul, Spain, and Asia. The wealth of Gaul and Asia was due to the presence of the army. Spain enjoyed the wealth through mining.

decentralisation which had resulted from the relocation of wealth to the provinces. The Romans would politically impose the cult as in Gaul to 'consolidate social hierarchies.'[15] In fact, the Romans "used to send praetors and consuls, and even private citizens, to inspect provinces and report on everyone's loyalty" (*Annals* 15.20-21). Price summarises the ruler cult, "The imperial cult stabilized the religious order of the world. The system of ritual was carefully structured; the symbolism evoked a picture of the relationship between the emperor and the gods. The ritual was also structuring; it imposed a definition of the world. The imperial cult, along with politics and diplomacy, constructed the reality of the Roman Empire."[16]

To conclude, too great an influx of taxes and revenues into Italy produced inflation. Archaeological finds of Italian amphorae became gradually rarer because Italian goods became expensive.[17] Thus, Italian industry could not compete in the multinational market. As shown above, annona generated a particular type of agriculture, latifundia. Smallholders disappeared in Italy.[18] Thus Italy was an obviously two-tiered society: *honestiores* (the upper class) and *humiliores* (the lower class).

The fact that Hermas' works, an exposition on the epistle of James,[19] were written in Rome explains that the Roman society experienced a poverty problem. Revelation 18 describes the decline of the Roman economy.

Germany: Augustus was very ashamed of the defeat of the Roman general Publius Quinctilius Varus with three brigades[20] by Germans (*Augustus* 23). Germany was

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[15]Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* 87-125; K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves: Sociological Studies in Roman History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 1.209.

[16]S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power: the Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 248. Eventually the ruler cult produced centralisation of the Empire and imperial bureaucracy (245).

[17]The number of Italian amphorae finds at Ostia started to decrease after the first century BC (see the chart in Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy*, 15; Alföldy, *The Social History of Rome* 96).

[18]Pliny spoke the destruction of the land by latifundia (*NH* 18.35; Alföldy, *The Social History of Rome* 107).

[19]Johnson, *The Letter of James* 75; Laws, 25.

[20]One brigade consists of 5,000 infantry and 120 cavalry, who were Roman citizens. In contrast to the regular troops of brigades, the auxiliary troops who were recruited from provincials are not noted here for the sake of succinctness.

considered as a region dangerous to Italy (*Annals* 2.63). In order to prevent Germany[21] from combining with Gaul to become a dangerous force against the Empire, eight brigades[22] which constituted the largest army in the whole Empire[23] were stationed under Germanicus along the Rhine river from AD 14 (*Annals* 1.3; *Annals* 4.5) until the time of the Jewish war (*BJ* 2.377). Because the largest army in the Empire was on the German frontiers, trade flourished in Gaul and Germany. Gallic merchants provided goods to the military posts on the Rhine excelling over their Italian counterparts. "Gaul became what Italy had been in the first century BC, the greatest industrial land of the West."[24] In AD 21 in Gaul a revolt took place. The chief reason for the revolt was heavy debts caused by endless taxes and oppressive rates of interest (*Annals* 3.37, 40). Grenier mentions that the revolt on the part of the rich Aedui derived from the fact that the Aedui who had been free from taxes since Caesar were forced to pay taxes under Tiberius (*Julius Caesar* 25; *Tiberius* 49).[25] The underlying issue behind the revolt of both the rich and penniless in Gaul was 'the brutality and arrogance of governors.' Such arrogance and brutality derived from the economic inferiority of Italy: rebels mentioned, "Look at the contrast between your strength and Italy's weakness." (*Annals* 3.40; cf. *Annals* 15.21). "C'est précisément le progrès rapide des provinces et la diffusion de la richesse qui semble la cause profonde de la crise."[26] Gaul became so rich that the chief men of northern and central Gaul demanded senatorship in Rome[27]; although the senate declined the motion, Claudius welcomed their appeal[28]:

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[21] *BJ* 2.364, wrote, "Are you richer than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all men upon the habitable earth?" Cf. *The Sibylline Oracles* 5.200. Germans who were tall and strong were hardly ever conquered by the Romans although it has been mentioned that Germanicus could have conquered Germany completely if he had not been recalled to Rome by Tiberius' call to Rome (*Annals* 2.26). The Guard battalions were also Germans (*Annals* 1.24; *passim*).

[22] The army of Lower Germany consisted of the 21st, 5th, 1st, and 20th brigades (*Annals* 1.31). The army of Upper Germany was made up of the 2d, 13th, 16th, and 14th brigades (*Annals* 1.37).

[23] "There was a universal cry that they (eight brigades in Germany) had won Rome's victories, her fate rested with them, and army commanders used a surname (Germanicus) derived from them" (*Annals* 1.31).

[24] *SEHRE* 163.

[25] A. Grenier, 'La Gaule Romaine,' *ESAR* 3.515-6.

[26] *ESAR* 3.517-8.

[27] Julius Caesar already gave Roman citizenship and senatorial membership to Gauls, but Augustus was unwilling to give citizenship to provincials (*Julius Caesar*, 76; *Augustus* 40).

> Now that they have assimilated our customs and culture and married into our families, **let them bring in their gold and wealth rather than keep it to themselves.** . . . (*Annals* 11.24).

Eventually the Aedui among other tribes were given the right to become Roman senators (*Annals* 11.25).

Here is also a *classic* example of how the Roman army contributed to the provincial economy. In particular, the economy of Gaul and Germany benefitted from Roman projects carried out by the army. The projects were to construct waterways which were intended to facilitate the transportation of goods. In AD 58 the imperial governor of Lower Germany, Pompeius Paulinus, finished the dam which was started by Nero Drusus 63 years earlier to control the Rhine; in Upper Germany Lucius Antistius Vetus constructed a canal from a Saône to Moselle to bring goods from the Mediterranean city Massilia, near modern Marseille, through the Rhône, the Saône, the Moselle, the Rhine and to the North Sea (*Annals* 13.53). The Saône-Moselle canal project was criticised by the neighbouring imperial governor of Gallia Belgica, Aelius Gracilis, who said, "This would be currying favour in Gaul, and would worry the emperor" (ibid). Such construction works by the army enhanced the economic prosperity of Gaul and Germany.

On the other hand, as Gaul and Germany became wealthy, in AD 62 a census was carried out in Gaul in order to enlarge the tax-basis in the region (*Annals* 14.46) because of such disasters as the defeat of the army under Paetus in Armenia by the Parthians (*Annals* 15.15), 300 corn ship wrecks or burnings (*Annals* 15.18), Nero's incendiary activity in Rome in AD 64 (*Annals* 15.64f) and the Jewish revolt in AD 66. The Romans imposed the heavy burden of taxes on Gaul, which at last led Gaul to a revolt in AD 68 (*Annals* 15.74).

To conclude, the largest army in the Empire stationed on the Gallic and German frontiers and the war against Britain under the reign of Claudius must have boosted the Gallic economy immensely. Consequently some of the rich Aedui could enter the plutocratic society of the senate in Rome.

Britain: Londinium became an 'important centre for business-men and merchandise'; natives did not try to stick to agriculture, but wanted to trade what they had with supplies from the Roman army (*Annals* 14.29-39). This implies that the Roman army in Britain was

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[28]Claudius (41-54) was born in Lugdunum (Lyon) in AD 12 so that he was treated like 'empereur gaulois.' Gauls gave him a gold crown of nine hundred pounds while they had given Augustus a crown of one hundred pounds, which demonstrates both the growth of the Gallic economy and their special affinity to Claudius. See *ESAR* 3.520.

of benefit to Britain because the government had to spend much on war and military costs in Britain.[29] Although they suffered from conscription, taxation and forced labour (*Agricola* 31), "the Britons readily submit to military service, payment of tribute, and other obligations imposed by government" (*Agricola* 13), because the presence of the Roman army eventually fueled the British economy, with governmental investments to the civil sector (*Agricola* 21). At the time of the Jewish revolt, there were four brigades in Britain (*BJ* 2.378).

Asia Minor (Cappadocia and Syria): in AD 17 Archelaus, who had been king of Cappadocia for fifty years[30], was killed by Tiberius who tried to put this region under his control; as a result, Cappadocia became a Roman province (*Annals* 2.42). In AD 18, Germanicus reduced taxes in Cappadocia to "make Roman rule seem the preferable alternative" (*Annals* 2.56). The presence of dissidents against Roman rule compelled the government to station the army in this region. In AD 46 and 52 there were revolts in Cappadocia. In AD 54 Corbulo was appointed to keep Cappadocia and Armenia under control. In AD 58, Corbulo replaced old and weak regulars with *Galatians* and *Cappadocians*.

In AD 23 four brigades were stationed in Syria and around the Euphrates river near Antioch to protect the eastern frontiers from Parthia (*Annals* 4.5). But in AD 54-55 only two brigades remained in Syria, while the 6th and 10th brigades were sent to Cappadocia under Corbulo (*Annals* 13.8). After Paetus arrived in Cappadocia in his stead, Corbulo returned to Syria with the 3rd, 6th, and 10th brigades. As Paetus miserably lost the war against the Parthian Empire, Nero deplored, "We almost lost Syria" (*Nero* 39). So in AD 63 the government removed Paetus, and instead installed Corbulo as the sole-commander for the defence of the Parthian frontiers in the province of Syria; Corbulo sent the 4th and 12th brigades which had been under Paetus into Syria; the 15th brigade from Pannonia and the 5th from the German frontiers via Pontus were added to the army in Syria (*Annals* 15.25-26). Thus, in Syria there were the 4th, 12th, 3rd, 6th, 10th, 5th, 15th brigades with auxiliaries. Syria served as a springboard for Vespasian to the throne of the Roman Empire (*Annals* 12.23). To conclude, 'in spite of the obstacles in the way of easterners (language difficulties, prejudice against new men)' a considerable number of easterners were admitted

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[29]Alföldy, *The Social History of Rome* 97.

[30]Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia, was married to Herod's son, Alexander, who was slain by Herod (*AJ* 18.139-140;16.11). Tigranes, son of Alexander, was nominated by Nero to be king in Armenia.

into the senate on account of the wealth due to the presence of the army in the region.[31]

Antioch on the Orontes was the third largest city in the Roman Empire.[32] The maritime trade route of India-Persian Gulf-Euphrates (Charax - Babylon - Dura - Thapsacus - Aleppo)-Antioch[33] vied with that of Ceylon/India-southern Arabia-Red Sea, which became more prosperous than the first because of the worsened relationship between the Roman and Parthian Empires.[34] It is in Antioch which served as an international meeting place that Augustus greeted several Eastern ambassadors (*Geography* 15.1.73). Antioch, through its port Seleucia Pereia, was still the trade centre of the north eastern Mediterranean sea despite the bad relationship with the Parthian Empire. The income from *portorium* (customs and tolls)[35] enriched Antioch.[36]

In addition to the economic benefits of being the trade centre of the region, Antioch, across the Orontes, had Campus Martinus which accommodated four brigades regularly, although in time of war seven brigades were somewhat impermanently resident there. It goes without saying that the presence of the army boosted the economy of Asia centering on Antioch. In order to give wages to soldiers, Augustus set up a mint there. Although the state allowed provinces to mint copper coins, silver coins by which soldiers were paid were minted by the state in Alexandria and temporarily in Antioch.[37]

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[31]B.M. Levick, 'Greece,' *CAH* (1996) 10.673.

[32]The first was Rome, and the second was Alexandria. The population of Antioch varies. See F.W. Norris, 'Antioch of Syria' *ABD* 1.265-9. If the Parthian Empire is included, Seleucia on the Tigris whose population amounted to 600,000 (*NH* 6.122) was the third city, relegating Antioch to the fourth city.

[33]During the feuds between the Romans and Parthians, this old route could not be used. However, in the first century, the Romans managed this route again (*SEHRE* 95).

[34]On the maritime trade route from Ceylon to the Red Sea, see Steven E. Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy in Erythra Thalassa 30 BC-AD 217* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986).

[35]In contrast with direct tax (*tributum*), indirect taxes [*vectigalia*: customs and tolls (*portorium*), inheritance tax (*vicesima hereditarium*), tax on manumission of slaves (*vicesima libertatis*) and tax on sales at public auctions (*centesima* or *ducentesima rerum venalium*)] belonged to the province.

[36]Tariffs are not found in Antioch. There are many inscriptions from North Africa like the Coptos tariff, but the Palmyrene tariff is the most extensive. *Portoria* in Palmyra, a border city between the Syrian province and Parthia, ranges 1 to 1.5 %. For the Palmyrene tariff, see J.F. Matthews, 'The Tax Law of Palmyra: Evidence for Economic History in a City of the Roman East,' *JRS* 74 (1984) 157-180.

[37]*SEHRE* 181. Despite the intimacy between Alexandrian Jews and Palestinian Jews, Alexandrian coins were not used in the Jerusalem temple. The mint in Tyre produced in 13-12 BC, AD 62-63 and during the reign of Vespasian. In the Jerusalem temple, Antiochian and Tyrian currencies were used (*Jerusalem* 36=T.Ket. 13.3; John W. Betlyon, 'Coinage', *ABD* 1.1076-1088;C.H.V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy: 31 B.C.-A.D. 68* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1951) 185-198; Jones, *The Roman Economy*, 61-81). The fact that in AD 62-63 coins were re-minted in Tyre revealed that the Palestinian economy was thriving at that time.

After the Roman conquest, intensive and lucrative olive cultivation was introduced into the hinter land of Antioch.[38] Who brought about this change? Veterans might buy corn fields and change them into olive orchards. A regular soldier's annual income was 912.5 sesterces (2.5 x 365) or 228 denarii in the first century.[39] In Egypt the annual consumption of grain for an adult was 39 denarii.[40] If the living costs of an adult are five times the food consumption, one may calculate that the annual living costs of a soldier came to about 195 denarii (39 x 5). Food costs were not included in the living costs of frontier soldiers because soldiers received free food, *annona militaris*. The annual disposable money of an infantry soldier was 73 denarii (=229-195+39). Since the service duration was 20 years, a soldier could retire with 1,462.5 denarii (73.125 x 20). In the first century a retirement allowance of 3,000 denarii (Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 55.23) was paid to a veteran,[41] who could therefore retire with 4,462.5 denarii if the allowance was added to his saving (1,462.5 + 3,000). If the annual profit was 6% on an invested property, he might earn 267.75 denarii (=4,462.5 x 0.06). The annual 267.75 denarii would scarcely be enough to support him in Italy. If he were married, this amount would be even less sufficient. There were no incentives for veterans to return to Italy. Thus, veterans often settled down near the place where they had served. Nevertheless, "the first-century archive of the veteran Lucius Bellienus suggests a level of wealth greater than that of the ordinary villager."[42] Veterans might buy corn fields and change them into olive orchards.[43] Possibly luxurious two-storied

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[38]Wachtang Djobadze, *Archeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch on the Orontes* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1986) 17.

[39]A client lived a bare existence in Rome daily with 1.5 denarii donated by a patron (*Martial* 3.7). If he received the money 300 days in a year, the annual living costs in Rome might be 450 denarii. Pliny left 1,866,666 sesterces to 100 freedmen as a will. Since it was usually 6 % income of invested property (*CIL* 5.5262), the personal annual income was 279.9 denarii (=1,866,666x 0.06 ÷ 100 ÷ 4). Average living costs per person in first century Italy appeared to be around 300 denarii. See Richard Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: A Social History* 106.

[40]Idem, 107; Duncan Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974) 365-6. It must be considered that living costs in Syria were higher than those in Egypt.

[41]In the second or third century it is doubtful that veterans did receive the retirement allowance (Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt*, 108).

[42]Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt*, 108, n. 19. Cavalry had received 360 denarii since the 2nd century BC. Probably in the first century they earned even more. Centurions were much richer and some of them mounted to the equestrian order.

[43]An olive cultivation is 1.5 times profitable than cereal cultivation. It was difficult for peasant farmers who had no withholding power of corn to change from cereal cultivation to an olive cultivation because the change required at least three years without produce for olive trees to bear fruit (see the word ערלה means 'fruit of trees for the first three years').

villas in the hinterland of Antioch were in the possession of veterans. This observation concurs with the findings of archaeological studies:

> The impact of the Roman Empire is most clearly marked by the appearance of villas in the settlement hierarchy. The Hellenistic pattern was one of the peasant villages whose agriculture consisted of cereal farming on low-lying fertile ground; however, private estates characterised the Roman period, and coincided with the introduction of an intensive olive cultivation. Evidence from inscriptions shows that the villa owners were not absentee landlords, but perhaps a mixture of army veterans, officials and local native notables and the number, size and distribution of villas argue against the dominance of very large estates (*latifundia*) in the region.[44]

The fact that imported pottery is found in the countryside even though there were no pottery industries in the area demonstrates that 'no sharp division' really existed between urban and rural life,[45] and that 'self-sufficiency' on farms or agricultural estates in the countryside was prevailing in the Empire.[46] Outside of Italy, both towns and rural areas in Spain, Gaul, Britain and Syria, were the centres of 'a wide range of trading transactions.'

It could be understood against this backdrop that churches in Antioch sent relief to the Jerusalem church even though the famine was worldwide (Acts 11.29-30). Again, churches in Philippi, a town of veterans, could have patronised Paul (2 Corinthians 11.9; Philippians 4.15-18).

Paul did not visited the areas where the Roman army was in an acute conflict with the Parthian Empire. We can infer from the fact that in AD 58 Corbulo recruited Galatians and Cappadocians to fill up regulars that it was taken for granted that auxiliaries were recruited in these places. Although there was no single Roman soldier in five hundred cities in Asia (*BJ* 2.366), the recruitment for the legionary in Capadocia and Galatia reduced expandables in Asia and eventually advanced the provincials to the Senate. Wars with the natives and the Parthian Empire which necessitated the Roman Empire to station the army in this region boosted the economy of the region in the first century. Thus Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians addressed to this region contain no sharp poverty problem.

Greece (Achaea and Macedonia): both of them had six rods of a Roman magistrate

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[44]Kevin Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy*, 138-39.

[45]On the other hand, see also John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *City and Country in the Ancient World* (London: Routledge, 1991); A.H.M. Jones, *The Roman Economy* 1-60.

[46]Contra *AE* 93. With Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy*, 140-141.

(ἓξ Ῥωμαίων ὑπείκουσιν ῥάβδοις) as a governing body respectively. J. Thackeray explains this enigmatic phrase as a 'proconsul of praetorian rank, who was attended by six lictors' with fasces respectively.[47] There were no Roman soldiers in Greece. Therefore, Arcadia, Messenia and Laconia were depopulated; Boeotia "had become little more than villages or fallen into ruin"; "Arcadia, Aetolia, and Acarnania are given over to ranching like Thessaly, and the copper-mines of Euboea had given out like the silver of Laurion"; "the fortunes of Greece reached their nadir between the fall of Corinth and the reign of Nero."[48]

The Corinthians were not Roman (no Roman soldiers and veterans) but were entrepreneurs from Greece, Syria, Judea, and Egypt on account of a 'prime commercial situation'.[49] Commercialism does not reduce expandables. The poverty problem is reflected in 1 Corinthians 1.26-29; 11.18-22. Thus, Paul had to use strong words for his collection in the churches in Corinth (2 Corinthians 8-9). The Corinthian socio-economic conditions would have needed instructions similar to the epistle of James. 1 Clement to the Corinthians which is believed to depend on the epistle of James[50] would have found an audience in Corinth. 1 and 2 Thessalonians are noted for its eschatology probably because of the extreme poverty of this region.

Egypt: in AD 23 there were two brigades in Egypt (*Annals* 4.5). At the time of the Jewish war the population of Egypt was 7,500,000 apart from inhabitants of Alexandria[51]; the taxes paid by Egypt to Rome in one month were tantamount to more than Judea paid in a whole year, and that not including the Egyptian corn which fed the Romans for four months; at the time of the Jewish revolt, there were still two brigades in Egypt (*BJ* 2.384-387). The annual tax revenue from Egypt would be 122,000,000 drachmae or sesterces.[52] The profit to Egypt from the presence of the Roman army would be minor in comparison

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[47]Josephus, *Jewish War: Books I-III* (Loeb Classical Library), tr. J. Thackeray, 465, n. c.

[48]B.M. Levick, 'Greece,' 652-653; *Geography* 8.7.5-8.3(388c); 9.2.16-18(406c); 9.1.8-10(447c); Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 7.17.1.

[49]Murphy-O'Connor, 'Corinth,' *ABD* 1.1136.

[50]Johnson, *The Letter of James* 75.

[51]The number was known from the poll tax (*BJ* 2.385). The Alexandrian citizens were exempt from the poll tax. Therefore, the Alexandrines were not counted in this census. However, it is a controversial issue whether the Alexandrian Jews paid the poll tax or not. It will be discussed below.

[52]Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt*, 112, has 1,220,000,000.

with the taxes and corn paid to the state: the annual payment of two brigades was more than 9,125,000 drachmae (2.5 drachmae (daily wage) x 10,000 soldiers x 365 days). Probably this deficit of Egypt was offset by the Alexandrian trade profit. Alexandria was the second largest city in the Empire. The size of Alexandria was 30 furlongs (σταδίων) x 10 furlongs[53] (*BJ* 2.386). The population was approximately 800,000.[54] There are four reasons for the flourishing economy of Alexandria: annona; low costs of sea trade; the aggravated relationship with the Parthian Empire; privatisation. Green points out, "The increased volume of trade to the West grew on account of the initiation of the *annona* programme."[55] Alexandria is also situated in the passage between the mediterranean sea route and the Red Sea trade route. A maritime transportation through this route which is much cheaper than a land transportation though the Parthian empire and the conflict between the Roman Empire and the Parthian Empire made merchants to use this sea route. Since the Roman rule privatisation was progressed in Egypt. This capitalist economy boosted Alexandrian companies which raised the value of goods made with cheap raw materials from abroad[56] and exported them at competitive prices throughout and even beyond the Roman Empire.[57] Alexandria became the 'the greatest **emporium** in the inhabited world' (*Geography* 17.1.31). In the process of changing raw materials into goods Alexandria used workers thus reducing expandables. The Alexandrian economy would have contributed to the Egyptian economy because the stationing of two brigades and the factories of Alexandria to make goods for the rest of the world appear to have compensated for deficit trade.

It is also necessary to mention in passing Alexandrian Jews who appear to have contributed to the first century Egyptian economy. The Romans discriminated against them

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[53]1 stadion is 606.75 feet. 1 foot is 30.48 cm. 30 stadions are 5.548 km (30 x 606.75 x 0.3048). 10 stadions are 1.849 km (10 x 606.75 x 0.3048). *Geography* 17.1.8,gives 30 stadions (E-W) x 7 or 8 stadions (N-S).

[54]J. Gibb, 'Alexandria,' *HDB* 1.62.

[55]Henry A. Green, *The Economic and Social Origins of Gnosticism* 67.

[56]Cotton, silk, corn, linen, papyrus, glass, hemp etc. Many raw materials were imported from India via the Red sea. See below.

[57]Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*^{2} 169. *Sibylline Oracles* 11.232-235reads, "Then Egypt will be a ruling bride and the great city of the Macedonian prince, revered Alexandria, famous nurse of cities, glittering with beauty, will alone be metropolis."

presumably due to their economic success in the Roman East.[58] Because the Egyptians had been treated as inferior since the Ptolemaic rulers, they did not feel any anger at similar treatment by the Romans. However, the Jews were very dissatisfied with the Roman treatment of them. Despite such persecution of the Jews the Alexandrian Jewish community produced such preeminent persons as Alexander the arabarch and Tiberius Alexander the governor of Egypt[59] on the strength of Jewish economic power in Alexandria. This persecution of Jews in Egypt led some of them to give up their God who created this persecuting world and to take otherworldly Gnosticism. In this connection, it is eye-catching to see a Gnostic James in New Testament apocrypha although the Gnostic James is hardly identified with James the brother of Jesus.

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[58]It is noteworthy that Alexandrian Jews who lived in the north-east Jewish quarter, constituted 30-40% of the Alexandrian population (Smallwood, *Legatio* 215). During Germanicus' visit to Alexandria, he opened the granaries for the public, but refused to feed the Jews of the city (*Against Apion* 2.64; *Annals* 2.68). Although Josephus mentioned that after Gaius' pogrom of the Alexandrian Jews in AD 38 Claudius reinstated the Alexandrian Jews with full citizenship (*HJP*^{2} 389-394; *AJ* 19.279-285),Claudius himself decreed that the Jews should not intrude "themselves into the games presided over by Alexandrian magistrates (γυμνασιαρχικοῖς ἢ κοσμητικοῖς) as people who are able to draw benefit from their own property and in a city which belongs to others (ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ πόλει) to enjoy an abundance of plentiful good things" (*CPJ* 2.92; *HJP*^{2} 3.128; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities: Books XVIII-XIX* (*LCL*), tr. L.H. Feldman, 346-349, n, b.; cf. Acts 18.2). With this stipulation Claudius marginalised the status of the Alexandrian Jews, because the Jews were excluded from the gymnasium, from which the Romans chose magistrates to rule Alexandria until the third century AD (Alston, 'Philo's *In Flaccum*: Ethnicity and Social Space in Roman Alexandria' *Greece & Rome* 44 (October, 1997) 168; A.K. Bowman and D.W. Rathbone, 'Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt', *JRS* 82 (1992) 107-27). Although the Jews had been treated like Greeks under the Ptolemaic rulers, the Alexandrian Jews had to pay the reduced poll tax because of Roman anti-semitism (S. Applebaum, 'The Social and Economic Status of the Jews in the Diaspora,' *CRINT* 2.707).

[59]There were two Alexanders who served the duty of the arabarch in Alexandria in Josephus. One was on duty during Tiberius (*AJ* 18.159-161),the other during Claudius (ἐπίτροπος of Claudius' mother Antonia's estates, also known as Alexander Lysimachus, *AJ* 19.274-277). However, scholars have unanimously agreed that the two persons are one person (*HJP*^{2} 3.815,n. 14; *CPJ* 2.197-203;P. Borgen, 'Philo of Alexandria,' *ABD* 5.334). The arabarch is 'le directeur-général des douanes et péages d'Alexandrie' (C. Spicq, 'Le Philonisme de L'épitre aux Hébreux,' *Revue Biblique* 57 (1950) 238; L.H. Feldman, tr., *AJ* 18.159(LCL), n. f). Alexander the arabarch at the time of Tiberius had lent his money to Agrippa who later became king of the Jews (*AJ* 18.159), and he had silver and gold poured on the nine gates of the temple (*BJ* 5.205). This Alexander might be the man who "had all the names of God in his copy of the Pentateuch overlaid with gold." Josephus called him a pious person (*AJ* 20.100). Philo "discussed providence and the rationality of animals in the dialogues *Pro.* and *Anim.*" with his brother Alexander the arabarch (*AJ* 18.259). He was related to the high priests (Acts 4.6). He was also the father of Marcus Alexander who was a rich estate owner in Egypt (*CPJ* 2.419) and Tiberius Alexander. On account of his wealth, Marcus married Bernice the daughter of Agrippa I (*AJ* 19.276). But Marcus died early (*AJ* 19.277). When Marcus Alexander was active at Myos Hormos and Berenice from 37 to 43/44, his brother (Tiberius Alexander) was Epistrategos of the Thebaid (Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy*, 84-85). Tiberius Alexander was appointed the procurator of Judea in AD 46-48 probably by his father's influence and wealth. During his procuratorship, James and Simeon, sons of the Fourth Philosopher Judas, were crucified. After the procuratorship in Judea he was nominated governor of Alexandria and later of Egypt by Nero (*BJ* 2.309,492). Finally he was designated chief commander of the Roman army by Vespasian and Titus against the campaign of Jerusalem (*BJ* 4.616;6.237).

The Roman army was also stationed relatively thinly in other provinces (Africa,[60] Pannonia,[61] Spain,[62] and the Black Sea Area[63]).

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[60]In AD 17 Tacfarinas organised vagabonds and marauders and fought with African native armed forces of the Cinithii, the neighbouring Mauritanians, and the Numidians against Marcus Furius Camillus; however, Marcus defeated Tacfarinas with an army smaller than the native forces (*Annals* 2.52). In AD 22 Tacfarinas requested a piece of land for his army from the African governor, Quintus Junius Blaesus (*Annals* 3.73). In the following year there were two brigades in Africa. Because of the victory of Quintus Junius Blaesus, in AD 24 Tiberius moved the 9th brigade to Britain; nevertheless, Dolabella finished the revolt of Tacfarinas (*Annals* 4.23,26). Thus there was only one brigade in Africa at the time of the Jewish war (*BJ* 2.383). Province Africa provided eight months of food for the Romans (*BJ* 2.383), which is unlikely.

[61]In AD 14 the Romans felt some threats from nearby Pannonia so that they garrisoned three brigades there: 8th, 9th, and 15th (*Annals* 1.16,23). In AD 23 there were two brigades in Pannonia and two brigades in Moesia (*Annals* 4.5).

[62]Seneca, Nero's tutor, was 'son of a provincial equestrian'; Seneca's family came from Cordoba in Spain (*Annals* 14.53). Pliny the elder appreciated Spain as a province equal to Gaul in wealth; Spain was next to India in terms of every kind of ore-mineral so that in Spain there was a 'stimulus to work' (*NH* 37.203). Despite the presence of only one brigade in Spain, ore, specifically gold mines created working places (see *NH* 33.78). Spain was the second trade partner of Rome (*NH* 37.203). In AD 23 three brigades were in Spain (*Annals* 4.5). Just before the Jewish war there was only one brigade in Spain (*BJ* 2.375).

[63]There were three thousand armed men and forty long ships (*BJ* 2.367).

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